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**Bakti and Sayan traditions among the Tenggerese people in East Java:
the role of indigenous institutions in integrated elderly care
development in Indonesia**

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CHAPTER VI CULTURE, COSMOLOGY AND LIFESTYLE OF THE TENGGERESE PEOPLE

6.1 History of the Tenggerese People

In old Javanese, the word ‘Tengger’ means ‘highlands’ and the phrase *wong Tengger* (Tenggerese) means ‘people of the highlands’ in the early period. However, in modern Javanese, the term is used only as a noun to refer to the region and people of the Tenggerese Highlands. The Tenggerese people represent one of the sub-ethno-cultural groups in the Javanese ethno-cultural group. The origin of the Tenggerese people can be found in folklore and the history of the Tenggerese traditional community, which is generally unique compared to the Javanese in general. The majority of the Tenggerese people are Hindus and Buddhists who also uphold their traditional values and customs as reflected in their behaviour, daily life, and traditional ceremonies.

Historically speaking, based on etymology, ‘Tengger’ means in Javanese ‘standing tall’, or ‘being quiet without moving’. *Tengger* is an abbreviation of the Javanese words *Tenggering budi luhur* (‘virtuous *Tenggering*’). Additionally, *Tengger* is a sign or characteristic which gives special meaning to something. It can also mean the characteristic of virtuous life (cf. Yuliati 2011). As previously mentioned, in the old Javanese language, the term *Tengger* means ‘highlands’. However, *Tengger* in modern Javanese language, especially in Indonesian, is a proper noun to refer to the region of the Tengger Highlands in East Java (cf. Hefner 1985). Also, the Tenggerese people believe that *Tengger* refers to the only surviving remains of the Hindhu-Buddhist Majapahit Empire (cf. Britannica encyclopedia Tengger).

The Tenggerese are descendants of the refugees of the Majapahit Kingdom. In the 16th century, the Majapahit Kingdom began to weaken because of the attacks from the Islamic Empire led by Raden Patah. Saving themselves from invasion, some Majapahit people fled to Bali. Others chose to occupy a mountainous region in East Java, isolating themselves from outside influences. These people are called the Tenggerese people.

The Tenggerese people also believe that there is a legend of the Tenggerese people concerning Mount Bromo. The earliest known references to the region of Mount Bromo date back to the first quarter of the tenth century. A stone charter, dated 851 *Saka* granted the village of Linggasuntan autonomy in taxation as a holy place for the worship of a Deity at a place named *Walandit*. Charters from neighbouring communities dating back to this period of time also suggest the presence of cult activities related to Mount Bromo. One such charter identifies a Deity named *Sang Hyang Swayambuwa*, the Indian God *Brahma* (cf. Hefner 1985). The association of *Brahma* with Mount Bromo is also evident from the mountain’s name itself, *Bromo* or *Brama* as a Javanese variant of the name *Brahma*. In Hinduism, *Brahma* is frequently identified as the God of fire. While the *Nagarakertagama* being the old Javanese eulogy of the fourteenth century to Hayam Wuruk, a Javanese King of the Majapahit, the poet *Prapanca* identifies *Walandit* as the site of both the Sivaite and Buddhist religious communities. Dating back to 1327 *Saka*, the charter speaks again of a district called *Walandit*, identifying it as *hila-hila* (‘sacred’) and referring to its residents as the *hulun hyang* (‘spirit servants’) of the holy Mt. Bromo (cf. Hefner 1985).

The word *teng* is derived from the word *anteng*, which means ‘a quiet condition’ which is *damai* (‘not easily disturbed’), while *ger* originates from the word *seger*, which means ‘healthy and prosperous’ (cf. Yuliati 2011). Based on the story believed by the Tenggerese community, it comes from a marriage between *Jaka Seger* and *Rara Anteng*. Even though their marriage reaches eight years, they do not have children. After they were ascetic for six years at the summit of Mount Bromo, their request was finally granted under one condition: their youngest child had to be sacrificed to the crater of Mount Bromo later.

To the present date, the Tenggerese community believes the story and they perform the *Kasada* ceremony, which means making sacrifices by throwing offerings into the crater of Mount Bromo, such as agricultural and livestock products.

6.2 Cosmology of the Tenggerese People

The concept of ‘cosmologies’ refers to sets of indigenous knowledge, beliefs, interpretations, and cultural practices related to explanations about the role and the meaning of humans, life, and the world within the universe or cosmos in the past, present, and future (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2019a). The Tenggerese people believe in *catur guru bakti*, which means practising devotion and obedience to the beloved four *guru* to gain wisdom, spiritual discipline, and enlightenment. Moreover, Sutarto (2008) states that the Tenggerese people show respect and filial piety to four *guru* known as *bekti marang guru papat*. There are four traditional principles for which the people should pay respect to: *Guru Swadhyaya*, God, which fits the Tenggerese community’s belief about a god named *Sang Hyang Widhi*; *Guru Rupaka*, a person playing a role as parents; *Guru Waktra*, a person playing a role in teaching knowledge (teachers); and *Guru Wisesa*, the government who is responsible for making rules to improve the people’s welfare.

In this context, the concept of cosmologies refers to the indigenous knowledge, beliefs, and cultural practices related to the care and support provision for the elderly. It also includes the relationship between children and parents. The Tenggerese people’s *Catur Guru Bakti* cosmology represent parents as *Guru Rupaka*. So, children should pay respect to, guard, and take care of their parents in their old age because their parents raised them until they can live independently. The parents will do anything to make their children happy and independent such as sending them to school, providing money for their marriage and housing, and even looking after their grandchildren. For that reason, children need to return the favour to their parents by looking after them in their old age. This responsibility is based on *bakti* which has been a part of their local tradition, to take care of the elderly. It is also known as filial piety, which not only brings harmony into a family, but can also be developed towards respect and services for the elderly in society, and eventually loyalty to a nation (*cf.* Choi 1995). Filial piety is not only practised between parents and children, but also towards the elderly or older relatives. The Tenggerese people believe that when children are not taking care of their parents, *karma yang buruk* (‘bad *karma*’) may happen in their life. The Tenggerese people, whose majority of respondents are Hindu and Buddhist, describe ‘*karma*’ as the force produced by a person’s actions in one life which may influence what happens in their future lives. Respondents who ignore and do not take care of their elderly will be unlucky in their future lives. Moreover, the Tenggerese community will judge children who are not able to take care of their elderly as *anak durhaka* (‘rebellious’) and even give them social sanctions. The Tenggerese people believe that the children who take care of their parents or older relatives will be happy, lucky, prosperity, and proud to be able to care of their parents in their life (*cf.* Field Notes 2018).

The Tenggerese people have the tendency to follow customs and the traditional beliefs inherited from their ancestors in the Majapahit Kingdom. Tenggerese people recognise the ‘*Budo*’ religion to refer to those who are not Muslim. The term ‘*Budo*’ is used to show resistance toward Islam (*cf.* Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). The majority of the Tenggerese people in Ngadas village are *Budha Jawa Sanyata* (‘Javanese Buddhist Sanyata’), an original and hereditary belief of the ancestors of the Ngadas people that is different from Buddhism in general (*cf.* Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). Meanwhile, the majority of the Tenggerese people in Argosari village are Hindu. However, Hinduism as believed by the Tenggerese people in Argosari village is different from Hinduism in general. Purnomo (2011) states that between the Tenggerese and the Hindu priests, they have different views regarding their religions and customs. Moreover, Purnomo (2011) found that the Tenggerese people may face a dilemma, whether they should follow the existing religious groups (*e.g.* Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism) or their traditional belief. It is because during the Suharto regime the government tried to homogenise the spiritual orientation of the local people by categorising them into five religious groups.

The researcher found that the majority of the Tenggerese community follows Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. Most Tenggerese people are Hindu, influenced by the teachings of Hindu Dharma Bali. The Hindu cosmology is closer to their beliefs than other religious creeds (*cf.* Purnomo 2011). In fact, the traditional priests in the Tengger Region claim that Tenggerese creeds are not identical to the Hindu religion (*cf.* Purnomo 2011). It is different from the general Hindu community in Bali (*cf.* Batoro 2017)

where the Tenggerese people do not apply the caste system (*kasta*) or social strata as those in Bali. The Balinese have the stratification system denoting status by birth from highest to lowest: *Brahmana*, *Satria*, *Wesya* and *Sudra* (cf. Leurs 2010). Meanwhile, the Tenggerese people consider the same social strata. In addition, the Tenggerese people also do not apply *pembakaran mayat* or *Ngaben* ('cremation ritual') as in Bali (cf. Yuliati 2011). A person who has passed away in the Tengger Region is buried in the ground with the head facing south where Mount Bromo lies and the body facing Mount Semeru. However, the Tenggerese people make dolls using leaves and flowers to symbolize a human symbol and then burn it in the *Entas-entas* ceremony (cf. Field Notes 2018).

In fact, the Ngadas people, whatever their religion – Buddha, Hindu, or Islam – still uphold and practice Tenggerese ceremonial traditions such as *Karo*, *Kasada*, *Entas-entas*, and *Unan-unan* (cf. Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). Togetherness among the Tenggerese people can be seen not only from their cultural practices, but also the religious celebrations of each religion. There is mutual tolerance between religious communities. Some Tenggerese people think that their religion is no more as 'cliche' as it sounds or just as a 'dress' only to fill in their ID card or personal identity information (cf. Maksum 2015).

The Tenggerese community is known for their belief in *Panca Sradha*, involving beliefs in (1) *Sang Hyang Widhi*, God as a creator of Mother Nature, (2) *Atman* or *Petra*, commonly known as ancestors' spirit and their own spirit, (3) *Karmapala* or *walat*, or karma, a cause and effect punishment, (4) *Punarbawa*, reincarnation, meaning that humans are bound to law and live multiple times according to the previous *dharma* of life, and (5) *Moksa* or *sirno*, meaning that humans will no longer be tied to *punarbawa* but they will live in eternal peace when they reach *moksa* (cf. Atmojo 2014; Suyitno 2001).

The Tenggerese people have a relationship concept which is affected by Hindu tenets known as *Tri Hita Karana* (cf. Yuliati 2011). 'Tri' means three, 'hita' means well-being or prosperity, and 'karana' means causes or reasons. *Tri hita karana* means the three causes of well-being, or three reasons for prosperity: harmony with God, among people, and with nature. Harmony with God is implemented in numerous rituals held by the Tenggerese community while harmony among fellow human beings is through mutual cooperation or *gotong royong* which is practised in the Tenggerese people's daily activities. Meanwhile, harmony with their environment is shown through the Tenggerese people's conservative and balanced efforts to the environment. Hence, the implementation of the above three traditional principles can create sustainability for all live aspects in the Tenggerese community.

6.3 The Tenggerese Culture

The Tenggerese community strongly clings to the traditions and noble values of their culture. The devotion to local traditions is clearly reflected in traditional ceremonies and the *selamatan* ('ceremonial meal') which are passed on by their ancestors over generations. *Adat* ceremonies in the Tenggerese community are categorised into three: the *adat* ceremony representing social life, the life cycle of a person, and the agricultural cycle, house building, and natural phenomena (cf. Suyitno 2001; Yuliati 2011) [6.1].

6.3.1 The *Adat* Ceremony to Represent Social Life and the Human Life Cycle

The *adat* ceremony to represent social life involves several activities, including (1) *Pujan Karo*, (2) *Pujan Kapat*, (3) *Pujan Kapitu*, (4) *Pujan Kawolu*, (5) *Pujan Kasongo*, (6) *Pujan Kasada*, and (7) *Unan-unan* (cf. Suyitno 2001).



Illustration 6.1 *Sanggar Agung* in Argosari Village in the Tengger Region of East Java.
 Source: Wiliandri (2018).

Another *Adat* ceremony is *Walagara*, a marriage contract led by a shaman. The term *walagara* comes from *wala* or *lare* meaning a child, and *gara* or *rabi* meaning marriage. The shaman helps decide the day the *walagara* should be held according to the *saptawara* and *pancawara* of the bride and groom, referring to the Tenggerese year calculation [6.7]. Finally, funerals comprise two stages: the moment when somebody passes away and *entas-entas*. *Nglawuh* (offering help) is the first task to perform to do when someone passes away, which involves physical or financial assistance, and other necessities such as rice, *mori* ('shroud'), sugar, etc.

The practice is followed by an *entas-entas* ceremony, also known as '*nyewu*.' It is the last ceremony held, to pray for the dead on his/her way to nirvana. The deceased in the Tengger Region is laid down with the head facing the south—to Mount Bromo—while the body faces Mount Semeru. The dead body is wrapped with shroud before it is buried.

Unlike in Bali, cremation does not apply in this ceremony although the dead may be Buddhist or Hindu. In Bali, however, cremation often takes place during *Ngaben* (traditional funeral ceremony in Bali). During *entas-entas*, the locals prepare *bespa* consisting of the burned leaves which are further placed in *Danyang* [6.8]. The ash of the burned leaves symbolises the cremated body. *Danyang* is a place for the spirits of the ancestors, village keeper, hamlet, central village, or a place where ritual ceremony and *petra* (*bespa*) take place.



Illustration 6.2 *Punden* in Ngadas Village in the Tengger Region of East Java.
 Source: Wiliandri (2018).

6.3.2 The *Adat* Ceremony for the Agriculture, Building, and Nature

Another important ceremony represents the agricultural cycle, house building, and other natural phenomena. This ceremony consists of *leliwet* or *wiwitan*, a ceremony held particularly for those who begin *tandur tuwuh* – planting crops such as potatoes, cabbages, carrots, tomatoes – and harvesting. The *leliwet* or *wiwitan* ceremony is to keep bad luck away during cultivation and harvest, led by a shaman in the house of the person concerned. The parts of the house the shaman casts a spell on are the kitchen, door, and yards. When people experience loss or failure in their farming, the farmer usually holds a ceremony called *Tolak Sengkala*, to keep loss away and to apologise to *Sang Hyang Widhi* and to the *mbaureksa* (unseen ghost that guards the village). It is done in the hope that it will not hamper the harvest due to humans' negligence or unintentional mistakes.

A *Selamatan* is held, led by a shaman for those building a house and living in the house. This traditional ceremony is to protect the occupants. It usually involves *melekan*, a moment where family members and close neighbours stay overnight in the new house. Related to natural phenomena such as earthquakes, natural disasters, and eclipses, the Tenggerese people believe *karma* is imposed on human beings in the form of illness or misery.

In order to evade any potential bad luck in life, the Tenggerese people also hold *Barikan*, a traditional ceremony to express gratitude to *Sang Hyang Widhi* expecting clemency, to avoid illness and misery. It is also to keep bad luck away (*tolak sengkala*) or any potential harm in humans' lives in the future. The Tenggerese people still believe in all traditional ceremonies to date, and they highly respect traditions passed through generations as their ancestors' legacy.

6.4 The Tenggerese Lifestyle

6.4.1 The Tenggerese Kinship System

The line of descent in the Tenggerese community is based on a bilateral traditional principle, drawn from both father and mother. There are three groups of kinship that apply in the Tenggerese community (cf. Atmojo 2014): *sa'omah* ('main family as the smallest kinship group'), *sa'dulur*, and *wong tengger* ('Tenggerese People').

Tenggerese people living under the *sa'omah* ('same roof') are categorised as the main family consisting of husband, wife and children. Sometimes the main family also has grandparents and foster children. This type of family is led by the head of the family who is responsible for the survival of the family members. The researcher found that the Tenggerese people have a norm, '*telon*', where three household heads cannot live in one house. So, a house can only be inhabited maximally by two household heads. They believe that living with two other household heads or more will make one of them *kalah* ('lose') in terms of wealth or longevity. It is also shown by the number of *pawon* ('kitchens') in one house. The researcher found that many houses in the Tengger Region have two kitchens in one house. Commonly, the Tenggerese name this *beda pawon*. The Tenggerese people believe that it is important to separate needs, particularly basic needs, among household heads in a house. Thus, each household cooks its own meal in order for both the household head and their household members to feel comfortable. Moreover, the Tenggerese people have a habit of using the *pawon* ('kitchen') as a place to talk with or visit each other. Interestingly, they receive guests from outside the community in the kitchen at the back part of their house and always serve drinks (e.g. sweet tea or coffee), foods, or snacks. They have a tradition to provide guests or anyone outside the household with good service, showing that the Tenggerese people respect guests and are happy to meet guests. When the researcher visited each household in Tengger, they always served drinks, foods, or snacks. The tradition is practiced by the Tenggerese people not only for guests or anyone outside the household but also for the relatives who visit them. The Tenggerese people usually visit houses in the afternoon until the evening because they have to go to the field in the early morning until the afternoon.

Commonly, parents who live independently in a house are visited by their children in the afternoon. Children regularly visit them to see and talk about their condition, and bring some food or cigarettes. Children usually take turns to visit. They usually have a chat in the kitchen that has a fireplace in the middle because of the cold weather in the highlands. Meanwhile, the elderly who live together with their children in one house have a separate kitchen so that they can cook their own meal. It is because the elderly in the Tengger Region do not want to burden their children as long as they can meet their needs independently. However, children sometimes still take care of their parents in other ways, such as helping to clean the house, washing clothes, accompanying parents to some places, etc. Moreover, the other children will help to fulfill the elderly's needs such as clothes, cigarettes, and basic needs (e.g. rice, sugar, coffee, and tea).

Interestingly, the elderly can choose with whom they will be staying in their old age. The local people use the term '*sak sreкке*' to show what the elderly want and like. The couples who do not have children can adopt a child from their relatives, known as '*anak angkat*.' In fact, couples in the Tengger Region adopt children under an unwritten agreement between the two families. Most importantly, the process of adoption must be known, agreed, without compulsion between the two families. The researcher found that couples in the Tengger Region are not ashamed to say that they adopted a child. They even said that they acquire and raise the adopted children as their biological children. Meanwhile, children adopted by relatives still respect and take care of both their biological and new parents, because most Tenggerese people say they have a close relationship with each other. Moreover, they live in harmony and peace, and with mutual assistance from each other. Besides, the Tenggerese people prefer to stay in their village until they die. They believe that they still could hold on relatively firmly to their traditional customs for generations by staying in their village. Hence, the Tenggerese people perceive themselves as secure and comfortable as long as they live near their families and relatives in Tengger.

The kinship system of *sa'dulur* not only has father, mother, older and younger brothers/sisters, grandfather, grandmother, but also recognises other relatives such as cousins from both father and mother, second generation cousins from father and mother, relatives from father and mother, and so forth. Usually all relatives gather in a particular activity. The biggest kinship group is *wong* Tengger. This group also holds religious activities, traditional ceremonies, and other activities held in unity as a group. The care of the elderly in the Tengger Region is not only given personally by their families but also by groups through mutual cooperation or assistance. Care and support provision for the elderly is personally based on the *bakti* tradition, in which the Tenggerese people believe.

Meanwhile, the *sayan* local tradition refers to mutual aid, in which context the community members in the Tengger Region feel morally obliged to provide support and care of the elderly in their communities. The local people practice the *sayan* local tradition, such as visiting the elderly and bringing food or money to those who need it. The local people pay a visit to the elderly not only when they are sick but also when they have special events such as a *slametan* or other events. The local community is also visiting and talking to each other in the afternoon.

In Tengger, older parents can freely choose with whom they will be staying in their old age. It is important that whoever the parents live with – their children, kindred, or relatives – can make them comfortable and happy in their old age. The people who provide care and support for the elderly during their old age will get inheritance from them.

In Tengger, the inheritance share system depends on whom their elderly live with. The elderly can choose with whom they live with so that they can get sufficient care and support services. It can make the elderly feel comfortable and happy in their old age. The local people use the term '*sak srekke*' to show what the elderly want and like. For example, the adult married child who provides care of the elderly will get more inheritance from their parents than other siblings because they will take care of their parents until they die. All families will receive the decision with relief and do not show jealousy. The person among the family or relatives who is willing to provide care and support for the elderly until they die is called '*sendenan tuwo*'. So, the elderly believe that the person can take care of them and provide support services in their old age (cf. Field Notes 2018).

6.4.2 Socio-Demographic Status of the Tenggerese People

The majority of people living in the Tengger Region are farmers and farm labourers. Labourers are farmers who have narrow lands or may not even have any land. Some Tenggerese people own their farming land, but some other areas are owned by the government under supervision of Bromo Tenggerese Semeru National Park (BTSNP), Ministry of Forestry. The Tenggerese people who have a small pieces of land will lease the government's land to cultivate it.

Later there will be an agreement between Tenggerese farmers and the local forest service. The Tenggerese highlands are flanked by volcanoes, such as Mount Bromo and Mount Semeru, and the Tenggerese massif in East Java. The type of agricultural land suitable for cultivation is *tegal* ('dry land') where the Tenggerese people plant vegetables such as potatoes, cabbages, carrots, and onions.

The Tenggerese highlands, dominated by the Bromo crater located in the middle of the Tenggerese Mountains and Mount Semeru, are also a popular tourist attraction for both domestic and foreign tourists. The number of tourists visiting Mount Bromo enables some Tenggerese people to work as tour guides. In addition, there are also those who provide transportation services such as jeeps and horse riding for tourists who want to take a closer look at the Mount Bromo area. Some lodgings are also provided in the area around Mount Bromo.

Just as the Javanese people, the Tenggerese people call themselves *wong Jawa* ('Javanese people'). Only on certain occasions do they identify themselves as *Wong Tengger*. The Tenggerese people are descendants of non-Islamic Javanese who fled to the mountains above Majapahit, the last major Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Java when that court fell to Islamic forces from neighboring principalities in the beginning of the sixteenth century. They fled to preserve a religion called *agama Buda* ('Buda religion'). More recently, many Tenggerese people have identified this religious tradition as *agama Hindu* (Hindu religion) (cf. Hefner 1985).

The Tenggerese people traditionally cultivate hereditary farmland. The parents always give their children knowledge about best cultivation practices in their farmland. Children commonly follow their parents to the farmland after school, accompanying their parents and practicing cultivation of the land. Parents hope that their children continue to maintain and cultivate their land. Moreover, Tenggerese customs prohibit selling the land to non-Tenggerese people. The norm is to keep the Tenggerese land which is believed to be ancestral land. They will maintain and cultivate their land in the Tengger Region as a form of respect to their ancestors. The Tenggerese people believe that Tenggerese land and its environment can meet their needs and help them live peacefully and prosperously. It encourages most Tenggerese people to prefer to stay and work in their village rather than move to live and work outside the Tengger Region. Hence, they want to preserve the Tenggerese traditions of their ancestors by living and working there.

The majority of Tenggerese people are farmers who depend on working on farmland which has mainly been inherited. The Tenggerese people who have farmland will share inheritance equally among their heirs. Therefore, parents will divide their inheritance equally among sons and daughters. Parents will share out and give their children the full right to cultivate the farmland after their children get married. Interestingly, parents will maintain some farmland to be cultivated by themselves to meet their needs independently. Thereafter, the land will be given to one of their children when the parents can no longer work and manage the farmland. The children who receive additional inheritance from the parents are called *sendenan tuwo*.

In Tengger, the additional inheritance from the parents given to children who care of them until they die is known as '*Tanah Gantung*' or '*Gantungan*' (cf. Field Notes 2018). *Gantungan* is not only farmland but also a house or another asset that their parents have. Parents choose one of the children to take care of and provide support for them in their old age and give them this additional inheritance as an appreciation of their support. It does not mean that parents do not love the other children as much; rather, they sometimes have reasons to do this, such as a feeling of comfort, and the child is more understanding of what the parents want and like. It can be called '*sak sreкке*' which means that children follow what the parents want and like. On the other hand, the other children can still provide care of their parents in other ways and they do not feel jealous about this. Children accept their parents' decision with relief. It is important that their parents are happy in their old age.

6.4.3 Socio-Economic Status of the Tenggerese People

As previously explained, the majority of the Tenggerese people are farmers who work on dry land (*tegalan*). Ownership of agricultural land in the Tengger Region comes from various sources, such as inheritance and buying-selling between Tenggerese, but parents' inheritance dominates. The people community through its village apparatus has a regulation not to sell Tenggerese-owned land to people outside the Tenggerese village because land is inherited from ancestors who must be cared for and looked after well by the Tenggerese people themselves. The majority of Tenggerese people depends on farmland for their livelihood.

Specifically, for working on farmlands, the Tenggerese people have a tradition known as *Sambatan*, to help each other in the farmland or other works through mutual cooperation. Most of the labor needed to cultivate the fields is obtained from family members. If it is not enough, one can ask for help from relatives or neighbors. For the Tenggerese, processing the fields using workers from the Tenggerese community (both relatives and neighbors) is known as *Wong Gunung*, meaning to be a farmer on one's own land. But for the current conditions, because labor from *Wong Gunung* is still lacking, there are some farmers who decide to employ *Wong Ngare* (workers who come from the lowlands or outside the community).

According to Hefner (1999), there are several types of cooperative labour organisations in the region of the Tenggerese Mountains which have been used in the past. Some of them are continuously working to date, while others are abandoned for several reasons.

- a. *Kroyokan keluarga* is an informal family gathering of very close kin with a relatively small group to perform a task intimately associated with the household's domestic needs. *Kroyokan* involves parents and their children or grandchildren, or siblings and their spouses and children. It is only used among very close kin and implies informality and undemanding tasks.
- b. *Rewang* or helping out is used for vigorous tasks, such as weddings, preparing a field for planting, renovating a house, or preparing for a ritual festival. The traditional principle of *rewang* is cooperative assistance which does not need immediate returns or to be immediately repaid. People who do *rewang* are those upon whom one can depend without having to worry about immediate repayment of the favor. *Rewang* helpers are usually neighbors and relatives, but not the immediate family involved in 'family gathering' work.
- c. *Gentenan* (turn-taking labor) is the most rigorously applied reciprocal cooperative form of labour. The rule of *gentenan* is strict reciprocity and hard work. Turn-taking labor is used for weddings or hoeing fields before planting. People hope or reciprocity as soon as after they lend labour in *gentenan*. To ensure such a balance, a household is expected to repay (*nyaur*) the *gentenan* favor as soon as possible. The Tenggerese people have an oft-cited aphorism: '*Sing ditedo tok saged gentosan, tapi sanes kangge pados donyo*', meaning that unpaid reciprocal labor is conducted only when the crop is cultivated for daily consumption rather than for agricultural products for sale. Commonly, kin who join *gentenan* are kin in the same generation. Wijaya (2009) relates the term *Gintingang* to *Gentenan*, which means 'reciprocity'.
- d. The final form of cooperative labour is *Sayan* in the upper slope area and *Soyo* in the midslope area ('festive cooperative labour'). *Sayan* is generally supposed to be a large, enjoyable activity, with abundant and special foods, and a relaxed working schedule. The food and festive air of *sayan* free its sponsors from the responsibility for repaying laborers. Commonly, the host will serve the food and invite more workers than required to show their dignity among each other related to their agricultural profit. According to Mauss (2002), a traditional institution is a form of reciprocal exchange, implemented by local people in a community as a positive return for what they have already received.

6.4.4 Administrative Structure of the Tenggerese Communities

In their book *Inventarisasi Komunitas Adat Tengger*, Warouw *et al.* (2012) suggest that social organisations in the Tenggerese community consist of two groups: a senior member who holds a respectful position and the shaman. The senior member can be a village head functioning on *adat* traditional principles. Both the senior member and village head have similar roles, which show no difference and overlapping functions. Roughly speaking, a person can represent both roles with the same function, where the person also executes additional governmental tasks. The election of the village head is directly done by votes from the locals.

On the other hand, the shaman is known as *pandhita*, who plays a role in leading *adat* ceremonies, guiding the youth to understand Hinduism, maintaining sacred objects, holding traditional consultations (offerings and marriage), and protecting the community. The *pandhita* has an unofficial position which may be transferred to another position when the *pandhita* can no longer do their tasks or decides to step down. This shaman is elected from villagers' discussions, based on a test, and is appointed by the local village government. The *pandhita* has to be fully aware of *adat* traditional principles and master spells cast in almost every traditional ceremony. The spells are passed down through generations in oral form, but these days, spells also often seem to come in written form.

Notes:

- [6.1] Culture lies at the core of what in Indonesia is called *adat* (cf. Hauser-Schaublin 2013). The *adat* ceremony is basically a cultural ceremony.
- [6.2] Based on the Tenggerese calendar, *sasi* (month) consists of 12 months in a year: *kasa, karo, katiga, kapat, kalima, kanem, kapitu, kawolu, kasanga, kasadasa, dhesta, and sadha*.
- [6.3] *Padmasari* is a shrine in the shape of a small temple where offerings/*tamping* are usually placed. It is built in the front yard of each house of the Tenggerese community. *Tumang* is a stove in the shape of a fireplace used to cook rice and other food, and can function as a fireplace. *Danyang* is the place for the spirit who guards the central village, and this is also a station where *petra* is usually incinerated. *Danyang* is usually located under shady trees. *Petra* is a small doll made of particular flowers and leaves and it wears an outfit to represent a dead person.
- [6.4] *Ngasah japa mantra* is improving particular prayer spells by Tenggerese shaman. *Mutih* is a form of fasting where the person doing it avoids eating foods containing salt and sugar, and no sexual intercourse is allowed during fasting. *Pati geni* is when switching on lamps and lighting up cigarettes is not allowed. The *Dukun* or shaman is the leader of the *adat* or religious ceremonies especially in Hinduism.
- [6.5] *Ngeroan* represents housewives in the Tengger Region carrying offerings to the house of the village head where the shaman will cast a spell on the offerings.
- [6.6] *Kentongan* is a wooden hollow cylinder with a hole along the cylinder to produce sound when beaten.
- [6.7] *Saptawara* consists of the seven names for the days of the week: *radite* (Sunday), *somo* (Monday), *anggara* (Tuesday), *budha* (Wednesday), *wraspati* (Thursday), *sukra* (Friday), and *tumpek* (Saturday). Additionally, *pancawara* represents five names of day in Javanese and Bali culture (*pasaran*) such as *legi, paing, pon, wage, and kliwon*.
- [6.8] *Bespa* is a small doll made of flowers and leaves symbolising a dead body.