

SYMBOLIC MEANINGS OF *AMONG TEBAL* RITUAL IN NOVEL *GENDUK* BY SUNDARI MARDJUKI

MAKNA SIMBOLIK RITUAL *AMONG TEBAL* DALAM NOVEL *GENDUK* KARYA SUNDARI MARDJUKI

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the symbolic meanings of *among tebal* ritual and the description of attitude of life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro in novel *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki. This research uses descriptive qualitative method which put forward on content analysis with in-depth reading on the novel. The problem in this research is the symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual and the description of the attitude of life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro which is reflected from *among tebal* ritual in the novel *Genduk*. The data of this research are all symbolic expressions in *among tebal* ritual and all words and sentences that describe the attitude of life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro in the novel *Genduk*. Result this research can describe the symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual which consists of symbolic meaning of ritual offerings that are white, yellow, red, and black *tumpeng* which symbolize the four elements in human beings that cannot be separated and *jajan pasar* that symbolize human character in this world is different. Prayer in rituals has a high expectation for tobacco plants to be planted to grow fertile with good harvest. The symbolic meaning of the procession of *among tebal* ritual is the togetherness that is in the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro. This study describes the attitude of life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro which reflected from *among tebal*.

Keywords: *among tebal, attitude of life, symbolic meanings, tobacco farmers*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan makna simbolik ritual *among tebal* dan deskripsi sikap hidup petani tembakau di lereng sindoro dalam novel *Genduk* Karya Sundari Mardjuki. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif yang lebih mengedepankan pada analisis konten (isi) dengan pembacaan mendalam pada novel.

Masalah dalam penelitian ini adalah makna simbolik dari ritual *among tebal* serta deskripsi sikap hidup petani tembakau di lereng sindoro yang tercermin dari ritual *among tebal* dalam novel *Genduk*. Data penelitian ini berupa semua ungkapan simbolis pada ritual *among tebal* serta semua kata dan kalimat yang mendeskripsikan sikap hidup petani tembakau di lereng Sindoro dalam novel *Genduk*. Hasil penelitian ini mendeskripsikan makna simbolik ritual *among tebal* yang terdiri atas makna simbolik sesaji ritual yaitu tumpeng putih, kuning, merah, dan hitam yang melambangkan keempat unsur dalam diri manusia tidak dapat dipisahkan serta jajanan pasar yang melambangkan karakter manusia di dunia ini tidak ada yang sama. Doa dalam ritual memiliki makna pengharapan tinggi untuk tanaman tembakau yang akan ditanam dapat tumbuh subur dan panennya bagus. Makna simbolik prosesi ritual *among tebal* yaitu kebersamaan yang terjalin di masyarakat petani tembakau lereng Sindoro. Penelitian ini juga mendeskripsikan sikap hidup petani tembakau lereng Sindoro yang tercermin dari ritual *among tebal*.

Kata kunci: makna simbolik, among tebal, sikap hidup, petani tembakau

Introduction

Culture is a system of symbolic meaning (Geertz, 1973). Like language, culture is a semiotic system containing symbols, and which serves to communicate and imply the meanings of the minds between individuals. Meaning is an integral part of semantics and is always attached to what we say. Mansoer Pateda (2001: 79) suggests that meaning is a confusing word and term. The meaning is always united in speech or phrase. According to Ulman (in Mansoer Pateda, 1994: 286) showed that meaning is the relationship between meaning and understanding or meaning as a sense or concept that is owned or contained in a linguistic sign.

The symbols attached to a particular object will give birth to a certain meaning and can form an identity. Symbols are the smallest part of a ritual that holds something of meaning from behavior or activities in a typical ritual ceremony. Thus, the smallest parts of the ritual must take attention, such as offerings, spells, and other objects. In this connection, symbols can be understood as expressions in material forms that society uses to describe something immaterial or belief. Symbols describe the form, characteristic, and meaning of beliefs held by the society, because of that the meaning of symbols always describe the ritual or tradition that is implemented by society, because it is impossible to understand the meaning of ritual or society tradition without understanding the meaning of symbols used.

No exception in traditional ceremonies or rituals of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. Traditions implemented by the tobacco farmers are the inheritance of the ancestors lived on the slopes of Mount Sindoro which is still preserved until now. One of the rituals held by tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro until now is *among tebal* ritual. *Among tebal* is held for "miwiti" tobacco planting on the farm. This ritual must be held by the tobacco farmers before beginning the planting season. *Among tebal* is usually held on March-April which is the early months of growing tobacco. That *among tebal* ritual became one of interest by Sundari Mardjuki, the local young women writer in order to lift it into a literary work novel. This Sundari Mardjuki novel entitled *Genduk* presents localities and local wisdom that is temporarily held by tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro Temanggung

district until now, one of which is *among tebal* ritual. As in the rituals told by Sundari followed by all villagers living on the slopes of Mount Sindoro, there are many symbols that are very interesting to be analyzed its meaning. The symbols are present on the offerings used in rituals, prayers pronounced during rituals, and ritualistic processions.

Research on symbolic meaning has been done by many researchers, but who analyzed the symbolic meaning in *among tebal* ritual has never been done before. The differentiation of this study with other studies that discussed about symbolic meanings is very clear, especially on the object of research studies in the form of words, phrases, and sentences that contain the symbolic meaning that is in the novel. Usually research on symbolic meaning using the object of study in the form of direct speech-containing symbols. However, this study sourced from quotations in novels reinforced by source validation that is interviews with original informants who know deeply the symbols and processions of *among tebal* ritual. In addition, *among tebal* ritual has not been analyzed by other researchers in terms of symbolic meaning. Other relevant research that discusses the meaning of symbols performed by Winoto and Rachmawati in 2017. Research Winoto and Rachmawati analyze the meaning or symbol alpha female female librarian. This is very different from the researcher's article that examines the meaning of symbolic ritual among the thick. The difference lies in the object of study studied ie words, sentences, and phrases in the novel *Genduk* and the meaning of self librarian women. In addition, research on the meaning of other symbols is also done by Asriati (2011) which discusses the degradation of symbolic meaning Minangkabau traditional dress in the city of Padang. This research is clearly different from that done by the researchers, both in terms of the object of study and discussion theory used. Therefore, the study of symbolic meanings of *among tebal* rituals in novel *Genduk* is very relevant to do.

The study of symbolic meanings cannot be separated from the symbolic interactionism theory of Clifford Geertz in his essay (Geertz 1993: 5) believes that culture consists of symbols carrying meaning and to analyze them it is needed semiotic as a science that is interpretative. In line with the opinion of Geertz, (Winoto and Rachmawati, 2017: 54) explains that man is essentially a creature that interacts. In interaction requires the symbols and symbols are mutually agreed upon. In order to understand the symbolic meanings in a tradition, especially *inamong tebal* rituals it is necessary to analyze the signs contained in the ritual. The symbolic interaction theory holds that individuals form meaning through the process of communication because meaning is not intrinsic to anything. Interpretive constructs are needed among people to create meaning. Interaction aims to create the same meaning. Another opinion which also discovers the symbolic meaning in his article is "A reader should be alert for symbolical meanings, and accroding to" (Fadée, 2011: 19).

Based on the background explanation above, the formulation of the problem in this research is (1) how is the symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual in novel *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki?, and (2) how is the attitude of life of tobacco farmers living on the slopes of Sindoro mountain which is reflected from *among tebal* ritual in novel *Genduk*?

Method

This study is based on data obtained from in-depth reading of the novel. The most suitable approach used in this research is literary anthropology. According to one

of the researchers of symbolic meanings, anthropologists have been influenced by investigations in psychology (especially psychoanalysis) and linguistic (Janet, 1950: 5). The quotation explains that the anthropological approach in seeing symbols and direct meaning refers to social activity and is proven through direct investigation or observation, especially in the form and language of the symbol. Janet (1950: 5) reveals that literary anthropology is influenced by psychology and linguistics. That is, the relationship between those three is very close and complement each other because literary anthropology is an effort to understand human. Understanding human action through the literary path, according to the idea of Todorov (Anwar, 2010: 269), will trace the facts of fantastic realism. This research focuses on the theory of literary anthropology which has methodological proximity, meaning that both use symbolic phenomena interpretations (Endraswara, 2015: 11). The results of the data sources analysis then triangulated with validation involving expert speakers that is the elderly as well as performers of *among tebal* ritual on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. To discuss the problem formulation, the appropriate method used in this research is qualitative descriptive analysis. Ratna (2008: 53) showed that the descriptive analytical method is done by describing the facts which then followed by the analysis. The data of this research are words, sentences, and discourse that contain symbols from *among tebal* in the novel *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki. The object of this research is the novel *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki.

Data collection is done by reading-record technique. Collecting and analyzing data is done in a concurrent way so that the data can be validated in triangulation with the data source. This is in accordance with Moleong's opinion (2002: 104) that the data analysis is done in a process with data collection. Data analysis technique is done by content analysis method and heuristic and hermeneutic reading method. This is in accordance with the opinion of Endraswara (2015: 160) which stated that analytical techniques in the field of literature can be used to understand literary works that include extrinsic elements such as moral messages, educational value, philosophical values, religious values, and others. Data analysis is done by connecting elements that function to form unity of understanding of symbolic meanings of *among tebal* ritual and description of attitude of life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro which is reflected from *among tebal* ritual.

Result and Discussion

In line with the opinion of the semiotic figure Pierce (In Hoed, 2002) focuses on three aspects of the iconic, indexical and symbolic marks. Iconic is something that performs a function as a marker similar to the shape of the object (seen in pictures or paintings). An index is something that performs a function as a marker signaling its signature, while a symbol is a marker that performs a function as a marker which by convention has been commonly used in society. This is in accordance with the results of this study which emphasizes the signs that exist in words, sentences, or phrases in the novel as symbols of language that need to be interpreted in order to gain understanding. The symbolic meanings of *among tebal* ritual in Sundari Mardjuki's novel *Genduk* which will be investigated in this research include (1) symbolic meanings in *among tebal* ritual offerings, (2) symbolic meanings in *among teba* lritual prayers (3) symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual procession, and (4) description of attitude of

life of the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro which is reflected from *among tebal* ritual.

Symbolic Meaning of Among Tebal Ritual Offerings

Among tebalis a tradition of inheritance from the ancestors that always be implemented by tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. The ritual is also a part of the story in novel *Genduk* that shows the form of local wisdom in the novel. According to a cultural activist, the ritual symbol is the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior...the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context (Turner, 1950: 184). Based on the quotation above, it can be explained that the symbol in a ritual is the smallest unit that must exist and maintained in the implementation of the ritual. The symbol in the ritual is something distinctive and as a differentiator from other rituals. Similarly, in *among tebal* ritual symbols contained in it is very distinctive and different from other rituals. The symbols become very important to be understand its meaning so that the message in the ritual can be understood by the ritual performers. The author investigated the offerings used in *among tebal* ritual. Through his quote on page (47) the author mentions:

"Jam delapan pagi semua orang sudah berkumpul membentuk lingkaran di tegalan Tuksari. Tikar jerami digelar. Aneka tumpeng dan semua ubo rampe-nya diletakkan di tengah-tengah. Ada tumpeng putih, tumpeng kuning, tumpeng hitam. Ada ingkung ayam kampung, irisan telur dadar, buah-buahan, dan jajan pasar."(Genduk: 47)

In addition to the quote above, other offerings that also be presented in *among tebal* ritual is a variety of *jajanan pasar*. As mentioned in the following novel excerpt:

"Tetapi mataku sibuk tertuju pada aneka jajanan pasar di depanku. Pasti khusus didatangkan dari kota Parakan. Ini pemandangan yang jarang terlihat. Kue kancing yang atasnya diberi hiasan gula warna-warni. Biskuit dengan selai kacang. Brondong jagung dan brondong beras warna-warni. Wajik coklat dengan harum pandan dan gula merah, yang terlihat berkilat-kilat. Jadah dari ketan yang tampak putih pulen. Kue ku yang berbentuk seperti mata kerbau yang dalamnya berisi kacang hijau". (Genduk: 48)

After identifying the offerings used in the *among tebal* ritual contained in novel *Genduk* by Sundari Mardjuki then the symbolic meaning of the offerings will be investigated. The description of the symbolic meaning of the offerings in the *among tebal* rituals is obtained from the interviews with local speakers because this study is a literary anthropology study that requires the validity of the expert local speakers. The symbolic meaning of the offerings in *among tebal* rituals can be explained as follows.

a. Tumpeng (Java ceremonial dish of yellow rice served in a cone shape)

The first offering that must be presented in *among tebal* ritual is *nasi tumpeng*. The *tumpeng* used in *among tebal* is not the usual *tumpeng*. But there are 3 types of *tumpeng* that must be presented in the ritual, namely white *tumpeng*, yellow *tumpeng*,

and *black tumpeng*. Those three *tumpeng* has its own meaning. Based on the results of interviews with the local speakers living on the slopes of Mount Sindoro, Mr Jayeng Wiro Susilo who is the former village head of Mranggen Kidul Village 2 times period, the village which is used as the setting of novel *Genduk* disclose the meaning of those three *tumpeng*. Mr. Jayeng also lives as a tobacco farmer so he is a reasonable and appropriate speaker if used as a resource in this study.

A ritual is identical with the offerings, as well as *among tebal*. From the interviews can be informed the meaning of offerings in *among tebal* ritual. There must be three kinds of *tumpeng* presented in *among tebal* ritual namely white *tumpeng*, yellow *tumpeng*, and *black tumpeng*. Mr. Jayeng informed that the white *tumpeng* is likened to a crater. The red *tumpeng* is likened to blood. Black *tumpeng* is likened to the placenta, while the yellow *tumpeng* is likened to the navel. All the *tumpeng* symbolizes the human beings. Thosesymbolssymbolizes that in human beings there are 4 elements that should not be separated because if one of them does not exist then the human beings will be unbalanced. Sundari Mardjuki in the novel *Genduk* through words, sentences, and symbolic expressions related to the *among tebal* rituals explains that in the *among tebal* of every symbol that exists from the offering, the prayer, and the implementation procession have their own meanings. As in the excerpt of a novel which states that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro that perform *aamong tebal* ritual must bring a colorful *tumpeng* and a variety of *jajanan pasar*. *Tumpeng* that must be brought among others white, red, black, and yellow *tumpeng*. The four *tumpeng* symbolize the human self that cannot be separated from the four elements they have. It is also reinforced by the validation of resource persons conducted to Mr. Jayeng, as a tobacco farmer on the slopes of Mount Sindoro who perform ritual among thick. White *tumpeng* has a meaning in accordance with the white color representthe symbol of sanctity. This sanctity lies in human beings especially in the heart. With a pure heart (in tobacco farmers) the peasants will plant tobacco in earnest.

The second *tumpeng* is the red color that symbolizes blood in human beings. This blood is identical to the anger that is in human beings. This means that every human being is born with a desire or lust, for example, the desire to eat uncontrollably. Therefore, human beings will try hard to fulfill their desire, one of them is work. The next *tumpeng* is the yellow *tumpeng* which symbolizes that in human beings there are also souls of laziness. That is, people are not always diligent to work there are times when experiencing the name of feeling lazy. Therefore, the other soul must continue to encourage oneself to resist the sense of laziness. Humans also have a sense of fatigue and need time to rest. All the *tumpeng* served in among *tebal* ritual symbolizes the human soul to be balanced and there should not be one empty. Just like this nature, there are 4 elements of nature that must be kept balance i.e. the earth (land), water, fire, and wind.

b. *Jajanan Pasar (java) snacks from local market*

The second offering that must be presented in *among tebal* ritual is *jajanan pasar*. Variety of *jajanan pasar* placed in a container called "*tampah*". *Jajanan pasar* that usually become offerings in the ritual include various kinds of fruits such as pineapple, oranges, salak, watermelon, papaya, bengkoang, kedondong, and so forth. There are also various types of cakes such as *wajik*, *jadah*, *kue kancing*, *biskuit warna-warni*, *kue ketan*, *brondong jagung*, and many other types of cakes. Not to be missed

as well as offerings in the form of crops such as boiled cassava, cassava, banana, beans, sweet potatoes, taro, and so forth. Variety of *jajanan pasar* that become offerings in *among tebal* ritual is a symbol of symbolization of different human characters, nothing is the same. The human heart and soul are not the same, as taught by the previous *wali*. *Jajanan pasar* were placed one into the container in the form of "*tampah*" along with a pointy white *tumpeng*. This pointy *tumpeng* is also a symbol of supplication to the Almighty.

The Symbolic Meaning of Prayer in Among tebal Ritual

Prayer in a ritual is a must, especially in *among tebal* ritual. The prayer spoken in this ritual is not just an ordinary prayer but it can be said to be a spell. Prayer recitation is done by *pemangku adat* or village elders who have been trusted to lead the prayer. Similarly, depicted in the novel *Genduk*, the prayer is pronounced by the old figure "*Kaji Bawon*" which is the village elders. As seen in the following novel excerpt.

"Kali ini giliran Kaji Bawon melakukan perannya. Ia menengadahkan tangan dan mulutnya komat-kamit. Surat Al Fatihah dibacakan. Semua orang pun ikut menengadahkan tangan sambil mengamini doa-doa Kaji Bawon". (Genduk: 48)

Prayer pronounced in *among tebal* ritual is the hope of tobacco farmers to start the planting period. From the results of interviews conducted to informants namely Mr. Sutopo as the mastermind of the village as well as performer of *among tebal* ritual obtained the expression of prayer reads as follows.

"Niat ingsun arep titip nandur mbako ono ing tegal kene. Mugo-mugo Gusti Allah maringi pitulungan, mbakone lemu, adoh seko panggodho pengengcono, nyuwun berkahe poro nabi, poro wali, nyuwun berkahe Ki Ageng Makukuhan, panembahan tegil. Mbesok mbakone payu larang tak upah-upahi juadah pasar ketan salak."

Which mean:

"My intention is to plant tobacco in this field. May *Gusti Allah* gives help, the tobacco is fertile, keep it away from distractions and threats. Beg of blessing (also) from the prophets, the *wali*, and the blessings of *Ki Ageng Makukuhan* and the guardian of the field. (If) eventually the tobacco are sold with a high price, I will present *jadah pasar ketan salak*".

Based on the interview result, it is obviously informed that prayer is important and sacred to be done in *among tebal* ritual. Interview of this informant was conducted by the researcher as a validation of the source in order to strengthen the results of the analysis of data research. Prayers led by *pemangku adat* or village elders are also followed solemnly by all citizens who attend the ritual. This prayer is sincerely expressed to the God so that what is expected can be granted, especially about the planted tobacco plant which is expected to flourish and the harvest will be good.

Symbolic Meaning of Among tebal Ritual Procession

The ritual procession is the highlight in a traditional ceremony. Starting from the preparation stage until the implementation, there are many symbols that contain meaning. The author of the novel tells the series of events in *among tebal* ritual, from the venue to the eating-together event which is the last series of *among tebal* ritual. As has been disclosed by (Endraswara, 2013: 2) literature is the work of attitude and human behavior symbolically. Thus, human behaviors performed in *among tebal* ritual also have their own symbols. It shows that literary work is a reflection of human life that needs to be explored.

Among tebal in Sundari Mardjuki's novel *Genduk* is described as a tradition for the inhabitants surrounding the slopes of Sindoro for "miwiti" or beginning the tobacco planting season. As in the following novel excerpt:

"Semua berarak menuju mata air Tuksari. Ini adalah hari wiwitan, awal musim menanam tembakau. Sudah menjadi tradisi bagi penduduk seputar lereng Sindoro untuk melakukan ritual Among tebal,....".
(*Genduk*: 46)

The procession or implementation of *among tebal* ritual begins with the selection or timing of implementation. This was done by *pemangku adat* and the village government because this ritual was performed jointly by all villagers living on the Slope of Sindoro. The timing of implementation can not be determined indiscriminately, it must be in accordance with the calculations of the *pemangku adat* although usually this ritual is held one month before tobacco planting season begins. Research conducted by Laily (2016: 173-174) describes the implementation of traditions or rituals on the slopes of Sindoro and Sumbing should not coincide with *sangar tahun*, the term to refer to the first day of the Java year which falls on the day of *Rebo Wage* based on the *Aboge* calendar. Another time to avoid for the implementation of the ritual or tradition is a fateful day (unlucky day), such as the day of the parents' death.

After the timing by *pemangku adat* is determined, elders, and village government, all citizens prepare all the prerequisites and offerings required for the ritual. The day of the ritual is held in the morning at the place determined by the elders. In the novel, the implementation is held in the Tuksari fountain, which is used for the rituals until now. Quoted in the novel as follows:

"Semua berarak menuju mata air Tuksari. Ini adalah hari wiwitan, awal musim menanam tembakau. Sudah menjadi tradisi bagi penduduk seputar lereng Sindoro untuk melakukan ritual Among tebal,....".
(*Genduk*: 46)

In addition to calendaring, implementation time is also determined by village elders. Usually this ritual is held when the morning starts from eight in the morning until at eleven o'clock. It also has a special meaning, why the ritual is held on the morning precisely at eight o'clock. As in the following novel excerpt:

"Jam delapan pagi semua sudah berkumpul membentuk lingkaran di tegalan Tuksari. Tikar jerami digelar. Aneka tumpeng dan ubo rampenya diletakkan di tengah-tengah". (Genduk: 47)

The meaning contained in the symbol of the election time of ritual implementation at eight o'clock in the morning from the interview with the local speakers informed that at that hour the sun is at a good point so that the seeds are planted in that hour is expected to grow fertile and well. Also be held in the morning because of sustenance comes in the morning, as in the proverb of Java said that *jika pagi hari masih bermalas-malasan maka rezekinya akan dipatok ayam*. Furthermore, the ritual is followed by an opening ceremony led by the *Lurah* or Village Head. The Village Head opens the event by delivering his speech before the event will be handed over to the elders or *pemangku adat*. This *Lurah's* speech also has a symbolic meaning in it. In the excerpt of the novel is told about this speech as follows:

"Pak Cokro berdeham sebelum membuka acara. "Sedulur-sedulur, hari ini kita adakan acara among tebal,.....". (Genduk: 47)

The *lurah's* speech is a symbol of opening of *among tebal* ritual. With the greeting from *Lurah*, *among tebal* ritual has been officially opened and ready to follow the series of *among tebal* rituals. In addition, the greeting is a symbol of the submission of the event from the village chief to elders and *pemangku adat* to proceed to the highlighted event of *among tebal* ritual.

The procession of the next series of ritual events is filling *kendi* with a Tuksari fountain. In the excerpt of the novel is told, after *among tebal* event opened by Mr. *Lurah Cokro* subsequent *Lik Kadir* and *Lik Ngadun* to the fountain to fill *kendi*.

"Tampak Lik Kadir dan Lik Ngadun dengan pakaian lurik dan ikat kepala hitam, mendekati mata air. Lik Kadir membawa sebuah kendi. Dengan raut wajah serius, ia mengisi kendi itu dengan air pancuran Tuksari. Keduanya kemudian berbalik menuju keramaian. Kendi diletakkan di dekat ingkung ayam. Mereka kemudian duduk bersila sambil membakar kemenyan". (Genduk: 48)

Ritual of filling the water in *kendi* of course has its own symbolic meaning in *among tebal* tradition. These *kendi* will be brought to the field to water the first seeds of tobacco planted in the field. It is hoped that by watering from Tuksari these planted tobacco seeds will grow fertile. Based on interviews with local speakers who said that now *among tebal* is not always held in Tuksari because this ritual is progressing as technology progresses but does not leave the sacredness of the *among tebal* ritual. This means that the present *among tebal* rituals can be held not only in the Tuksari but most important thing is close to the tobacco farm. This ritual is more festive with traditional art performance by the youth like *jaran kepang* and others as well as a place to preserve the culture of the local society.

The next series of events is a joint prayer led by village elders. As already discussed in the previous formulation that this prayer is pronounced seriously by village elders to ask *Gusti Allah* for the planted tobacco seed to flourish and produce a

good harvest. From the procession ritual prayer then followed by planting tobacco seeds that have been prepared on agricultural land. As mentioned in the novel:

"Doa Kaji Bawon akhirnya selesai. Beberapa laki-laki mengambil sejumlah bibit tembakau, kendi, dan beberapa sesaji. Mereka membawanya ke ladang untuk ditanam." (Genduk: 49)

The quotation states that after the prayer, the procession of ritual performed followed by the planting of tobacco seeds in agricultural fields. This stage also contains symbols in *among tebal* ritual. The procession of planting tobacco seeds by some farmers' representatives and witnessed by all villagers means that the tobacco planting season has begun. The number of seeds planted in the field was adjusted to the calculations of the number of the day of *among tebal* ritual implementation at the time. Next the ritual of eating-together (*selamatan*), as in the following novel *Genduk* excerpt:

"Dan acara makan pun dimulai. Daun pisang digelar di atas tikar. Puncak tumpeng dipotong dan dibagikan kepada sesepuh desa. Ayam ingkung dipotong-potong. Pak lurah Cokro kebagian brutu. Orang-orang yang dituakan mendapatkan kepala atau sayap." (Genduk: 49)

Based on the quotation there is a meaning behind the symbol of the eating event (*selamatan*). The symbol is contained on the top of *tumpeng* that cut and distributed to village elders. Giving the top of *tumpeng* to the village elder has a special meaning, namely the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro respect the older people. This can be seen by giving the top of *tumpeng* to the village elders. From the interview result, the customs is still performed until now. By respecting the elderly it is expected that the rituals held on that day can be accepted by the God and granted the wishes of tobacco farmers to be continuity planting tobacco until the harvest arrives. All elders and peasants who follow *among tebal* rituals must wear custom clothing. The elders use traditional Javanese dress (*beskap*) while farmers use black pants, *lurik* clothes, headband, and *caping*.

Description of Tobacco Farmer's Attitudes Reflected in Among tebal Rituals

The implementation of traditional rituals or ceremonies must have a certain purpose. In addition to the meaningful symbols that have been analyzed above. From the implementation of *among tebal* rituals can be reflected some attitudes of life inherent in the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. The attitude of life is a manifestation of the behavior of the society of tobacco farmers living on the slopes of Sindoro investigated from *among tebal* ritual. In the novel *Genduk*, there is attitude of life of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro, among others; always remember to God, mutual help, never give up, and respect the elderly. Those attitudes that the author wishes to convey in this novel through the role of the characters in the novel.

a) Always remember to God

The attitude of life that is always grateful to God or in Javanese terms better known as *eling*. Javanese people's attitude can be seen through their mind. If so, the inner patterns of life are the attitude of life itself (Endraswara, 2006: 43). In a human's life, they must always remember to God in everything and anywhere. Thus, it will refer humans to always do good and keep from bad speech attitude (Endraswara, 2006: 37). The attitude of life that is always remember to God has been embedded and become a guide of life for the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. This is shown in the following data.

"Sedulur-sedulur, hari ini kita adakan acara Among tebal. Seperti yang selalu kita mintakan pada Gusti Allah, semoga bibit tembakau yang ditanam nanti tumbuh subur, terhindar dari serangan hama. Dan yang utama, bisa mendatangkan panen melimpah sehingga hidup kita meningkat."
(Genduk: 47)

From the data suggests that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have an inner attitude that always be a guide in their life, as happens in the main character of the novel *Genduk* who always remember his God though in any circumstances and anywhere.

b) Mutual Help

The second of life attitude of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro which is reflected in *among tebal* ritual is the attitude of mutual help. Mutual help has an understanding as an active participation of each individual to get involved in adding value or positive aspect to every object, problem or needs of the people around him/her. Such active participation can be material, financial, physical, mental, spiritual, skill, constructive thought or counseling, or to pray only to God (Rochmadi, 2012: 4).

The concept of mutual help can also be interpreted in the context of society empowerment because it can be a social asset to establish institutional strength at the community level, state society and society across nation and state of Indonesia in realizing prosperity. This is also because in the mutual help contained the meaning of collective action to struggle, self governing, common goals, and sovereignty (Pranadji, 2009: 62). The mutual help is one of the attitudes of life of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro as reflected in the following novel *Genduk* excerpt:

"Semesta sepertinya paham bahwa hari ini adalah hari istimewa bagi petani lereng Sindoro. Matahari bersinar hangat, menguapkan kabut tipis, mengeringkan titik-titik embun yang menempel di rumput. Senyum tersungging di wajah setiap orang. Semua berarak menuju mata air Tuksari. Ini adalah hari wiwitan, awal musim panen tembakau. Sudah menjadi tradisi bagi penduduk seputar lereng Sindoro untuk melakukan ritual Among tebal, tradisi memohon kepada Gusti Allah agar panen melimpah (Genduk: 46-47)."

Based on the above quotation it is obvious that from *among tebal* ritual can be concluded that the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have a high attitude of life of mutual help. This is evidenced by the implementation of *among tebal*

ritual that still be implemented by the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro until now. Through the results of the interview also explained that this ritual is followed by all villagers from children to parents. In addition all villagers participated starting from the preparation to the implementation of the rituals. Even nowadays the implementation of *among tebal* ritual more lively because many traditional arts-owned by the society on the slopes of Mount Sindoro are performed.

c) Never give up

Among tebal ritual that is a compulsory tradition for the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro also announced at the unyielding attitude that is owned by the local society. Planting tobacco is a hard struggle, it takes people who do not give up doing it. Unyielding attitude is an attitude that is not easily discouraged in facing various obstacles. Always work hard to realize goals, assuming obstacles/barriers are always present in every activity to be faced. As in the following excerpt from Sundari Mardjuki's novel *Genduk*:

"Tembakau adalah harapan yang dipupuk dengan perjuangan keras. Tidak ada yang lebih penting daripada bergelut dengan tanaman tembakau. Secara berkala tanaman itu dicek apakah tumbuh dengan baik. Bila ada yang mati, akan segera diganti dengan bibit yang baru. Menyiramnya pun harus penuh hati-hati. Ada masa aku ditinggal sendiri di rumah setiap malam karena Yung harus pergi ke ladang untuk menyiram tembakau. Ya, menyiramnya di malam hari. Ini perjuangan yang luar biasa". (Genduk: 59)

From the quotation above it is obvious that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have an unyielding life attitude. Planting tobacco requires a tough struggle because it is a source of hope for people on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. Being a tobacco farmer is the main source of livelihood for people on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. Therefore, tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro is trying hard and never give up in planting tobacco in order to obtain maximum harvest. Another quote in the novel *Genduk* further reinforces the notion that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have an unyielding life attitude.

"Musim tembakau adalah musim labuh. Apa yang dimiliki petani dipertaruhkan agar penanaman tembakau hingga panen nanti berhasil. Tanaman ini sudah menguji nyali petani sejak awal ketika ladang dipaculi, ditanami, sampai dipanen." (Genduk: 23)

The above quote proves that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have an unyielding life attitude in planting tobacco. The farmers are willing to stake what they have for the tobacco harvest to succeed. This unyielding attitude is also in accordance with the teachings of religion, especially the Islamic religion contained in the Qur'an explains that "And do not despair of the mercy of Allah, in fact not despair of the mercy of Allah but the infidels" (Surat al-Ankabut verse 23). Based on that, it is obviously informed that the unyielding attitude is a highly recommended attitude is owned by humans because by never giving up then human will not despair on a matter and continue to fight for it to gain success. For tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount

Sindoro, this unyielding attitude is must be owned, especially in the case of planting tobacco. Without the unyielding and tenacious attitude it is impossible for farmers to obtain a successful tobacco harvest.

d) Respect the elderly

The last attitude of life that can be described from tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro in the implementation of *among tebal* ritual is respecting the elderly. Apriliaswati (2010: 237) mentioned that respect is the virtue that underlies etiquette. Respect encourages a person to be kind and respectful to others. This virtue leads one to treating others as he/she wants others to treat him/her, thus preventing someone from being rude, unfair, and hostile. This is evidenced by some quotes from the novel *Genduk* which obviously illustrates that the society of tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro greatly respects the elderly, as in the following novel *Genduk* excerpt:

“Dan acara makan pun dimulai. Daun pisang digelar di atas tikar. Puncak tumpeng dipotong dan dibagikan kepada sesepuh desa. Ayam ingkung dipotong-potong. Pak lurah Cokro kebagian brutu. Orang-orang yang dituakan mendapatkan kepala atau sayap. Sisanya disuwir-suwir agar terbagi rata ke semua orang.” (Genduk: 49)

Another quote that also shows the tobacco farmer's attitude on the slopes of Mount Sindoro in respecting the elderly as follows:

“Kini giliran Kaji Bawon melakukan perannya. Ia menengadahkan tangan dan mulutnya komat-kamit. Surat Al Fatihah dibacakan. Semua orang ikut menengadahkan tangan sambil mengamini doa-doa Kaji Bawon.” (Genduk : 48)

From the two quotations above can be informed that tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro uphold respect for the elderly. It is told by the author through her quotes that in *among tebal*, the top piece of *tumpeng* which is a ritual offering is given to the village elder first. It proves that indeed the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro have an attitude of respect for the elderly. The implementation of the prayer is also led by village elders who in the novel performed by Kaji Bawon the elder figure.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is that the symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual implemented by the tobacco farmers on the slopes of Sindoro Mountain can be analyzed through three stages namely symbolic meaning of ritual offerings, symbolic meanings of prayer in rituals, and symbolic meanings of ritual implementation of *among tebal* processions. The symbolic meaning of *among tebal* ritual offerings is to represent the human beings with all its characters. As for the meaning of prayer pronounced in *among tebal* ritual is the request to God for tobacco plants to be planted to grow fertile and abundant harvest. Furthermore, the symbolic meaning in the procession of ritual implementation also refers to the expectation of tobacco

harvest will be successful and inform the attitude of life owned by tobacco farmers on the slopes of Mount Sindoro. The attitude of life includes the attitude of always remember to God, uphold mutual help, never give up, and respect the elderly.

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