

Tobacco Farming Ritual Among Tebal in Temanggung: From Individual Ritual to Communal Performance as Safeguarding Effort

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Abstract - Most of the tobacco farmers in Temanggung regency of Central Java perform rituals during the farming of tobacco, dry season plants that are planted and harvested once a year. The rituals accompany the process of farming tobacco, starting from nyecel or land preparation in December-January followed by planting the seeds in each farmer's house, then continued with among tebal: tobacco seeds planted for the first time as a sign of the start of the tobacco season, then finally tungguk ritual of harvesting tobacco. This rituals performed by the adherents of Islam Abohe (Alip Rebo Wage) are substantively a personal ritual, but then turned into communal ritual. This research used qualitative method with an ethnography approach by in depth interviews and participative observation. The concepts used are oral tradition approach and performance studies. The result showed, the individual rituals that were simultaneously changed into communal rituals were actually became performance of ritual, and the change is one of the efforts to safeguard the rituals from extinction.

Keywords - ritual, tobacco farmer, performance, safeguarding.

I. INTRODUCTION

Temanggung is a regency in the center of Central Java Province with North to South length of 34,375 kilometers and an East to West stretch of 43,437 kilometers. The area is 870.65 square kilometers (87,065 hectares). Temanggung Regency is administratively bordered by Kendal Regency and Semarang Regency in the North, Magelang Regency in the South, Semarang Regency and Magelang Regency in the East, and Wonosobo Regency in the West. The population of Temanggung Regency refers to the last population census in 2015 is 745,778 people, consisting of 373,819 men and 371,959 women. Most of the population are farmers. Based on data from farmers' cards by 2018, the total number of farmers in all areas in Temanggung is 120,000 people, while the number of tobacco farmers alone reaches 35,000 people. The number of tobacco farmers is based on the assumption of land ownership on average 0.5 hectares per household head (KK) of a total of 19,000 hectares of land. In addition to tobacco, other crops grown include rice, coffee, cloves, potatoes, vegetables, cocoa, vanilla, and much more (Data from Indonesian Tobacco Farmers Association (APTI) Temanggung Regency).

The figure 35,000 is only 30 percent of the total farmers, because that number refers to farmers who only grow tobacco, not others. If coupled with tobacco farmers who also grow other crops (mixed farmers), the number becomes much more. APTI does not have detailed data on the number of mixed farmers growing tobacco, because the numbers are fluctuating or erratic each year, averaging close to 90 percent. When the tobacco season arrives, almost all farmers attempt to grow tobacco, looking at the conditions of the fields, because tobacco is grown on dry land. Rice fields or wetlands commonly planted with rice should be treated in such a way that it becomes dry land.

Therefore, tobacco becomes farmer's mainstay of life because it provides better welfare than other produces, especially if the farmers get *srinthil* tobacco which is very expensive. Former Vice Regent of Temanggung (2013-2018) Irawan Prasetyadi when interviewed said that the price of *srinthil* tobacco can reach Rp 1.2 million per kilogram, as happened in 2015. *Srinthil* tobacco contains very high levels of nicotine and up to now can not be cultivated, or appear unexpectedly. *Srinthil* tobacco appears at the time of leaf curing. Although farmers have tried to mark the time of curing, weather conditions, distribution of light and heat, and other patterns when *srinthil* appears, but its appearance is unpredictable.

The significance of tobacco makes farmers highly care about it. In addition to maintaining it by applying agricultural sciences, they also perform rituals as to gain a serenity. Tobacco farmers in Temanggung perform a series of rituals in the process of tobacco farming every year, starting from preparing the fields to harvesting the tobacco leaves. Temanggung tobacco is dry season tobacco, so it begins to be planted in April or May and harvested from August to September, so the rituals are also organized in those months. There are several rituals accompanying tobacco farming, but I emphasize to among tebal, the ritual of plugging tobacco seed for the first time in field, because of the ritual massiveness compared to other tobacco rituals.

The previous research about tobacco rituals in Temanggung was focused on the resistance of the farmers dealing with government policy and the long chains of trading tobacco from farmer to cigarette company. Indonesian anthropologist Mohamad Sobary who wrote it on his dissertation compressed became a book with the title *Perlawanan Politik dan Puitik Petani Tembakau Temanggung* (2014) or *Poetic and Political Resistance of Tobacco Farmers in Temanggung*. Rituals were stated randomly in the research in order to show they are part of poetic resistance together with invocations. Sobary didn't write even the name of ritual such as among tebal or tungguk, but he said tobacco farmers resist the unfairness in industry of tobacco as commodity through ritual and the ritual is like poem, what he called it poetic resistance. Another research was literature research written by Lerry Alfayanti, Sarwiji Suwandi, and Retno Winarni who analyzed among tebal on a novel titled *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki as symbolic meanings and concluded the symbolic meaning of *among tebal* offerings ritual was to represent the human beings with all its characters. As for the meaning of prayer pronounced in *among tebal* ritual was the request to God for tobacco plants to be planted to grow fertile and abundant harvest (Humanus Journal: 2017).

II. LOCATION AND RESEARCH METHODS

The specific location for this research is in Legoksari village, Tlogomulyo district, Temanggung regency, Central Java province. The reason to choose this village is because the rituals are held annually both personal and communal, while in other villages are not, and all the farmers in this village strongly believe that the rituals can make their life themselves and among people in society peaceful and harmonious.

The research method used is qualitative with data collection technique of interview and participant observation. Interview techniques were conducted in depth with several informants, ie farmers from two generations in two hamlet of Legoksari village that are Lamok Legok and Lamok Gunung, government parties, and community leaders. The observations referred to in this study are the types of participant observation in which the researcher joined in the activities of the supporting community and follow the activities of the supporting communities, both during the performance or outside the show. Thus, there is no distance between the researcher and the practitioners.

This approach is implementation of what Conrad Phillip Kottak said in *Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity* (2015); that an ethnographic approach exists as a research strategy in society that tries to understand the whole aspect of a particular culture. However, in this study there are limits to time and perception. This researcher moved from one location to another and one subject to another subject to discover the totality and interconnectivity of social life. One way used to obtain data is by life history approach, which is the digging up the history of source still alive. To that end researchers should find older people who are directly or indirectly connected with research subjects to recall and collect their memories of life experiences that provide a more intimate and personal portrait of culture (page 24).

III. TOBACCO FARMING RITUAL AS ORAL TRADITION

Oral tradition not only includes fairy tales, legends, myths, mantras, and other stories as many people generally understand. Oral traditions include things such as traditional wisdom, value systems, traditional knowledge, belief systems and religions, social rules and structures, medicinal systems, history, customary law, ritual ceremonies, traditional games and various art products, passed on from one generation to the next through speech (Pudentia, 2014: 2). By referring to Walter J Ong, the rituals in tobacco farming in Temanggung are oral traditions within the primary orality territory, ie the oralities of a culture wholly untouched by any knowledge of writing or print. This is in contrast to secondary orality supported by high technology, a newly supported telephone line, radio, television and other electronic devices (Ong, 2007: 15).

The youngest or the latest generation of tobacco farmers today, those in their 20s to 40s, imitate the rituals of their parents, as their parents imitate the same rituals of their grandfathers. And so on, thus the younger generation learns from the previous generation, until the first generation, orally. The first generation believed to have performed the ritual was during the Dutch colonial period, since it was during that time that tobacco entered the Dutch East Indies, along with the arrival of the Dutch

colonialist led by Cornelis de Houtman in Banten in 1596. Looking at the history of tobacco distribution, tobacco plantations in Indonesia were only built in the 1800s, even though tobacco has been grown individually. In the days of Governor-General Van de Bosch (1830), the Dutch East Indies government made tobacco as a commodity of forced cultivation or *kulturstelsel*, which coincided with the mounting price of tobacco in Europe (Margana S et al., 2014).

There are no written sources mentioning the time when farmers first performed rituals. However, the rituals in tobacco farming in Temanggung were almost certainly created together or after the plants were brought by the Dutch explorers who came to Indonesia in the 16th century, because the rituals were based on Javanese culture and not from importing European culture or even the culture of the country of origin of tobacco namely America Latin, because tobacco came to Indonesia as a product of agriculture and not a cultural product. The peasants then created their own rituals, especially farmers in Temanggung. The root of the ritual comes from Javanese culture, for example in terms of counting the days of the market, the pronounced prayers, to the types of offerings. In addition, 3er rituals in farming tobacco in the fields are also accompanied by a *slametan* which, as Clifford Geertz says is a tradition in Javanese religion, which is a mixture of tradition indigenous to India, Islamic, and indigenous local traditions in Southeast Asia “The result was a balanced syncretism of myth and ritual in which Hindu gods and goddesses, Moslem prophets and saints, and local spirits and demons are all found a proper place “(Geertz, 2000: 147).

IV. TOBACCO FARMING RITUALS

Ritual is an important religious practice. “A primarily religious action directed to securing the blessing of some mystical power ... Symbol and concepts are employed in rituals but are subordinated to practical ends” (Wilson via Goody, 2010: 36). The notion of ritual first emerged as a formal term of analysis in the nineteenth century to identify what is believed to be a universal category of human experience. Rituals are created by man since he feels connected to the spiritual world outside himself, and therefore the age of ritual is the same as the human age. Ritual is a form of community representation in order to connect and therefore requires communication tools in the form of offerings and ceremonies (Bell, 2009). Emile Durkheim introduces two positive characteristics of ritual, that is, of acts oriented to sacred things. Firstly, there is the attitude of respect.... Employed as the basic criterion of sacredness throughout. Secondly, the means-end relationship is symbolic, not intrinsic (Durkheim via Goody, 2010: 26).

Based on interviews with farmers in Legoksari Village, Mbah Yasto (92), Mbah Prayit (88), Parmudi (52), and Sutopo (45), farmers conducted several rituals during the tobacco farming process. The rituals were, respectively, *nyecel* or hoeing the ground for the first time postharvest several months earlier, then the *among tebal* or planting tobacco seeds in the field for the first time, and continued with *tungguk* which is the picking of tobacco leaves in the middle of the harvest time, when 60 percent of tobacco leaves have been picked. The *among tebal* ritual and *tungguk* other than being done personally is also carried out communally or together by citizens / farmers in a village celebration.

Almost all tobacco farmers perform the rituals starting from *nyecel* to *tungguk*, with variations that vary according to their location or residence are grouped into three zones namely the slopes of Mount Sumbing, Mount Prau zone, and Mount Sindoro zone. As stated by the Indonesian Tobacco Farmers Association Secretary Temanggung Nur Ahsan, almost all farmers in the three zones perform rituals during tobacco farming but with different levels and ways that are not exactly the same. The Sumbing zone is the zone where most of the peasants perform rituals. The traditions are safeguarded through the generations on the slopes of Sumbing as guarded by Ki Ageng Makukuhan, Sunan Kudus disciple who is buried in the slopes of Sumbing even his *petilasan* or residence was in Makukuhan Village in Kedu district of Temanggung Regency.

It is said that according to the story that developed from mouth to mouth and believed by the citizens, Ki Ageng Makukuhan is a disciple of Sunan Kudus who has given the welfare of tobacco farmers by bringing tobacco seeds to Temanggung more than 200 years ago. The tobacco seeds were brought to Temanggung as the media and entrance to spread the religion of Islam. Thus told by farmers from Lamok Gunung Village Legoksari village Mbah Yasto (age 92 years). When it is associated with the history of Indonesian conflicts, tobacco entered Asia in the 17th century and was later brought to Indonesia by Dutch traders who had planted tobacco first and processed it into cigarettes and cigars in their country (Margana, 2014). Therefore, a series of rituals were held to honor Ki Ageng Makukuhan, as the offerings serve as a language to forge the emotional bonds of humans with the preceding spirits, including Ki Ageng Makukuhan.

In praying, there is always a sentence that must be spoken, that is *kakang kawah adi ari-ari, kiblat papat limo pancer*. The meaning of the sentence can be explained from word to word. The intended crater or *kawah* is the amniotic fluid in the mother's womb that accompanies the birth of the baby. *Ari-ari* is the placenta, and the *pancer* is the human self along with all the things that accompany it. The amniotic fluid goes out first before the placenta. So, the crater is *kakang* or elder sibling and *ari-ari* as *adi* or younger sibling, so these words arranged into *kakang kawah, adi ari-ari*. The *kiblat papat limo pancen* is a Javanese philosophy that they believe, which is related to the human consciousness of the inseparable relationship between humankind and the universe. That human beings are basically born with a lust that comes from themselves.

Another longer prayer is usually *kakang kawah adi ari-ari sederek pitu ingkang nunggil sak garwo putro ingkang kahormatan, doyo tansah tumanjuk wonten ing jiwo kasaliro ing sak lami-laminipun*. The prayer is meant to pay homage to the

elements of humanity, earth, water, air, creation, logic, thought, all together and penetrated into the self forever. Other prayers can be different or the same by one farmer and the other, depending on the extent of knowledge and the depth of these rituals. Adat stakeholders usually have more prayers than residents. Some residents even just pray in the heart and are reluctant to explain when asked.

The first ritual performed is a ritual when *nyecel* or starting to hoe land, usually in December or January the next year, still during the rainy season. Each farmer prays in his own way, such as choosing to pray in the middle of a field facing a certain direction, or praying in the four corners of the field. The order of hoeing land also exists which starts from the middle, or there a corner. The adat stakeholder in Dusun Legoksari said that the way is merely following the instinct and what is deemed comforting. The offerings that were brought to the field were grilled rice, sprouted with *cambah petek* (sprout and salted fish), coins, and incense.

After *nyecel*, the next ritual is *among tebal* or inserting tobacco seeds for the first time or early tobacco planting. This ritual is usually done at the beginning of the dry season in April or early May, which means a few months after *nyecel*, while waiting for the emergence of seedlings of tobacco from seeds stocked in January. Usually seeds have become seedlings in the period 35 days to 45 days, so if the seeds were stocked in January then the seedlings have been poking in plastic pots in late February or early March.

The offerings used in the *among tebal* among others are the same as the offerings in *nyecel*. The offerings are unspoken prayers but expressed through symbols, or in Javanese terms called *sastro tan kawedar*. The description is as follows:

a. *Cambah petek.* *Cambah* are bean sprouts and *petek* is a kind of salted fish. *Cambah* is a symbol of the ever-increasing hope of sustenance. Grain crops such as sprouts or peas are vines, this means a prayer for tobacco to make the quality of life continue to propagate, increasing, both for themselves and family. For example, if currently the new farmers have a wooden board house, it is expected to creep higher, meaning the family can buy bricks and cement.

Then *petek*. *Petek* is a kind of salted fish commonly eaten as a side dish in Temanggung. In general, fish are animals that seem to never sleep or continually keep their eyes open or *melek*. Farmers see this fish wide eyed *meleknya* as a reflection to live frugally and always work hard tirelessly, starting from planting to picking the harvest. The symbol can be for education without having to be elaborated. There is another meaning of this salted fish, associated with the myth. Salted fish is a symbol of union between Dewi Sri and Joko Bergolo. Once upon a time Joko Bergolo loves Dewi Sri, but is hindered by Patih Haryo Puring for assuming they are from different natures of species. Dewi Sri is an angel and Joko Bergolo is a giant. Joko Bergolo is finally condemned to be a sea fish, but he promises to still love Dewi Sri. So to approve their union, the salted fish should be served. Why *petek* fish? In addition to being sold in Temanggung market, traders in the market have prepared these fishes along with other offerings in a package of ritual offerings of tobacco farming. Dewi Sri referred to in this story is Dewi Sri Manthili, a disciple of Sunan Kudus who, according to legend, was sent to Temanggung to prosper the people through tobacco.

b. *Tumpeng Nasi bakar* or grilled rice. The pointed *tumpeng* form of rice shaped leading to one point, symbolizes God Almighty. At the top of the *tumpeng* is herbs are inserted such as garlic, onion shallots and chilli that symbolize balance. The *tumpeng* is grilled, to remind people to work harder. *Geni nyepuh emas dadi bergas, kasangsan nyepuh menungso dadi santoso* (golden gilding fire to be beautiful, human grief and woes in turn become prosperous).

c. Boiled eggs. Eggs are the beginning of life, hatching into creatures. This tobacco prefixes the farmer a lot of hope and waiting when from only one seed a harvest of tobacco can give welfare. Eggs are just spherical, but when they are hatched it will be amazing.

d. *Kapuroto* rice. Symbols to repel misfortune. When someone rides a motorbike at the intersection of the road then falls, they then then make the rice *kapuroto* which is spread at the intersection. During the *among tebal* procession, *kapuroto* rice is spread to four directions of the wind and upwards where the position of the farmer is in the middle. It's done automatically over the years.

e. Coin. The coins means money, which is put into a part of offerings as something to keep in case there is a shortage. The money is a ransom, meaning if there is a shortage then please shop by yourself in the market of Agung. When putting down the coins, the farmer said, "*Ngapunten menawa ubo rampe wonten kekiranganipun*" (apologize if there is a shortage). Pasar Agung is simply referred to as a good, market name. The market can be any market anywhere.

f. *Ponjo.* A tool to perforate the land from tree stems called *dadap srep*. *Dadap srep* trees are chosen because the stem is soft and gives a cooling effect, in accordance with the word *srep* which in Java means *asrep* or cold. In addition, because the stem *dadap srep* is rarely used so that it is used as a shaft for piercing soil for planting seedlings.

The offerings used to perform the ritual were created and interpreted in such a way since the first generation of tobacco farmers. Radcliffe-Brown reinforced the meaning of offerings made by the farmer as a symbol that has meaning. He looked at all the activities in the ritual as a ritual acts, which differ from technical acts in having all instances come expressive or symbolic

elements in them. The term symbolic is explained in the following way: whatever has a meaning is a symbol and the meaning is whatever is expressed by the symbol (Goody, 2010: 27). Radcliffe-Brown also said that ritual is essentially expressive or symbolic in nature. And in each case the interpreter of symbolic relationship turns out to be the observer rather than the actor.

When conducting the *among tebal* ritual, it is not necessarily that an area of agricultural land will be planted with tobacco seeds, for example 3,000 seedlings planted all at once. The *among tebal* is only an early marker of planting, and the number of planted seedlings is adapted to *neptu* days and the birth *pasaran*. Supposedly a person was born on Sunday Kliwon, it means *neptu* 13, so farmers prepare 13 stems of tobacco seedlings. If born on Friday Pahing, then the *neptu* will be 15, and so he prepares 15 stems. The next planting of the seeds as a whole is done according to the wishes of each farmer, but usually refers to weather conditions.

Counting *neptu* days and markets are as follows:

Hari	Pasaran
Sunday = 5	Legi/Manis = 5
Monday = 4	Pahing = 9
Tuesday = 3	Pon = 7
Wednesday = 7	Wage = 4
Thursday = 8	Kliwon = 8
Friday = 6	
Saturday = 9	

Farmers will also avoid a day called *apese weton*. Supposedly the farmer was born on Monday Kliwon, meaning *neptu* 12. So from Monday Kliwon is counted up to 12 days ahead, that certain day is believed as *apese weton*, and therefore believed do not plant on that day. Days that should also be avoided are the *puput puser* or the day when the umbilical cord is released during infancy. That day is usually is usually remembered by the mother. Another avoided day to plant tobacco seeds is the year *sanger*, which calculations are related to the *Aboge* calendar, and always changes every year. In the year 2018 in the calculation of the *Aboge* calendar is the year *dal*, meaning it falls in the *sanger* year on Saturday Legi. Another year it will have to be recalculated because it will be different. Saturday Legi should be avoided in any ritual, starting from *nyecel*, *lekas nandur*, *lekas petik*, *lekas dodol*, including nikahan, making a house, even to want to make the stairs is not allowed on Saturday Legi. Saturday Legi avoidance is done within a year, before the 1st Muharam next new Islamic year.

V. “AMONG TEBAL” PERFORMANCE AS SAFEGUARDING EFFORT

A performance may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants (Goffman via Schechner, 2006: 29). Schechner then detailed it, that performances occur in eight sometimes separate, sometimes overlapping situations: 1). In everyday life –cooking, socializing, “just living” 2). In the arts 3). In sports and other popular entertainments 4). In business 5). In technology 6). In sex 7). In ritual –sacred and secular 8). In play. These eight to indicate the large territory covered by performance. Some items -- 5erit5ing in business, technology, and sex—are nor usually analyzed with others, which have been the loci of arts-based performance theories.

Ritual is one of eight situations mentioned above. In this case, tobacco farming ritual, especially *among tebal*, can also be categorized as play or art because of the organization made by the farmers and other additional treatments that not highlighted or emphasized in the individual ritual. Finnegan (1992: 86) stated performance as one specific (rather than general) mode of human communication and action distinguishing this from merely describing in a “normal and everyday” manner. Thus particular acts of communication are somehow marked out as performance by a heightened and framed quality. So performances take place in many kind of situation from highly organized planned to quite informal or impromptu.

There are some efforts and actions to make *among tebal* individual ritual becomes communal/community ritual, as I saw it two times in tobacco seasons year 2017 and 2018 in Legoksari village:

1. Village headman announces the date to perform after discussing it with the elder. This very beginning action is needed to remind farmers and community to be ready for the community ritual, including preparing money that will be collected to the headman, to finance the performance. As *among tebal* has been held in decades, farmers and community including performers in Day D already know what have to be done.
2. Tobacco farmers developed their individual ritual and make it bigger as communal ritual performance. This *among tebal* is important because that is when the early tobacco is inserted into a vast field, surrendered to nature to be raised. Therefore, the ritual performed is greater than *nyecel* ritual, including the type of offerings that I stated above. The *among tebal* is even done

communally together with other farmers in Legoksari village of about 150—200 households so that prayer can be collected for *munajat* or supplications to Allah.

3. *Selamatan* or ceremony for salvation, is made larger, and in the years when *among tebal* coincides with the arrival of the new Islamic Month Rajab, the rituals are united with *nyadran* sungai or *berit dusun* which is the cleansing of the village. These celebrations are more boisterous because it involves all citizens and presents local art performances and attractions such as *jaran kepang*, *barongan*, and *wayang*.

In the two tobacco seasons I observed, in the tobacco season of 2017 and 2018, their rituals took the form of a procession of offerings to the tobacco field and performed rituals there, praying in the Javanese tobacco field, and conducted *selamatan* at home by inviting neighbors. The rituals performed with the wisdom and silence of the fields were combined with the performing arts as a celebration of joy, in the form of traditional and contemporary dance, *wayang* puppet show, and a drum band. The ritual is conducted ceremoniously, while the performance is a rousing celebration, but they are blended. *Among tebal* combined by *nyadran lepen* were similar to small festival liked-performance and both rituals seemed more performative.

Performance often has the sense of putting more into something, while performativity is a measure of the effort (or energy or affect) put into an action. Performativity entails action that is not prescribed, the deployment of consciously formulated strategies. On the whole it is the performativity that gives an enactment its zest, that makes ritual and/or performance interesting to watch (Rostas, 1998). I can measure how *among tebal* is now not just boring ritual with repetition and stereotyped sequences even though the farmers don't dare to ignore the ritual sequences and the same offerings (*cambah petek*, *sego bakar*, etc I mention above) every year. So, there is performativity in the performance of ritual.



How does *among tebal* tobacco ritual performance maintain the ritual itself from extinction? As Schechner stated (2006) there are seven functions of performance: 1) to entertain 2) to make something that is beautiful 3) to mark or change identity 4) to make or foster community 5) to heal 6) to teach, persuade, or conceive 7) to deal with the sacred and or the demonic. *Among tebal* performance fulfills all those functions and because of that, people and society need it to be performed annually.

This *among tebal* performance of ritual becomes new treasure must embrace. This tobacco farming ritual in millennial times is not eroded or resisted, but on the contrary, it is supported by the government. The officials at least attend the performance even though haven't provided funds yet. In recent years, the ritual increasingly festive and the community has invited government officials. In addition to the regent, there was also the Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo who had come to the ritual of thick tobacco in 2016 (antaranews.com). This fact underlines the function of the ritual work well, as function is something that relates one thing to another, as called by Durkheim as the link between an institution and the needs of a community organism. The interconnectedness of one element with another, large and small in a culture makes the whole element work well (Zaimar, 2015).

VI. HARMONY AND TOLERANCE

At large if we talk about two functions of oral tradition, i.e. practical function and ideological function (Tuloli in Asrif, 2015) *among tebal* has already fulfilled them. These functions are 1) for oral documents that can store the historical and heroic events of a society. 2) to educate the younger generation by displaying good ideas, advice, and teachings, which are useful for youth

personality development. 3) for social facilities of community members. 4) to strengthen the customs or institutions in society. 5) to entertain the public (as in oral literature). 6) To strengthen the position of a person or family or a particular society, as in myths and legends. 7) to support the teachings of religion.

Related to those functions as stated above, *among tebal* can convey the message of harmony and tolerance between religions, interfaith, and intercultural interactions in social life. This ritual is useful for the campaign of tolerance among fellow human beings of different faiths and religions through a tradition that is recently considered containing elements of pagan beliefs or *shirk*. I can say that because of the disputes among Islam adherents about “pure” Islam worship and harmonization of Islam worship with local tradition that some people call it Islam Nusantara. In Legoksari, even people (not farmer) who doesn’t have idea with this belief sincerely participates the performance, such veiled elementary school teacher gathers their student to play drum band. These are reasons why the *among tebal* ritual performance is difficult to extinct or even destroyed so far, and in the future, I believe.

Tolerance according to Oxford Dictionary means the ability or willingness to tolerate the existence of opinions or behavior that one dislikes or disagrees with, and harmony means the state of being in agreement or concord. The definition brings to the values needed in the community to live in harmony despite disagreeing with certain opinions or beliefs. This tolerance is related to the attitude of acceptance, accepting differences for the sake of a peaceful life, not interfere with each other let alone disagree with violence. This tolerance and harmony or harmony becomes important today as the unity of the nation is faltering because of different beliefs. The oral traditions are of important contribution in stemming the overpowering flows of this, through various forms of traditions that until now still exist, such as this tobacco farming ritual.

Edward Shils argues that ritual and belief are intertwined and yet separable, since it is conceivable that one might accept beliefs but not the ritual activities associated with them. He concludes that logically, therefore, "beliefs could exist without rituals; rituals, however, could not exist without beliefs." (Bell, 2009: 19). Ritual emerges because there are beliefs or religion which EB Tylor states as the belief in the spiritual being. Durkheim calls it as a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them (Goody, 2010: 16). The Church meant by Durkheim is the building for religious rituals that in the Indonesian context can also mean the masjid, vihara, and pura, other than the church. The rituals of tobacco farmers are a combination of local and Islamic religions, all of whom also believe in something visible or invisible. Javanese religion (which does not have a particular house of worship) and Islam is united smoothly in tobacco farming rituals. In this ritual, the offerings can be merged with the salvation of the Prophet, and the incense burned to start the prayers of salvation in Arabic as chanted Mbah Yasto (92 years) on April 2, 2018 in Legokari Village Temanggung.

Regarding offerings, Sobary (2014) mentions that offerings or sajen in Javanese, is an element of completeness of traditional ceremonies or rituals that can not be ignored, not merely because it has become an established tradition, but also because it is full of meaning (page 14). The rite that presents the sacred atmosphere, with the sajen that connects the world to the world there, creates the belief that what is human is also divine at the same time. The ritual prayers and rituals are a poetic expression framed by tradition. It contains the spirit of wisdom and aesthetic of art in the style of poetry and mantra, chanting, and dance, called by Sobary as a poetic expression (Sobary, 2016). Harmonization between offerings or *sajen*, the procession parades mountains of crops, puppet shows, dances of *jaran kepang*, *salawat* praises of the Prophet and prayers of salvation in the name of Allah Swt is perfectly attractive. All citizens mingle in one ritual together.

In the ritual, almost all villagers participated in the procession, with various outfits, as I witnessed in the *among tebal* rituals of April 12, 2017 and April 2, 2018. A number of women wearing typical Javanese dress with velvet *kebaya* and *batik* cloth with hair bun, and a number of other women wearing long clothes with their heads covered with hijab. Those who follow the teachings of Islam *Aboge* (Alip Rebo Wage) and those who are Muslims *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* (Sunni) like the teachings of Nahdlatul Ulama, together accompany the offerings. Several Christians and Catholics were present, as did the traditional beliefs followers. Those who embrace different religions come together when the rituals are held, and follow all the stages of ritual. The *Kiai* was invited to the opening ceremony at the village hall to read prayers, while the village elders led the rituals of Javanese mixed with prayers and moderate Arabic.

Referring data from the Central Statistik Central Temanggung District, Islam is a religion embraced by the majority of Temanggung population, which amounted to 724,362 people, followed by Protestant Christian numbering 19,653 people, 14,494 Catholics, Hindu 455 people, Buddhists as many as 12,104 people, (traditional beliefs followers) of 201 people (data of 2014). Among the many followers of Islam are Aboge Muslims, who are Muslims whose practices adopt local culture. The Islamic Community of Aboge in Temanggung is not as big as in Wonosobo, let alone Banyumas which is known to be the biggest community, but Islam Aboge in Temanggung stands out while performing rituals because it is celebrated with great fanfare. What makes Islam Aboge a public concern is the Idul Fitri Idul Fitri which is almost always different from the majority of Muslims, namely NU and Muhammadiyah.

Above Muslims believe Allah as Lord and Prophet Muhammad as an Prophet. However, in carrying out Islamic law, they include local traditions, including in calculating the exact day and date for certain activities. This Aboge is a calculation of the Javanese calendar in 8 years called *sewindu*, starting from the years of *alip, he, jim awal, je, dal, be, wawu, dan jim akhir* and pasaran days *pon, wage, kliwon, legi, dan pahing*. Islam Aboge believes that the first day of pasaran in the year *alip* falls on the day Rebo (Wednesday) Wage, then the year Ha on Ahad/Minggu (Sunday) Pon (*Hakadpon*), the year Jim Awal falls on Friday/Jumat Pon (Jimatpon), the year Za/Je on Tuesday/ Selasa Pahing (Zasahing), the year Dal on Saturday/ Sabtu Legi (Daltugi), the year Ba/Be on Kamis Legi (Bemisgi), the year Wawu on Monday/ Senin Kliwon (Waninwon), and the year of Jim Akhir falls on the Friday/ Jumat Wage (Jimatge). This Javanese calendar is just for their reference in working without denying the reality that in a year there are twelve months and twenty-nine to thirty days.

Alignment and tolerance in tobacco farming rituals appears in the ritual itself and the ritual benefits to the daily life of the villagers. The ritual practices of the rituals combine local beliefs as Aboge adherents and Islamic teachings that they have learned and practice since childhood, since Islam entered Indonesia in the 14th century. This type of ritual affirms Clifford Geertz's declaration of decades ago about *abangans* in Javanese religion, that *abangans* are living in Javanese traditions that perform rituals as a cultural practice based on religious beliefs. An *abangan* knows when to organize a *slametan* and what main dish should be served. They have an idea of the meaning of the food menu served. (Geertz, 2017: 179). *Slametan* is intended to offer offerings to the spirit and social integrity on mechanisms of money interconnected for life (Geertz, 2000: 146-147).

Rituals such as in tobacco farming in Temanggung is an example of Islamic practices Nusantara that echo Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama. Islam Nusantara is a typical Indonesian Islam, a combination of Islamic theological values with the values of local traditions, cultures, and customs. The character of Islam Nusantara shows the existence of local wisdom that does not violate the teachings of Islam but instead synergize the teachings of Islam with local customs, Islam is merged with traditions and culture Nusantara (Bizawie, 2015). Islam Nusantara is an Islamic understanding that struggles, dialogues, integrates with the culture of the archipelago through the process of selection, acculturation, and adaptation (Mun'im DZ via Bizawie, 2015). Meanwhile, according to Azyumardi Azra (2002), the Islamic Nusantara model can be traced from the history of the arrival of Islamic teachings to the archipelago through the process of vernacularization and followed by the process of indigenization. Therefore, Islam Nusantara be an alternative to build a peaceful and harmonious civilization of the Islamic world in any country. President Abdurrahman Wahid has long offered a concept of Islamic indigenization, the process of embodiment of Islamic values through the form of local culture. The values of harmony and tolerance in Islam are also reflected in various manifestations of local culture.

In the context of harmony and tolerance of life among religious believers, the formulation contains three elements. 1) Willingness to accept what is different from beliefs with other people or groups. 2) Allowing others to practice the teachings they believe in, and 3) The ability to accept the differences further enjoys the sensual ambience that others feel as they practice their teachings. (Puslitbang Kehidupan Religius, 2011: 5). The number one element is seen clearly in the ritual of tobacco farmers in Temanggung, where all followers of religion also parade or *mengarak* mountains of produces from the earth to the spring and then is set *adrift* in the *larung* ritual as an offering. In Islam there are different opinions about offerings, including some forbidden because they do not exist in the Qur'an and Hadith, but the rituals are united because each person with his or her own views puts more emphasis on the harmony of the village so that they sincerely accept different views. The number two element is also clear. Residents who are not actively involved in rituals, such as women or mothers in Islamic recitation study groups and Islamic *salawat* artisans, allow village elders and traditional leaders to lead events in their own ways, including spreading *kapuroto* rice to fields or burning incense. Everyone is devoutly solemn in a united purpose because the goal to be achieved is the harmony of man with nature, man with man, and man with God.

VII. CONCLUSION

Among tebal tobacco farming ritual in Temanggung particularly in Legoksari village is not only an important religious practice, a primarily religious action directed to securing the blessing of some mystical power, but metamorphosed to communal ritual performance and performativity. Local public figure and headman in the beginning intended to involve the community or Legoksari people to the ritual, to conceive the ritual belong to them, but it is developed because of entertainment performance they create to beautify the ritual itself. People then feels responsible to perform among tebal annually since this event has already been known widely because of the audiences coming every years and mass media spread it through newspaper, television, and website. As performance, ritual is no longer "exclusive" and it is the way to safeguard it because everybody feels save and happy with this ritual performance as well as with the values of harmony and tolerance those are in it.

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