

## Ritual *Nyadhar*, Ecology and Gender

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**Abstract:** *Nyadhar* is a ritual to build togetherness to show gratitude for the gift of salt as a source of livelihood, hope, prayer for salvation, and blessings of Life in the future. *Nyadhar* is an ecologically oriented ritual only held in the salt pond area, it's done by the local community, and surrounding areas. Not only the ecological perspective but the gender perspective is also shown in the rituals. This study aims to explain ecology and the role of Madurese women in *nyadhar* rituals, especially in salt ponds in Pinggir Papas village, in Sumenep Regency. This research was conducted with an ethnographic approach with data collection techniques from several sources, including literature study, participatory observation, and interviews. This ritual shows the perfect relationship between God, nature, and humans. The *nyadhar* ritual shows the peculiarities of ritual in the salt pond ecology, firstly, the relationship of actor networks between men and women in various circles. Second, special equipments in rituals. Every man and woman has a steady, permanent role that cannot be fought for. The role is not seen as competition but as order and conformity.

**Keywords:** *ritual nyadhar, ekologi, gender*

**Abstrak:** *Nyadhar* merupakan ritual untuk membangun kebersamaan guna menunjukkan rasa syukur atas karunia garam sebagai sumber penghidupan, pengharapan, doa untuk keselamatan dan keberkahan hidup di masa mendatang. *Nyadhar* merupakan ritual yang berorientasi ekologi dimana hanya terselenggara di daerah tambak garam dan dilakukan oleh masyarakat setempat dan sekitarnya. Tidak hanya perspektif ekologi namun persepektif gender juga ditunjukkan dalam ritual. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan ekologi dan peran perempuan Madura dalam ritual *nyadhar* khususnya di daerah tambak garam, di Desa Pinggir Papas, di Kabupaten Sumenep. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan pendekatan etnografi dengan teknik pengumpulan data dari beberapa sumber meliputi studi pustaka, pengamatan partisipatif, dan wawancara. Ritual ini menunjukkan hubungan yang sempurna antara Tuhan, alam, dan manusia. Dalam ritual *nyadhar*, menunjukkan kekhasan ritual di ekologi tambak garam meliputi *pertama*, hubungan jaringan aktor antara laki-laki dan perempuan diberbagai kalangan. *Kedua*, peralatan khusus dalam ritual. Setiap laki-laki dan perempuan memiliki peran masing-masing yang bersifat ajeg, tetap, tidak dapat diperjuangkan, peran tidak dipandang sebagai kompetisi tetapi lebih dilihat sebagai keteraturan dan kesesuaian.

**Kata kunci:** *ritual nyadhar, ekologi, gender*

## **Introduction**

Madura Island consists of several different ecological structures from one region to another. Although not as extensive as an agricultural ecological area, the salt pond area is also an area that cannot be ignored, considering that Madura Island is also known as a salt-producing island. Indonesian history records that Madura salt triumphed as a producer of Indonesian salt in the Dutch colonial era (Parwata: 2010, De Jonge: 2012). Until now, Madura continues to produce salt to meet national salt needs for the household and industrial needs (Setiawan, 2019:319). This article focuses on the Sumenep district, especially Pinggir Papas village, which contributes greatly to Madura's salt production.

Salt is a mainstay commodity that people in salt ponds and surrounding areas are very dependent on salt production, especially during the dry season, where only in that season can salt be produced properly. In order to produce salt of superior quality and abundant yields, the local community not only relies on the use of technology and procedures in production but also performs annual obligatory ritual activities that are never missed by the community. As Mr. Imam, 34 years old, says, "Life does not only rely on work but also prayer, a petition to the Almighty, increase gratitude so that blessings are added and ask for other good things to be achieved. Therefore, *nyadhar* is necessary." (Author's Note, Interview on December 18, 2021).

The *nyadhar* ritual is a series of rituals carried out as an expression of gratitude and to get safety, blessing, and an abundance of salt production every year. This ritual is carried out every dry season from when the salt harvest has begun. The local people are well aware that their survival depends on salt. Salt is a great gift that God has given them. Why not? The basic ingredients of production rely heavily on natural elements, namely sea water, wind, solar heat, and soil, all of which God has provided without spending capital. Almost everything depends on nature. If in the dry season it turns out that there is rain, it can be ascertained that salt production fails. People realize that it is beyond human control, but everything depends on God, the Creator of the universe. Natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunami threats, windstorms, floods, and other disasters humans cannot avoid well recognized as not human power. For this reason, they never forget to always

build a relationship with the Creator and nature so that their whole life is filled with safety and blessings by carrying out the *nyadhar* ritual.

Research related to *nyadhar* rituals has been carried out with a social perspective in Chotimah (2007), which examines the social impact of implementing *nyadhar* on the community who performs rituals and their surroundings from this ritual. In addition, it has also been studied in research with a religious perspective, such as Roziqy (2015) and Zubaidi (2016). Roziqy explained that the tug-of-war in the ritual that the implementation of the *nyadhar* ritual was not fully Islamic in nuance was described. Meanwhile, the focus of Islamic studies in the *nyadhar* ritual is shown by Zubaidi in all its processes. This article aims to look at another point of view from the perspective of ritual ecology (McGraw, John and Jan Kratky 2017 ) and gender, which is expected to be able to enrich the scientific treasures of *nyadhar*.

In practice, this *nyadhar* ritual is followed mainly by the owner of the sacred plate, the *panjhang* plate, which is only passed down to boys. However, it cannot be denied that women also have access and roles in rituals. This is as Niehof (1987:177) stated that a Madurese is also involved in social activities, which in this case are also socio-spiritual activities. This is also evident in the practice of *nyadhar* rituals, as shown throughout the practice. Women are involved in pre-ritual, ritual, and post-ritual roles that are organized regularly, neatly, and steadily. Based on this background description, this research explores why the salt pond community in Pinggir Papas, Sumenep Regency performs the *nyadhar* ritual? How are *nyadhar* rituals practiced, and how are women involved in them?

## Method

This ethnographic study was carried out in Pinggir Papas Village, Kalianget District, Sumenep Regency, Madura for the *nyadhar* ritual in the salt pond area, especially the salt farming community as ritual actors who became the focus of the research study. This research was conducted for three consecutive months according to the ritual sequence. The whole series of rituals are concerned with analyzing the ecology of the ritual and women's involvement in it.

This research has been designed with an ethnographic approach to explore further and gain an in-depth understanding of a culture. Ethnography describes culture (Spradley, 2007: 5). Data were collected from various sources without compromising archival research and participatory observations, which were recorded in detail in daily journals and supplemented by interviews with parties involved and considered to understand this *nyadhar* ritual. This combined method is intended to obtain accurate, precise, and comprehensive data following the slices of ecological analysis of *nyadhar* rituals.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **History, Beliefs, and Myths**

The *nyadhar* ritual cannot be separated from the roles of the actors who narrated in local ancient history, namely Sheikh Anggasuto, Sheikh Kabasa, and *Bhujuk* Tanomir, the central figures in holding this ritual. The minimal historical information is an obstacle to telling a complete journey in Madura in general and Sumenep-Pinggir Papas in particular, the exact time and kinship relationship and the realm of the three roles. Nevertheless, the stories of the three are quite embedded in the memory of the Pinggir Papas community, considering that they were the ones who discovered the potential of salt, which is useful for survival, comfort, and stability of life, so that the local community can enjoy it. The three main characters become parents and teachers of the wider community regarding their livelihood and spiritual efforts. The three of them have now become a history firmly attached to the memory of the descendants of the local community. Undeniably, their work and struggle are the main reasons for carrying out the *nyadhar* ritual from generation to generation. The height of their spiritual abilities and the magnitude of their services earned them the nickname of persuasion. *Nyadhar* comes from the word *nadzar* (in Arabic), which means an obligation that is set by a mukallaf on him because Allah is something that is not obligatory on him (Salim, A.M.K.I.S., 2017: 377).

Suhrawi, 51 years old, explained that this ritual was held as an expression of gratitude to God for the blessings of salt as well as hope to ward off harm from disease and calamity as well as for the success of salt farming in the future and all efforts of the people of the salt pond area in Pinggir Papas and their descendants everywhere were awarded

success. This expression of gratitude is shown by praying together and making a pilgrimage to the graves of Sheikh Anggasuto, Sheikh Kabasa, and Tuan Amir or more familiarly known as Tanomir. In the past, the Pinggir Papas area was just a dry area with potential invisible areas that made it difficult for people to live. However, thanks to the austerities and penances of Sheikh Anggasuto and Sheikh Kabasa, salt was found in Sheikh Anggasuto's footprints. (Author's Note, Interview September 17, 2021).

Suhrawi added later that Sheikh Anggasuto himself was told throughout his life as a character who liked to *arasol*, praying with the community while simultaneously serving rice and side dishes using special plates that were passed down from generation to generation with sizes larger than the size of ordinary plates, diameters varied from 30cm-42cm. Which later became known as *pereng panjang*. This custom was then continued by the local and surrounding communities, wrapped in the *Nyadhar* ritual, which took place at the *bhujuk* cemetery of the three figures, which took place three times in three months in the dry season. The first and second rituals are carried out at the *Bhujuk* cemetery in Kebun Dadap Village, and the third is carried out at the house of traditional leaders (*pinisepuh*).

The community is very grateful for the efforts of *Bhujuk* Sheikh Anggasuto and Sheikh Kabasa in pursuing spiritual efforts in dealing with the deadlock of life by presenting salt as a local natural potential that was previously unimaginable in their efforts. The *bhujuk* are believed by the community to get divine guidance that they are lovers of Allah so that they have the *karamah* that other humans cannot possess except those who have spiritual closeness to their God. *Bhujuk Tanomir* himself is told as an expert in treating all kinds of diseases, which is very helpful for the surrounding community.

They are actors who have succeeded in creating a perfect relationship between God, nature, and humans (around). People in Pinggir Papas strongly believe that all Life's journey is not only a matter of man and man, man and nature, but the most important thing is the relationship between man and God, the Creator and ruler of nature and all His creatures. Everything happens and does not happen by His will. In order to get the answer to prayer from God, society as an ordinary human being, aware of the weakness of his inner relationship with God, is necessary and obliged to build relationships with humans who already have spiritual closeness to God. The *bhujuk* are believed to be only the form of *zahir*

(physique) who died but not with his soul. His soul is eternal and remains alive as long as the world is not an apocalypse, and praying by making it a mediator is one way to get the answer to prayer. This view is also seen in the pilgrimage of the saints as it still exists today (Limbing, Lexy P.B., 2016), (Rohmawati, A. and Ismail, H., 2017). It shows how a person's spiritual strength can become an icon and magnet that has attractiveness to society.

For this reason, the existence of the *nyadhar* ritual is realized or not, by itself can move the community from a spiritual point of view in addition to the long history that has been described, and this ritual is carried out as a form of respect for the actors who have contributed to the salt farmer environment, as well as a form of gratitude and hope. For the future Life. Thus K. Harun, 70 Years, has explained. (Author's Note, interview on September 17, 2021).

The strong character and belief in the sacredness, guardianship, and *karomah* of the three figures, as well as the belief in the awesomeness of the results of the ritual, make myths develop and legitimize the surrounding community. Myths, in certain respects, have definite power over formal policies, as Chen, E.S., and Tom R.T (2001). The power of this myth then becomes a social motor (Littler, Jo. 2017), and ritual practice is no exception. As shown by the 54-year-old Sariati, every year, at least on the second *nyadhar* as the last *nyadhar* to be placed in the *Bhujuk* cemetery, it is a great reminder to the descendants of the descendants in the *rantau* (wander about into other region outside Sumenep) to return home to attend the ritual to avoid calamities and bad luck. *Kulat* for being a descendant who forgets to be grateful. Every event of grief that befalls a person by the community is almost always associated with how it is treated in terms of speech, attitude, and actions related to the *bhujuk* and their families, which in this case also concerns whether someone who is afflicted with disaster follows the ritual or not. Marwiyatun, 43 years old, recounts examples of several people who did not attend the *nyadhar* pilgrimage to the cemetery, and not long after, they had work accidents, limited sustenance, and other negative events. This myth is a way to build a sense of togetherness, especially for people descended from salt farmers. As McGraw and Jan Kratky revealed, "a sense of whole must be first and foremost in ritual ecology rather than the privilege of any particular part" (2017: 2). The structure of the ritual will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Ritual, Ecology, and Gender

The *nyadhar* ritual presents a series of ritual activities that occur over three months, starting from pre-ritual, ritual, and post-ritual, which are specifically carried out by the community in the coastal area of salt ponds in Pinggir Papas Village. The *nyadhar* ritual cannot be separated between the performer and his abiotic environment, where the salt pond has given its power to carry out the ritual. McGraw and Kratky (2017) explain that ritual ecology shows the interrelationship of various actors in the sense of togetherness and attachment in a causal relationship. Actor agency involving male and female roles as well as material agency referring to ecology is shown in the ritual implementation as shown in the following table:

Table 1. Series of *Nyadhar* Ritual Activities

PRE-RITUAL PHASE				
Name of activity	Forms of Activities and Equipments	Period	Location	Role (Gender)
<i>Aghumain</i> (collecting alms)	<i>Amusafir</i> (walks around people's houses) Sling and basket	Saturday, the 1st of the Hijri calendar (15 days before the ritual)	Village environment	<i>Pernyaian</i> each <i>bhujuk</i> ( traditional female leader)
<i>Ngangorap</i> (care and maintenance <i>Bhujuk's</i> graveyard)	Cleaning and caring for the tombs and the surrounding environment  Cleaning tool	Saturday, the 7th of the Hijri month (a week before the ritual)	<i>Bhujuk's</i> graveyard	Male
	Cooking and serving food		<i>Bhujuk's</i> yard grave	Female
	<i>Sontengan</i> (offerings)		sacred location point	<i>Pernyaian</i> , traditional female leader

NYADHAR 1 AND 2				
Ritual series	Forms of Activities and Equipments	Period and time	Location	Role (Gender)
First day	Slaughtering a chicken for a ritual dish	Friday morning, around the full moon	tribal elder's house, <i>pangolo</i>	male
	<i>Abhuri</i> (sow flowers)	afternoon	<i>bhabhangun</i>	female <i>pernyaian</i>
	make a frankincense fireplace	afternoon	around the cemetery	traditional male leader
	<i>asajara/nyekar</i> (make a pilgrimage)	afternoon	cemetery	men and women from all community members
	spend the night	come from the morning for <i>bangesepo</i> and in the afternoon among the	at local people's houses around the <i>astah</i>	men and women of all ages

		<i>panjhang</i> plate owners		
<b>The second day</b>	Cook (rice, chicken/milkfish)	in the early hours of the morning	residents' settlements around the cemetery	female
	set up ritual	morning	local people's house	male
	<i>Ajagah</i> (creese)	morning	in front of the main entrance of the cemetery	male
	<i>Abhuri</i> (sow flowers)	morning	<i>bhabhangun</i>	female
	make a frankincense fireplace	morning	around the cemetery	male
	<i>sontengan</i>	morning	sacred location point	female <i>pernyataan</i>
	<i>lapor</i>	morning	tamarind tree	<i>pangolo</i> (male)
	<i>dhuwa</i>	morning	Cemetery's yard	<i>tokang dhuwah</i> (prayer leader) (male)
	<i>ngaom</i>	morning	Cemetery's yard	Male, plate owner
	<i>ater-ater</i>	morning	in residential areas	female
<b>NYADHAR 3 (NYADHAR BENGKO)</b>				
<b>Ritual series</b>	<b>Forms of Activities and Equipments</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Role (Gender)</b>
	<i>Mamaca</i> (poem <i>oghem</i> )	night until dawn	in the house of <i>bangesepo bhujuk: Angga Suto, Kabasa, Tanomir</i>	All male
	serving food to the audience	night until dawn	in the house of <i>bangesepo</i> every <i>bhujuk</i>	Females from family of <i>bangesepo</i> and common people
	cooking ritual dishes	noon until dawn	in the house of owner <i>pereng panjhang</i>	female
	set up ritual	morning	in the house of owner <i>pereng panjhang</i>	male
	carry ritual offerings	morning	from house to house <i>bangesepo</i>	female
	<i>ngaom</i>	morning	in the house of <i>bangesepo</i>	male
	<i>ater-ater</i>	morning	to people's houses	female

It could be seen in the table at least four groups in the *nyadhar* ritual: men and women among *bhujuk*, traditional leaders, *panjhang* plate owners, and the general public. In the pre-ritual activities of *aghumain*, women from among traditional leaders are the most dominant as alms collectors with the participation of all community members. Continuing on *ngangorap* is an activity to care for and maintain the *bhujuk* cemetery in the Dadap Garden area. Women from all walks of life have been cooking since Friday, the day before the activity, at the homes of each of the traditional *bhujuk* leaders. The activity of cleaning the cemetery began after receiving a special code from the traditional leaders with

groups based on persuasion, which was the responsibility of each. At the same time, the women worked to prepare all the dishes for the men. However, before the dish is served, traditional female leaders are required to provide *sontengan*, an offering containing a small amount of food and snacks in a banana leaf box which is placed in a special place that is believed to be a place for guardian creatures who are also worthy of respect. This belief is absolute in local knowledge, so it cannot be ignored even in a debatable worldview (Evan Fales, 2013). "Even though it doesn't look like it doesn't mean it doesn't exist, it's also God's creation, the power of God," said 34-year-old Amriyah. (Personal Note, Interview December 18, 2021).

The women are obliged to serve two dishes, and the first dish is sticky rice urap which is served in the morning before noon. The second dish is when the *dhuhr* call to prayer is heard, which means the tombs cleaning activities are over. At this time, the women must be agile to hasten the dish in the form of goat curry as the main menu and other menus, which are added values for the excess of the amount of alms.

The *Nyadhar* ritual is the peak event that must be attended by the community consisting of three implementations: the first *Nyadhar* is *Nyadhar* Sheikh Anggasuto, the second *Nyadhar* is *Nyadhar* Sheikh Kabasa, and the third is *Nyadhar* Bengkoh. The implementation of the first and second *Nyadhar* is the same in terms of practice and place; what differs are the main intentions for praying, adding ritual officers, and the presence of ritual implementers, whereas the second ritual is much more crowded because it is the last opportunity for all the people of Pinggir Papas descent who are both in the community. Rural areas and overseas communities to get involved. If at the first *nyadhar* the nomads cannot attend, then not at the second *nyadhar*. Even without customary sanctions, the absence of the second *nyadhar* is not tolerated, as this is the last opportunity each year to be directly involved in the rituals held at the *bhujuk* tomb. You don't get the blessing if you don't attend at all.

Another thing that must be considered in implementing rituals is ritual equipments that must exist. Liberman et al. (2018) revealed that property is the key to the actions of ritual actors. Every ritual is almost inseparable from property availability, but the important thing is that the type, shape, and variety can be very different from one ritual to

another from one environment to another. The property described by Liberman et al. refers to the equipments used in ritual.

In the *nyadhar* ritual, the main element is the tombs of the *bhujuk*, an icon and a historical site protected by the local government of the Sumenep Regency. I am trying to separate burial and *bhujuk* bodies in the tombs because these bodies can be contradictory in understanding general science and local knowledge. Bodies that have been hundreds of years old in the view of science are seen as fossils. However, in local knowledge, this thought is rejected because of the belief that the souls of people with high spiritual levels are still alive and not petrified and not crushed to the ground. However, worshipers live in a different dimension, with the example of the bodies of martyrs who have died remaining fresh and intact, even though they are hundreds or even thousands of years old, explained by K. Harun 70 years. For this reason, the body of a *bhujuk* cannot be materialized but is still humanized. From this, I understand that death for the local community is the death of the creature's spiritual relationship with God.

In addition, a mandatory equipment that all ritual performers must own is a sacred plate; namely, a *panjhang* plate passed down from generation to generation with a size twice the size of a regular plate. Servings must be many and mountainous. In addition, the dish menu is a special food in the salt pond area. In contrast to rural areas where beef is the most special, salt pond communities choose rooster as the most special menu and milkfish as the second choice. In addition to the ritual offerings, ritual performers are also required to bring nyekar flowers wrapped in banana leaves in the shape of a cone consisting of several grains of *pangghung* powder, sliced *pandan* leaves, and various flowers such as roses and jasmine with a strong fragrant aroma. This *pangghung* powder is then mixed by traditional women leaders into a paste powder and contested by people who are believed to be useful for health.

Meanwhile, traditional leaders, especially men, must wear special clothes inherited from generation to generation. The dignitaries wore bespoke clothes, typical of Madura, black, and *racok saebu* clothes, the pattern of a thousand, for the courtiers, all of whom wore *odheng*, a typical Madurese headband. The fireplace is also an important thing that serves as a guide to the start of the ritual by paying attention to the puffs of smoke produced. *Sontengan* is an offering that is placed at several points intended for guardian

supernatural beings, which means that fellow creatures of God must respect each other. The *sontengan* contains rice, side dishes, and mini cakes packed in a banana leaf bowl. The guard at the cemetery's main entrance is always prepared with an heirloom in the form of a creese to guard against any bad possibilities. This ritual is without musical instruments or dances, but rather a ritual action that is minimal in sound and without loudspeakers as a form of sacredness. Prayer is the ultimate equipment that is read and led by a special traditional leader with whom all ritual actors agree. The following is a description of how the equipments and ritual actions take place. In the first and second rituals, the ritual takes place in two days.

In the first and second rituals, the ritual takes place in two days. The first day begins with the slaughter of chickens in the morning for a ritual dish *pangolo* men from among traditional leaders can only do. During the day, it continues with the implementation of the *Bhujuk* pilgrimage ritual, which is believed to be a guardian, valid for all men and women at all age levels while still being guided by traditional leaders as ritual leaders. The traditional male leaders make incense fireplaces, while the *abhuri* women arrange flowers for *nyekar* and prepare *pangghung* powder. In another corner, the leader of the *bangeseppo*, in his trademark clothes, sits cross-legged in front of the gate of the *Bhujuk* cemetery. The leader invited the pilgrims to enter the burial area when the incense had burned, and the officers brought him into the cemetery first, followed by all walks of life. Pilgrimage activities during the ritual of the first day lasted until evening.

On the second day, the ritual is limited only to the owner of the sacred *panjhang* plate. The women who own the *panjhang* plates are obliged to cook and deliver the ritual dishes to the ritual location, while the arrangement of the dishes is the men's task. Meanwhile, according to the duties of traditional leaders, it is the responsibility of men to prepare the fireplace, guard the tombs, and report rituals. Women among traditional leaders are obliged to *abhuri* flowers and prepare and place a *sontengan* in a special place for guardians of the unseen. The second day of the pilgrimage began with the same procedure as the first day but with more conducive and orderly conditions because it was limited to the plate owner and family.

The ritual leaders, who are all men with a neat sitting position facing the ritual performers, are only limited to the male owner of the *panjhang* plate sitting close to the ritual offerings arranged according to their respective *bhujuk*. The prayer is then uttered in agreement and immediately closed with a *ngaom*, taking a few mouthfuls of the dish to be eaten on the spot and immediately closing the dish again. The food was immediately handed over to the families of the women who lined up waiting not far from the ritual location and took them home. These women then distribute ritual offerings to relatives and neighbors who do not have sacred plates as an obligation and to conclude the ritual series. *Nyadhar bengkoh* is the third, last in a series of *nyadhar* rituals, which means the ritual is carried out at home (*Bengkoh: Madura*), not at the *bhujuk* tombs as the previous *nyadhar*. *Mamaca* is the reading of Javanese *oghem* poetry, which is also followed by reading the translation into Madurese verse by verse at the same time. *Oghem* poems are verses of exemplary stories of the Prophet, companions, and saints of Allah. This activity was only widely attended by men at the *Bangesepo* residence of the three main *bhujuk*, which took place at night after the *Isha* prayer until before *Fajr* time. During that time, women from the family of traditional leaders accompanied the banquet with the help of several women's relatives and neighbors.

The next day after the *mamaca*, in the morning, the women who owned the *panjhang* plates passed by delivering the same ritual offerings as the previous *nyadhar* to the traditional leader's residence occupied by the *mamaca* in the evening. Towards sunrise, the men followed to follow the ritual of reading the *sandhah aghung* prayer without visiting the tombs. As usual, after the prayer, the men say a few mouthfuls, and the offerings are handed back to the women who have been waiting for *ater-ater*, distributing them to relatives and neighbors who do not have plates so that they also get the same blessing. Thus, every ritual always ends with the same thing: giving alms.

## **Conclusion**

The *nyadhar* ritual is a ritual that takes place in the salt pond area, Pinggir Papas Village, and its surroundings, especially for salt farmers, and is open to outsiders participating in it. This ritual is carried out three times a year in the dry season for three

consecutive months since the beginning of the salt harvest season. The first and second rituals were carried out in the *Bhujuk* burial complex, while the third was in residential areas. This ritual serves as a momentum to build togetherness as an expression of gratitude, hope, and prayer for the safety and blessings of Life in the world and the hereafter.

This ritual explains the relationship between God, nature/environment, and humans concerning the production of salt, which is the source of livelihood for the local community and its surroundings. The great pleasure of finding salt obtained by the spiritual effort of Sheikh Anggasuto is manifested in the *nyadhar* ritual. In the continuity of the ritual, it is seen that there is a network of actors that are connected. The three *bhujuk*, Sheikh Anggasuto, Sheikh Kabasa, and Tanomir have strong personalities that underlie the ritual. They are actors in history whose stories will be remembered now and in the future. They are connected with current actors, namely the traditional leaders as ritual leaders, the *panjhang* plate owners as the main actors in the ritual, and the general public with partial involvement in the ritual.

In the ritual in this salt pond area, there is a particular element, namely the tombs of the *bhujuk*, namely; ritual costumes for traditional leaders; The heirloom creese in anticipation of a sudden attack in the hands of the retainer; The fireplace is used as a sign of the start of the ritual based on the puff of smoke produced; Offerings, as a tribute to other creatures who guard the burial area; Nyekar flower and pangghung powder with fragrant aroma function for health; *panjhang* plate, as a place for ritual offerings; ritual offerings in the form of rice and side dishes in the form of rooster meat or milkfish; *mamaca* poetry during the third ritual in community settlements; and prayer is the ultimate activity in the ritual as a space for supplication, hope, and acceptance.

The role of women in various circles is always related to food processing starting from pre-ritual, ritual, and post-ritual starting from the process of cooking, serving, delivering and bringing home dishes, and doing alms (*ater-ater*) ritual offerings to relatives and neighbors who do not have *panjhang* plate. In ritual offerings, men are in charge of arranging the dish. During the ritual, women are also attached to the provision and arrangement of *nyekar* flowers, *pangghung* powder, and making *sontengan* (especially for

women traditional leaders). The rest is the task of men in slaughtering chickens and *ngaom* during rituals. During the ritual, men among the traditional leaders are the most dominant, covering the hearth, guarding, reporting, *mamaca* and prayer. In a series of rituals from the beginning to the end, the roles of each actor from various circles, both men and women, are not seen as a competition that sees who has more or fewer roles. However, these roles are seen as steady, permanent, with status and positions that cannot be fought. The status in the ritual is only limited to the ritual. After the ritual, everyone's social status is the same. Neither has a higher or lower position. The roles performed are seen as conformity and ritual regularity.

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**Interview:**

Interview on 18 December 2021, Author's Note. Priest 34 years.

Interview on 17 September 2021, Author's Note. Suhrawi 51 years.

Interview on 18 December 2021, Author's Note. Amriyah 34 Years

Interview on 17 september 2021, Author's Note. K. Aaron 70 years old