RELIGION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG CONTEMPORARY URBAN MUSLIM IN BALI: THE WALI PITU PILGRIMAGE AND SPIRITUAL TOURISM

Jati Pamungkas[1], Maziyyatul Muslimah[2], Ahmad Yuzki Faridian Nawafi[3], M. Syahrul Ulum[4], Hamdani Bika[5]
[1, 4, 5] Universitas Islam Negeri Syekh Wasil Kediri, Indonesia
[2]The University of Queensland Australia, Australia
[3]Universitas Islam Negeri Sayyid Rahmatullah Tulungagung, Indonesia
e-mail: [1]jatipamungkas@uinkediri.ac.id, [2]m.muslimah@uq.edu.au,
[3]ahmad_yuzki@uinsatu.ac.id, [4]kangulum@uinkediri.ac.id, [5]hmdnbika334@gmail.com

Received: 04/02/2026	Revised: 20/09/2026	Approved: 26/10/2026

DOI: 10.32332/akademika.v31i2.13010

Religion and Social Change Among Contemporary Urban Muslim In Bali: The Wali Pitu Pilgrimage and Spiritual Tourism Licensed Under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Abstract
This article investigates spiritual tourism in the form of pilgrimages to the tombs of the Wali Pitu (Seven Saints) scattered across Bali. Employing a qualitative approach, the study utilized participant observation and semi-structured interviews with key informants, including pilgrims, tomb caretakers, local vendors, and religious and community leaders from diverse backgrounds. Data were analyzed using a reflexive thematic analysis method. The study reveals three empirical findings. First, the pilgrimage serves as a space for renegotiating Muslim minority identity by establishing historical legitimacy through reverence for past holy figures who interacted peacefully with Balinese kingdoms. Second, economic collaboration emerges through the shared use of tourism infrastructure, wherein logistics and transportation services owned by Hindus explicitly accommodate the dietary and ritual requirements of Muslims. Third, the commodification of sacred space manifests as territorial tensions regarding parking fees, the placement of vendor stalls near tomb areas, and disruptions during peak pilgrimage seasons. Far from being merely a passive economic transaction, the Wali Pitu pilgrimage represents a dynamic framework of pragmatic pluralism, in which religious boundaries are negotiated daily through economic interdependence and the management of shared spaces. These findings contribute theoretically to the study of Muslim minorities by demonstrating how sacred spaces can act as catalysts for socio-economic integration within a predominantly Hindu environment.

Keywords: Spirituality; Religion and Social Change; Islamic Pilgrimage; Wali Pitu; Religious Tourism

A. Introduction

The tombs of Islamic saints have been visited by pilgrims for centuries, and this practice has become an established part of Islamic religious and cultural traditions across the Indonesian archipelago. In much of Indonesia, the graves of Sufi figures and early Islamic missionaries are not only regarded as sacred religious sites but also serve as cultural and social gathering points for Muslim communities. Bali, a historically Hindu-majority island, presents an important context for examining this tradition, particularly through the Wali Pitu, or the Seven Saints, who are believed to have played important roles in the spread of Islam on the island. Despite being a Muslim minority within Bali's predominantly Hindu social and cultural environment, Balinese Muslims have continued the practice of visiting these tombs, which in recent times has increasingly intersected with religious tourism and pilgrimage-related mobility.

To the pilgrimage of the Wali Pitu come not only Balinese Muslims but also Jaavanese, Maduranese, Lombokans as well as from other parts of Indonesia. So the pilgrimage is not just about personal faith but also about reinforcing cultural ties over distance. sites like the tombs of Prince Mas Sepuh, Habib Umar bin Yusuf and Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, you have a network that links spirituality with island hopping (Nuraini, 2020). The continuing movement of pilgrims also has implications for the social, cultural, and economic life of communities surrounding these sacred sites.

In this context, the Wali Pitu pilgrimage serves as a crucial lens for understanding contemporary Muslim life in Bali. This pilgrimage connects local Muslim communities with pilgrims from Java, Madura, Lombok, and other regions of Indonesia. It also links religious spaces with tourism infrastructure, transportation networks, accommodation, culinary businesses, souvenir markets, and digital promotional channels. The Wali Pitu sites function not merely as sacred spaces but also as nodes within a broader network of contemporary Muslim mobility. The pilgrimage enables Muslims to preserve religious memory and identity while negotiating their presence within Bali's predominantly Hindu cultural and tourism landscape (Eade & Sallnow, 1991).

This perspective situates the Wali Pitu pilgrimage within the realm of contemporary urban Muslim studies. Rather than viewing the pilgrimage merely as a traditional religious practice, this article regards it as a dynamic social practice through which Muslim identity, mobility, economic participation, and a sense of spatial attachment are continuously negotiated. The urban dimension of this pilgrimage does not imply that all Wali Pitu sites are physically located in metropolitan centers; instead, the term refers to the networks, mobility, economic ties, and cultural flows that connect these religious sites in Bali with urban centers and Muslim communities across Indonesia (Hefner, 2011).

What does, or should, happen to sacred space when pilgrimage is bundled with tourism? Converting sacred tombs into tourist attractions threatens to generate conflict between religious aspirations and economic interests. This is a process labeled as the commodification of spirituality, which contributes to the conceptualization of religious sites as cultural goods that are offered to the consumers, sometimes at the expense of local feelings (Cohen, 1998). In Bali, where Islamic communities exist within a predominantly Hindu cultural environment and where tourism plays a significant role in local social and economic life, these processes may involve competing perspectives regarding site management, the representation of Islamic history, the preservation of sacredness, and responses to increasing pilgrimage mobility. These tensions make the

Wali Pitu pilgrimage an important site for examining how Muslim communities negotiate religious identity, sacred space, tourism, and interfaith relations.

Against this background, this study addresses three research questions:

1. How does the Wali Pitu pilgrimage contribute to the construction and negotiation of contemporary Muslim identity in Bali?
2. How do Muslim mobility, urban-connected networks, and spiritual tourism reshape the social and economic significance of the Wali Pitu pilgrimage?
3. How do Muslim communities negotiate sacredness, tourism, interfaith relations, and economic interests within Bali's contemporary urban-connected environment?

This study utilizes qualitative methods through fieldwork in at two major Wali Pitu centers. Data were collected through participant observation and semi-structured interviews with pilgrims, administrators, tourism practitioners, religious leaders, and community members. Drawing from the sociology of religion and the concept of symbolic economy, the analysis employs an interpretive framework to examine how religious meaning, social relations, mobility, and economic activities intersect within the pilgrimage context.

The study contributes to scholarship on religion and tourism by examining the intersection of pilgrimage, Muslim minority identity, sacred space, mobility, and the spiritual economy in Bali. It also extends discussions of religious tourism by focusing on how a Muslim minority community negotiates religious and cultural identity within a predominantly Hindu social environment. At a practical level, the findings may contribute to discussions of culturally sensitive and contextually appropriate approaches to the management of religious tourism. More broadly, the Wali Pitu pilgrimage provides a context for examining how religious traditions are maintained and renegotiated amid processes of modernization, mobility, tourism development, and commercialization.

B. Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach, combining mini-ethnography and case study methods, to examine the Wali Pitu pilgrimage as a contemporary Muslim social practice. It adopts an urban Muslim studies perspective, focusing specifically on mobility, trans-local religious networks, economic activities linked to urban areas, and the negotiation of Muslim identity within Bali's Hindu-majority, tourism-oriented environment. Consequently, the concept of the urban is understood relationally rather than merely as a physical metropolitan space. Religious sites located in rural or peripheral areas connect to urban centers through pilgrimage routes, transportation, tourism markets, digital promotion, religious organizations, and Muslim community networks.

The research focuses on Wali Pitu sites linked to broader Muslim pilgrimage and tourism networks. Fieldwork encompasses not only ritual practices at the shrines but also pilgrim movements, interactions between pilgrims and local residents, the involvement of tourism stakeholders, and the economic and symbolic connections between sacred sites and urban-oriented tourism infrastructure. Particular attention is paid to pilgrims arriving from Java and other parts of Indonesia, as well as to local Muslims involved in site management, the provision of accommodation, food services, transportation, and religious activities.

The data collection was carried out through three main methods:

1. Participant observation was conducted during periods of increased pilgrimage activity associated with Rajab (13 January–10 February 2024) and Mawlid (4 September–3 October 2024), when the number of pilgrims was expected to increase. This enabled researchers to witness ritual action, pilgrims' relations, and the tourism staging of religious events.
2. Four primary stakeholder groups were the focus of qualitative interviews: (1) Muslim pilgrims from Java, (2) site caretakers (*juru kunci* or *pengempon*), (3) local Muslim community members and religious figures, and (4) tourism-related stakeholders, including tour guides, vendors, accommodation providers, and other local economic actors.
3. Field research was supplemented with an analysis of documents, including tourism brochures and media reports, which shed light on how the Hajj pilgrimage is depicted and commercialized at the institutional level.

The data were interpreted by means of an interpretive descriptive approach, that is grounded on the sociology of religion and symbolic economic theory. Analysis follows a thematic approach to identify emerging patterns related to spirituality, identity construction, and economic transition. Drawing on Durkheim's theory of collective ritual, Berger's sacred canopy, and Bourdieu's symbolic capital, an exploration is made of how pilgrimage reshapes social and symbolic borders in the context of Balinese tourism. In sum, this methodological perspective allows for an understanding that is both elaborated and situated of the ways that practices of Islamic pilgrimage in Bali are both enlivened, and shaped in particular directions, through Bali's evolving environmental in religious and touristic.

C. Findings and Discussion

1. Findings

Wali Pitu as a Node of Contemporary Muslim Mobility

Pilgrimages to the tombs of Islamic saints in the Nusantara tradition are a manifestation of piety that carries the teachings of Islam but is also a product of historical, communal identity and social complex realities (Erni, 2015). The Balinese variant of this practice is the Wali Pitu, inferring seven sacred tombs that are important to the Balinese Muslim. While Islam is but a minority island religion, these tombs are spiritual poles that cut across land and people (Zuhri, 2022). Wali Pitu is a principle first proposed by Habib Toyib Zein Assegaf in 1992 (Khairuddin & Sukarno, 2023). The seven figures identified in the present study are among those most widely recognized within this Wali Pitu tradition, although other sacred tombs may also have been associated with the history of Islam in Bali.

According to Hein de Jong, pilgrims participating in Wali Pitu are from all walks of Indonesian Muslim society, with geographical and socio-cultural implications (Jong, 2014). Albertus Laksana reports that the pilgrims hail not only from local Balinese Muslim communities in places such as Loloan (Jembrana), Pegayaman (Buleleng), and Kepaon (Denpasar) but also from East Java, Madura, Lombok, South and Central Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi by the swarms of individually wandering pilgrims or in organized collectives (Laksana, 2014).

The pilgrims' motives for traveling are also diverse. Pilgrimage to the tombs of saints may be understood as an expression of religious faith and as a means through which pilgrims seek to strengthen their relationship with God through the intercession or spiritual connection associated with revered religious figures (Masduki, 2017). Wali Pitu is also said to have contributed to the Islamization of predominantly Hindu Bali

(Tohari, 2021). Visiting these sites can therefore be understood as an expression of respect for Islamic traditions of *da'wah* and as a practice through which Muslim communities maintain religious memory and identity within a pluralistic social environment.

Different pilgrims are motivated by mystical motives, in particular the quest for *barakah* as blessings that followers can receive through saints. Common prayers include healing from disease, fertility, thriving business or safety from harm (Arjana, 2017). These practices may incorporate elements of Islamic mysticism while also interacting with local cultural understandings of sacredness and spiritual mediation.

The Wali Pitu pilgrimage also has an important emotional and social dimension, particularly for Muslims who constitute a minority within Bali's predominantly Hindu social environment. The journey creates opportunities for community-building across islands, ethnic groups, and social backgrounds, providing spaces in which religious practices and cultural connections can be performed and maintained. In this sense, pilgrimage may reinforce social solidarity, cultural continuity, and personal engagement with spirituality through ritual practice (Kiriana et al., 2025). Pilgrims may undertake the journey at significant moments in their lives and participate in practices such as *tahlilan* (communal religious recitation), *tawassul* (supplication or seeking spiritual intercession), and contemplative practices. Some pilgrims also return to the sites repeatedly, making pilgrimage part of an ongoing spiritual practice (Zuhri, 2022).

Follow group mobility Wali Pitu further reasserts the Wali Pitu as a collective pilgrimage. K-12 and university students studying Islam, zikr sessions, alumni of Islamic boarding schools, and religious groups often make this trip as a group, expressing regional solidarity(Mulki & Kusroni, 2024). This dynamic also highlights how the practice is as much about social organizations and religious networks as it is about spiritual ones.

Each of the se seven tombs in the Wali Pitu system has historical, cultural and religious layers. These tombs not only act as sacred places but also as proof to the long trail of Islamization, migration, and interfaith dialogues with the Balinese culture. Positioned within local populations, these places combine historical reminiscence and spiritual as well as regional local legends (Quinn, 2024). Thus, the Wali Pitu is not just a geographical marking of tombs; they form a spiritual constellation of individuals who were instrumental in keeping Islam alive on the island.

a. Pangeran Mas Sepuh (Raden Mangkuningrat), Pantai Seseh, Badung

Raden Mangkuningrat hailing from the Javanese region and Prince Mas Sepuh from the Balinese realm are the couple of seven Wali Pitu, the latter recognized as the propagator of Islam in Bali. Bisar then closed circles with oral tradition at his preaching spot, spreading Islam on the coast of Seseh, in Badung Regency. A Spiritual center for the muslim in the area, but a quite lovely beach resort now. Raden Mas Sepuh is remembered for his nonviolent propagation of Islam, for his advocacy of religious pluralism and high culture, and for traditional Javanese folklore regarding his 6th century reign as beloved sultan of the borders of far away from today's politics and rhetoric of fear nor were Raden Mas Sepuh's teachings to be found in religious texts, but his edicts did add up to moral suasion in the teaching of ethics, the analysis of religion, and peaceful co-existence with the Hindu Majority. The tomb of Prince Mas Sepuh in Seseh has turned into a place of pilgrimage and not only Balinese Muslims are seeking his blessings but also Javanese and other Indonesians. His legacy represents the plural and inclusive dimension of Nusantara Islam in which Islamic values are harmonized with local wisdom and traditions (Arifin, 1998; Zuhri, 2022).

b. Habib Ali bin Umar Bafaqih, Loloan, Jembrana

Habib Ali bin Umar Bafaqih is considered an important Muslim figure associated with the spread of Islam in Bali, particularly in the western part of the island. His grave is located in Loloan, Jembrana, a historic Muslim settlement that has long served as an important center of Islamic education and community life. According to local and historical accounts, Hadrami Muslim scholars and religious figures contributed to the development of Islamic life in the area through teaching, commerce, and religious leadership. Habib Ali bin Umar Bafaqih is remembered as a teacher and community leader who contributed to the development of Muslim identity in Loloan through religious instruction and community activities.

He preached wisdom, patience and harmony and advocated peaceful coexistence with Bali's predominantly Hindu population. Institutions like the Madrasah Syamsul Huda, give continuation to the legacy of Habib Umar, established in 1935. His tomb is a shrine to which people across the nation come to visit. For the Balinese Muslims, he represents humility, honesty, and the spreading of peace (Arifin, 1998; Umami, 2023).

c. Habib Umar bin Yusuf al-Maghribi, Bedugul, Tabanan

Habib Umar bin Yusuf al-Maghribi is the most influential figure within the Wali Pitu tradition in Bali. He was reported to have been from the Maghrib (North Africa) and journeyed across the Islamic world, then finally reached Bali to preach the religion of Islam. It is the local belief and tradition that Habib Umar dwelled in the cool mountain hillside of Bedugul, Tabanan. His presence in a largely Hindu region exemplifies the religious tolerance and peaceful coexistence that marked the formative era of Islam in Bali. But Habib Umar is celebrated not only for his righteousness and deep spiritual insight, but also for his role as a mediator between the rural populace and the urban elite. He taught Sufism, love for humanity, and acceptance of the culture of the people among whom he practiced preaching of Islam in Bali (Zuhri, 2022; Arifin, 1998).

d. Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdi al-Maghribi, Bungaya, Karangasem

Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdi al-Maghribi is recognized as one of the central figures in the Wali Pitu tradition. According to local traditions, he was associated with the Maghrib region and is believed to have arrived in Bali during the early periods of Islamic propagation across the region. Historical information about his life is limited and is preserved substantially through oral traditions. Local accounts place Maulana Yusuf in Bungaya, Karangasem Regency, an area in eastern Bali known for its strong cultural heritage and historical connections with Balinese royal traditions.

Maulana Yusuf is remembered as a figure who promoted Islam through religious teaching, spiritual guidance, ethical conduct, and peaceful interaction with local Hindu communities. Local narratives also emphasize his spiritual influence and religious authority. His tomb continues to be visited by Muslims and other visitors seeking prayer, spiritual reflection, and blessings. The tomb is located within the same broader sacred complex as that of Habib Ali bin Zaenal al-Idrus, creating a site in which the memories of different Islamic religious figures converge (Arifin, 1998; Zuhri, 2022).

e. Habib Ali bin Zaenal al-Idrus, Bungaya, Karangasem

Habib Ali bin Zaenal al-Idrus is a great-grandfather of Tuan Guru and his tomb is in the same walled compound as that of Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdi al-Maghribi in Bungaya, Karangasem, Bali, a well-known Islamic and Hindu historical place. Habib

Ali, a noble progenitor of the Prophet Muhammad through the Ba'alawi line, is not only remembered for his noble lineage but also his immense contribution and dedication to spiritual guidance, community leadership, and knowledge of the religion of Islam. According to oral history and local folktales, both oral narratives describe him as a figure of high moral standards and humility and that he worked with other religious leaders to evangelize, peacefully, in the largely Hindu region. The symbolic site of his tomb next to Maulana Yusuf portrays the cohesion and togetherness of spreading Islam in the region of east Bali, and brings out the fact that it is the harmonious collaboration of different learned scholars from various geographical and genealogical lines. This site remains mute but lyrical testimony of the long and layered history of Bali where the sanctity of Islam and Balinese culture are intertwined and form a living testament to peaceful religious coexistence and ongoing spiritual vitality through in time through time in time through time in (Arifin, 1998; Zuhri, 2022).

f. Syekh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, Temukus, Buleleng

Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhammad is the leading Islamic figure whose influence is still strongly felt on the religious scene of northern Bali. His tomb is situated in the village of Temukus, Buleleng regency, an area with a long history of pluralism and maritime vibrancy. Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, in local oral tradition, is said to have come to Bali from China in the seventeenth century amongst a swarm of Muslim preachers, possibly from Java or the Malay Archipelago, preaching a non-violent version of Islam through trade, scholarship and spiritual guidance. His original name was Kwan Lie. He is a shallow memory now but for many years he was a close to Sufi teacher and there were amongst us a view to teaching Quranic education, dhikr and the spirit of Islam. In the face of the region's overwhelming Hindu atmosphere, Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhamad found a way to help cultivate mutual respect with its indigenous people, focusing on harmony, tolerance and understanding. His spiritual magnetism attracted followers from not only Bali but also from other parts of Indonesia (Arifin, 1998; Asmara, 2014).

g. Habib bin Ali bin Abu Bakar al-Hamid, Kusumba, Klungkung

Habib bin Ali bin Abu Bakar al-Hamid is an honored figure in Islam whose tomb is situated at Kusumba, Klungkung in southeast Bali. He belongs to a noble Hadrami Ba'alawi sayyids family and his genealogy links to the Prophet Muhammad by means of the al-Hamid clan. The documentation and traditional roots among the Muslim locals tell us that Habib al-Hamid came to Bali on the heels of many other fellow Arab scholars and traders from Hadramaut to propagate Islam in the largest archipelago in the world. He settled first in Kusumba, a strategically located seaside village with a history of trade and royal patronage that afforded passing visitors to the island a glimpse of Bali's highest culture, he was soon a towering religious figure, whose standing was unquestioned not only because of his deep knowledge of Islam but also because he was a man who could cultivate peace with the native Hindu. Tomb of Habib al Hamid remains a vital site of pilgrimage and is visited by Muslims from Bali, Java, and Lombok on a regular basis, particularly in conjunction with the annual journey to Mecca for the Hajj. His legacy continues to inspire the Kusumba Muslim community to study circles and traditional Islamic practices (Arifin, 1998; Yuantoro et al., 2019).

The rites performed during the pilgrimage to the Wali Pitu include prayers, *tahlil* (reciting the Quran), Yasin (reciting the Yasin), short surahs (Koranic chapter), *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and personal prayers and meditations on the contributions

of the saint to Islam. The narrative of the saint identity is communicated through history, miracles, pilgrim experiences, and symbolic representation (Zuhri, 2022). The tomb of Habib Ali bin Umar Bafaqih in Loloan is a spiritual center, nurtured by progenies or local minds (*juru kunci*) who preserve its sanctity and lead pilgrims. The Wali Pitu pilgrimage is known for its inclusiveness. In some regions, some non-Muslims, especially Balinese Hindus who have syncretic cultural and religious traditions, pay their respects to these tombs, fostering unusual interfaith admixtures. These sanctuaries act as a trail, a proof of Muslim minority's existence in Bali, and a declaration of Islamic culture and tradition in an overwhelming Hindu. "I came to the Wali Pitu to know that Islam was able to reach the remotest parts of this world," said Aminuddin, a pilgrim from Jombang.

From Durkheim's point of view, pilgrimages build social solidarity as they consist of many symbolic actions (Durkheim, 2014). Geertz stressed locals symbols and contexts shape religion culturally (Geertz, 2017). Wali Pitu demonstrates this dynamic, where spiritual significance is the product of tradition, identity, and tourism. On the economic front local participation in the form of vendors, food stalls, mementos shops, and lodging testify to the rise of a spiritual economy (Abdi, 2017). This evolution raises ethical concerns as the sacred is vulnerable to being subsumed by commercial imperatives, creating a tension-filled struggle for community-based stewardship.

2. Discussion

Pilgrimage, Muslim Identity, and Urban-Connected Religious Networks

Pilgrimage to Islamic saints' tombs is not simply a field of individual agency, but a collective practice and culture of belonging linked with tradition in history and society. In Bali, the Wali Pitu pilgrimage tradition represents an important marker of Muslim presence and minority identity. This tradition is grounded in two interrelated processes: first, the creation of social cohesion among Muslims, particularly Muslim diasporic communities; and second, the reconstruction and negotiation of Muslim identity within a socio-political context shaped by Hindu cultural and demographic dominance (Slama, 2014). Bali Muslims come from several background: the Loloan in Jembrana are the descendants of 17th century Bugis and Mandar migrants, Pegayaman Muslims in Buleleng have roots traced to Javanese and Makassarese soldiers, while for groups in Denpasar city, or the port zone, they came from East Javanese and Madurese immigrants (Utami & Kohdrata, 2016; Punia & Nugroho, 2022; Wulandari, 2017). Pilgrimages to the Wali Pitu reaffirm the Islamic history of the archipelago and tie Bali to such centers as Demak, Gresik, and Cirebon. This pilgrim is more than just a wish to ask for a blessing. From pilgrims such as Sutopo from Nganjuk, they invoke a sense of interregional cooperation, while advocating halal tourism and familiarizing potential travelers with Indonesian Islam

Bali's uniqueness as a predominantly Hindu region places Muslims in a distinct symbolic position. Here pilgrimages do indeed encourage encounters between faiths. At least at Gelgel and Karangasem the Hindu population had been extraordinarily tolerant, going so far as to help with keeping burial sites clean and providing park and logistics support to pilgrims (Slama, 2014). In certain instances, Hindus also worship in the vicinity of these places and do not consider that to be a transgression of Islamic rules. This is a form of syncretic intercommunal spirituality, based on such Balinese values as *menyama braya* (universal kinship) and *tat tvam asi* (I am you) (Suadnyana, 2023). Hence, the pilgrimage Wali Pitu consolidates the internal Muslim and Muslim-non Muslim coexistence. Local woman Ni Wayan Putri said that she welcomes the pilgrims, arguing that they bring in the money. During peak pilgrimage periods,

including periods associated with Mawlid, pilgrimage sites can become highly crowded, creating practical challenges concerning space, mobility, and visitor management. Consequently, pilgrimage sites become spaces in which Muslim religious practices are negotiated in relation to local cultural norms and community expectations (Segara, 2019; Kamaluddin, et.al., 2026). Adaptation comes in the form of interfaith dialogue, cooperation among traditional and religious institutions, and an ethic that respects all.

Islamic teaching and Balinese culture. Pilgrimages turn into stages upon which these identity (Zuhri, 2022). For instance, balancing between wearing Balinese costume and performing Islamic rituals. The Wali Pitu tombs are also in many cases hybrid symbolic spaces, Islamic with Balinese customary values such as *banjar* organization, *gotong-royong* and village cleansing rituals. The involvement of Hindu community leaders and local customary institutions in the management or maintenance of some sites further demonstrates the negotiated character of these sacred spaces, although the extent of such involvement varies across locations (Geertz, 2017). Hence, Wali Pitu pilgrimage can be understood as a socially embedded practice through which religious identity, cultural belonging, and symbolic power are continuously negotiated. Rather than simply representing the accommodation of Islam to Balinese culture, the pilgrimage demonstrates how Muslim communities maintain religious distinctiveness while participating in the social and cultural life of a predominantly Hindu environment.

Spiritual Tourism and the Emerging Muslim Economy

Located in Bali, the tombs of Wali Pitu are sacred for Muslim believers and represent the island's plural religious identity, which includes Islam, religious syncretism, and indigenous spiritual rule. This tomb complex connects the isolated graves and keeps the memory, cultural link, and identity of the Muslim minority. Buried figures like ac scholars, sufis, traders, politician contributed to Islamization. Pilgrimage sites are also the source of economic welfare. At the tombs of Prince Mas Sepuh and Sheikh Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdi, the expanding number of pilgrims pushes the informal economy in souvenirs, halal food, lodging, and transport services. The Muslims and Hindus who live in this region's parochial villages work together in an interfaith praxis within this circular economy. Wider economic implications are found as well: Mosque committees, traditional village dwellers, and self-help organizations negotiate the logistics of sanitation, parking, offerings, and shuttles (Geertz, 1980). So, in effect, these sites are sacred places, and socio-economic catalyst.

However, challenges persist. The coordination between religious authorities, local governments and tourism players is patchy. Many sites are without sustainable management, depending on local initiatives and thus hindering the full economic potential spiritual tourism can offer (Adisastra & Prabawa, 2024). As reported I Made Irawan, a souvenir vendor in Denpasar, most of his biggest clients are Muslim pilgrims groups who also do pilgrimages while touring Bali as tourist attractions.

Spiritual tourist packages are also sold by tour operators from outside the island of Bali, in particular those based in Surabaya, Yogjakarta, and Lombok who package the Wali Pitu pilgrimage with tourist attraction stops in Bedugul, Tanah Lot and Sanur Beach. In these packages, spirituality is commercialized as part a holistic experience that mixes purification with leisure. Partnerships with local small and medium enterprises covering halal accommodation, Muslim-friendly catering and religious-themed handicrafts provide logistical arrangements and the local economy is also being lifted (Setiawan & Pahlevi, 2023). There, businesses like these are also pioneering

Islamic economics in Hindu-majority contexts, creating distinctive, interfaith economic engagements.

Local governments are also paying increasing attention to pilgrimage tourism as a potential component of regional tourism development. The district tourism offices of Karangasem and Buleleng have reportedly explored pilgrimage routes and related initiatives involving guide training, infrastructure development, and digital promotion aimed at Muslim visitors, including tourists from Malaysia, Brunei, and the Middle East. At the same time, such initiatives raise questions concerning the appropriate balance between tourism development and the preservation of religious sensitivities. Challenges include weak regulation, coordination difficulties between agencies, and promotional practices that may risk commodifying sacred sites or reducing their religious significance to tourism attractions (Zuhri, 2022).

In this way, such places are simultaneously sacred and economic ground. Based on Bourdieu's symbolic economy, these sites are spiritual-cultural-economic contestation spaces, motivating administrators to separate prayer space, limit traders, and pattern the site demands (Bourdieu, 2021). The promotional story has also changed. Once strictly limited to the sacred guardians, it now includes tourism potential, environmental friendliness, and ease of access (Choe & Mahyuni, 2023). This shift reflects changing patterns of Muslim mobility, particularly among younger visitors who may seek experiences that combine religious meaning, cultural exploration, and leisure. Spiritual tourism can therefore be understood as a contemporary form of religious mobility in which sacred practices increasingly intersect with tourism markets and digital forms of promotion.

Negotiating Sacred Space, Interfaith Relations, and Urban Tourism

The allure of pilgrimage to the Wali Pitu sites in Bali, demonstrates the peculiar convergence of two dominant contemporary social forces, religiosity and tourism. Pilgrimages have historically been sacred acts at least of spiritual significance, deep contemplation and reverence for the holy personages. Tourism, however, is directed more towards recreation, the experience of living, and the commoditization of cultural and environmental assets. The meeting point of these two logics at a single territory-based location creates both opportunities for and tensions within. There is a clear distinction between Muslim travellers and non-Muslim tourists at some Wali Pitu shrines. Pilgrims arrive with religious purpose: to say prayers, perform *tahlil* (religious remembrance) and *dhikr* (remembrance of God), and increasingly to spend the night as a way to deepen their piety. In the sociology of religion, such practices are held to be representative a homoreligious pursuit of transcendence.

Quite a few tombs are situated close to Bali tourist areas while pilgrims are compelled to create places of worship for secular tourists whose desires are directed at the architecture, culture and exoticism (Nyaupane et al., 2015). This coexistence will frequently lead to symbolic conflict. Pilgrims want solemnity; tourists get restless and stir-crazy, and in their bewilderment at where they are pick up their smartphone and take inappropriate photos, lecture one another about the correct posture for prayer, chatter to each other during rituals. These disruptions are indicative of the susceptibility of sacred values to the demands of the market driven mass tourism.

Education works hand in hand with spatial policy. Brochures, brief video presentations, and guide tours educate visitors about the sanctity of the saints' tombs and set clear expectations on etiquette, asking visitors to behave respectfully. A great many pilgrims, of course, but also the townsfolk whose homes and livelihoods depend on the pilgrimage tradition, have found ways to adjust creatively. For instance,

food stalls serve halal products to vegetarians and tourists who ask about culture. Souvenir shops fuse Islamic symbolism with Balinese artistic stylings, offering a line of products that transcends religious barriers. It is a unique economic setting where spirituality and tourism are not antithetical, but complementary. Long-term viability cannot be achieved through stop-gap measures alone. Li and Hunter recommend a participatory management framework encompassing religious communities, tourism stakeholders and government (Li & Hunter, 2015).

Pilgrimages are an intangible heritage and add to Bali's pluralistic identity. Just as the tombs of the Wali Pitu are not relics of Islamic history alone, they are also vibrant testimonies of interfaith tolerance and coexistence. To maintain them takes a joint dedication by Muslims and Hindus, whether in ways as interfaith festivals, in joint community service, or in endorsing pilgrimage sites as a shared heritage. In this fashion, tourism could exalt rather than deplete the sacred, transforming the sacred into a source of transboundary inspiration (Bourdieu, 2021).

D. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Wali Pitu pilgrimage is a dynamic contemporary social practice through which religious piety, spatial belonging, and socio-economic integration intersect. By examining this phenomenon through three analytical lenses, the research provides insights into the lives and experiences of Muslim minorities in Bali. First, in relation to contemporary Muslim identity, Wali Pitu pilgrimage serves as a space for historical remembrance, religious legitimation, and identity negotiation. Second, in relation to mobility and urban connectivity, the pilgrimage transforms sacred sites into nodes of interregional religious, social, and economic connection. Third, in relation to the negotiation of sacredness, tourism, and interfaith relations, the study reveals how Muslim religious practices coexist and interact with Bali's tourism-oriented environment while generating new forms of social and economic engagement.

Theoretically, this study contributes to contemporary urban Muslim studies by challenging conventional spatial understandings of Muslim urbanity. It argues that the practices of urban-connected Muslims should not be understood solely through the boundaries of dense, formal cities. Rather, they can be examined through a relational understanding of urban connectivity, characterized by the circulation of religious and economic capital, digital media, cross-regional mobility, tourism networks, and patterns of consumption that extend beyond formal urban boundaries into sacred and peripheral geographical spaces. From this perspective, Wali Pitu pilgrimage demonstrates how religious sites outside major urban centres can become connected to wider urban networks through mobility, tourism, digital communication, and economic exchange.

However, these findings should be interpreted within the scope and limitations of the study. Because the research focuses specifically on selected major Wali Pitu pilgrimage sites and draws on qualitative data from pilgrims, site custodians, local community members, and tourism-related actors, the findings primarily reflect the dynamics of pilgrimage-centred spiritual tourism and Muslim minority life in the selected locations. Future research could extend this study through comparative studies across different Muslim pilgrimage sites in Indonesia, mixed-methods or quantitative approaches to Muslim mobility and spiritual tourism, and more focused investigations of Muslim–Hindu relations at the neighbourhood and community levels in Bali. Such research could further illuminate how religion, mobility, tourism, and interfaith relations interact in shaping contemporary Muslim life beyond conventional urban boundaries.

E. Aknowledgements

The author wishes to express sincere gratitude to all the informants who generously shared their experiences and perspectives regarding the Wali Pitu pilgrimage in Bali. We also extend our thanks to the community and relevant parties for their invaluable support and assistance throughout the research process.

F. Author Contributions Statement

JP served as the principal author and main contributor, responsible for the research design, data analysis, and manuscript writing. MM responsible for the method and editing manuscript writing. AY contributing content revision to ensure academic coherence and clarity. SU conducted interviews with pilgrimage informants as part of the qualitative data collection. HB was responsible for data collection and fieldwork during the research process. All authors reviewed and approved the final manuscript.

G. References

Abdi, R. (2017). Flock with God, ally with money: Ziarah Wali as generator of local economy. *Nizham: Jurnal Studi Keislaman, 5*(2), 1–14.

Adisastra, N., & Prabawa, B. (2024). The strengthening the role of customary villages in spiritual tourism management in Bali. *Journal of Cultural Tourism and Religious Studies, 2*(1), 54–63. https://doi.org/10.25078/ride.v2i1.3623

Arifin, Toyib Zaen. 1998. *Sejarah Wujudnya Makam Sab'atul Auliya' (Wali Pitu) di Bali*. Ponpes Lirboyo.

Arjana, S. (2017). *Pilgrimage in Islam: Traditional and Modern Practices*. Oneworld Academic.

Asmara, A. (2014). *Makam Keramat Karang Rupit Syekh Abdul Qadir Muhammad (The Kwan Lie) di Desa Temukus Labuan Aji Banjar, Buleleng Bali (Perspektif sejarah dan pengembangannya sebagai objek wisata spiritual)*. UNP Ganesha.

Berger, P. L. (2011). *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Anchor Books.

Bourdieu, P. (2021). *The Forms of Capital*. Polity Press.

Choe, J., & Mahyuni, L. (2023). Sustainable and inclusive spiritual tourism development in Bali as a long-term post-pandemic strategy. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, 11*(2), 100–111. https://doi.org/10.21427/BP1V-GZ27

Cohen, E. (1998). Tourism and religion: A comparative perspective. *Pacific Tourism Review, 2*(1), 1–10.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*(3), 371–386. https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(88)90028-X

De Jong, H. (2014). Pilgrimages and local Islam on Java. *Studia Islamika, 5*(2), 151–175. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v5i2.751

Durkheim, E. (2014). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Eade, J., & Sallnow, M. J. (1991). *Contest of the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1086/489033

Erni, B. (2015). The role of Wali, ancient mosques and sacred tombs in the dynamics of Islamisation in Lombok. *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature & Heritage, 3*(1), 17–46. https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v3i1.18

Geertz, C. (2017). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (1980). *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton University Press.

Hefner, R. W. (2011). Religious practice and identity in Indonesia's Muslim minority communities. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 42*(3), 441–460. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463411000291

Kamaluddin, Amirullah, M., Savitri, A., Ihsan, A., & Kayadibic, S. (2026). Reconsidering models of Islamic sub-economy in urban Indonesia: Developmental ethics or neoliberal logic? *Akademika Jurnal Pemikiran Islam, 31* (1), 133-152. https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v31i1.12811

Khairuddin, K., & Sukarno, F. (2023). Wali Pitu, Bali Province as tourism innovation for the Indonesian halal tourism destinations. *Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism, 13*(4(60)), 1194–1205. https://doi.org/10.14505/jemt.v13.4(60).17

Kiriana, I., Kholiq, A., Dasih, I., & Widiasih, N. (2025). Sacred sites: Between Islamic and Hindu traditions in Indonesia (A comparative study of sacredness, rituals, and symbolism). *Journal of Posthumanism, 5*(5), 3127–3145. https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i5.1710

Laksana, A. (2014). *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices: Explorations Through Java*. Routledge.

Li, Y., & Hunter, C. (2015). Community involvement for sustainable heritage tourism: A conceptual model. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development, 5*(3), 248–262. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-08-2014-0027

Masduki, A. (2017). Pilgrimage as a new way to define and characterize the sainthood. *Dinika: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies, 3*(2), 103–122. https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v3i2.114

Mulki, Z., & Kusroni. (2024). Spiritual journeys and community dynamics: Pilgrimage, religious tourism, and the pursuit of Ma'rifah in contemporary Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Philosophy and Contemporary Thought, 2*(2), 214–234. https://doi.org/10.15642/jipct.2024.2.2.214-234

Nuraini, A. (2020). *Ziarah dan jaringan Islam Nusantara*. LKiS.

Nyaupane, G., Dallen, T., & Surya, P. (2015). Understanding tourists in religious destinations: A social distance perspective. *Tourism Management, 48*(1), 343–353. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.12.009

Punia, N., & Nugroho, W. (2022). Pola dan strategi akulturasi masyarakat Islam-Jawa dengan Hindu-Bali di Desa Pegayaman. *Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies), 12*(2), 238–258. https://doi.org/10.24843/JKB.2022.v12.i02.p02

Quinn, G. (2024). Wali Pitu and Muslim pilgrimage in Bali, Indonesia: Inventing a sacred tradition, by Syaifudin Zuhri. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania, 180*(1), 129–136. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-18001009

Segara, N. (2019). Ngempon: The role-sharing strategy of Hindus and Muslims in Bhur Bwah Swah Temple, Karangasem, Bali. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-isu Sosial Budaya, 21*(2), 150–158. https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v21.n2.p150-158.2019

Setiawan, R., & Pahlevi, M. (2023). Potensi perkembangan halal food di Denpasar Bali. *Gemawisata Jurnal Ilmiah Pariwisata, 19*(1), 34–39. https://doi.org/10.56910/gemawisata.v19i1.269

Slama, Martin. (2014) "From Wali Songo to Wali Pitu: The Travelling of Islamic Saint Veneration to Bali." In *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority–Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok*, edited by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and David D. Harnish, 112-143, Brill.

Smith, V. L. (1992). Introduction: The guest in guest. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and*

guests: The anthropology of tourism (2nd ed., pp. 1–17). University of Pennsylvania Press. https://doi.org/10.1177/004728759002900114

Suadnyana, K. (2023). Exploring the concept of menyama braya: The cultural heritage of Hindu and Islamic communities in Pegayaman Village. *Muslim Education Review Journal, 2*(2), 404–422. https://doi.org/10.56529/mer.v2i2.198

Sumarja, M., Suryawati, C., Armini, G., Nuryahman, & Sumerheni, G. (2016). *Sejarah Masuknya Islam dan Perkembangan Pemukiman Islam di Desa Kecicang, Kabupaten Karangasem, Provinsi Bali*. Kepel Press.

Tohari, A. (2021). Construction of the Wali Pitu's sacredness and Islamic veneration in Balinese Hindu civilization. *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies, 7*(2), 123–136. https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v7i2.4722

Turner, V., & Turner, E. (1995). *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0360966900016558

Umami, S. (2023). *Syiar Islam Habib Ali bin Umar bin Abu Bakar Bafaqih di Desa Loloan, Kecamatan Negara, Kabupaten Jembrana, Bali Tahun 1928–1999 M*. UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

Utami, W., & Kohdrata, N. (2016). Identifikasi keunikan lansekap Kampung Loloan di Jembrana. *Jurnal Arsitektur Lansekap, 2*(1), 41–51.

Woodward, M. R. (2011). *Java, Indonesia and Islam*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0056-7

Wulandari, R. (2017). Aktualisasi masyarakat Kampung Islam Kepaon di Desa Pemogan Denpasar. *Asketik: Jurnal Agama dan Perubahan Sosial, 1*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.30762/asketik.v1i1.1097

Yuantoro, S., Semerajaya, C., & Kohdrata, N. (2019). Identifikasi lanskap vernakular di Kampung Kusamba, Klungkung, Bali. *Jurnal Arsitektur Lansekap, 5*(1), 47–56. https://doi.org/10.24843/JAL.2019.v05.i01.p06

Zuhri, S. (2022). *Wali Pitu and Muslim pilgrimage in Bali, Indonesia: Inventing a sacred tradition*. Leiden University Press. https://doi.org/10.24415/9789400604315