

## Nyadhar Traditional Ceremony: History and Collective Memories of Pinggir Papas Village Community, Sumenep



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**ABSTRACT:** Collective memory is directly associated with the historical development line of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. Both go hand in hand and maintain culture. The history and collective memory of the community regarding the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony can only be traced through previous research texts, relics and interviews with locals. This research describes the history and collective memory of the Pinggir Papas village community in Sumenep regarding the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony tradition. This research uses a qualitative case study research method to analyze findings in the field in the form of interviews, previous research texts and relics. Through case studies, researchers will explore how events occur systematically over a long period until they find a suitable picture to present. The research results show that 1) The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony has been implemented since salt was first discovered in Pinggir Papas village. 2) All equipment and ceremonial procession sequences are important for the community. 3) The collective memory that develops in society is the key to preserving the traditions of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony.

**KEYWORDS:** Nyadhar Ceremony, History, Collective Memory, Pinggir Papas

### I. INTRODUCTION

In 2020, the Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan, KKP) reported that Madura Island, the center of Indonesian salt production, was ranked first in the province of East Java, with a total production of 399,023.60. According to Lombard (1996), Madura is the oldest salt producer on the north coast of Java. The coastal village of Kalianget is proof of the large salt production in Madura. Salt production existed long before the VOC came in the 19th century to monopolize the salt trade in Madura. Long before that, there was the figure of Prince Anggasuto, who was an elder in Pinggir Papas Village. He was the person who first taught salt cultivation to the Balinese people living in Pinggir Papas village as a result of the war defeat with the Sumenep Palace, estimated in the 15th century.

The development of salt production had experienced ups and downs before the arrival of the Dutch, when the VOC carried out a monopoly, when Japan took over power, and when nationalization was carried out after Indonesian independence. This development gave birth to a long history that goes hand in hand with the community's collective memory about salt in Madura. Salt was considered very important for the people of Pinggir Papas village because it was a strategy to support the economic situation. Therefore, Prince Anggasuto was highly respected and became a figure who played an important role in people's lives. One form of community gratitude and honor for Anggasuto's services is by carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. This ceremony has been carried out from generation to generation and developed along with the collective memory of the local community. The *Nyadhar* ceremony has been carried out since salt was discovered in the Pinggir Papas area. Therefore, the people of Pinggir Papas village must respect and carry out the traditions of their ancestors (Khairi, 2013).

Remembering is a process; it always occurs in a social context, such as nearby events, events that happen to someone, the discovery of something, local stories and so forth (Wattimena, 2012). The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is a tradition that began to be carried out in a certain phase of time. This tradition is a memory that becomes the basis for the community to continue to preserve it without changing anything with the same meaning but in the condition of people's thinking, which has developed based on their social experience. Collective memory can be interpreted as the relationship between past memories and current situations (Halbwachs, 1950). Therefore, this article aims to describe the history and collective memory of the Pinggir Papas village community in Sumenep regarding the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony tradition.

### II. METHOD

Collective memory is a remembering activity carried out together, meaning that remembering here does not only happen individually; it occurs collectively in the memory of a group, society, or nation. This collective memory shapes people's identity,

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including their self-view (Wattimena, 2016). Therefore, this research uses qualitative methods to photograph phenomena broadly and in depth using descriptive data from individuals and actors who can be observed, both in written and oral form. The type of qualitative research used is a case study. Therefore, every series of programs, events, activities, processes, and individual groups must be examined thoroughly by researchers (Creswell, 2010). Applying this approach will result in a better understanding of major phenomena through a case and more focus on related aspects.

The application of this case study will focus on the Nyadar Traditional Ceremony procession in Pinggir Papas village. Data was collected through observation and continued with semi-structured interviews with traditional leaders, officials in the village head's office and the local community. Apart from that, the researcher also used the 2017 Indonesian Intangible Cultural Heritage archives about "Nyadar" and several similar research texts entitled (1) "Upacara Nyadar Dalam Upacara Pembuatan Garam Di Sumenep (Fungsi, Simbol dan Pemaknaannya)" oleh Dwi Sulistyorini tahun 2006. (2) Artikel prosiding "Upacara Adat Nyadar (Telaah Sosial Masyarakat Pesisir Sumenep)" oleh Ahmad Imam Khairi tahun 2013. (3) Artikel Jurnal "Nyadhar Tradition And Symbolic Interaction Of Pancasila Values In Sumenep Pinggirpapas Residents" oleh Lailatul Yusro tahun 2023.

At the data analysis stage, researchers start by grouping data according to types such as text, interview results and archives. Next, the researcher read and recorded the data, namely the results of observations, interviews and archives, then analyzed the literature, namely research texts related to the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, and finally drew the conclusion when the data in the field was complete and reached the saturation point (Creswell, 2010). The data analysis used is based on the stages of qualitative research in general so that the resulting data can be presented descriptively. Based on data analysis carried out by researchers, it will be discovered how the community's collective memory regarding the *Nyadhar* traditional ceremony is, and how it all developed, whether, in the end, there were values that changed or were deliberately changed in order to adapt so that they remain relevant to current conditions.

### III. RESULT

#### Local History of *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremonies

The existence of this ceremony is certainly inseparable from "salt" itself because the main purpose of carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is to express gratitude to the ancestors and Almighty Allah for the prosperity of salt farming in Pinggir Papas village. Based on 2017 Indonesian Intangible Cultural Heritage data, history says that at that time, there were troops from Bali who wanted to attack the Sumenep Palace. However, they were forced and retreat to Pinggir Papas Village, where Prince Anggasuto saved them and finally settled there. However, Prince Anggasuto felt confused because the people of Bali did not have enough sources of income or work to survive there. He prayed while walking around the beach, but suddenly, he was surprised by a wave that wet his feet and clothes. It was very strange that the marks of his soles on the beach sand and the waves that hit his clothes suddenly became white sand powder. Prince Anggasuto then took it and smelled it. He was increasingly interested and finally tasted it, and in Madurese, he said "Accen," which means salty in Indonesian. Then, it was given the name "Buje," or salt in Indonesian. That is how salt began in Pinggir Papas village.

As time went by, not only Balinese people did salt farming, but local people also used the existence of salt as a livelihood to support their economic conditions, apart from the promising condition of the chalky soil, because, at that time, the people generally worked as fishermen whose results were not always promising. Apart from that, land for salt farming is placed side by side, separate from residential land. This area has land covering an area of  $\pm 672.25$  hectares, designated as salt farming. Exceeds the area of residential areas, which is only around  $\pm 163.4$  ha. As a form of gratitude towards Prince Anggasuto, the community began carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession since the day he died. (Khairi, 2013) explained that the implementation was in Kebundadap village, Saronggi sub-district because the Prince Anggasuto burial complex was located there. It takes around 10 minutes by river and 1 hour by land from residential areas in Pinggir Papas village.

(Koentjaraningat, 1992) Explains that traditional ceremonies are an operating system or activation system, laws and traditions that are followed in society related to the types of ongoing events that usually occur in the related culture. Even in the 19th century, the Dutch East Indies government established a salt monopoly through *Bepalingen tot verzekering van het zoutmonopolie* since February 25, 1882. At that time, salt farming was at the peak of trade because of the government's tools and materials, but the owner only felt prosperity. Land and the Dutch East Indies government, while workers on salt farms received only a small amount of wages, so many resigned and protested, namely by carrying out sabotage. The quality of the salt was reduced to the point that Madurese salt farmers also demanded reclamation rights to return the land owned by the salt company. Due to monopoly and government intervention, which is considered unfair, agrarian conflicts continue to occur (Muzakiki, 2023). According to Huub De Jonge (2011), Kalianget Port is a center for shipping salt throughout the archipelago. PT Garam persero proves this, which is still available today at Kalianget port.

Salt capitalization continued to experience ups and downs over the following period. However, one thing still the same is the implementation of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony 3 times every year by the people of Pinggir Papas village. Even though Salt farming experiences ups and downs, the tradition carried out for generations to express gratitude to Prince Anggasuto and Almighty God is a mutual obligation. The Nyadar ceremony has been carried out since salt was discovered in the Pinggir Papas area. Therefore,

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the people of Pinggir Papas village are obliged to respect and carry out the traditions of their ancestors. If studied further, the Nyadar Ceremony carried out by the Pinggir Papas community originates from respect for their ancestors and has an important relationship with the conservation of natural resources.

In the middle of the saltland, there are the graves of the ancestors of the people of Pinggir Papas village. The community protects the grave so no one else dares to evict it. A cemetery is not only a place to bury corpses but also a place of reverence because there, the bodies of sacred people are buried. The community's ancestral spirits must supervise and protect their descendants, and they also have shares in the land, which means selling land is the same as selling their ancestral spirits, so the land must be protected. The people of Pinggir Papas village always celebrate the Nyadar ceremony to strengthen this sacredness. Even today, this ceremony is still routinely carried out by the people of Pinggir Papas village without exception, whether they work as salt farmers, fishermen, etc. Because Prince Anggasuto is considered an ancestor who played an important role in Pinggir Papas village, Kalianget subdistrict.

### Implementation, Tools and Materials, Figures (Understanding by the Community)

The Nyadar ceremony has been carried out since salt was discovered in the Pinggir Papas area. However, the implementation is in Kebundadap Barat Village, Saronggi District, because the burial area is in that village. The *Nyadhar* ceremony is held three times a year, as explained by (Hefni, 2017) in his book entitled "Islam in Madura" namely:

- (1) First *Nyadhar* (July): All *Nyadhar* processions are each held for two days, on Friday and Saturday. On the first Friday, the procession carried out is the opening of the cemetery door and the pilgrimage (nyekar) of the grave. The tribal chief and his staff had to walk across the Sarokah River to go to the Anggosuto burial complex at 16.00 WIB. Meanwhile, the general public usually uses two ways to get to this place, namely 1) by using private vehicles across the main road with a fairly long distance (around 30 minutes) and 2) crossing using sea transportation in the form of a boat with a distance of less than 10 minutes.

The clothing worn by the general public is Muslim clothing (covering the private parts). The traditional leader, known as Jhuke, is dressed in a white robe, along with his eleven Pangatoa attendants, who are dressed in black, and four other people are dressed in Racok Saebu. Next, each member of the community handed over powder (bungkol), coins and flowers to Pangatoa. Then, the Pangatoa's wives will bring the flowers to the burial complex along with burning incense. After Pangatoa read the tahlil prayer, the flowers were collected and distributed to the people present to be sprinkled on the grave. They believe that the wish of the person who places flowers on the grave will soon be granted. Next is the opening of the cemetery door by Jhuke. Each resident will compete to enter the cemetery area first. People believe that whoever arrives first will be given blessings such as going on the Hajj. After entering the cemetery area, people pray and recite the Qur'an. Having liquid powder on the forehead or behind the ear is a way to show that someone has attended the ceremony. This marker is thought to prevent interference from spirits.

On the first Saturday (second day), the ceremonial procession is the implementation of "*Kaoman*." The implementation is at 07.00. After returning from the first day, the wives will cook the equipment that will be used in "*Kaoman*," namely preparing *Panjheng* in the form of a tumpeng decorated with omelets, fried chicken and milkfish. The composition of *Panjheng* has been around for a long time. '*Kaoman*' will be performed by husbands or men only, but women are also allowed to attend. First of all, everyone will gather under a large tamarind tree carrying the *Panjheng* that has been prepared, and then when the ceremony starts, it will be marked by ten bells ringing. The Pangatoa will start reading prayers for all the existing *Panjheng* with a note if there are residents who If you miss this ceremony, you must carry out the ceremony independently in your own home. Rice in *Panjheng* is eaten together after prayers are recited. If neighbors do not participate in the ceremony, the remaining rice will be taken and distributed to them..

- (2) Second *Nyadhar* (August): The ceremony is almost the same as the first *Nyadhar*. However, in the second *Nyadhar*, Prince Anggosuto's weapons were taken from the pasarean. The weapons consisted of the Abinan (kris) and Kodik Perangshang, both of which were taken from the prayer leader before dawn on Saturday. The weapons were taken to the gate of the cemetery complex. After the prayer is read, the weapon is returned to its original place (Zulkarnain, 2004).
- (3) Third *Nyadhar* (September): With the same equipment as the previous *Nyadhar*, the third *Nyadhar* is only carried out in the homes of the four figures it follows. In the third ceremony, each pasarean will be led by two people who will read Layang Jatisuara dan Layang Sempurnaning Sembah simultaneously. One person will act as the reader, and the other will explain the meaning of the layang being read. During the night until before dawn, this activity is carried out. Layang Sempurnaning Sembah and Layang Jatisuara provide information about how to act and behave as a servant of God. Palm leaves have scripts written on them. After reading the layang, the interpreter hands the manuscript to Pangatoa and notifies the traditional leader that the layang is complete.

The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony has a very long process, both before and after. Therefore, the community will work together to prepare. This time spent together is very important to maintain harmony with each other. People from various areas of Sumenep gathered to learn about the *Nyadhar* tradition.

The first, second and third Nyadar ceremonies require the use of certain objects and tools. The use of these objects and tools is very important because it determines the success of the ceremony, namely:

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### **1. Offerings**

The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony uses offerings in the form of (Flowers, Bungkol Powder, and Frankincense). All residents who take part in the ceremonial procession will each bring offerings wrapped in banana leaves. These offerings will be collected in the langgar to be removed from the banana leaves. Then, the offerings will be placed in a large container, which will then be taken to the burial complex when the ceremony begins. People believe that each flower offering will provide blessings for life. Therefore when people finish praying at the cemetery complex, they will take a handful of offerings to take home.

### **2. Rice and Side dish**

One of the processions in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is "Ngaom." The implementation of ngaom is identical to bringing food, namely rice with chicken, eggs and milkfish and the fact that this composition cannot be changed because it has become a rule trusted by the community. Rice and side dishes are usually prepared after the first day of *Nyadhar* by their wives at home or partially prepared in one of the places provided around the burial complex. Then, the food is brought by the husbands on the second day of *Nyadhar*. The implementation of "*Kaoman*" must be carried out by men from each family, whether the head of the household or the eldest son. This is also a local community rule because men are considered providers, so the leftover food from *Kaoman* will be brought home by the men as a blessing for all family members..

### **3. Panjheng**

"*Panjheng*" is an ancient glass plate with a distinctive red serving cover. *Panjheng* is a tool used to carry rice and side dishes on the second day of the ngaom event. *Panjheng* is an object that is passed down from generation to generation in people's lives and its sacredness is strictly maintained. This object is only taken out and used when going through the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession.

### **4. Racuk Sewu**

Racuk sewu is clothing with variations of red, brown, and red, black and cream spots. This shirt has a sarong, blangkon, or headgear. Racuk sewu is kept in the house where the ancestors lived for a long time and is only taken out during the nyadar ceremony. The rakuk sewu clothes are put back after the ceremony is finished.

### **5. Ancient Manuscripts (Layang Jatiswara and Sampurna Sembah)**

People call this manuscript a sacred manuscript because it is hundreds of years old. This ancient manuscript is also only released once a year, at the third *Nyadhar* ceremony, when the manuscript is read. Regular script readings take place in their ancestral homes. The jatiswara and sampurna sembah texts are examples. At the ceremony, only a few parts are read, which contain Islamic teachings so that they can be used as examples in everyday life, such as how human relationships should be with each other, human relationships with God and human relationships with the natural environment.

### **6. Spear and Keris**

This object is only issued during the third *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony because it is a complement to the ceremonial facilities. Society believes that we should be careful with these objects because they have supernatural powers. Their ancestors inherited the keris and spear. They value these items a lot, so only the caretaker called Rama is allowed to touch them and take them from the storage area. Apart from that, these items are stored in the house where the ancestors previously lived, usually their descendants who currently occupy that residence who also act as traditional leaders who lead the implementation of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony.

These are some of the tools and materials used in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. Each piece of equipment is necessary and has a special purpose that must be completed when the ceremony is carried out.

The implementation of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony also involves several important figures. These figures fill each other's positions in the implementation of the ceremony, including:

#### **1. Traditional leader**

Traditional leaders are figures who are involved in almost the entire ceremonial procession. These Pangatowas are usually around 40 people. One of their duties is to carry out a flower-laying ceremony on the graves of their parents, including Prince Anggasuto, who has been very meritorious in teaching them how to make salt.

Each Traditional Leader wears clothing that has been determined based on the role he or she carries out. Only some people can become Pangatowa. Generally, Pangatowa is chosen based on the lineage of the kiyai or the figure of Prince Anggasuto.

#### **2. Asta Caretaker**

The Asta caretaker is a person who lives in the Asta area where Prince Anggasuto and several other figures are buried.

The role of the caretaker is to open the burial complex during the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony.

In the first *Nyadhar*, the caretaker only opens the burial complex. Then, during the second *Nyadhar*, the caretaker will open the pasarean to take the Keris (Abinan) and Kodik Perangshang. The weapons were taken to the gate of the cemetery complex. After the prayer is read, the weapon is returned to its original place. Meanwhile, in the third *Nyadhar*, the caretaker will open the chest

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containing the Layang Jati suara dan Layang Sempurnaning Sembah. The Layang Sempurnaning Sembah dan Layang Jati Suara provides information about how to act and behave as a servant of God. Palm leaves are the main material used to write the manuscript. This text will be read aloud by traditional leaders so that the entire community can learn useful lessons, especially after participating in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession.

### 3. Society

The community plays the main role in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession. Without society, this traditional ceremony is just an ordinary ceremony, gratitude and respect from the community is the lifeblood of this tradition. The majority of people who took part in this procession came from Pinggirpapas Village, where salt ponds are cultivated. However, because the ceremony was held at Kebundadap (Prince Anggasuto's Cemetery), the people around the area also took part in the ceremony activities.

People generally come to carry out their traditional processions, but some only come to see the ceremonial procession. Apart from that, several community figures attend the traditional ceremony, namely the Head of the local Cultural Service and even the deputy regent if there is a certain event. People from quite distant areas, such as the Poteran Islands, also came and took advantage of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony as a means to learn more about the traditions carried out by the salt farmers of Pinggirpapas village. Therefore, the community's position is very important in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession.

### Collective Memories of the Pinggir Papas Village Community

Maurice Halbwachs, in his book entitled "On Collective Memory," explains that the image we have of ourselves, although very particular and unique, is influenced by other people's views of us. Groups of people close to us also have memories of events that happened in our lives. (Wattimena, 2016) explains that collective memory is built from the memories of residents in a society. This collective memory greatly influences the social identity of a society. Stories passed down from generation to generation can also help someone hear about traces of the past. In contrast, society's collective memory of the past is always different. Each version influences people's social identity, but the impact is different.

Collective memory is constantly changing and evolving. As an example in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, the history that has been going on so far is a form of collective memory from the perspective of the salt farming community in Pinggir Papas village, but if explored further, there may be different stories and versions to describe the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, for example from the point of view of immigrants from Bali or the inventor of how to cultivate salt, namely Prince Anggasuto, with various stories. (Halbwachs, 1950) saw two main differences between collective and historical memory. According to him, collective memory is a collective memory that is always changing. It can change according to the transformations occurring in society. The collective memory of society is embedded in the consciousness of its citizens. Furthermore, the political will of local citizens is crucial to maintaining that collective memory. Thus, collective memory is not only rooted in the collective consciousness of community members but is also part of the collective identity of that community. Meanwhile, history for him is a variety of events in the past that are arranged systematically, chronologically and have clear cause and effect. Societies are shaped by their history and collective memory (Wattimena, 2016). Both are very important for the existence of society. However, the two are not always constant; the contents of both can always change at any time because a society must continue to consider its past from a different perspective.

Similar to the collective memory that is believed and carried out by the people of Pinggir Papas village, this research focuses on one of the local histories, namely the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession. In one of the interview activities, 25-year-old LN, a local resident who carried out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony procession, explained that:

*"Since I was little, my parents have taught me what this ceremony means. It also explains who Prince Anggasuto is, so since I was a child, growing into a teenager and even into adulthood, all of this has become like an obligation and cannot be missed, whatever the circumstances. It is indeed as important as that is the existence of this ceremony for us"*

The explanation above begins to give a little idea that the collective memory possessed by today's society is also influenced by previous generations, as explained by (Halbwachs, 1950) that society is like a thread made from a collection of fibers from animals or plants that are intertwined over a certain period; or like clothes sewn from various threads together. Then LN also explained the changes that occurred in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, namely:

*"As far as I remember, it is not about the process but about the tools used. So when I was little, people still used Panjeng with glass as the base material because it said that it was originally inherited from their ancestors. However, as time went by, the glass material was considered unsafe and prone to breaking, so from then on, all residents agreed to use Panjeng, which is made from young coconut leaves (janur), then woven to form a serving hood and then painted bright red. Residents can make their own Panjeng at home because it is very easy to make."*

A similar statement was also made in an interview by another local resident, namely B, aged 28:

*"Of course, there is, in terms of development, too. Especially the younger generation, they are lazier now. For example, in making tumpeng for Kaoman, usually, the community cooks it together for the women, namely in the settlement near the cemetery complex, so there is a value of mutual cooperation there. There is a division of tasks such as the person who makes the fire, the person who cooks the rice and the person who provides the side dishes. Meanwhile, men also gather in that area to wait for their*

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wives to finish cooking. However, recently, this tradition has begun to shift and is no longer carried out by all people, most now choose to cook each meal from home and immediately bring it on the day of the second ceremony, namely Kaoman. In fact, this is not allowed, apart from the cooking method which cannot be guaranteed using traditional methods, the value of mutual cooperation cannot be achieved. That is the change I have felt the most so far, apart from that, nothing has changed.”

The explanation above is also related to the explanation (Halbwachs, 1950) that collective memory can change at any time because it is dynamic. Looking at this new approach is very dependent on the combination of different interests that exist in society. This combination of interests also has a big impact on the way history is written about the past of the people in a region (Wattimena, 2016). In another sentence, I emphasize that the possibility of future changes cannot be avoided and will occur naturally in people's minds.

The past is a symbol, so in the present, we live in the name of the past itself (Hagen, 2012). In collective memory, people view the past from the perspective of the present. Moreover, it is always in people's memory. Societal memory depends on the groups that create it. Indifference and pain cannot forget all the events and people present. However, the groups that maintain these memories will disappear. The measured space of collective memory and measures of time will also expand as humans age.

In the memory of the people of Pinggir Papas village, the story of Prince Anggasuto has two versions. The way people respect him is also based on different aspects. The first version, quoted from goodnewsformindonesia (GNFI, 2023), explains that an Islamic preacher named Sheikh Anggasuto is associated with the beginning of the *Nyadhar* ceremony. He came from the Middle East and stopped in Cirebon, West Java. Then, he settled in Sumenep, namely around the coast of Pinggir Papas Village, to preach Islam. Several groups in society respect him because he has provided knowledge about the Islamic religion in the Pinggir Papas village area and is considered an Islamic figure whose services must be remembered.

Meanwhile, the second version, quoted from 2017 Indonesian Intangible Cultural Heritage data, explains that history says that at that time, there were troops from Bali who wanted to attack the Sumenep Palace. However, they were forced and retreat to Pinggir Papas Village, where Prince Anggasuto saved them and finally settled. A similar opinion was expressed in an interview with 23-year-old BY:

*“Actually, in the burial complex, there is a legacy book that explains everything related to salt here. However, the book is sacred and can only be opened by the caretaker and used only during ceremonies. In the book it explains the figure of Anggasuto, that this figure was the person who first stepped on his feet in the village of Pinggir Papas. Apart from that, his existence is also associated with the Balinese kingdom because all the events are interrelated, especially when he helped the Balinese troops who lost in the war and allowed these troops to stay for a long time in this village. Even the Balinese troops were part of our great-grandmother's. So Prince Anggasuto's role was very big. He opened civilization, taught salt cultivation and so on”*

In line with this opinion, AF, aged 20, also provided an explanation:

*“I really respect him, especially because he is the great-grandfather of the people of Pinggir Papas village. He is like a teacher and role model for every resident here. He brought a very bright light to the development of Pinggir Papas village by discovering how to cultivate salt. During his lifetime, he was known to be very kind and happy to help the local community. Apart from that, his lineage was also highly respected by the people here as a form of gratitude to Prince Anggasuto”*

Based on the explanation above, it is enough to give a big picture that collective memory depends on each member or individual. The existence of sacred books that can only be accessed by traditional leaders or older people provides a clear picture that the individual also influences the interpretation of a developing memory. Therefore, other communities adopt the same thing so that it then becomes a similar collective memory. These results are in line with the explanation (Wattimena, 2016) that it is the community that maintains and builds collective memory. To preserve and develop collective memory, the political will of the group or individual who remembers it is also essential. In addition, collective memory consists of different interpretations of past events held by each person.

A collection of memories that exist among the people in Pinggir Papas village developed into a collective memory or memory that is believed, owned and carried out together. Remember that Prince Anggasuto is a figure who plays an important role in the survival of the people in Pinggir Papas village. Remember that salt was a commodity that boosted the economic situation at that time and became an advantage in Pinggir Papas village. The memory that God bestows his sustenance and blessings through the chalky soil makes the land fertile for salt farming. Remember that relations between communities began to be better connected through the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. The fact that the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony that exists today is the result of developments in people's lives, including behavior, lifestyle, habits, norms and beliefs held. The knowledge that we call collective memory differs from culture to culture and from time to time (Assmann, 1988: 15). In this situation, it can be said that collective memory is a repetition and rotation of various communication and information processes related to the past. (Wattimena, 2016). The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony will always be recorded in the history of the locality of Pinggir Papas village, taught to the next generation and its existence preserved.

## **IV. DISCUSSION**

### ***Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony as a Formation of Community Collective Memory**

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By preserving past history, spoken language creates collective memory. Ritual performances bring the past into the present in anticipation of future social interactions (Lattu, 2019). A past ritual tradition in an area shows its existence through consistent community compliance over time so that it will never fade. Every society always has values that are held firmly, and these are usually rooted in traditions passed down from generation to generation. These values also become part of collective memory. This will also be transmitted to the next generation through various means, such as through education (Wattimena, 2016).

The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony comes from various community perspectives. Individual memory is linked to the collective memory of society. An individual's memory can be considered a unique perspective of society's collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950). The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is a form of a collection of individual memories that become collective memories and are adopted as local traditions that continue to be implemented to this day. It also follows changes such as applicable norms, lifestyle, etc. There are differences in the experiences of each society, as well as the way people remember the past and overcome social challenges, which determine society's understanding of collective memory and representation (Lattu, 2019).

How does the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony grow and develop as a collective memory of the community? Based on interview data, due to limited knowledge at that time, the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony was initially purely a ritual for placing offerings on each ancestor's grave. However, as time progressed, the implementation of the tradition began to be influenced by special aims and objectives outside the needs of the procession. Apart from that, there also began to be reading of prayers with a specific purpose, so that the implementation also experienced slight changes. This usually also adapts to the norms adhered to by the local community because at that time, namely around the 16th century, the beliefs held by the community were still very diverse, such as a strong Hinduism culture, which was related to the presence of Balinese soldiers who settled and has descendants in the Pinggir Papas Village. The implementation of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony tradition is very closely related to Balinese worship procedures. Therefore, there are offerings there. However, after the development of Islam in this area, the Muslim community began to dominate, and a new stage was born in the procession, namely the reading of prayers.

The development of collective memory as a result of changing times has shaped the traditions of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony today. The acculturation that occurs as a result of the arrival of the Balinese people in this area makes *Nyadhar* a unique memory for the community. The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony functions as a social media used to convey thoughts, messages, needs and interests in the lives of many people. So the messages, hopes, values or lessons conveyed through this ceremony are painted and recorded in the collective memory of the community as an encouragement to maintain the cultural heritage inherited by their ancestors.

### **Collective Memory is influenced by the Dominant Group**

The existence of collective memory is influenced by the way each individual interprets their memories. So what about the dominant groups, do they also play a role in compiling and shaping society's collective memory at this time? In reality, this can be a double standard. If it is related to events that result in casualties, consisting of winners and losers, rebellions and its kind, then there are definitely group interests involved. Several groups who have interests in society are trying to make society itself forget this heartbreaking event by removing signs, writings and news. However, the collective memory of an event cannot be completely erased (Wattimena, 2016). Meanwhile, for ritual activities, there is not much interest that the group has in this, so the influence may only be on the teachings included. The tools and materials used must characterize a particular religious group based on who dominates the area.

To preserve and develop collective memory, the political will of the group that remembers it is also very important (Halbwachs, 1950). Social change is driven by social conflict, according to Dahrendorf, while according to (Arisandi, 2015), there are two groups in every society, each with positive and negative roles. If we talk about history, it is common knowledge that the history we study today is a form of interpretation from the winning side. This means that the winner has the right to write history, or it could be said that history will not be free from subjectivity. Even though the authors claim that history must be interpreted as closely as possible with objectivity, there is still always interference from interest groups who control the material or content of history itself in line with its objectives. In (Lattu, 2019), Soerjono said that social change occurs due to internal and external factors. Internal factors include population changes, new discoveries, conflicts within society, and rebellions (revolutions) within society. External factors include natural changes, war, and the cultural influence of other societies. The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is a tradition that has no winner or loser, but there are two religious teachings in Pinggir Papas village at that time.

Based on 2017 Indonesian Intangible Cultural Heritage data, history states that there were Balinese troops who failed in the war against the Sumenep Palace, so the troops ended and settled in the Pinggir Papas village area. The Balinese troops, consisting of men, then began to marry local residents and produce offspring. As we know, when the Bali Kingdom was founded, Buddhism developed. Hinduism then emerged, and many citizens embraced it. Then, the kingdom's religion has two religious backgrounds, namely Hindu-Buddhist. Therefore, the religion that developed in Pinggir Papas village consists of three beliefs, namely, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. Among these three religions, at the beginning of the discovery of salt cultivation, Hinduism was widely adhered to by the community. However, after several years, the Islamic religion developed rapidly in the village and created a new order in people's lives, especially in the lifestyle and traditions carried out. The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony initially only

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consisted of one kind of series, such as bringing offerings to the burial complex. After Islam developed rapidly in this village, many new processions emerged, such as the *Kaoman* event, namely as a form of gratitude to the ancestors for the blessing of good fortune through salt farming, the reading of Islamic prayers specifically for the life of the people in salt farming and the main procession at this time is "*Nyekar Makam*" or the activity of reciting the *Qur'an* in the cemetery complex.

These facts prove that collective memory relies heavily on the dominant group that existed at that time. It was as if the initial procession, which was still strong in Hindu culture, immediately disappeared and was replaced by an Islamic procession due to the majority of the people embracing Islam. Each group has a certain place that is used as their identity. For example, Jews have Jerusalem, Muslims have Mecca (Wattimena, 2016), as well as Muslims in Pinggir Papas village, have a burial complex as a place where the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony tradition takes place. (Halbwachs, 1950) His study of collective memory is also not limited to the framework of individual groups, such as the house as a place of primary socialization, places of material framework or places where a person spent his childhood and others like that.

### **Examining Changes in People's Collective Memories of *Nyadhar***

Change is something that will continue to be experienced by objects, humans, animals and even events can change if the interpretation is not carried out objectively. In fact, everything in this world is dynamic. There are many theoretical perspectives on social change, such as social psychology, functional structural, conflict structural, and sociohistorical (Narwoko, 2004). In general, social change is defined as the process of changing or altering the structure or order of society, which includes changing their attitudes, ways of thinking and social life to improve their quality of life (Goa, 2017). Change is inherent in all human activities, and change cannot be avoided because humans must continue to look for ways to develop the quality of their lives. This also applies equally to all events and traditions created by humans and living in their memories.

Changes are also unavoidable in the procession of carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, as explained by resource person BY (Page 6) that quite a lot of changes have occurred, such as:

#### **a. The implementation of the procession, which initially used mostly Buddhist methods, has now become acculturated with Islamic procedures.**

Initially, the series of *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony processions only consisted of one activity, namely giving offerings to the entire burial complex of Prince Anggasuto's ancestors and his lineage and was only held for one day. However, as civilization developed, the rapid development of Islamic teachings in Pinggir Papas village led to the presence of a new series of activities in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. The implementation lasted two days, including a series of *Nyekar* graves, praying, *Kaoman* and removing sacred objects from the *pasarean* of Prince Anggasuto's lineage. The frequency of carrying out the ceremony in a year also increases, namely three times, when the salt harvest is carried out.

#### **b. The value of Mutual Cooperation is fading.**

Change occurs and fades one of the values in society. Nowadays, the younger generation is lazier. For example, in making *tumpeng*"*nasek raso!*" for *Kaoman*, people usually cook together, especially women, namely in settlements near cemetery complexes, so there is a value of mutual cooperation there, there is a division of tasks such as the person who provides the place, the person who lights the fire, the person who cooks the rice, the person who prepares the *Panjheng* and the person who provides the side dishes, while the men also gather in the same area to wait for the wife to finish with her cooking activities. However, recently, this tradition has begun to shift and is no longer carried out by all people. Most now prefer to cook each meal from home and bring it straight away on the day of the second ceremony, that is, *Kaoman*. In fact, this habit is not allowed, apart from the cooking method, which cannot be guaranteed using traditional methods, and the value of mutual cooperation is also not achieved. This is the most noticeable change in the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, apart from that, nothing has changed.

#### **c. Utilization of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs).**

In the past, when carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, it had to be pure and clean from other activities that were not related to the procession. However, recently, this has yet to be the case. The cemetery complex is busy not only because it is packed with people who want to carry out ceremonies but most of them come for shopping purposes. In the area around the cemetery complex, you will find many MSMEs scattered around. Actually, this is not allowed if it disrupts the activities of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, but this is increasingly uncontrollable. Therefore, it needs special handling from local management and security. So what efforts can be made to handle this, for example by disciplining a special area for selling and its boundaries, apart from that it can be divided into booths so that the layout is neat and well organized.

These changes are recorded in people's memory along with the history of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. Change after change, both small and large, has contributed to the condition of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony being held today. Collective memory consists of a continuous process of differentiation as well as citizens' communication about past events. In other words, collective memory is a system that creates and develops itself through processes of differentiation and communication (Halbwachs, 1950). The collective memory of society also becomes harmonious because each of them becomes a witness to social change.

Collective memory is the root of the traditions' existence, living habits and society itself. As emphasized by Wattimena in his

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study, that is if someone is unable to respond to a changing world wisely and appropriately so that the past does not become a burden that continues to haunt the present and future of this country. In fact, the existence of the past is a symbol that this power is able to survive and reach this era without losing its value and existence in the eyes of society. One of the main goals of preserving collective memory is the learning process. Thus, the results of all developments, changes and shifts in beliefs held are something that creates life today, which, of course, is a life that has been upgraded and has more quality, but other changes will follow the wheel of time.

### CONCLUSIONS

Based on the qualitative case study approach carried out in this research, conclusions can be drawn based on several important points, including:

Salt is a commodity that is the reason for carrying out the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. The people of Pinggir Papas village always celebrate the *nyadar* ceremony to strengthen the sacredness of their ancestors, the person who first taught salt cultivation in Pinggir Papas village, namely Pangeran Anggasuto. Even today, this ceremony is still routinely carried out by the people of Pinggir Papas village without exception, whether they work as salt farmers, fishermen, and so forth. Prince Anggasuto has been considered an ancestor who played an important role in Pinggir Papas village, Kalianget subdistrict.

The *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony is carried out three times a year, namely: first *Nyadhar* (July), second *Nyadhar* (August) and third *Nyadhar* (September). Each is held for two days on Friday and Saturday. The first Friday at 16.00 WIB, the procession carried out is the opening of the cemetery doors and the pilgrimage (*nyekar*) of the grave. The first Saturday (second day) of the ceremonial procession is the implementation of "*Kaoman*." The implementation is at 07.00. Meanwhile, the difference between the three ceremony times is on the second day, Saturday. In the first *Nyadhar*, it was only filled with *Ngaom* activities. Second *Nyadhar*, Prince Anggasuto's weapons were taken from *Pasarean*. The weapons consisted of the *Abinan* (*keris*) and *Kodik Perangshang*, both of which were taken from the prayer leader before dawn on Saturday. The weapons were taken to the gate of the cemetery complex. After the prayer is read, the weapon is returned to its original place. Meanwhile, for the third *Nyadhar*, each *Pasarean* will be led by two people who will read *Layang Jatisuara* and *Layang Sempurnaning Sembah* simultaneously in the form of information about how to act and behave as a servant of Allah.

A collection of memories that exist among the people in Pinggir Papas village developed into a collective memory or memory that is believed, owned and carried out together. Remember that Prince Anggasuto is a figure who plays an important role in the survival of the people in Pinggir Papas village. Remember that salt was a commodity that boosted the economic situation at that time and became an advantage in Pinggir Papas village. The memory that God bestows his sustenance and blessings through the chalky soil makes the land fertile for salt farming. Remember that relations between communities began to be better connected through the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony. The fact that the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony tradition that exists today is the result of developments in people's lives, including behavior, lifestyle, habits, norms and beliefs held.

These facts prove that collective memory relies heavily on the dominant group that existed at that time. It was as if the initial procession, which was still strong in Hindu culture, immediately disappeared and was replaced by an Islamic procession due to the majority of the people embracing Islam. Each group has a certain place that is used as their identity. For example, Jews have Jerusalem, and Muslims have Mecca, as do Muslims in the village of Pinggir Papas, who have a cemetery complex as a place where the *Nyadhar* traditional ceremony takes place.

Changes continue to occur in the community's collective memory records, from small to large, which have contributed to the condition of the *Nyadhar* Traditional Ceremony, which is carried out today. Collective memory consists of a continuous process of differentiation as well as citizens' communication about past events. The existence of the past is a symbol that this power was able to survive and reach this era without losing its value and existence in the eyes of society. One of the main goals of preserving collective memory is the learning process. Thus, the result of all developments, changes and shifts in beliefs held is something that creates life today, which, of course is a life that has been upgraded to have more quality, but other changes will follow the wheel of time.

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