

PERAQ API TRADITION IN LOMBOK: A BOURDIEU PERSPECTIVE REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

The research aimed to dismantle the meaning of peraq api in its social practices involving habitus and the field in Sasak cosmology. Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory was used as an analysis to uncover the meanings built in the tradition of the peraq api. The meaning of peraq api in its social practice was discussed using qualitative methods, interpretative descriptive data analysis techniques, and using a hermeneutic approach. The results indicate that the tradition of peraq api is a manifestation of life that represents the creation of beings. This happens because the attitude and perspective of Sasak society about nature originated from the monotheism's cosmology. This perspective gives rise to behavior to maintain the cosmological balance. Tawhid is a general view of reality, truth, the world, space and time, and human history, which is represented through the tradition of the peraq api.

Keywords: *peraq api, Lombok tradition, Bourdieu review, Tawhid*

INTRODUCTION

Peraq api is interpreted lexically in Sasak language that means to extinguish the fire. However, the fire extinguished here is a special fire. It is the fire of heat that usually a mother gives birth to a fireplace called *dapuh*. This fireplace functions as an after-birth warmer and deodorizer. It is made of firewood, which has an element of fragrance, such as lego leaves, pinewood, and *galih waru* (gaharu wood) that is available in a *tepaq* (a tub of water that is round made of clay). In practice, *peraq api* is a series of ceremonies performed during the birth of a child (Suhardi, Yasri, & Suhardi, 2010). This ceremony is coupled with naming and is commonly referred to as the tradition of naming newborn children in Lombok.

The ceremonies of *peraq api* are carried out after seven to nine days of age. These are marked by the detachment of the umbilical cord in the infant child. The detachment of the umbilical cord indicates that the baby is ready to be given a name (Ansori, 2018). Breaking the umbilical cord in Sasak cosmology means that the child's relationship is totally cut off with the mother's womb so that the child must have a name to be able to interact with his environment

(Fathurrachman, 2017). It can be interpreted that the absolute condition of the implementation of the *peraq api* is the breakdown of the umbilical cord which indicates the readiness of the children to face the new world. This means that the child's relationship is totally cut off with the mother's womb as a sign that the child can interact with his/her environment, so he is given a name as his identity.

A fire or a fireplace that is extinguished in a fire ritual is a warm fire called *dapuh*. This fire suppression ceremony is called *Peraq Api* (Suhardi, Yasri, & Suhardi, 2010). The implementation is carried out by *beliyan* (midwife). The fire is extinguished with a splash of water from the *bunut* (banyan) leaves and *batang buaq bikan* (bikan fruit stem) which is placed on top of the *tepaq*. Meanwhile, babies and mothers have been *dimansor* (washed and cleaned with water). Then, the baby is *ta eyok* (sieved) by swinging him over the coals that have been extinguished. After the whole series of the ceremony are completed, then the name giving is done. Names are written on paper placed above *sembèq* (a sign made of a chewed nut and betel nut). Then it (*sembèq*) is given to the baby's forehead that is followed by the mention of the name written on the baby's hand.

In some notes, *peraq api* as a cultural phenomenon in Lombok is an actual issue that is seen from the practical side and the theoretical side of meaning. Ansori (2018) has described *peraq api* as a naming ceremony for babies who are seven days old or after breaking the umbilical cord. *Peraq api* is an ancestral tradition that is carried out from generation to generation with the aim to respect, adore, and invoke salvation to God through spirits and ancestors. The practice of *peraq api* is associated with the history of the Sasak people in the past who were under the rulers of Java and Bali.

The tradition of *peraq api* as a ritual becomes an aspect that is often discussed because it is related to a system of belief or religion. This is because, in rituals, there are cultural symbols that are understood and internalized by ethnic communities as a means of implementing religious teachings (Fathurrachman, 2007). As explained by Wahyudin (2018), the tradition of the Sasak community is an embodiment of the teachings of Islam that shape the behavior of cultured devout Muslims. The *peraq api* tradition is a manifestation of the teachings of Sasak philosophy that is called *wetu telu* philosophy. This philosophy stems from the monotheistic teachings adopted by the Sasak people from the beginning in the Gumi Sasak (now called Lombok). The concept of *wetu telu* philosophy is related to the esoteric and exoteric understanding of the existence of a human being who is born to fulfill three elements, namely the elements of spirit, life, and body (Fadjri, 2015).

The presence of the *buduh*, which is then called the *boda*, namely immigrants from outside Sasak, are including from Majapahit (XVII), followed by the Gelgel nobles (Klungkung) and Makassar, then Bali-Karangasem, and finally the Netherlands. They obscure the philosophical values of the Sasak people's teachings that are loaded with philosophical teachings of life (Fadjri, 2015). As a result, everything that is carried out by the Sasak community, including its rituals, is claimed as animism, dynamism, and syncretism that reeks of Hinduism. Then, it is agreed upon by the wider community as an inevitable truth without conducting a critical analysis.

The statement that is implicitly addressed the tradition of the *peraq api* as a product of culture is one of the means of implementing religious teachings, but not a few could understand it. Public perception derived from conventional knowledge makes the *peraq api* lose its meaning philosophically. An understanding of the *peraq api* ritual is built on an understanding from outside the Sasak community, which is associated with outside influences, such as the influences of Balinese Hinduism and Javanese Majapahit.

Standardization of a single meaning closes the possibilities for the entry of new interpretations of the *peraq api* ritual. There is one omission from this ritual that the construction of meaning from the perspective of the Sasak community itself has not yet been raised. Therefore, the research is aimed at revealing the philosophical meaning of *peraq api*

by using interpretations critically (in the sense that there are other views that build awareness in seeing a reality) (Pitana, 2014). Thus, a critical interpretation from Bourdieu's perspective on habitus and the field is used to find the meaning of the *peraq api* seen from the cosmology of Sasak society.

Habitus and field are key terms of Bourdieu's thought in explaining the social practice. Habitus is a cognitive structure that mediates individuals and social reality, where individuals use their habitus in dealing with social reality. In their lives, humans have a set of internalized schemes, through which schemes they can perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate social reality. Therefore, habitus can also be said as a cultural unconscious, i.e., historical influence, which is unconsciously considered natural. Habitus is a historical product that is formed after humans are born and interacts with society in a certain space of time (Harker et al., 2009). Habitus underlies the field which is the relationship between objective positions in a social order that presents separately from individual consciousness.

In social space, individuals with their habitus relate to other individuals and various social realities that produce actions in accordance with their field and capital. Important capital that exists in the arena consists of symbolic capital and cultural capital (Harker et al., 2009). Symbolic capital refers to the degree of accumulation of prestige, fame, concentration of honor, and is built on reconnaissance. Meanwhile, cultural capital highlights certain forms of cultural knowledge, competencies, or dispositions. Cultural capital is a form of knowledge, an internal code, or a cognitive acquisition that equips social agents with empathy for, appreciation of, or competence in, sorting out relations and cultural artifacts.

In summary, the generative formula for explaining Bourdieu's social practices with equations; $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice}$. Barker, Putranto, and Arya (2014) have explained that practice is a way of doing things, actions, applications, or appearances that occur as a result of intentions, habits, and routines. The practice is a product of the relation between habitus and the field as a historical product, and it simultaneously is a product of the field of forces that exist in society. In the field, there is capital as a concentration of power that operates specifically, requiring individuals to have special capital that functions as a way to live well and survive in the field itself. Thus, the *peraq api* as a cultural practice can find meaning through the habitus, capital, and field of the Sasak people.

METHODS

Habitus and field research in the tradition of *Peraq Api* uses a descriptive qualitative and interpretative methods. In general, research that uses qualitative analysis is defined as research that produces descriptive data in the form of words and/

or expressions. It includes observable actions with an emphasis on developing concepts and understanding patterns that exist in the data; pay attention to settings and people holistically so that they are not the most lively variables; tend to be humanistic; understanding of the meaning on which participants act; understand the situation in a limited scope; and this is more of a craft art that prioritizes skill and participation (Pitana, 2014).

The main data from the research are qualitative data sourced from direct observation of objects and obtained from people who are involved in the tradition of *peraq api*, namely midwife (*dukun beranak*) as the main actors implementing the tradition, as well as cultural observers who know the nature of the *peraq api*. The data obtained are then analyzed to find the meaning of the *peraq api* from the habitus and the field of the Sasak community. In this case, Bourdieu's theory of social practice is used as an analysis to find the essence of the meaning of the *peraq api*. The approach used, namely social hermeneutics, will be directed at this research to be able to do a fundamental understanding of the reciprocal relationship between humans and their social actions, and the direction of the development of the intended cultural mentality (Pitana, 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Bourdieu's early cultivated issue is how knowledge and other cultural elements circulate and influence society. Individuals and society are a reciprocal relationship between the objective structure of culture and the subjective representation of individuals. Both are dialectically intertwined, mutually influencing, and sticking together in a practice (Syakir, 2016). Habitus becomes a cognitive structure as an individual intermediary with reality. Habitus, as a 'mental or cognitive structure', is used by actors to deal with social life (Hidayat, 2017; Krisdinanto, 2016). Directly, it acts as a subjective structure formed from individual experience that connects individuals with other individuals in a network of objective structures in social space. It refers to the whole conception of the social world (Harker et al., 2009).

In reality, the Sasak community is generally Muslim that refers to the whole conception of the society that everything is created by God Almighty (Fathurrachman, 2017). The life perspective in the context of Sasak cosmology is inseparable from the faith that motivates the culture, including the perspective on the source of life and attitude towards life. This motivation is a form of habitus that consists of thoughts, beliefs, interests, and understanding of the world around them. It is created through socialization from family, culture, and education (Prayitno, 2017). Sasak people's view of life is based on monotheistic cosmology that everything in nature comes from Allah SWT so that the cultural construction must be built

on the foundation of Islam. Islamic cosmology begins with the knowledge and awareness of the existence of God, who becomes the source and place of returning to all life (Fathurrachman, 2017).

For the Sasak people, life is a gift that comes from the Most Living, which is a gift from the glorified. More broadly, the meaning of *paice* includes life and livelihood that is entirely derived from Allah SWT, which is manifested in the ritual of *peraq api*. Thus the Sasak people's view of life comes from the Almighty until the end will return to Him. *Paice urip* (gift of life) is received with gratitude and glory (*ta pamolè*). This means that everything comes from God that must be received with gratitude through rituals (*peraq api*), and this is an expression of gratitude for receiving *paice* and prayer of hope to be blessed with mercy (Fathurrachman, 2017).

Peraq api is interpreted as a form of thanksgiving and is a symbol of life that represents the element of the creation of human beings. This is because the interpretation of the elements of equipment in the *peraq api* is associated with life. This interpretation is contained in the custom apparatus, such as the presence of water, fire, and air as sources of life. However, these symbols are anthropological symbols, which are then based on philosophical or philosophical understanding. According to Sattar (2010), the four original materials, soil, water, fire, and air, are as *qadim* material elements as the realization of the element of life. The nature and foundation of human beings are in two origins that are far and near. The origin of the first distant event is from the ground when God perfects the event and blows the spirit (as a symbol of the air) of His creation. The origin of near events is *nuftah* (sperm) (Fitriani, 2016).

According to the Sufis, the creation of metaphorical creatures is by making pottery containing soil as human origin, water as a source of life, the element of fire heat as an element of human lust that must be extinguished, then the spirit is blown on the body to have a soul (Interview with Mamiq Agus and SQ, in January 2019). The four elements are symbols for the Sasak group in interpreting and imaging themselves spiritually, which are believed to have links with other natural manifestations as a micro-universe (Fathurrachman, 2017). This understanding has an impact on the existence of a series of customary rituals as a way of communicating physically and spiritually to harmonize with nature.

Customary instruments, in addition to the presence of elements of life, are *andang-andang*, consisting of plots of *lèkoq buaq* (betel leaves and areca nut), rice, coins, *buqa kataq* (raw thread), and eggs that have certain meanings. *Andang-andang* is a symbol of communication with the universe that shows an attitude of maintaining harmony. Each of the components is interpreted as first, is a willingness to share as a form of gratitude for the blessings that are given by Allah SWT. It is symbolized by rice that can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1 Rice

The second is *Kèpèng bolong*. It is a representation of mineral elements in nature that must be returned to nature. In a sense, humans must be introspective towards the awareness of plurality which ultimately returns to the One (Herawati, 2015). It can be seen in Figure 2.



Figure 2 *Kèpèng bolong*

The third is betel leaves, betel lime, and betel nut that are symbols of human events. Mixing between sperm and ovum (father and mother) that gives birth to human life and fruit represent the existence of creatures that grow on earth. On the one hand, betel leaves and betel nuts are plants that have a color resembling blood if both are mixed. This is interpreted as a symbol of human closeness with its creator because the Sasak people are based on the cosmology of monotheism, so this *lèkoq buaq* is a procession of uniting oneself with God. It can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3 Betel Leaves, Betel Lime, and Betel Nut

The fourth is eggs that represent the existence of creatures present to the world through the process

of eggs/hatching. Eggs are the symbol in expressing the process of the reproductive system that all living things came into existence by laying eggs (Zuhdi, 2014). It can be seen in Figure 4.



Figure 4 Eggs

The fifth is the *benang kataq*. It means the willingness to establish a friendship with the concept of mutual safeguards and mutual ties. Thus, the instruments of the custom of *andang-andang* in the *peraq api* can also be said to be a form of harmony with nature because both are from the Almighty God. It can be seen in Figure 5.



Figure 5 *Benang Kataq*

The tradition of *peraq api* is a series of naming that has a philosophical meaning, namely as an intermediary to remind the agreement of the child with his God, as a representation of the journey of life, and life reflected in hope and prayer in order to bring the name to live's journey (Fathurrachman, 2017). In the process of naming, the cleric or older person speaks to the baby to remind his agreement before Allah SWT and ends with a two-sentence reading of the testimony of faith. Certain sentences are used by the Muslim scholar (Kiai) in giving names to babies, for example, "*Kusèmbèq side baingku/anakku aran(Mentioning his name) adeqde tao jauk aran jari kelampan. Bismillahirrahmaanirrahiim*" (*I sèmbèq you my baby/my child by name..., I hope you can bring your name to your life's journey*). Thus, habitus as a product of history becomes the context in understanding reality and gaining various beliefs, values, and knowledge through practices (Barker, Putranto, & Arya, 2014). Habitus is a result of the

accumulation of skills into practical action (Ningtyas, 2015). The *peraq Api* tradition is the result of habitus, which has accumulated into practical actions of the Sasak people based on monotheistic faith. This also cannot be separated from the principle of habitus itself as the principle, which gives birth and forms habits (Zurmailis & Faruk, 2018).

Habitus and the field have a close relationship because practices or agent actions are habitus formed by the field so that it can be understood as a cultural action (Siregar, 2016). Agencies do not act in a vacuum, but in concrete social situations that are governed by a set of objective social relations. Individuals who act as social subjects are agents (Karnanta, 2013). The field is a metaphor that Bourdieu uses to describe the condition of a structured and dynamic society in filling social space, covering the whole conception of the social (Harker et al., 2009). Without realizing it, the realm regulates the positions of individuals and groups in the social fabric that is formed spontaneously (Adib, 2012).

In general, cosmology refers to the science of the universe as a rational and orderly system. Cosmology is presented as a human effort in understanding the universe and determining the position in it (Iqbal, 2014). This is based on the human belief that behind the planetary movements that seem chaotic, there must be a real pattern in accordance with the laws governing the mechanism (Bagus, 1996). The Sasak community in every space tries to build cosmic harmony in starting to determine their orientation, where they can feel comfortable sitting and standing.

The view of space as a mandala that has energy seeks to capture the existence of signs in its environment (Fathurrachman & Irawan, 2016). This means that they always try to realize their position of existence, and can position themselves in the proper existence. It is because, based on the monotheistic cosmology, all things that are created and owned by Allah SWT have their respective tasks side by side. The reality of the Sasak people who gained this awareness shows that the symbolic tradition departed from the Sufism tradition. Therefore, all activities of the Sasak people have universally relied on aspects of monotheism, including cultural attitudes, which have long been a tradition (Maryam, 2018). Bakhtiar (2008) further has written that through the awareness of the cosmic axis or vertical consciousness acquires knowledge of immortality. Through an intuitive perception of the law of harmony that unites everything in the universe, one begins to recognize and know the transcendent things (Bakhtiar, 2008; Fathurrachman, 2017).

The Sasak people are aware of the existence of cosmic centers called *kemaliq*, which is a term used for ancient sites that are considered to have spiritual value or value (Fathurrachman, 2017). *Kemaliq* is generally mystical because it gives birth to unlimited cosmic energy. This brings the Sasak people to visit it in certain rituals. Rituals, in this case, have nothing to do with the essence of religious teachings, but as a cultural symbol

that is basically a way of communicating symbolically with fellow socialist in the universe. Rituals are the construction of cultural symbols and communication through surrender to the Almighty God - *Si Epeyang Kula - Neneq Kaji saq Kuasa - Allah Ta'ala* (Eller, 2007; Fathurrachman, 2017).

The presence of *kemaliq* in a cosmological context somewhere influences people's mindsets and attitudes to be careful in exploring and exploiting natural resources, as well as maintaining their words and behavior. *Kemaliq*, in this case, serves as a guardian of the ultimate (*maliq*) value, which is to abstain from doing things that are inappropriate and not useful. With a positive value perspective, *Kemaliq* becomes a place to reflect on society, where it finds normative values that must be adhered to in daily life. For example, the Sasak people see babies as angels. So the *maliq* or abstinence is inappropriate speech near the baby (Fathurrachman & Irawan, 2016).

Many pieces of wisdom about things are not revealed. In the past, present, and future dialectics, time becomes duration of instance; now, it is a continuous presence in someone if it is a succession or what is told is still done as a trace of the past. Time is not only a series of times, but accumulates in one moment at a time called now (Bakker, 1995; Fathurrachman, 2017). At this time, all substance with all its development is experienced and lived with all past experiences and future expectations, concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations. That is, what is gained by the Sasak people in their personal experience and experience in the social (habitus) is internalized in mind before taking action in behaving (Wati, 2015). At the individual level, habitus also means a system of behavior and disposition that is relatively permanent and moves from one object to another. Simultaneously, it integrates all previous experiences from the way individuals see and assess objects with action (Harker et al., 2009).

Habitus underlying the domain is a kind of structured relationship and unwittingly regulates individual positions spontaneously. Habitus allows humans to live in daily life spontaneously and interact with parties outside themselves. In the process of interaction with those outside themselves, the field is formed, namely the network of objective positions. The field is a metaphor that Bourdieu uses to describe the condition of society that is structured and dynamic with the forces it contains (Harker et al., 2009). That is, the power possessed by the Sasak community in interpreting the meaning of existence and life has cultural capital in the form of monotheistic knowledge. Thus, this is where the Bourdieu practice concept is applied empirically. Habitus and the field are a tool of thinking to see the life experience of Sasak people, how habitus is planted, and transformed in the context of one group obtained through various social changes across space and time. It can also be seen how a ritual is internalized and influences one's actions and attitudes (Reay, 2004).

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the explanation, it can be concluded that the tradition of the *peraq api* is interpreted as: first is *peraq api* as an expression of gratitude to the Almighty God because life is a gift that must be received with gratitude and glory. Secondly, *peraq api* is an intermediary to remind children of the agreement with their Lord because every creature has an agreement to maintain relations with the natural environment. Third, the *peraq api* represents the journey of life and life, which is reflected in hope and prayer so that one can bring the name to life's journey. Fourth, *peraq api* is part of a ritual that is a symbol of culture and communication with God in the universe, and also to harmonize relations with nature in order to maintain and respect each other.

Peraq api, as a cultural practice, can be interpreted as it is because of the habitus, capital, and domains of the Sasak people. Habitus, as cultural unconsciousness is a tendency, something that is done without thinking, comes from within, and is a subconscious impulse, namely the unexpected unconscious. It is because the Sasak people are instilled from the beginning of the *Tawhid* faith so that they believe in mystical things represented in the *peraq api*. The possessed understanding is a cultural perspective, namely *Sufistic* knowledge, monotheistic knowledge, and monotheistic faith that all things belong to the Almighty God and will be returned to their owner. Field or arena is a *peraq api* in the Sasak community in the monotheistic cosmology. Thus, from the habitus, capital, and the field that the Sasak community possesses, actions are produced, namely the practice of *peraq api*.

The ritual of *peraq api* as a cultural product that still exists until now is no more as a form of preserving ancestral heritage in the past. Through ritual, people inherit past beliefs, values, norms, and knowledge. The rituals of *peraq api* found today are fragments of the memories of the perpetrators of tradition. Although they do not know the meaning of their actions, they continue to do so in accordance with the memories that remain in mind.

The existence of the research can provide knowledge and insight, as well as broaden people's perspective on a reality that is not limited to what is seen. In addition, this research can be used by the Sasak Lombok community in general as a concrete step of awareness-raising and practical knowledge in building an understanding of cultural values in the practice of life. The research is limited to the meaning of the practice of *peraq api* tradition in general in Lombok, so it has not yet reached the stage of in-depth analysis related to the ideology that is built in the *peraq api* tradition specifically. Thus, the limitations of the research can open up opportunities for further research on *peraq api* traditions using different perspectives, because each area on the island of Lombok has a different way of doing it, but has the same goal to provide blessings to children.

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