CULTURAL-BASED TOURISM IN CIREBON:
A STUDY OF COMMODIFICATION IN CULTURAL TOURISM

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ABSTRACT. The people of Cirebon have various religious, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, they can live harmoniously in such diversity. Cirebon is interesting to explore due to its abundant culture-based tourism. However, in the tourism industry, the process of commodification is inevitable as part of current development. Therefore, this study employed a qualitative method using historical, social, and cultural commodification approaches expected to provide a better overview and information regarding culture-based tourism in Cirebon. The commodification of culture allows cultural forms to be a tradable commodity. It changes culture as originally a social relationship into culture as an economic relationship. Thus, it is important to apply historical and social approaches in the study to determine the existence of cultural heritage. This encourages the researchers to further discover the extent to which commodification is implemented in the culture-based tourism industry in Cirebon, aiming to provide information to the public to give more attention as well as participate in preserving cultural heritage in the midst of the challenges of modern times. The results of this study show an overview of cultural tourism in Cirebon, in which various elements of society are expected to help preserve and maintain culture as self-identity.

Keywords: Cultural Tourism; Commodification; Cirebon

INTRODUCTION

Considering the vastness of West Java, it is reasonable for this study to focus on only one city with quite a variety of external cultural influences, namely Cirebon. This city was selected because, as a port city, a trading center, and a center for the spread of Islam in West Java, Cirebon has a relatively long period of contact with foreign cultures.

The topography of Cirebon includes coastal areas, lowlands, and highlands or mountains. The climate is generally tropical with a temperature of up to 32.5°C from June to October. It is located between 108°E and 9°S at 0-130 meters above sea level. The average rainfall is 1,963 mm/year and the humidity reaches its peak in May, reaching 945. The highest rainfall occurs in the central and southern areas, namely the hilly areas at the foot of Mount Cereme (Dahuri, et al., 2004).

The coastal areas of Cirebon are located in the northern and eastern parts of Cirebon. Due to the natural conditions of coastal areas, the climate tends to be hot. Covering a coastline of approximately 170 km, Cirebon is the producer of abundant fish and their processed products. Meanwhile, the lowlands and highlands of Cirebon cover 9,180 hectares of rice fields and 2,550 hectares of moor areas, constituting a wide and fertile stretch of agricultural and plantation...
areas producing an abundance of good quality main products such as rice, sugar cane, vegetables, coffee, and wood (Raffles, 2014).

Due to the extensive beaches and plains, supported by plentiful water sources, approximately 200 large and small rivers, and a good irrigation system, Cirebon with its potential allow the community to have various livelihoods based on the conditions offered by the areas they live on. Those living in coastal areas are mostly fishermen, while those living in lowlands and highlands work in agriculture and plantation sector, in addition to small- and large-scale trade.

Specific to the coastal areas of Cirebon, the history shows shipping and trading activities since the 14th and 15th centuries in coastal kingdoms such as Majapahit, Malacca, Aceh, Demak, Tuban, Banten, Bali, Timor, Kutai, South Kalimantan, Makassar, Maluku, including Cirebon. These places were trade centers in the Indonesian archipelago as well as other countries including Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, China, India, Arabia, Syria, East Africa, and Europe (Wardaya, 2006). In other words, Cirebon that is geographically located in the north coast of Java and also a route connecting several major cities on the island of Java, allow both domestic (between islands) and international (between countries) trade. The port of Cirebon is strategically located in a bay protected by the Indramayu peninsula and offshore reefs from the waves crashing from the northern Java Sea (Sulistiyono, 1997). In the historical context of Cirebon, these three geographical factors, namely the coastal areas, highlands, and lowlands, were important for the perpetuation of the power of the colonial government.

The aforementioned brief description of the historical development of Cirebon indirectly shapes the social order of the community of Cirebon. This description is certainly an important part to ensure that readers understand the social dynamics of the community of Cirebon that undoubtedly contribute to various aspects of culture in Cirebon.

In terms of the tourism industry, Cirebon is a considerably interesting city to study considering its variety of culture-based tourism. In addition to Cirebon, cultural tourism also develops in various areas with a strong cultural existence.

In cultural tourism, it is not only the local community who attempts to understand the cultural heritage as the tourism object, but also the international community. In this regard, cultural heritage is considered as a cultural capital in the development of cultural tourism (Richard 1999, in Syamyati, 2018). In several cases, efforts for revitalization, reconstruction, and conservation are no longer the benchmarks to guarantee that cultural heritage can survive amidst the dynamic and developing community. Thus, the process of commodification of culture in the tourism industry is unavoidable.

This study aims to determine the variety of culture-based tourism in Cirebon. In addition, this study is expected to provide an overview of the commodification activities carried out to maintain the existing cultural heritage, allowing the community to participate in cultural preservation in the midst of the challenges of the modern times.

**METHOD**

This research uses qualitative methods, in which qualitative research seeks to construct reality and understand its meaning. A qualitative study aims to describe and analyze the phenomena, events, thinking, and social activities of a group or individual (Sukmadinata, 2010: 60). So that qualitative research usually pays great attention to processes, events and authenticity. Data collection techniques used in this method are observation, interviews, and documentation. The data used in this study were obtained from literature related to the research topic as well as field observations through interviews, documentation, and direct observations to Cirebon.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Cirebon experienced continuous changes in government until the 20th century. It ultimately affects the territory of Cirebon as a sovereign kingdom, a residency, a district, or a city. The long journey of Cirebon that has witnessed various historical events has not only left administrative records, but also a numerous amount of cultural heritage. This cultural heritage, later becoming invaluable (tangible and intangible) assets in the life of community deserves more attention, preservation, and development. The cultural heritage that coexists with the community up to the present time is referred to as an Object of Advancement of Culture by the government to be developed as an effort to strengthen the nation and the country from various external cultural influences.

**Culture-Based Tourism in Cirebon**

Tourism is frequently associated with various recreational activities or travel and tourists. In Indonesia, the tourism sector provides enormous foreign exchange benefits for the country. Therefore, tourism is supposed to be a constant concern of the government to be continuously developed.
According to Utama (2015), tourism is a variety of activities supported by various facilities provided by various elements of community including the Regional Government. The word pariwisata for tourism in bahasa is derived from two syllables in Sanskrit, namely Pari and wisata. Pari means full or whole, numerous times, or complete, while wisata means travel. Similar opinion is also expressed by Yoeti (1996) that tourism is an activity of traveling in circles or repeatedly from one place to another.

In various regions, there are numerous types of tourism sector, from nature tourism to cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is a tourism sector that utilizes culture as the main attraction. In addition to helping the community to preserve their cultural heritage, cultural tourism also provides economic opportunities for the local community.

In cultural tourism, tourists are invited to see the representation of local values and wisdom in traditional arts, traditional crafts, traditional attire, cultural heritage buildings, and typical culinary delights of the local community of the culture concerned. Cultural tourism includes all aspects of travel for tourists studying the lifestyle and other thoughts outside their culture as a form of understanding of the differences as well as various aesthetic values contained therein (Prasodjo, 2017).

Cirebon is an area that has abundant cultural potential as tourism assets. The long history of Cirebon allows the city to have the most important cultural dynamics in West Java.

In addition to being the center of the spread of Islam in West Java, Cirebon also has a great number of cultural properties because of the port of Cimanuk. The port served as an entrance for the acculturation of local culture with foreign culture due to social interactions with traders from various regions.

Mappi (Prasodjo, 2007) further states several aspects included as the objects of cultural tourism, including: rites, traditional arts, traditional attire, cultural heritage buildings, traditional fabrics (such as woven fabrics), local textile products, historical and cultural museums, and other local customs. In this regard, the authors added traditional crafts and culinary specialties of Cirebon. Traditional crafts are normally sought by tourist for souvenirs. Meanwhile, the typical culinary delights of Cirebon are inseparable part of traveling activities. The following is the description regarding culture-based tourism in Cirebon:

1. Rites

The rites that develop in Cirebon are generally related to life and religious rites. Of the life rites in Cirebon is selametan manten (celebration following the wedding) that involves various sacred rituals to wish the newlyweds a smooth and safe marriage life. Meanwhile, religious rites include birth and death rites. Rites are closely related to traditional ceremonies or rituals. Traditional ceremonies are cultural activities that represent the noble values of a group of people as a cultural community. However, traditional ceremonies can also be interpreted as a formal cultural mechanism carried out to survive in the midst of a dynamic community where values are preserved and passed on from generation to generation (Mail, 2020).

2. Traditional Arts

There are several arts originating from Cirebon including Wayang and Mask Dance. Wayang kulit or shadow puppets is one of the most popular traditional performances in Java. Wayang kulit has existed since ancient Javanese times, yet the current performances we know belong to the Islamic period (Koesoemadinata, 2012).

Observed from a theoretical perspective, there are four patterns of interaction in the relations between local culture and Islam in Indonesia. First, Islam comes by considering tradition, meaning it does not oppose but rather appreciating and using the existing traditions as a means of spreading religion. Second, Islam comes not to interfere with any religion or belief but rather coexisting with one another. Third, Islam comes to dynamize the outdated traditions in order that they can be accepted as a “religion”. Fourth, Islam becomes a tradition and thus people do not easily leave Islam (Masroer, 2015).

Figure 1. Wayang Kulit Performance in Cirebon

The ancient Javanese people are able to create objects of worship such as statues as a means of summoning the spirits of their ancestors. This ceremony is called Hyang, believed to be able to provide help and protection but also punish and harm humans. The word Hyang is also associated with the origin of the word wayang. Wayang also means shadow as the audience watches the performance.
rear-projected on kelir, a taut white linen, with an oil or electric lamp (blencong). Wayang performance stages the Mahabharata and Ramayana stories regarding the love life of kings and knights and the stories of Bharatayuddha war (Masroer, 2015).

Wayang kulit of Cirebon is made mainly of cow or buffalo skin stretched on a bamboo frame and given a handle called cempuri, allowing the puppeteer (dhalang) to move it and stick it on a banana trunk. Each has a distinctive shape, face, and color according to their respective characteristics and nature. Wayang kulit of Cirebon is also commonly known as Wayang Purwa as it is considered as the earliest type of wayang (purwa means beginning).

Wayang kulit is played by the puppeteer (dhalang) as the director and narrator with different voices and accents according to the characters being played. Wayang performances are always accompanied by gamelan music played by a group of niyaga (gamelan players) and tembang (song) sung by pasindhen (Javanese singer) (Masroer, 2015).

In its development, wayang kulit has undergone several changes and shifts. The changes in the center of royal power in Java have influenced and diversified the visual of wayang into various distinctive styles, starting from Betawi, Cirebon, Kedu, Banyumanis, Yogyakarya, Surakarta, to East Java. Observed more closely, wayang kulit artefacts from Cirebon are assumed to represent the early stages of the development of wayang kulit in Java during the Islamic period. It is proven by the appearance of wayang kulit of Cirebon and Bali, a transition of wayang of Java from pre-Islamic era to the Islamic era. The distinctive shape of wayang kulit of Cirebon has inspired craftsmen of wayang kulit (Javanese singer) (Masroer, 2015).

To Cohen (1997), wayang kulit of Cirebon is still considered “terra incognita” or “unknown areas”, hence the necessity of further research and discussion.

Meanwhile, Mask (Topeng) Dance is one of the surviving traditional arts of Cirebon. Topeng comes from the word tup that means cover added with the word eng to form the word topeng (Lasmiyanti, 2011). According to Prof. Vreede in Somatri (1979), topeng is derived from the word ping, peng, and pung that means attached and pressed tightly. Mask is a guise (kedhok) attached and the individual wearing it is guised (Lasmiyanti, 2011). A similar opinion is stated by Amsar (2009) that the people of Cirebon refers to topeng as kedhok. The dancers perform the story of Panji by covering their faces with masks (Rohmani & Nurasih, 2019). Pigeaud divides masks into two types, namely Groot Maskerspel and Kleine Maskerspel. Groot Maskerspel is a mask performance with a story. Meanwhile, Kleine Maskerspel is a mask performance that only presents a single dance of Panji characters, also called Topeng Babakan. Thus, the mask dance is a dance performance in which the dancers wear masks (kedhok) and a head covering called sobrah (Lasmiyanti, 2011).

Masks are used not only as entertainment, but also as a medium for the spread of Islam (Kartika, 1999, p. 12). Mask Dance is estimated to enter Cirebon around the 14th or 15th century, coinciding with the arrival of Islam in Cirebon. Initially, mask dance performances were held in group travelling from one place or village to another (bebarang or ngamen). Following the entry of Islam, mask dance performances function not only as a medium for spreading Islam but also as a means of education and entertainment for the community (Rohmani & Nurasih, 2019). In the spread of Islam, the mask dance is symbolized into four levels, namely sharia, tariqa, haqiqa, and marifa. The first or highest level, namely marifa, represents through Panji Mask how humans remain grateful and tawakkul when receive either blessings or trials. At the second level, namely haqiqa, represented by Parmindo Mask, humans understand the rights as creatures of Allah and the rights of Allah. Third, tariqa that is represented by Tumenggung Mask, in which humans consequently carry out the teachings of Islam both from the Al-Qur’an and hadiths. Lastly, the fourth level or sharia depicts humans in the stage of loving the world, represented by Kelana Mask (Kartika, 1999, p. 52 in Lasmiyanti, 2011). This is also in line with Rachman and Almanfaluthi (2018) that basically masks represent each human character as follows:

1. Panji describes holy people as wise, just, and good prabhu or leaders.
2. Samba describes women, the world, property, and luxury. Therefore, the dance is agile and full of motion and rhythm.
3. Tumenggung describes the life attitude of brave, dedicated, loyal, and responsible warriors and heroes.
4. Kelana/Rawana describes anger, greed, and ambition, but it is also full of worldly symbols.

To sustain the mask dance and preserve the meaning contained therein, the collaboration of all children of the nation is required. They need to familiarize themselves with and deepen their understanding of their own culture. It obviously needs to be carried out consistently since the advances in technology and information offer various types of arts, encouraging people to prefer modern arts rather than traditional ones (Lasmiyanti, 2011).

Another popular art from Cirebon is Sintren, a traditional art that develops in the northern coastal areas of Java Island. Sintren is assumed to have originally been part of a religious procession emerging during the animism and dynamism era or the Hindu Buddhist era and become a medium to approach the ancestor called Batara Tunggal (Nurlelasari, 2017). Nowadays, Sintren is frequently performed as a cultural attraction at certain celebrations in Cirebon.

3. Traditional Attire

The traditional attire of Cirebon is not quite different from the traditional attire typical of West Java. However, in the present era, traditional attire is only worn in formal events, traditional ceremonies, and wedding ceremonies. Otherwise, the community wears more conditional clothes in accordance with the changing times.

Cirebon has three wedding attire, namely Pangeranan, Kebesaran, and Abah Abah Bondan. Pangeranan and Kebesaran wedding attire are inspired by the nobility of Keraton Kesepuhan and Keraton Kanoman, while Abah Bondan wedding attire is the wedding attire of the ordinary people. Pangeranan and Kebesaran wedding attire is dominated by green and yellow that symbolize fertility and greatness, while Abah-Abah Bondan wedding attire is simple attire dominated by purple (Widianti, 2014).

4. Cultural Heritage Buildings

The following are cultural heritage buildings in Cirebon based on the Decree of the Mayor: Cirebon City Hall, Residency Building, Pavilion of Cirebon District, Bank Indonesia Building, Bank Mandiri (Bank Dagang Negara) Building, Former Building of Indonesian Navy Base, Al-Athya (Abang) Mosque or the Red Mosque of Panjunan, Sang Cipta Rasa Great Mosque, Baitul Karim (Pesambangan) Mosque, Talang Temple, Winaon Temple, Dewi Welas Asih Temple, Bala Keselamatan Church, Catholic Church of St. Joseph, Kejaksaan Railway Station, Perujakan Railway Station, PT. BAT Company Building, Perujakan Weaving Factory, Regional Water Utility Company (PDAM) Tower of Parujakan, Cirebon Waterland Ade Irma Suryani, Gunung Jati General Hospital, SD Negeri Pulasaren, PT. VTP Yala Githa Tama Warehouse, Bank BNI (Bank Syariah) Warehouse, Bank Exim Warehouse, Custom and Excise Warehouse, Jalan Benteng Warehouse, Petilasan Sunan Kalijaga, Tomb of Syeikh Maulana Maghribi, Wiracula (Sam Cay Kong) Tomb, Tjipta Niaga (Persero) Building, PT. DPC Gapenci Building, PT. AVON Building, Former Building of Grand Hotel, PT Pos Indonesia Office Building, SMP Negeri 1 Cirebon, SMP Negeri 15 Cirebon, SMP Negeri 16 Cirebon, SPK and AKPER of Health Department, PT.VTP Banda Ghana Reksa Building, Jalan Kesunean Building, Jalan Sisimangaraja Building, Tomb of Syeikh Lemah Abang, Regional Water Utility Company (PDAM) Tower of Tuparev, At Taqwa Grand Mosque, Gadjah Hotel, SD Negeri Kebon Baru, SMP Negeri 1 Cirebon, Monument of Independence, Cirebon Prison Class 1, Suspected Findings of Cultural Heritage Objects/Sites, Pangeran Suryanegara-Wanacala Tomb, Sunur Kramat and Pangeran Makdum Tomb, Panjang Tomb, Pangeran Drajat Tomb, Bong Cina (Tan An Sin)- Th.1863 Kutiong Wacanala Tomb, Former Official House, Syeikh Birawa Tomb and Mosque, Tajug Agung Pangeran Kejaksan, Sumur Katandan, Makam Keramat Suradinaya, and Sunyaragi Cave.

Sunyaragi Cave is the most interesting cultural heritage object to study. It is a complex of ancient buildings, namely a former sari garden and guesthouse. It is included in Sunyaragi Village, Kesambi Subdistrict, Cirebon, standing on land belonging to Keraton Kesepuhan for generations.
Dominated by a great number of hollow buildings and winding and dark passages that resemble caves, the site is thus known as Sunyaragi Cave. In fact, it is *klangenan* or *taman sari*, whose main function is seclusion. Thus, it is also known as Taman Klangenan Sunyaragi (*Sunya* means serene or quiet, *ragi* means *raga* (body)).

Sunyaragi Cave has been visited by numerous local and foreign tourists. This tourism object provides a unique and distinctive impression, and the Instagrammable appearance of the building attracts the attention of millennials to take selfies or pre-wedding photos. Therefore, Sunyaragi Cave also provides opportunities for contemporary researchers to conduct further studies of one of the most popular tourism objects in Cirebon.

Sunyaragi Cave is one of the tourism objects loved by young people. A tourism object, as the name implies, is an object owned by a tourist destination. One of the most important parts of tourism is the existence of tourist attractions. They are essentially vital components to attract tourists, thus they must have unique or distinctive features as the reflection of the local culture of the area where they are located (Raharja, 2019). Therefore, increasing the number of tourist attractions can actually be a solution for the development of the Sunyaragi Cave.

5. **Traditional Fabrics (Local Textile Products)**

One of the most famous crafts from Cirebon is batik. Trusmi and Kalitengah are the central areas for batik development in Cirebon. Observing from the patterns, Cirebon batik has two patterns, namely keraton (palace) and coastal patterns. The pattern of keraton is inseparable from the existence of Keraton Kanoman and Keraton Kasepuhan. As the name suggests, the pattern is originated from the culture of the palace influenced by Hinduism and Islam (Handayani, 2018).

Keraton batik has the characteristics of white (basic), blue (indigo), and brown (soga) with various mythological patterns, natural scenery with rocks or buildings that have developed in Cirebon such as Paksinaga Liman, Singa Barong, Taman Arum, Naga Seba, and Sunyaragi. In addition to the patterns, keraton batik is generally arranged horizontally in three stripes depicting the top, middle, and bottom ranks. The horizontal depiction of nature adopts the spatial concept in the Chinese perspective, positioning far (distance) at the top and close (distance) at the bottom, with the similar stress on color. Coastal batik (bang-birong) is synonymous with red and blue with a variety of flora or fauna motifs. It is dyed twice, red first and then blue. Occasionally, it is dyed yellow. Thus, there will be a mixture of red, blue, black, and green with a white base. Another batik is Basurek batik. It is rare because it depicts spiritual symbols such as Arabic calligraphy as well as verses from the Al-Quran or prayers in Arabic (Martin, 2013).

The traditional style is characterized by a variety of distinctive patterns of Cirebon: flexible and moderately complex at the level of quality batik. Keraton batik is included as the traditional style of Cirebon batik. However, there are no strict restrictions on the use of both keratin and coastal batik patterns. In general, each pattern has been recognized to have a certain philosophy, thus several patterns are considered suitable for certain ceremonies only (Handayani, 2018).

6. **Historical and Cultural Museum**

According to Lord (1991) in Nufus (2012), a museum is an institution that collects, records, preserves, and presents objects with notable values in life, both tangible and intangible, including arts and cultural objects, historical objects, and science. One of the museums in Cirebon is Keraton Kasepuhan Heritage Museum. This museum stores a collection of heirlooms, currently amounting to 1000 items.

Tourists visiting Keraton Kasepuhan will usually visit the Heritage Museum located within the area of keraton. They can also hire a guide facilitated by Keraton Kasepuhan.

7. **Traditional crafts**

Traditional crafts in Cirebon include painted glass, rattan, batik, mask, relief, and decorative glass. Painted glass is frequently discovered in a number of regions, each of which has its own characteristics.

Generally, artists paint on paper. However, Cirebon artists have no limit in stating their artistic expression. Utilizing advanced technique and color gradations as well as decorative touches, Cirebon artists are able to produce a valuable work of art in the form of beautiful painting on glass that is unique to Cirebon.

Glass painting techniques are inseparable from the influence of the foreign nations, such as Arabs, Chinese, Persians, and Indians. The making of painted glass begins with the final stroke of the painting behind the glass to produce bright colors (Sunaryo, 1999).

Initially, glass painting was related to magical beliefs. Displaying glass paintings at homes symbolizing that the homeowners are devout Muslims since glass paintings contain religious values such as mosques, calligraphy, and others (Wulandari, 2012).

In addition to painted glass, rattan handicrafts can be found in shops along the arterial roads of
Cirebon, precisely Jalan Tegalwangi (Bambang, 2002). Artistic, unique, exclusive, and functional are the impressions that will be obtained when we see rattan crafts with a unique wood texture, ‘transformed’ by Cirebon artists into crafts with a high artistic value and international-export quality.

The next craft is the typical mask of Cirebon, carved on wood in the shape of a human face with certain characters. In addition to being part of the costume in mask dance, the people of Cirebon consider masks to have a deep philosophical meaning, symbolize human characters in general, and contain wise messages of life.

Metal relief crafts are also popular and distinctive works of art of Cirebon artists. Various choices of shapes and sizes will provide your home with an enhancing look. The reliefs most favored by domestic and foreign tourists are those of historical buildings, animals (arowana fish, dragons, etc.), and natural scenery.

On the other hand, decorative glass crafts in Cirebon also attract a great number of tourists. They are made of glass known as stained glass or inlaid glass that will provide artistic and elegant character to your room, office, or home.

### Typical Culinary of Cirebon

Supposing classified one by one, the typical traditional culinary of Cirebon will be plentiful. The ones that are legendary and on demand are *empal gentong*, *nasi jamblang*, and *tahu gejrot*. Other culinary specialties of Cirebon are *kalang* (bat) satay, skin crackers, *tjampoly* syrup, melinjo chips, and Cirebon shrimp paste (Eva et al, 2015).

Generally, tourists visiting Cirebon will try several of these specialties, particularly *empal gentong*, known to have a delicious and savory taste.

### Commodification in Cultural Tourism

The era of globalization have impelled people to adjust to the entry of new cultures and various practical tools. Foreign culture poses a challenge for local culture. Various practical tools based on information, communication, and technology encourage industrialization oriented towards market. Massive production process is unavoidable, including commodification in cultural tourism (Irianto, 2016).

Commodification is a process whose standard is determined by the owner of capital with market parameters, where all types of culture deemed possible for cultural production are made into commodities. According to Curran (1996), commodification is the main tool to transform social relations into economic relations (Widyastuti 2011). Cultural forms that were originally meaningful social relations containing values and norms for the adhering community become objects that can be consumed by the general public and produce commercial values. Various cultures labeled with commercial values automatically transform them into economic relations that will increase the economy of the local community.

On the other hand, cultural heritage may be damaged due to inappropriate commodification, reconstruction, or revitalization that is carried out by referring to market standardization only, becoming a mere special tourist attractions (Syamyati, 2018). Therefore, in the process of making a culture an object of tourism, intervention is needed not only from the government, but also of the adhering community, preventing cultural heritage in tourism from losing its authenticity.

One form of culture that is commodified for the benefit of the tourism industry is traditional arts. Traditional arts contain local knowledge and wisdom of the supporting community. In this regard, traditional arts are then packaged into cultural objects that follow market rules as a tradable commodity (Irianto, 2016).

The heavily influenced traditional art is the mask dance. Over time, the mask dance has changed due to the changes in the mask-making craftsmen, gradually altering the characters of masks and accessories used during performances (Rachman & Almanfaluthi, 2018). Masks are not only part of the costume of mask dance, but also souvenirs. It is inseparable from the tourism sector. The tourists come to not only watch the mask dance but also bring the mask home as a souvenir. According to Rachman & Almanfaluthi (2018), the characteristics of masks as souvenirs are: (1) imitation of the original, (2) short, solid, or the miniature of the original, (3) having a wide of variety, (4) containing no sacred, magical, or symbolic values, and (5) Inexpensive. The making of the souvenir is part of the commodification, transforming the masks from merely enjoyable to collectable.

Commodification is also evident in traditional crafts such as batik. Batik is a culture that has been passed down from generation to generation. Once produced traditionally and worn by the royal family only, batik is currently mass-produced to meet market needs. The once long process of making batik now is shortened by the emergence of a practical tool and technology that introduces printed batik to the community. On the one hand, batik has lost its exclusivity, yet on the other hand batik has become a well-known national icon recognized by the international community.

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In its development, Cirebon batik has undergone changes both from within (internal) and outside (external). The internal factors are the changes in the perspective of the craftsmen concerning their batik business activities, such as from cultural institutions, fashion designers, information media, and tourism. Meanwhile, the external factors are the contribution of knowledge, techniques, skills, and ideas applied by craftsmen as creative innovations (Handayani, 2018).

This development has an impact on the commodification carried out by craftsmen to be able to adapt to the changes in the lives of the community as it is an obvious solution to maintain the existence of batik business. Batik is not only found in the form of sarong or fabric, but also various types of clothing adjusted to the fashion style of the community. The changes in the need for certain types of clothing have resulted in the commercialization of batik that requires speed and purchasing power (Handayani, 2018). Therefore, the emergence of new technologies in batik influence the commodification of batik in ideas, manufacturing process, and the batik products produced.

**CONCLUSION**

Cultural heritage of Cirebon is significantly diverse. It is evidence of how culture is strongly ingrained in the life of the people of Cirebon. The current development and technology pose a challenge for the existence of culture in various regions, including Cirebon.

Cultural Tourism is one of the efforts to preserve cultural heritage. Meanwhile, commodification as a result of the changing times is a strategy to maintain cultural heritage.

It is undeniable that culture-based tourism with commodification is similar to a double-edged knife. On the one hand, cultural tourism that transforms culture from social relations into economic relations can help the economy of the local community and maintain the existence of existing cultural heritage. However, on the other hand, commodification can eliminate the exclusivity of a once sacred culture, transforming it into a mass culture. Cultural tourism can also cause damage to cultural objects as a result of improper management.

Therefore, the cultural tourism sector does not only involve the government and entrepreneurs, but also the adhering community. It is important for a culture to maintain its authenticity despite the process of commodification carried out to be able to compete with the variety of new culture. In this regard, the authors hope that cultural adjustment to market demand does not necessarily eliminate cultural identity as culture is the reflection of the identity of a group of traditional people who are part of the wealth and pride of a nation.

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