

## THE SYMBOLS AND MYTHS OF RICE IN SASAK'S CULTURE

### A Portrait of Hybrid Islam in Lombok<sup>1</sup>

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#### *Abstract*

*This article aims at discussing two important points of rice ethnophilosophy in Sasak society. First, it explains how various symbols of language and culture and local myths of rice in agricultural Sasak society experienced reinterpretation over key concepts of Islamic Worldview. Second, it illuminates how those modified symbols and myths in Sasak society contains similarities with the ones in Malay culture as recorded in Hikayat Asay Pade manuscript and Kitab Berladang. The study uses ethnohermeneutic method in reading the text in the context of Sasak culture. The result shows some points of transformation in the symbols and myths about rice in Sasak culture after being adapted to Islamic Worldview. The reinterpretation clarifies a spirited ethnophilosophy about harmony and equilibration of human life with nature and God. Adaptation conducted by the Islamic carrier among the agricultural Sasak society at the beginning of Islamic influence exemplifies how the spreading of Islam was undertaken peacefully through the confirmation of symbols and local myths to maintain stability and harmony.*

*[Tulisan ini mendiskusikan tentang simbol (bahasa dan budaya) dan mitos padi lokal dalam masyarakat Sasak agraris yang mengalami reinterpretasi*

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*setelah konsep-konsep kunci Islamic worldview mulai diadaptasi dan disebarkan oleh para penyebar Islam awal di kalangan petani tradisional. Selanjutnya, didiskusikan pula tentang persinggungan simbol dan mitos lokal Sasak tersebut (setelah mengalami reinterpretasi dengan konsep-konsep kunci Islam) dengan budaya Melayu yang terekam dalam manuskrip Hikayat Asay Pade dan Kitab Berladang. Berdasarkan hasil pembacaan dengan metode etnohermeneutik dapat dipahami tentang apa saja hasil reinterpretasi masyarakat Sasak agraris mengenai simbol dan mitos padi lokal setelah mengalami persentuban dan penyesuaian dengan Islamic worldview. Hasil reinterpretasi tersebut menjelaskan pandangan budaya (etnofilosofi) yang sangat bernas tentang harmonisasi dan keseimbangan hidup manusia dengan Tuhan dan alam. Selain itu, adaptasi yang dilakukan oleh penyebar Islam awal di kalangan masyarakat Sasak agraris ini merupakan contoh bagaimana Islam disebarkan dengan damai dan adaptif terhadap simbol dan mitos lokal supaya keseimbangan dan keharmonian tetap terjaga.]*

**Keywords:** local rice, Sasak culture, ethnophilosophy, Malay culture, hybrid Islam

## **A. Introduction**

All kinds of the social-culture phenomenon around us are the ones that connected to and affected each other (hybrid). However, in fact (particularly in modernity context), society nowadays is tending to conclude based on the assumption that all phenomena are able and must be comprehended through a clear category and generalization. The implication is that there are frequently claim that religion, culture, ethnicity, and even certain contemplation doctrine group simply considered as the superior, pure, and correct one. In fact, all of the cultural aspects/forms in this world are connected to each other, or in Latour term is referred to 'work of translation' (opposed to 'work of purification').<sup>2</sup> In the 'work of translation' concept, there is a purposefulness to create the composition and new various entities (properly as translators) to adapt continuously to human necessity.

Meanwhile, in Indonesia context, various kind of social-culture

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<sup>2</sup> Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1993).

phenomenon that related to local knowledge or local wisdom is often being collided with modernity values which tend to highly focus of purification.<sup>3</sup> As a result, there are intergroup collisions that often occur in one ethic and religion due to the simple assumption-based drawing conclusion, not based on the depth description such a phenomenon. Moreover, the collision that vertical-horizontal in a manner or between the government and the society (particularly traditional society) are yet often occurred. The factor is the misunderstanding to conclude certain cultural ritual practices that are considered obstruct development and improvement. As examples are ritual practices in local rice cultivation in some regions that are still possessed and practice their ancestors tradition.<sup>4</sup> Regarding the government (that is using production profit logic),<sup>5</sup> such tradition is clearly obstructed its working program, meanwhile to such agrarian society (that is using production risk logic) they keep ongoing due to the reason to maintain the tradition. In such a context this article presents to give description and interpretation concerning one of the phenomenon of symbols and myths in Islamic agrarian society so that in taking a conclusion about the social-culture phenomenon does not base on assumption.

For that assumption, this study attempts to analyze the culture view of Sasak-Lombok society concerning local rice (hereinafter called *pare*) which very rich of symbols and myths. Why should through symbols (language) and myths? This matter is due to consciousness that is not behavior—as one of them—appeared in language and myths. In other words, language (in phenomenologic point of view) is collective consciousness. Therefore, meaning appears through language. However, considering that the consciousness hidden into language which is classified symbols, therefore it requires comprehension concerning the symbols themselves

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<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, "Being Pious Among Indonesian Salafists", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 55, no. 1 (2017), pp. 1–26; Faizah, "Pergulatan Teologi Salafi dalam Mainstream Keberagamaan Masyarakat Sasak", *Ulumuna*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2012), pp. 375–402.

<sup>4</sup> See Mohamad Iwan Fitriani, "Manajemen Konflik Berbasis Multicultural Competences: Solusi Alternatif Kontestasi Pribumi dan Salafi di Lombok", *El-Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2016), pp. 1–18.

<sup>5</sup> See Idrus Al Hamid, Irwan Abdullah, and Zainal Abidin Bagir, "Local Politics and Religion in Papua", *Journal of Government and Politics*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2013), pp. 409–24.

as base to interpret various categories about rice symbols and myths in order to understand culture view of Sasak-Lombok language speakers concerning the *pare* itself. Furthermore, why must symbols and myths about *pare*? This is due to *pare* has become power symbol, both in religious power context and moreover in political power context in civilization history of many ethnic groups in South Asia and South East Asia.<sup>6</sup>

According to Kramsch, there are three basic assumptions that are used as base in language and culture relation. First, language expresses culture reality. Second, language is a manifestation of cultural reality. Third, language as a symbol of cultural reality. These basic assumptions in fact are able to become epistemology base in analyzing language to reveal various cultural views that are contained in the language.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Ahimsa-Putra observes that language is an aspect or manifestation of culture (despite physical, behavior, and idea aspects) in which the concrete is in form of terminology, idiom, proverb, folklore, myths, legend, magic spell/*mantra*, etc. If language is part of culture (manifestation) aspect, therefore it can be said that it is a media to deliver and at the same time to reveal other cultures, for example, idea aspect to find out knowledge and collective aspect (life perspective, value, norm, and regulation) of a community or ethnic group.<sup>8</sup>

In order to reach such purpose, this research uses the ethnography method in collecting and classifying data. The data are in forms of linguistic symbols, myths, and various cultural events that related to

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Knecht, "Rice Representations and Reality", *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 66, no. 1/2 (2007), pp. 5–25.

<sup>7</sup> Claire Kramsch, "Language and Culture", *Language and Culture* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, "Budaya Bangsa, Jati Diri dan Integrasi Nasional, Sebuah Teori", *Jejak Nusantara: Jurnal Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya*, vol. 1 (2013), pp. 6–19. The view of language as part of cultural aspects can also be traced in the views of Ward H. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics", in *Language in Culture and Society a Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, ed. by Dell Hymes (New York: Harper & Row Weatherhill, 1964); Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Structural Anthropology", *Structural Anthropology*, trans. by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963); Alessandro Duranti, "Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology: Three Paradigms", *Current Anthropology*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2003), pp. 323–47. The core of their views is that language is no longer seen as limited to the aspect of 'language in culture', but language has been seen as an aspect of 'language as culture'.

local rice in agrarian Sasak society in Lombok. The data later is being interpreted in ethnohermeneutic manner, namely the language data and various myths are used to indicate the *pare* that interpreted by observing and combining the researcher and the native perspective knowledge dimension concerning the language data so that it occurs kind of 'merging horizons'.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, the discussion structure in this article starts from description of rice cultivation ritual structure, reinterpretation result of rice symbols and myths that covers rice as indication of prosperity, rice as sacredness, rice likeness as 'Self', and explanation parts that show the mixture of Islamic ideology and local belief and its contact to Malay culture. The purpose is to explain ideal patterns relation between culture and religion in Islamic agrarian society that occurs from the 'translation working system'.

## **B. A Portrait of Local Rice Cultivation Ritual in Sasak Agrarian Society's Culture**

The style of culture will always related to various aspects, such as origin, cosmologic contemplation, an empirical reality in its environment and the belief of its society, which all of them are creating anthropologic behavior.<sup>10</sup>

In the rice farming field, Sasak society (particularly in Jerowaru sub-district, East Lombok and the surrounding areas) has various cultural events and/or religious traditional ceremonies/rituals that accompany and integrate into rice farming system, especially when they are active to plant local rice type. The various culture events have evoked various categorization—which classified complex—related to rice farming culture. As a consequence, the rice farming process in agrarian Sasak society always connected to the tradition-ritual ceremony. These rituals are conducted to keep nature balance in its collective activity environment so that whatever wished are able to be reached.

The rituals are included in the concepts of *sêlamêtan*, *rowah*, and

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<sup>9</sup> Armin W. Geertz, "Ethnohermeneutics and Worldview Analysis in the Study of Hopi Indian Religion", *Numen*, vol. 50, no. 3 (2003), pp. 309–48.

<sup>10</sup> Lalu Agus Fathurrahman, *Membaca Arsitektur Sasak* ed. by Lalu Ari Irawan (Mataram: Genius, 2016), p. 19.

*sédèkah*. The three concepts are related to the pre-nursery and pre-planting rituals of rice; ritual nurseries, planting, and harvesting rice; and rice storage and purification rituals. In the context of pre-seeding and pre-planting of rice, traditional rituals were found relating to buffalo/cow salvation (*sédèkah kau/sampi*) and rice field salvation (*sédèkah bangkêt*). Furthermore, in the event of nursery, planting, and rice harvesting there are traditional rituals in the form of salvage seeds (*sélamêt binek*), beginner rice planting rituals (*bait mansé*), salvation of rice plants (*sélamêt lowong*), medicine hanging rituals of *buk* (*gantung buk*), salvation asks spirits or rice spirits (*rowah nunas sésari*), rituals to entertain rice (*bédede lowong*), and salvage of rice parent picking (*rowah bau buyuq*). Meanwhile, in the rice storage and purification event, there is a traditional ritual in the form of postharvest rice salvation (*sélamêt pare*), ritual handover of alms rice to the *kijai* and irrigation officers (*sérah pare sédèkah* and *séweneh*), and rituals of storage of rice brooders (*peririq pare buyuq*).

Furthermore, the occurrence of *sélamétan*, *rowah*, and *sédèkah* concepts in various ritual-tradition context related to rice farming in Sasak-Lombok society has been an indication that culture transformation takes place. From a culture transformation point of view, the use of such concepts is a transformation form of tradition ritual shape and value and religious matter in agrarian Sasak society. This took place after Islam perspective shift the old one or it experiences acculturation. Considering at the old days, every time they have a wish, the agrarian Sasak people go to pledge (*bésangi*) to places which they believe sacred or the supported people call *kémaliq*. In line with belief and faith transition, later (by cultural Islam dispersers) it shifted to virtuous figures pilgrimage, even it replaced into *sélamétan*, *rowah*, and *sédèkah* ceremonies. Therefore, those concepts shift *bésangi* concept.

Meanwhile, various media that use in the tradition ritual some are constantly maintained and some are adjusted in line with that hybrid concept usage. Particularly for *mantra* media, for example, clearly shows the combining old culture elements and certain concepts in Islam. For example are seed soaking *mantra* (1), rice planting *mantra* (2.a and 2.b), and alms rice delivering *mantra* to *kijai* (3).

*Bukté kénalan aran inên buk* (1)

*Kabirang aran amên buk*

*Kutindak kutanduk tandan ose*

*Sidê mandi mênâtêrên buk têmbuaq lowong pare.*

*Buktê kênalan* your mother's name *buk*

*Kabirang* your father's name *buk*

I *tindak* and marked with a bunch *ose*

Be efficacious o you the spell of *buk têmbuaq* rice plant.'

*Aneh yaq kêsodoq m êmpat bulan (2.a)*

*Leq bungkek Nabi Allah Adam,*

*Lemaq aluqm isiq kau birêng mundung, békupak selakê*

*Jiwanggê bérelong sutêrê, bêrate sêlakê.*

Let me consign you for four months

Above 'the back of Allah prophet Adam'

I will pick you upwit 'plain black buffalo', soled foot of silver money

*Jiwanggê* tailed of silk cloth, with heart of silver money.

*Ni ni Adam yaq sodoq mas tanduran Allah (2.b)*

*Silaq têrimaq mas banyu.*

This is Adam's child will consign plants (pleasant light) Allah

Please do accept oh water.

*Aku sêrah sêdêkah pare beaq/ puteq (3)*

*Sêdêkah kêrna urip, urip kêrna pati*

*Mantuk leq dunie saking aberat*

*Suci sukê pêrdû kêrna Allah.*

I deliver alms of red/white rice,  
Alms to be alive, live to die,  
Start from the world until the eternity  
Holly pleasant obligate due to Allah.’

The combining concept such *kabirang* (a call for opening pray or *iftitah* in shalat), *bungkaq Nabi Allah Adam* ‘a back of God’s prophet Adam’, *tanduran Allah* ‘the plant/light of God’, *sêdêkab* ‘alms’, *pêrdu* ‘obliged’, and concept of God are description of how Islamic worldview key concepts being combined to local ones. Furthermore, Sasak-Lombok society also creates various conceptual and functional classification concerning the rice. For example, the concept of *pare buyuq* ‘mother of rice’, *buyuq sari* ‘rice spirit’, *pare beaq* ‘red rice’, *pare birêng* ‘black rice’, *pare puteq* ‘white rice’, *pare ninê* ‘female rice’, *pare mamê* ‘male rice’, *pare pêmon* ‘starter/marker rice’, *pare anak inoq* ‘orphan child rice’, *pare sêdêkab* ‘alms rice’, etc.

The number of language units used by Sasak people in labeling the rice and their ritual activity show that rice (particularly local type/variety) not simply considered and being approached with senses. It means that rice is not simply considered as a basic food source, but also behind its physical form it has a spiritual entity. Therefore, it requires deep interpretation to understand the cultural view or ethnophilosophy of Sasak people as it is represented through verbal and non-verbal symbols related to rice.

### C. *Pare* as Sign of Prosperity

Formerly, according to some informants, agrarian Sasak people believe that they were prosperous when their rice supplies in the barn are gratifying (both from the quality and quantity aspects). Start from the rice availability which is called *pare buyuq* ‘main rice’, *pare bineq* ‘seed rice’, *pare kêmbulan* ‘asset rice’ and *pare sango* ‘supply rice’. All those terminologies are the representation of prosperity for a Sasak-Lombok farmer. However, from the four terminologies, *pare buyuq* concept is the one that requires to be investigated its symbolic meaning in the following discussion.

### 1. Pare Buyuq as Food Security Concept

The concept of *pare buyuq* 'the mother of the rice' in Sasak-Lombok rice farming gives a hint about the concept of food security. *Parebuyuq* (or commonly referred to as *buyuq*) as rice that is carefully maintained and treated unconsciously special has been used as a safety fence in the Sasak agrarian food security system. This unconscious food security is shaped by the concept of culture. It is supported that to obtain and make *pare buyuq*, one must pass through various processions (ritual) since it is planted, harvested, dried, until it is put in the barn. In fact, the most mantra associated with rice and its rituals is found in the *buyuq* context.

*Pare buyuq* outwardly is merely a collection of nine stems (*simaq tênggong*) of rice. The nine stems that have been tied with white thread is then given a companion (guard) as many as eight bunches of rice (*baluq amêt* or *duê gutus*). The number of eight bunches of rice (*buyuq* friends) is then tied with a long rope (*tali kere*) into one. This term is known as *ngeat pare*. In quantity, eight bunched of *buyuq* companions are what turned into food safety. It can be imagined if within five years of this *buyuq pare* is not taken or eaten, the amount can reach to 40 bunches of rice (*sêpulu gutus*). In the case of famine or crop failure in the following year, it is certain that such rice can meet or fulfill the food needs for a year. At that moment they can say: *nyangkêngkê kakên pare tokon langkêp* 'I'm eating rice sitting on my stomach', namely *pare buyuq*.

This concept of food security based on *buyuq* (perhaps) has not been yet realized by the Sasak community so that (for the most part) they stopped planting the large feathered rice and non-feathered rice (*Japonica* and *Indica* subspecies). As a result, there is certainly no *inên pare* anymore. Even the policymakers (especially the local governments) do not seem to know or realize the concept of *buyuq* so they only think that the rice barns (in the Sasak community known as the *alang*, *sambi*, *lumbung kampu*, or *pundutan*) which are regarded as the basis of food security based on the local wisdom. In fact, if the *pare buyuq* is not there, which was accompanied by no longer planted rice local varieties, then there will certainly no more rice be stored in the barn.

From the point of view of modern agriculture, it is clear that everything seems to hamper the progress or the change. In fact, it may be considered silly, old fashioned, and primitive. However, this can all

be explained by various foundations of thought and judgment. *First*, the *pare buyuq* exists because of the cultivation of rice crops of local rice (*pare jamaq bulu* or *pare jamaq buntung-Japonica* and *Indica*). *Second*, local rice planting has an impact on the complexity of maintenance. Consequently, the rice is not easily wasted or used for useless matters, for that they keep it in the barn. *Third*, the replacement of local rice cultivation with rice of type I-R (International Rice) makes it simpler and faster rice maintenance. As a result, the rice does not need to be stored in the barn because it is run out easily (for trade, etc.).

Is the concept of culture-based food security can be obtained through modern farming systems or vice versa? What are the advantages? If the concept of *buyuq* becomes the basis of food security among Sasak-Lombok farmers, then those involved are individuals. Conversely, if the concept of *buyuq* is abolished, then food security only (ostensibly) becomes the responsibility of the relevant parties only, namely the government. Therefore, the seemingly full behavior of “deviations” from this orthodox Islamic view (due to the use of various rituals and offerings) apparently retains a highly developed ethnophilosophy in the context of food security strategies.

Therefore, the *inên pare/buyuq* and the barn (*alang, sambi, lumbung kampu, or pundutan*) are a package of cultural-based food security strategy or the local wisdom of the ancestors of the former agrarian Sasak community. All these have ethnophilosophical values in the Sasak society, i.e. *titi, taté, tertiip*, and *tapsilé* ‘the thoroughness, equity, order, and detail’ as a representation of maternal value. This is evident from the way of the rice arrangement and placement in the barn in accordance with their respective functions. Starting from the bottom which is called *buyuq* or *inên pare* ‘the mother of the rice’ as a store of *buyuq sari* or the spirit of rice; *bineq* ‘the seeds’ for next year’s rice seedlings; *kêmbulan* ‘the reserve/capital’ for urgent/emergency purposes such as medical expenses; and *sango* ‘the stock’ as the daily food.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> According to Wayah Kembang Dje, interview (13 May 2016), the *lumbung/alang* is a quality representation, i.e. the representation of the quality of the rice stored in it. Sasak-Lombok farmers will not store their rice into the barn if the rice is not well qualified. The *lumbung* ‘the barn’ is a layered food security strategy. This can be seen from the structure/arrangement of the contents in the barn (as mentioned above). The barn is the center of value, for example, the *qana’ah* value which is many represented by

## 2. *The Relation of Buyuq with Inaq as the Food Security Guardian*

The availability of rice as a staple food among the Sasak-Lombok community cannot be separated from the role of the mother (*inaq*). If the rice has a mother called *buyuq*, then it is interpreted as the role of *inaq* 'mother' (in traditional Sasak society) as a guardian of the food security. In the early Sasak dialect, the word *inaq* has a relation to the word *QaNa'Ab* in Arabic. The word *QaNa'Ab* itself literally means 'to be sufficient, to keep, to continue'.<sup>12</sup> The way to read it is to read upside down from the word *QaNa'Ab* (originally read from the right) into *Inaq* (read from left). The root is the same, i.e. Q-N-'A [ع-ن-أ].

*Inaq* is an adult woman responsible for repairing, looking after, and educating. The *Inaq* (honorable calling) in the language of the Sasak speakers is the *mas pangeran*, which should not be hurt in her inner being, both with language and behavior. Hurting her verbally or non-verbally affects the *tulah manuh* and *salaq kêjarian*, namely the misfortune, damage, misery, and even destruction.

The association of *pare* with *inaq* is obtained through the description of mantras associated with rice. The representation of *pare* 'the rice' as *sêniné* 'the wife' and *rêkêt* 'the glutinous rice' as *sêmamé* 'the husbands' is evident in the event of the paddy thanksgiving event (*sêlamêt pare*). Then, there is a term of *inên mênîq* or *inên bêras*, i.e. the women who are assigned as a regulator of rice in various custom processions, such as *bêgawe* 'the party' time.

The language phenomena in Sasak language puts *inaq/inên* 'the mother/parent' as something highly significant. The incorporation of the term *inaq/inên* in other words forms a kind of female-augmentative link. The implication is that the role of *inaq* (as a social category) is very important, noble, and fundamental in every context of the life of the local community. Furthermore, in the Sasak-Lombok society's view, *inaq*

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an *Inaq* 'mother', and this becomes the basis for the size of certain parts of the barn. Similarly, the concept of *sêpêrunjung* 'as tall as a person stands up in hand' in storing rice in a barn indicates that humans should not be greedy and stingy to store the excessive treasures beyond their needs.

<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Fadri, "Mentalitas dan Ideologi dalam Tradisi Historiografi Sasak-Lombok pada Abad XIX-XX", PhD. Dissertation (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, 2015), p. 63; *ibid.*, p. 69.

in the family is considered as a *kémaliq*.<sup>13</sup> The concept of *kémaliq* means that something is considered sacred (*maliq*) so that people would not dare to behave or speak inappropriate words to the *kémaliq*. The *kémaliq* must be respected and glorified.

In addition, from the economic reality, it is seen from the size of the barn door (the *alang*, *sambi*, or *pundutan*) of the Sasak-Lombok farmers that have the size of *sépênnyengkengan dêngan niné* ‘as high as a squatting woman’. The point is that the barn door is about the size of a crouching sitting of an adult woman. In fact, it is the *inaq* that commonly do the *ngolob* ‘taking down the rice from inside of the barns’ (the *nyambi*—in other Sasak dialects), while it is the men (the *amaq*) job to raise it. Likewise, the one responsible for the storage and the taking of rice from the rice barrel (*kémêras*, *sêndor*, or *kêlêkuh*) is the mother (*inaq*).

It is said that in the past, the Sasak-Lombok people cooked the rice enough with a *sékênampok buaq*, the size of an areca nut’s head. It is imaginable of how economical they are. At this time, the rice in the barrel (*kémêras/kêlêkuh*) is very *mêkat* ‘full of blessings’. However, due to the mistakes of a child who wanted to cook rice by constantly asking his mother about the amount of the rice she wanted to cook, so that the size of *sékênampok buaq* turned into *sématên tangken*<sup>14</sup> ‘one coconut shell’. According to the story, since then the amount of the rice that would be cooked used a coconut shell. That means, there are addition and waste. This happened because she did not listen to commands and rules that had been created by *inaq*.

The reality of the mother (*inaq*) among the Sasak-Lombok people can be interpreted as awareness that the one who can be the guardian of food sovereignty is the mother or *inaq* because *inaq* is believed to have the *qana’ab* quality. That is the nature of economical, efficient, maintain, and fit. In other words, the feminine values such as guarding, maintaining, and preserving are inherent in the *qana’ab*. *Qana’ab* is not the same as the *bakhil* ‘stingy’, or even the *tama* ‘greedy’. The *Inaq* maintains food

<sup>13</sup> Fathurrahman said that the *kémaliq* is a certain place that is considered to have strong energy as the center of orientation of a space. Fathurrahman, *Membaca*.

<sup>14</sup> The term *sématên tangkên* is derived from the word *matên tangkên* ‘the coconut shell’ which is intended as a curse to the child for asking too many questions, but it was then misunderstood by the child as an order of the volume of rice to be taken from inside the barrel to be cooked.

security with a 'valued and economical' *téténggiq* culture, not a 'wasteful and excessive' *tékaon*. The philosophical value she holds is *titi*, the ant philosophy. That is, an *inaq* must be careful, efficient, thorough, and regular in managing the sustenance. It is according to the meaning of the word *titi* itself, namely 'order and caution'. Thus, the nature of *titi* will always be coupled with the spirit (*jéjaton*) *itiq* and *tomot* 'not wasteful and always fulfilled'.

The metaphor between *inaq* and *pare* brings the consequences that the Sasak-Lombok people must respect and glorify the rice as a mother so that it can bring blessings of life. The *pare* that contains blessings is a representation of rice that has a *sari*. The concept of *sari* is life. So, considering some realities about the role of *inaq* in traditional Sasak society, it can be stated that food security or sovereignty is in the hands of the mothers (*inaq*).

#### D. *Pare* as Sacredness

The examination result (through interview and observation) concerning *pare* in traditional Sasak-Lombok farmers circle shows that verbal tradition which is presenting rice as story themes and links are varying. From those who follow *huma*/rice farm in dryland life (*ngérau*) to those who are cultured paddy rice field, the rice mythos is assumed to have occurred.<sup>15</sup> They know that rice is a blessing from the sky and earth. It is transcendental, the manifestation of the sacred 'upper world' with profane 'lower world'. The sky that wet and essential and soil-earth that dry and existential are rice's parents. In this context, *pare* is the circle, cosmos axis or harmony, the effective combination between protagonist and antagonist.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> I. Made Netra, "Wacana Ritual Melong Pare Bulu Komunitas Petani Adat Bayan, Lombok Utara: Kajian Etnopragmatik", PhD. Dissertation (Badung: Udayana University, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Imran T. Abdullah, *Hikayat Asay Pade: Mitos Padi dalam Masyarakat Aceh (Suntingan Teks, Terjemahan, dan Analisis)* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, 1993); Nguyễn Xuân Hiên, Trần Thị Giáng Liên, and Hoàng Luong, "Rice in the Life of the Vietnamese Tháy and Their Folk Literature", *Anthropos*, vol. 99, no. 1 (2004), pp. 111–41; Moh Soehadha, "Aruh Menjaga Beras Kami: Religi, Subsistensi, dan Kapitalisme Negara dalam Pengembangan Produksi Pangan di Loksado", PhD. Dissertation (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, 2009).

If so, *pare* equals mosques, temples, and anything that bridges between the timeless ‘upper world’ and the human world that tied by the time. Rice is sacred manifestation as connector the world of the highest form and human.<sup>17</sup>

From the sacredness occurs ceremonies that praise figures who are deserving in ‘growing’ rice, such as figures of *Dewi Sri* (in East Java and Central Java), *Sanghyang Pobaci* (in West Java), *Inak Sriti* (in Lombok, particularly the north part), *Sinang Sari* (in Minangkabau), etc. The figure always ‘summoned/spoke’ in the ceremonies in order that she always protect and never tired to grace human with overflow rice. People store ritual offerings at playhouses or rice field huts (*saung sanggar*) or *ancale* around paddy rice field as “residence” of the kind Rice Goddess. People also build rice barn (*alang, sambi, and pundutan*) that frequently existed dragon carving—as a symbol of underground creature.<sup>18</sup>

Rice seed is called sacred due to, as mentioned in some rice myths, it does not result of ‘sexual intercourse’ between the upper world or heaven and lower world or earth. From the obtained story, *pare* seed is one of the seed types given by the prophet Khidir (known as *Balian/ Bélian* in tradition Sasak circle). Or in other versions, it is an inheritance from a ‘Goddess’ the empowering supernatural nature in Lombok island.

The entity view concerning rice as sacred matter in Sasak-Lombok society (traditional farmers) is represented through the activities of *pêmole* ‘stock breeding’, the term of *pare pêmom* ‘rice starter/marker’, *buyuq sari* ‘rice spirit’ and tradition ritual *sêlamêt pare* ‘rice ceremonial feast’. These concepts are the one that in local belief has been reinterpreted to Islamic Sufism concepts.

Various kinds of procession related to rice (basically) is a ritual that is called tradition ritual. As simple or small the ritual in *pare* context has its own spirit and tools. If the spirit and tools do not present therefore the tradition ritual related to rice sacredness will experiencing lifelessness,

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<sup>17</sup> This view is based on the story from one informant when he told the origin of various plants seed, where it is involving characters: a man, the prophet Khidir, and seven fairies. Salmun, interview (7 Jun 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Justus M. van der Kroef, “Rice Legends of Indonesia”, *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 65, no. 255 (1952), pp. 49–55; Rens Heringa, “Dewi Sri in Village Garb: Fertility, Myth, and Ritual in Northeast Java”, *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 56, no. 2 (1997), pp. 355–77.

unmeaningful, that in Sasak language is called *tawab* 'lifeless', no blessing.<sup>19</sup>

### 1. **Pêmole: *The Efforts to Guard Self, Nature, and Culture Balance***

Due to a lot of processions (rituals) that related to rice cultivation, some questions have arisen: what is the purpose of the rituals? Why is it important? It is interesting to answer these questions, notices cultural status in connection to nature. From the naturalistic-primitive perspective, culture is supplement toward nature, a supplement is 'dangerous' due to culture (like farming) has disgraced gloriousness, sacredness, and naturalness of nature.<sup>20</sup>

Such a perspective is hard to be maintained due to nature which will be never back as a whole after the grown and developed of civilization. However, in Sasak-Lombok society farming context, the maintaining of various rituals related to rice is interesting to be studied in order that we are able to comprehend their perspective about the relationship between farming culture and nature, the relation of conception that anthropocentric and theocentric.

In *pare* cultivation ritual in Sasak-Lombok people circle, it is cleared that they very much comprehend the relation between the Highest Manifestation and human, between human and nature (which is consist of supernatural and infra-human). This consciousness that makes them undergo various rituals in *pare* cultivation, particularly local rice type. In connection to this behavior, it is found a concept in Sasak language, namely the *pêmole* 'stock breeding' concept. It is a concept concerning ethics in treating nature.<sup>21</sup> According to Fathurrahman, *pêmole* is a basic attitude as gratefulness expression toward the Almighty grace and concurrently stock breeding toward all God's creations which is comprehended as unseparated part from themselves as cosmos entity.<sup>22</sup>

According to the perspectives above, it can be said that *pêmole* is the expression of values that show nature stock breeding effort to guard

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<sup>19</sup> Lalu Agus Fathurrahman, *Sanggarguri* (Yogyakarta: Merdeka Media, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Al-Fayyad, "Kebudayaan Perspektif Grammatologi" (Gadjah Mada University, 16 Apr 2015).

<sup>21</sup> Fadji, "Mentalitas dan Ideologi dalam Tradisi Historiografi Sasak-Lombok pada Abad XIX-XX", p. xiii.

<sup>22</sup> Fathurrahman, *Membaca Arsitektur Sasak*, p. 16.

cosmos preservation, balance, and harmony. In other words, it is human adaption effort toward nature. This *pêmole* is supported by the concept of respecting to each other among living things by considering ethics and aesthetics.

Therefore, it can be said that whatever the Sasak-Lombok farmers conduct in *pare* farming tradition rituals, it is indeed unseparated by their way of life (at that moment). *Pare* cultivating (in a paddy field or in arable land), in fact is facing the fellow creatures created by God. Therefore, in cultivating paddy rice fields or farms they are respecting it, whatever the forms are in tradition, and that is what nature needs. This is a perspective that is able to be captured from their cultivation behavior in conducting various (processions) rituals related to *pare*.

Moreover, *pêmole* 'stock breeding' to nature and its contents through various tradition rituals is basically a stock breeding that not simply based on senses, but also involving love and heart approach that awakened in the human self. This is due to the consciousness of similar origin, namely from the Form of Great Self (*Neneq Saq Sopoq*).

## 2. *Pare Pêmon: Conception of Self Consciousness and Cosmos*

*Pare pêmon* 'rice marker/rice starter' is rice seed that pulled out from seedbed to be planted as a marker of rice planting will be started. For short, *pare pêmon* is rice seed that prepared as the beginning of hope to God upon His grace. Later, by the harvest time, this *pare pêmon* is made as 'main rice'. The interesting part, *pare pêmon* which is made as the beginning of this rice cultivating period is planted in a special manner with a special formulation and in a particular place. The symbolic phenomenon of this *pare pêmon* is interesting to be explained in order to find out the agrarian Sasak society's thinking structure who has been experiencing reinterpretation to Sufism Islam concepts.

According to observation, interview, and the comprehension results upon the *pare pêmon* planting formulation in the agrarian Sasak community, there is some understandable ethnophilosophy. *First*, the orphan child rice concept or in the local language is called *pare anak inoq* (ordinary simply called as *anak inoq*). This concept is represented by numbers of (stems) *pare* plant which are single and in the middle position. *Pare* that put/planted in the middle alone do not directly call *anaq inoq* without

reasons. According to the informant, *pare anak ivoq* 'orphan child rice' is in fact symbolization of humans themselves.

Farmers who are planting *pare anak ivoq* (in marking the beginning of its planting period) being reminded in the order they always remember themselves that basically they are orphans (*anak ivoq*) in this world. In order to survive or to reach the destination, a human must be prepared self provisions. Therefore, explicit meaning within is how human (particularly the farmers) are able to consider themselves orphans through *riyadah* 'spiritual exercise' and *tazkiyah* 'soul purification' so that they can be true *anak ivoq* chosen by God.

The character that attaches to *anak ivoq* 'orphan child' is a figure that loves by everyone. *Anak ivoq* figure is a symbol for everyone who longs for love (*rahman-rahim*) and concurrently presenting love wisdom in this life. The longs for love from the Merciful. If so his life destiny, therefore wherever he goes he will always bring a longing for people who meet him. Considering he always spread love wisdom to life. Therefore, the existing term of *anak ivoq* in *pare* planting procession (in Sasak-Lombok society circle) is a language symbolization through *pare* plants to *pare* farmer in the order he is able to make himself as an orphan.

Furthermore, *pare anak ivoq* is a symbol concerning single 'Alif'. In this matter, *pare (anak ivoq)* is a secret behind 'Alif' that must be remembered by every human as long they live. Through this symbolization, they are being reminded of their identity which likeness to rice that planted into the soil (paddy field/arable land). Rice (which is originally from *pare anak ivoq*) is a 'holy spirit' symbol that placed in land swing which becomes a 'body swing' symbol (see *pêmbait mansê* or *pare pêmon* mantra). Therefore, in this *pare anak ivoq* concept is kept the secret origin of the human spirit and body symbolization.

*Second*, the surrendering and hoping after attempting. According to the informants, breeding of rice planting marked by *pare pêmon* which amounted to nine or *sivaq* in their terms is a sign of surrendering and hoping after attempting. The word *sivaq* literally means 'nine' in their secret knowledge is being interpreted *siva-Allah* 'except/only Allah'. It means that after attempting they only believe there is no other power that can be handed over the maintenance matter (of that rice) except Allah. Therefore, they feel to accept or willing toward all His appointment who

controls all of His livelihood after they are attempting first.

Besides, the secret is hidden behind the nine number of *pare pemon* is *Sinvaq Nur* ‘nine lights’ inside the body (which is symbolized by paddy rice field/arable land soil) that related to the human position as servants in Alif letter Allah [الله]. The all nine Lights are *Nursade*, *Nursane*, *Nurcalbye*, *Nurbudi*, *Nurbayat*, *Nurkandil*, *Nurullab*, *Nur Muhammad*, and *Nurbadam*.<sup>23</sup>

Third, cosmos circle. The early rice planting that becomes *pare pemon* covers all wind directions. This is a symbol of the cosmos circle. In their perspective, this nature has souls that connected one to another. The fire, water, wind, and soil elements are existing in each nature. All of them have their own channel spirit that takes care of each other. This is that later being symbolized from *pare pemon* circle as cosmos circle representation. Thus, the one that in fact the farmers are honored when they take *pêmon* is cosmos cycle itself, so that it is able to integrate in actualizing hope, namely the giving of successful by God from the rice plants.

Sasak-Lombok society’s comprehension (in this context is its farmers) in the old days concerning cosmos unity is already high, as it is clearly shown in various matters related to *pare* farming. They are having the responsibility of social, nature, and ritual functions at once. In relation to this matter, they are believed that they are proper to plant *pare* (both in the paddy rice field and in arable land) not for themselves, but also for the soil, so that what is produced by it is the ones that they can eat as *bukti* ‘livelihood’.

The above perspective is represented through their spell language that ‘equalize’ paddy rice field soil to *bungkak Nabi Allah Adam* (see *pêmbait mansé* spell above). Or in their *sésimbangan* ‘ridicule’ language in order to persistent in rising crops: “*sai-sai girang kêramek bungkak Nabi Allah Adam jaq yaq sêlamêt*” ‘whoever that persistent to comb the back of Allah’s prophet Adam will safe’. The perspective framing through this kind of language is an effort to preserve wisdom, namely in nature honored and maintained context so that it will always guarded its balance.

The relation between human and *gumi-paer* ‘homeland’ (particularly paddy rice field and farm soil) as their livelihood source is based on the consciousness as a mandate or consignment from God. Thus, nature is

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<sup>23</sup> Lalu Agus Fathurrahman, *Tembang Suluk Tapel Adam* (Mataram: Genius, 2014), pp. 50–1.

the body itself (*bungkak Nabi Allah Adam*—as the first origin), meanwhile human personal self is its soul. The noble personal self will never appear (*maujud*) without the body, while the body without protection from noble personality will be destroyed. If nature is the body, therefore there must be clothes. Consequently, tradition is made (including all the rituals and its attributes) as the clothes. Besides that, all tradition rituals related to rice seem as clothes, thus clear that the tradition rituals are function as mediator/connector between human and nature.

With such perspective, the agrarian Sasak society is clearly having a certain way of thinking pattern as guidance (axiom) in having behavior, in this context is rice planting behavior that started by planting rice paddy. The way of thinking pattern that gained from that perspective is the one that called the *relationship* between *human personal self*, *tradition rituals*, and *nature* way of thinking model. The three components are human self-awareness representation as *maujud* from the *wujud* character that possesses by God.

Furthermore, *bungkak Nabi Allah Adam* concept (in rice starter planting mantra) not simply to greet the soil with symbolic-gesture language, but in that term is represented the secret of human matters origin. Some of the rice farmers perspectives (concurrently as local tradition society figures) are that *bungkak Adam* 'the back of Adam' is a secret in source reality which from it flow out human groups on earth. Above and inside *bungkak Adam* 'the back/the body of Adam' is where human consign *tanduran Allah* 'plants/lights of Allah'.

That term is pronounced in language spell related to rice is caused by the eagerness to remember of identity essence and the purpose of being created. Human must remember when planting something (that made into food sources) that from food essence is from the soil. Rice planting by realizing soil essence (its origin) is in order that human finds out and realize some of this earth is a leap to their father's backbones and their mother's rib bones.<sup>24</sup> Backbones (*al-shulbi* in *al-Qur'an* term) is a water source that sprays in men and rib bones (*al-tarāib*, in *al-Qur'an*) is chest bones that become water source for women.

With such consciousness, Sasak-Lombok society (the farmers)

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<sup>24</sup> Abdus Shabur Syahin, *Penciptaan Nabi Adam: Mitos atau Realitas*, trans. by Hanif Anwari (Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2004).

have put awareness within themselves about their relation to soil and plants as sources and the origin of their born so that they will not forget and arrogant, considering that all of them are happened due to God the Creator. Besides, Sasak-Lombok society has made some sort of legitimacy that soil and plants (*pare*) are sacred due to it has related to humann in first origin aspect (namely soil) and second origin (namely sperm).

### 3. *Sêlamêt Pare: Blessing and Warning*

Another representation concerning *pare* sacredness in Sasak-Lombok society, in particular, is actualized through tradition ritual in the form of rice feast (*sêlamêt pare*). After *pare* being tied (before it is raised to the barn or issued its *sêweneh* or alms) and *pare* has been piled up under barn/yard, the common ritual that conducted by Sasak-Lombok people is rice feast. This kind of tradition ritual, based on the experiences of the informants, is the manifestation of their gratefulness behavior to God. In this behavior casts perspective that the livelihood blessing is gained through the gratefulness which is actualized through *rowah-sêdêkah* or *sêlamêtan*.

Tradition ritual called *sêlamet pare* in Sasak-Lombok society in Jerowaru area and its surroundings last to the 1990s. However, some agents (former) of this local wisdom are still encountered. The unique side of this tradition ritual lays in the manuscript reading in the form of *kayat* and *takêpan*.<sup>25</sup> The recited *kayat* is *Kayat Nabi Haparas* ‘The Tale of Prophet Shaving’ and its *takêpan* is *Puspêkrêmê*.<sup>26</sup> The reading of both manuscripts is conducted successively. *Kayat* reading is read first, and later is *takêpan* (which is alternated feast beforehand).

The questions that arised related to various tools in this tradition

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<sup>25</sup> Both *kayat* and *takêpan* are both ancient texts (manuscript) written on palm leaves with the letter *Jéjawan*. The difference lies in the content and the length of the story in it.

<sup>26</sup> The naming toward *Kayat Nabi Haparas* and *Takepan Puspêkrema* has several variations, such as *kayat Nabi Akaras* or *Nabi Amaras* and *takepan Puspakrama* or *Puspakrema*. This is symbolizing Sasak dialect variation and locus of origin/place of the manuscripts duplication. Compared to Th.C. van der Meij, “The Shaving of the Prophet’s Hair (Nabi Aparas): the Philology of Lombok Texts”, *Studia Islamika*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2010), pp. 441–86; Dick van der Meij, “Sastra Sasak Selayang Pandang”, *Manuskripta: Jurnal Manasa*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011), pp. 17–45.

ritual are: (i) why *kayat* and *taképan* manuscripts must be read for *pare* that being *sélamét* and (ii) why *pare* and *rékét* must present (one bunch for each) that placed in front of the people who read the *kayat* and the *taképan*? According to the interview and observation results, there are some reasons that can be presented. *First*, the selected *kayat* (particularly *Kayat Nabi Haparas*) as a manuscript that must be read when rice feast is a warning to those who attend the ritual (particularly the rice owners) concerning the essence of all matters that come from light, namely Nur Muhammad.<sup>27</sup> This perspective is cleared from Islamic Sufism ideology.

In the *kayat*, a matter concerning Prophet Muhammad's hair becomes the main topic. Prophet Muhammad in the Sufi community circle perspective (particularly the *pémaos kayat* 'the readers and the devotion of this tale') is human spirit essence and all the creatures created by The Creator. When Muhammad in form of *Nur*, it is where lights of the Prophets come from, the light of heaven's kingdom and the nature of angels is sourced from him, and the light of this world. Therefore, discussing Prophet Muhammad figure is a warning in order human (who claims himself faithful) to be able to model the noble characters or behavior the origin of mankind.

The warning that addressed implicitly through this *kayat* reminds of the important meaning of livelihood that given by the Great Giver. Never waste it, moreover to be used to do the crime, sinful, and meanness due to *bukti* called *pare* is originated from something sacred and noble. *Pare* (or other wealth) is allowed to be possessed, but it is also must be realized that *pare* must be comprehended and clarified as something that

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<sup>27</sup> Generally, the story content in *Kayat Nabi Haparas*, such as (a) the story of the Prophet Muhammad who is being shaved by Jibril upon direct command from Allah, where he is being shaved in front of 'Nurcahaya' on Monday month of Ramadhan after conducting two *raka'at* prayer. The shaving tool and turban/head cloth used by the Prophet after the shaving is done are taken from heaven. The numbers of the hair being shaved are 333.000.332 pieces. None of his hair that falls in the ground because angels are taken them upon Allah's command; (b) explaining the prominence and benefit will be gained by whoever that copying, restoring, taking and reading the *kayat*, and threat (in form of *bala*) for those who are not believe, unwilling to store, read, and listen the *kayat*; and (c) containing *anak kidung* (*hanakidung*), namely 38 prayers/mantras. Compared to Zakiyah, *Naskah Sasak Bernuansa Keagamaan Islam di Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat* (Semarang: Departemen Agama Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, 2008); Meij, "The Shaving of the Prophet's Hair (Nabi Aparas)".

is not simply consumptive goods.

*Second*, a pair of rice placement (in form of *pare jamaq* ‘paddy/ common rice’ and *rékét* ‘sticky rice’) in front of the *kayat* and *takepan* reader and the people who gathered to listen to the *kayat* reading. The *kayat* and *rékét* presence remind that human comes from pure relation of husband and wife. Therefore, children must respect, love, and dignify their parents who become their mediator to have existed on this earth. *Pare jamaq* or commonly called simply *pare* is a representation of a mother, while *rékét* is a representation of a father. Moreover, *pare* and *rékét* are presented as representation of parents who must listen and learn knowledge (particularly faith and wisdom), that they become provision for them and their children, properly a pair of *pare* which is listened to the will learning from *pémaos kayat* and *takepan* that being whispered to their friends when placed along in the barn.

Noticing symbols related to *sélamét pare*, especially a series of manuscripts reading (in form of certain *kayat* and *takepan*) show local culture indication that being slightly varied religious. The *kayat* reading which is including the one that narrates about the Prophet Muhammad figure is culture creation that carried out by Sasak-Lombok Islamic scholars so that religious doctrine values are able to be united in the middle of local tradition.

From this phenomenon, it seems that agrarian Sasak society considers *kayat* and *takepan* manuscripts in *sélamet pare* ritual context is carrying parallel meaning, namely for fertility, safety, blessing in order to support human live prosperity. Therefore, text concept—for this tradition ritual agents—not only language that hides into the inscription, but also hides in every single of their action.

### **E. Pare Mythos and Mantra: Traditional Knowledge Based on Cultural Consciousness**

The progress of various mythos related to *pare* in Sasak-Lombok society circle (particularly *pare* farmers) is an image concerning how *pare* culture to become rooted in the local people. Those various mythos frames *pare* culture from its origin,<sup>28</sup> *pare bulu* ‘feather rice/*Japonica*’ to *pare*

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<sup>28</sup> In Sasak-Lombok society circle (particularly in Jerowaru area) developed some versions about the origin of *pare* (especially *pare bulu* ‘feather rice’. Two among

*buntung* 'nonfeather rice/*Indica*' transformation process, up to prohibited acts related to *pare*.

Apparently, these all are legitimate efforts to draw the attention of the next generation in viewing the *pare* existence itself, which is not only as the main food source for their live continuity. However, *pare* is a symbol of respect, both in the social and cultural contexts. Glorifying, respecting, or sacrosanting toward *pare* in tradition ritual dimension (in fact) have certain purposes. From the wisdom side, at least it is able to achieve human soul completeness (as God's servant and guardian on earth), namely the arise of consciousness (heirs or listeners of the mythos) of sperm plasma securing that contained within the *pare*. When this consciousness is possessed, in a parallel manner it is also implicated toward cosmos consciousness, namely the consciousness that cultivating the earth with plants is one of the alms forms to earth (as part of cosmos).

Moreover, in order to keep *pare* sacredness, there is a mythos about the prohibition not to steal rice. When agrarian Sasak society are still planting local rice type, it is rarely they lose rice that put temporary in temporary receiving agent, namely in *répoq*. This is in fact due to a mythos that people who steal rice will experience misfortune (*tular-manuh*).

Further, in Sasak society's daily life (particularly in Jerowaru sub-district, East Lombok, research location), this *pare* sacredness mythology framing is not only as restricted when *pare* is still in form of plants and unhusked rice. However, this sacredness mythos appears until *pare* has been cooked as rice (*ême*). This mythos is being detected from ladies expression who often remind their children while they eat. "Ndeqtê kanggo kêrare ême, ndeqtê kanggo bewet ntantê mangan, laon lalon jari gadung!" 'We cannot waste rice, we are cannot eat with a lot of waste, it may leave (change) into yam!'

*Pare* (that is in the form of cooked rice) is able to change into *gadung* 'yam' has some meanings and messages. First, *pare* (in the form of rice/

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those versions (which are plural and widely known by local people) are (the seed) *pare* originated/growth from body fragment of Mandalika princess (who is also believed appears as *nyale*, a kind of sea-worm). In this matter, *pare* is human incarnation who are willing to sacrifice themselves. Subsequently, *pare* seed (along with other seeds, except cloves) is originated from the prophet Khidir that later given to someone who is just settled in Sasak. The difference of this *pare* origin versions cannot be separated from the locus, its inheritance source, and the perspective way of its supporting people.

cooked rice) will change into *gadung* which means that how dangerous to waste it, even it may bring harmfulness. *Second*, it reminds us that how hard to gained food ingredients that sourced from *pare* similar to the difficult to cook edible root/*gadung* content into food ingredients due to it is full of poison. *Third*, food usage the necessity-the sufficiency norms (*sémaiq-maiq*) in order to be avoided from waste (*bewet/sêrê*). *Forth*, it reminds that life is properly of *gadung*, it has beauty and delight side (the representation of its white flower while still raw and yellow when it's ripe), but also contains poison and sufferings (poisoned *gadung* representation). Therefore, put the pleasure from God in the proper place.

Again, why must *gadung* that is presented as rice changed mythos when it is being wasted? Meanwhile, in Java, for instance, chicks become the objective (they will die if wasting rice while eating). The temporary answer surely due to Sasak-Lombok society (as the locus of the growth of that mythos) are familiar/closed to the edible root plant. However, *toaq lokaq* point of view 'parents who are being typed due to their knowledge and moral' about this indication contained mysticism perspective. They say that *gadung* in Sasak tradition society perspective has a certain meaning. *Gadung* flower often being metaphor *Tariqah Sasak*. Some are able to enjoy its beauty, some like its fragrance, and some are able to cook the content so that it is not poisonous to be eaten. Thus, people who are learning *Tariqah Sasak* equals to metaphor people who are looking at and processing *gadung*. If they incorrect in understanding it, they might get lost likeness those who are incorrect in processing *gadung*. Therefore, *gadung* despite poisonous, but also has benefit and wisdom ideology. This is the illustration of how creative, adaptive, and wise the early Islam scholars who are spreading religion in a certain area so that its social-culture phenomenon in form of local symbols is being reinterpreted with Islam ideology for its users importance.

#### F. *Pare* Likeness as "Self"

Starts from the above explanation and comprehension, it can be concluded that rice (*pare*) in agrarian Sasak-Lombok society perspective is 'Self' (*dalêm*). This claim is based on observation and interview results (during in research location) with key informants and main key informants (*toaq lokaq Sasak*).

According to a main key informant,<sup>29</sup> the category of *pare beaq* 'red rice', *pare puteq* 'white rice' and *pare birêng* 'black rice' is a symbol. *Pare beaq* is height (upper) symbol, meanwhile, *pare puteq* is lowness (lower) symbol. *Pare birêng* is a connector symbol or uniting media between those two poles. This matter still represented until now in Sembalun area, East Lombok, that always planting *pare beaq* and its lower areas always planting *pare puteq*. *Pare beaq* in Sembalun area cannot be sold. This implies about 'dalêm/self' which is represented by sacred *pare beaq*. Thus, the three types of *pare* classification (conceptually) in their perspective is vertical space layout, namely *luah* space 'outside' (profane in manner), *têngaq* 'middle' (semi-sacred in manner), and *dalêm* space 'self' (sacred in manner).

Furthermore, according to Fathurrahman that 'Self' concept is the comprehension concerning the unity and separateness between God and humans, so that 'Self' sometimes being signified 'self' and in other opportunities is being meant 'private'. Thus, this 'Self' or 'Nafs' concept (borrowing *Al-Qur'ân* term) can be viewed as transcendental *wujudiyah* and imminent *wujudiyah*.

Observing the way of thinking structure of Sasak-Lombok language speakers which is represented through the cognitive structure that in form of material culture named *pare*, it can be said that they are truly understand theology, cosmos (*alam kabir*), and cosmic (*alam sagir*) relation. This kind of consciousness clearly an Islamic consciousness, namely the one that leads and guides them to safety, security, and balance.

Therefore, all tradition ritual forms in *pare* context are an effort to obtain natural safety. It is not surprising if in all ethnic groups in this world that making rice as their main food sources (since their ancestors) recognize and conduct various rituals related to rice. Due to this natural safety border, all religions are equal. The difference is simply in the hereafter safety border (which is based on belief to God). Natural law (*sunmatullah*) acts for everyone without any humanity borders, such as ethnics, religion, and social status, or other subcultures. Whoever that commit breaking this law will be punished (in for of scourge) instantaneously. On the contrary, those who are obedient will accept safety, security, and balance in the natural level. In such a context like this that Sasak-Lombok society clearly not simply view *pare* as a physical entity

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<sup>29</sup> Wayah Kembang Dje, interview (13 May 2016).

(*wujud zahir*) but they also view it as 'living self'. This kind of perspective implied that *pare* is not enough simply approached by senses (as it has happened in today's biological science), but requires to be approached by love due to there is a living thing inside it.

Finally, Sasak-Lombok society consciousness that represented through the way of thinking structure concerning *pare* main classification into *pare beaq*, *pare biréng*, and *pare puteq* is a symbol of the integrated of God's will that lays on holy scripture (*ayat qauliyah*), nature (*ayat kaunyah*), and human (*ayat insaniyah*). *Pare beaq* 'red rice' is sacred in manner, *pare biréng* 'black rice' is semi-sacred in manner, and *pare puteq* 'white rice' profane in manner—in Sasak-Lombok society perspective—borrowing Fadjri and Fathurrahman term, has been made God secret saving media (*gumin Neneq*), the secret between (*gumi paer*), and the secret of Sasak people (*gumi Sasak*) themselves.<sup>30</sup> In this position, human (Adam in essence comprehension) is in the middle position, to bridge the Highest Manifestation with nature as represented by *pare biréng* which is in the position between to bridge *pare beaq* and *pare puteq*.

The various ethnophilosophical aspects of rice are still reflected in the daily life of the Sasak people, especially among indigenous people around Mount Rinjani. The ethnophilosophical aspects of rice are applied in the way of maintaining the balance of nature, the layout of settlements, the framework of a job, the purpose of farming, food management strategies, and awareness of godliness through the awareness of their cosmos. In addition, the philosophical abstraction of the Sasak people's experience in producing and consuming rice has been expressed extensively in the beliefs, rituals, customs, and folk literature of the local community. Thus, the ethnophilosophy of rice has become a reference for traditional farmers (indigenous communities) in giving meaning to food production. However, as the times change, the ethnophilosophy of rice has changed among modern Sasak farmers (non-indigenous peoples) through adaptation and commodification, especially for the purpose of accommodating economic, political, and biological aspects.

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<sup>30</sup> Fadjri, "Mentalitas dan Ideologi dalam Tradisi Historiografi Sasak-Lombok pada Abad XIX-XX"; Fathurrahman, *Membaca Arsitektur Sasak*.

### G. A Portrait of Islam Hybrid in Sasak Society Local Culture

Observing the collected data, it seems that farming culture ritual structure in Sasak society is closed its relation to Malay farming culture, particularly in Malaysia, Sumatera, and Kalimantan (especially West Kalimantan). This influence does not occur through their people migration, but through the knowledge transmission course that obtained through manuscripts. Some evidence concerning this networking can be tracked from some manuscripts, such as *Hikayat Asay Pade* and *Kitab Berladang*.

In Sasak society (particularly in Jerowaru area, East Lombok), this rice farming culture ritual structure is started from pre-seedlings and rice pre-planting which covers buffalo or cow feast ritual that is going to be used to till the soil and paddy rice field feast ritual. Later on, rice seedlings, planting, and harvesting rituals that cover seed feast ritual, rice starter/marker feast ritual, rice plants feast ritual (in rice gestation phase), *buk* drugs hanging ritual (when rice starts to emerge its fruit), rice *sesari* begging feast, rice entertain event, and mother of rice harvesting feast. Last, rice purifying and storing event that covers tied rice feast, mother of rice storage ritual, and alms rice delivering ritual to *keiyai* and *seweneb* rice to irrigation officers. The similar rice cultivating ritual structure is found in those manuscripts' explanations.

Even though in cultivating culture ritual structure context is similar between Sasak society and Malay people in Malaysia, Sumatera, and Kalimantan, however, in the language sound of the mantra is distinctive. Each ethnic group is creating a different formula and wording style. The similarity lays on the combining of local concepts and Islamic way of life key concepts. In the rice origin context, for example, Sasak people has a mythos that it originated from the body fragment of a princess or the death of a Goddess, later on it shifts and becomes a belief as direct giving from God through Prophet Khidir as mediator. However, in its maintenance practice, it involves nine parts of *Nur* 'lights' that existed inside the human (see *pare pémon* 'rice starter/marker' concept explanation above). Meanwhile, Aceh people (as mentioned in 'Hikayat Asay Pade' manuscript) considers rice is originated from body fragment of the fourth children of prophet Adam who has four nicknames.<sup>31</sup> Dayak-

<sup>31</sup> Abdullah, *Hikayat Asay Pade: Mitos Padi dalam Masyarakat Aceh*.

Muslim people (Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan) considers that rice seed is originated from Tears of Allah, but the one that becomes rice is originated from *Nur Muhammad* (Light of Muhammad) which is named *Nurbhayati* (Light of Life).<sup>32</sup> However, each ethnic group constantly Nur Muhammad and Adam concepts as the rice created axis or presence on this earth.

In addition, every ethnic group that makes rice as a staple food source on average has a myth about the existence of a rice parent who has the spirit / spirit of rice. It's just a different designation. Aceh people calls it *semangat padi*, *inang sari* and *semongat padi*, meanwhile Sasak people calls it *pare buyuq* or *inên pare*. This belief clearly a local faith in the ethnic groups, but they have similar knowledge networking, namely originated from manuscripts, such as *Hikayat Asay Pade* and *Kitab Berladang*. Later on, in each of the ethnic groups known as 'female rice' and 'male rice' concepts. Some are differentiate it from fruit shape aspect (long-grain for female and round grain for male in Dayak Kapuas Hulu people context)<sup>33</sup> or from its type aspect (paddy/common rice for female and sticky rice for male in Sasak-Lombok people context). Those concepts are closed relation to Dewi Sri concept (for Java context). However, those concepts later being replaced by *Raden Galuh Nurbhayati* concept (for female rice) and *Raden Galuh Nur Muhammad* (for male rice). Again, *Nur* 'light' concept becomes rice associated superordinate. Here Islamic Sufism tradition is seen and making *Nur Muhammad* as superordinate everything being created in this world.

Cosmos element concepts also experience reconceptualization. For example, soil element is lots being associated with Adam's concept as the first human being (who is religion imposed) so that *Abul Basbar* 'the father of human' or *bungkaq Nabi Allah Adam* 'the back of Allah's prophet Adam' term has occurred. This is clearly seen in various rice planting mantras (see 2.a mantra above). Thus, mantras in rice farming that exist in agrarian Sasak society or in other Malay society are very creative in creating local and Islamic ideology (especially key concepts concerning Islam life perspective). In fact, rice seed term that is going to

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<sup>32</sup> Faizal Amin, "Kitab Berladang: A Portrait of Hybrid Islam in West Kalimantan", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2013), pp. 59–96.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

be planted is being made Islam with the concept of *Mas Tanduran Allah* 'Mas Plants/Light of Allah' (see 2.b *mantra* above) for Sasak context, and *Nur Hayat Allah* 'Life Light of Allah' for Dayak Muslim context in West Kalimantan. This is a harmonic phenomenon concerning how Islam is being taught by its early scholars for agrarian people without causing real impact. However, early Islam scholars already capable to make a symbolic layer or their idea layer into Islam by inserting key concepts concerning Islam's life perspective or Islamic worldview.

The illustration concerning 'handling over the indigenous people process' of Islam concepts into local Sasak and Malay society faith and knowledge marked reinterpretation presence toward local mythos and symbols. This matter is occurred in line with their belief shift and Islam ideology strengthen in the agrarian society circle.

## H. Concluding Remarks

Refers to description and interpretation result in the above discussion, there are matters that must be underlined as a closing comment. First, symbol (language) of presence and mythos as part of the social-culture phenomenon (even religion) is very important to be studied continuously due to its experiencing dynamic and meaning development in line with its supporter society's growth. In a religious anthropology study context, for example, religion from the empirical point of view (not normative) is viewed as various symbolic expressions; religion as human and culture artifact; religion viewed as symbolization results of human efforts in expressing or showing what is exist inside themselves. Therefore, religion in this context is working by translator way so that various compositions occurred. In this matter, reinterpretation from the researcher and subjects of research sides (the society that is being researched) need to conduct 'merging horizons' in order to obtain a fresh interpretation of those various symbols.

Second, the ritual structure in one community or certain ethnic group in fact has a relation to other community or ethnic group traditions. That relation has occurred through knowledge science transmission course or certain religion spreading, as reflected in the agrarian Sasak society which their rice cultivating ritual structure is very closely related to Malay ethnic group in Sumatera and Aceh and Dayak Muslim in West

Kalimantan. The relation also is seen from the mix pattern similarity between local culture and Islam life perspective key concepts. The distinction simply in term or symbol aspect, but its semantic reference is similar. Here shows how hybrid and adaptive Islamic ideology is when present in the different social and cultural locus. From these hybrid and adaptive manners born such local *tariqah*, agrarian society *tariqah*, that full of sufism wisdom doctrines. This kind of wisdom must be cared for as a plural nationality life solution, yet still in harmony.

Third, culture perspective (ethnophilosophy) that can be comprehended from ethnographic data concerning the local rice is one of having belief in God-consciousness manifestation through cosmos consciousness which is manifest in the various local concept that available in the symbol (language) and mythos. Therefore, nature, human, and God by agrarian Sasak society has been united in consciousness networking concerning life essence. This kind of consciousness surely requires joint maintenance in order to grow the eagerness of living in harmony and balance to all cosmos contents.

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