Mamacan in Bayan Village North Lombok: Preserving Tradition and Disseminating Religious Values

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ABSTRACT
This article discusses a mamacan tradition in Bayan village North Lombok West Nusa Tenggara. This tradition has been practiced since many years ago by a local community called adat Bayan. This adat community is the descendants of former Kedatuan Bayan, a small kingdom that existed around the 16th century. Data of this study are gathered through three methods, namely interviews, observation, and documentary research. The findings of this study show that mamacan is a tradition of reading manuscripts (lontar/takepan) done by a pambacan (a reader). Then the translator will translate and explain the meaning of the lontar. This tradition is usually conducted during certain rituals and events, such as wedding ceremony, circumcision ceremony, cutting baby's hair, and other rituals. The manuscript for mamacan is selected based on the ceremony type since different rituals will use different manuscripts. For instance, manuscript entitled Jatiswara, Nursada, Nurcahya, Bang Bari, and Nabi Haparas. These manuscripts contain various local values and religious teaching; therefore, mamacan is one of the ways to preserve tradition and disseminate religious values. However, not all people can read that lontar and understand its meaning. Most of those manuscripts were written in Jejawan (Old Javanese letters) and Sasak and Javanese letters, and a combination of Javanese Sasak languages.

Keywords: Mamacan, Islamic values, wetu telu, local traditions

1. INTRODUCTION

Adat (local) community in a Bayan village in North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara province, has practiced mamacan for many years. Mamacan is a tradition of reading lontar (manuscript) during a particular ritual, especially related to the ritual of life circles such as birth, circumcision, a ritual of cutting baby's hair, wedding, and other occasions. This mamacan tradition is usually chaired by a leader of the Adat community in the village and supported by another member of prominent members of the Adat community. This adat community has been led by the king of Kedatuan (kingdom) Bayan. This Kedatuan is a small kingdom known as the Islamic empire in the 16th century and as a place that supported the dissemination of Islam. During mamacan, a specific manuscript will be read according to the purpose of the ritual in which the lontar consists of valuable meanings (interview with the adat Bayan leaders, 2011).

Practicing mamacan can be considered as one of the ways to preserve local traditions and disseminate religious values from one generation to the next one. However, not all people living in that area can read the lontar written in Jejawan script, and not all people can understand the meaning in the texts. In addition, there is a convention among the community that only certain people who are allowed to read lontar, especially for lontar categorized as “piagem” or sacred lontar. Therefore, during mamacan, many people, including youth generations, attended this gathering so that they would be able to listen and learn many subjects from the manuscripts being read.

Mamacan tradition is an important tradition that needs to be discussed since it has essential roles for a community, like transferring knowledge and past experiences to young generations. This article
focuses on how the tradition of *mamacan* is being practiced in Bayan village and how this tradition preserves their local values and disseminates religious principles. This *adat* community living in Bayan village and its surroundings is well-known as "*wetu telu*" community, referring to their religious thought and attitudes. Many scholars argue that they have different practices of Islam from the majority of Islam in general. This paper also provides the socio and histories of the village to understand the background of tradition being held.

This article was written based on the research findings done in 2011. First, data were gathered through several ways, including interviews with local leaders, *adat* leaders, the people of Bayan, and other key informants. This interview is an integral part of knowing the tradition, the people, and the history of local culture. The second method in gathering data is documentary research; this is applied to search written data about the history of Islamic spreading in Bayan, *mamacan* tradition, and related topics, such as data from manuscripts, previous research, books, and journal articles. Then, observation on the practice of *mamacan* was also conducted; it aims to understand the process and its practices.

2. SOCIO-HISTORIES OF BAYAN VILLAGE IN NORTH LOMBOK

Bayan is one of the villages in the North Lombok district; it is situated in the northern area of Lombok Island. It is approximately 85 km from Mataram, the province's capital city. Bayan is well-known as the village that most people living there is belong to "*metu telu*" community, or others call them "*wetu telu*" which is recognized as different from "Islam *Waktu Lima*."

Many writings mention that "*wetu telu*" means "three times," referring to the numbers of their performing daily prayers. It differs from "Islam *Waktu Lima*" in that people perform daily prayers five times [1] [2]. Meanwhile, they are the same as Moslems in general as they are performing five times daily prayers, and the term "*metu telu*" refers to their three life principles namely *beranak* (giving birth), *bertelur* (laying eggs), and *bertumbuh* (growing). In addition, they prefer to be called the "*Adat Bayan community" rather than as "*wetu telu*" community (Interview with the *adat* Bayan leaders, 2011).

Muslim et al. explain three variants of Islam and the Muslim community in Lombok. (a) Islam *Waktu Lima* refers to people who fully comprehend and understand dan perform Islamic teaching. (b) Islam *Wetu Telu* is associated with a group of people lacking an understanding of Islam and being bound by local customs. (3) Boda-ism is a group of people or community outside those two groups; it is usually defined as stupid or does not understand Islamic teaching and still follows animism or ancestral belief system. Although there are differences, they named themselves Muslim [3]. *Wetu telu* community is mainly living in suburban areas in the Northern and Southern Lombok. Meanwhile, Boda community dwells in the mountainous areas and rural villages, which is hard to be accessed by outsiders [3].

Although there is a distinction of Muslim community in Lombok as said by some scholars, most people living in Lombok Island are Muslim and mostly Sasak in terms of their ethnicity, and other minority ethnicities including Javanese, Balinese, Chinese, Sumbawa, and Bugis. These minority ethnic mainly lived in specific areas; for instance, Balinese reside in West Lombok, Sumbawa ethnic inhabited in East Lombok, Chinese mostly lived in Cakranegara West Lombok, and Javanese mostly dwelled in certain places named Kampong Jawa (Javanese hamlet) such as in Mataram, Cakranegara, Praya and Selong. Meanwhile, Bugis people reside in coastal areas because most of them are working as fisherman, such as in Gili Gede, Tanjung Luar, Labuan Lombok, Labuan Haji East Lombok, Labuan Carik, West Lombok. On the other hand, the Arabian community lives in Kampung Arab (Arabian hamlet) in Ampenan West Lombok [4].

The Muslim community in Lombok has existed since hundreds of years ago; many studies explain that since 16 century Islam was brought to Lombok by Muslim traders, while others said Islam was brought by Sunan Prapen, the son of Sunan Giri from Java [5]. When Islam arrived on this island, people had already believed in Hinduism, Animism, and another form of an ancient faith. Therefore Islam faced other belief systems. At the same time, the preachers thought Islam by incorporating Islamic values with the local norms so that Islam is accepted by local people peacefully. That is why many variants of Islam co-existed in this area, as explained previously [1] [3].

The history of Islam in Bayan is also told that it was started hundred years ago. The story's first version mentions that Islam existed in the village long before 16 centuries. At that time, Sunan Giri from Java arrived in Bayan. He sailed from Java to Labuhan Carik (a coast) close to Bayan village. This arrival of Sunan Giri was aimed to prove that Bayan has become Islam. Sunan Giri was accepted by Susuhunan Bayan, a queen of Kedatuan Bayan
It is believed to prove that Islam existed in the area since there was a syahadat (creed) in the local language (interview with local leaders in Bayan, 2011). Here is the sentence of such creed:

“Asyhadualla illa ha illallah, wa asyhadu anna Muhammad rasulullah, wa asyhadu insun sinuruhu anasine anging stoken [ngestoaken] norane Allah pangeran anging Allah pangeran lan insun lan ngurahu satuhune Nabi Muhammad utusan dening Allah allahuma sali allah sayidina Muhammad wa la ali Sayidina Muhammad” [I confess that there is no God other than Allah and Prophet Muhammad is His messenger]

It was told that Sunan Giri stayed in Bayan for quite a long time before he moved to Sumbawa. During his stay in Bayan, Sunan Giri asked people to recite this creed during the wedding ceremony. Hence this Javanese version of creed is always read by Adat community during the wedding ceremony (interview with local leaders in Bayan, 2011). Residents of Bayan believed that Sunan Giri had stayed in this village-based on some evidence; for instance, there is “embulan” (wellspring) named as “Look Jawa/Kali Jawa” (Javanese wellspring). Kali Jawa (Javanese river) refers to Sunan Giri’s origin, who is from Java.

Concerning this wellspring, there is folklore living among the community. It tells that Sunan Giri entered the Mandala forest in Bayan area. He drove in a plank of wood in that forest; then, from the place of such wood, water came out. This water is still flowing until now, and it has become a major water source for household needs and irrigation for agriculture in Bayan and its surrounding areas. In addition, there is another evidence of Sunan Giri and Sunan Ampel; there is a garden called “Ampel duri”, it is believed that this name is associated with those two figures, Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri. Besides, Sunan Ampel came to Bayan after Sunan Giri arrival from the local story.

The next version of Islamic dissemination in Bayan explained that a Muslim scholar brought Islam from the Middle East named Nurul Rasyid alias Gaoz Abdul Razak in the 16th century. This figure is claimed as the Islamic preacher in Bayan, and he was buried in the complex of Bayan Beleq mosque [8]. In addition, another article mentions that his tomb was in Kuranji, Southwest Lombok. Gaoz Abdul Razak was landed in Bayan North Lombok. He stayed in that village and taught Islam to people. He married Denda Bulan, and they have a son named Zulkarnaen. Goaz Abdul Razak’s descendants were believed to have become kings of Selaparang, the great kingdom in Lombok Island [9].

The manuscript entitled Babad Lombok explains that Sultan Ratu Giri delegated prince Parapen to Islamize Lombok Island. Here are some excerpts from the manuscript of Babad Lombok [6]:

553. Hana malih putra lor sangaji kanging ngandel wiweka digdaya nama pangeran parapen, punika kang hing ngutus hangelelana hing Lombok hadi, Sumbawa Bali Blata, nyelami den lajung. Yen nana bangga tan narsa den sinatur, kala mulah hing hadil. [There is a son of Sunan who becomes a prominent figure, wise and having divine power, named Parapen. He was delegated to sail to Lombok, Bali, and Blata, to teach Islam for enlightening and purification (of people’s minds). If there is one who denied and rejected divine revelation from just God, it is stated in Qur’an].

554. Yen tan elam hanuting janji, den terang, lan wacana galak, tetanding helmi kesakten. Yen maksih nora hanut, sumapala den lawan jurit. [If they do not want to follow your instruction with an exact word, ask them to compete using divine power. If they still do not follow you, fight against them (war).]

The manuscript was told that Prince Parapen sailed to Lombok accompanied by troops, preachers, and logic experts. They sailed day and night, flag and banner wavered, they struck gamelan (traditional instruments), and weapons were ready to be set. Once arrived at the coast of Bali and anchored their ships, Prince Parapen discussed with his ships’ crew; here is the story in the manuscript Babad Lombok [6]:

562. Pangeran Parapen hareres malih, len hakwehe, wantri halubalang, lan guru pandita kabehe, paran dayan niceku, tanah pandi paren sumiyan, matur santri sadaya, hatur kamuleku, yen sawawi lawan tuvan, hing kang tuwah, hawoh pinangen rumiyan, Bali homan tampek. [Prince Parapen discussed again with all his crew, commander, and religious leaders, "how was your thought, which land to visit first". All ministries speak, "for me, if this is suitable with your
thought, the center should be visited firstly, then Bali should be visited later).

563. Pangeran Parapen hare rasan, malih, hingsun humiringa, kari hing Lombok pinaretku, Sumbawa kang nging punkur, tanah Bali malinghing ngari. Sakweh guru pandita, paa matur patut, saksama nerus hanglayar, bumi Bali punika sampun kawingking, hanyabrang hing ngarungan. [Prince Parapen talks; “okay, it is really good, I will follow, Lombok will be visited, then Sumbawa will be visited later"], all religious leaders agree with it, then they sailed again, the Bali island was left, crossed the strait).

In the next verse of the Babad Lombok, it is said that Prince Parapen and his companion continued their trip and landed in Sugian, (now, Sugian is a name of village is Sambelia East Lombok). In this place, they teach Islam to people and the ruling parties or people in power. In a book written by Jamaludin (2011), it is stated that Sunan Prapen (Prince Parapen) brought Islam to Lombok Island, he was asked by Sunan Giri to disseminate Islam. In addition, it is said that he initially landed his ship in Salut, Eastern coast of Lombok. The king of Lombok initially rejected his arrival, but after he explained his intention to spread religion peacefully, he was accepted willingly [10]. In this explanation, Sunan Prapen firstly came to the eastern part of Lombok through Salut, but the name of Salut is rarely talked about in the manuscript Babad Lombok. He then moved to the Sumbawa island to continue preaching Islam from this place.

Sunan Parapen, who came from Java, preached Islam by integrating Islam and local culture; it is similar to Walisongo (nine prominent saints in Java) teaching Islam in Java. It was said that type of Islam in the Northern part of Lombok is more likely as syncretism the same as Javanese Islam. This fact is one of the reasons why Islam in Bayan is called "wetu telu" by some people. Islam has been integrated with local norms, then practiced in their daily lives [10]. Islam and adat cohabit for long times; adat leader mentioned that:

"adat dan agama adalah dua hal yang tidak boleh dipisahkan, ibarat laki-laki dan perempuan. Ritual apapun tanpa ada agama tidak ada gunanya, misalnya ritual mulud (maulid nabi) itu ada doa-doanya juga ada unsur adatnya. Demikian pula untuk acara adat, kita juga membutuhkan kyai untuk baca doa dan memotong kerbau, kambing atau ayam untuk hidangan perayaan tersebut." [adat and religion are two elements that cannot be separated, it is similar to women and men. Some ritual related to Islam such as maulid ceremony (commemoration of Prophet Muhammad birthday), there will be some ritual of adat along side with the reading several prayers. Ritual without religion will be useless, and it is also valid for adat ceremony that needs a kyai (religious leader) to pray and to butcher cow, goat, and chickens for feast] (interview with adat leaders, 2011).

There is another version of how Islam was brought to Bayan, Van Baal said that there is a prominent figure who was propagating Islam to Bayan named Ratu Mas Pahit Sembahulun alias Pemban Aji Demen. He is from Java. Islam was thought peaceful during his propagation without destroying local culture; he respected the norm and lived adat in Bayan village. He has two sons, Nurcahya and Nursada; those two sons were delegated to spread Islam. Nurcahya was asked to spread Islam as Prophet Muhammad's teaching. Meanwhile, Nursada was asked to teach Islam respecting and advancing adat so that Islam and adat were not contradicted. It was assumed that Nurcahya was an alias for Sunan Parapen because their name has similar meaning [11]

There is also significant evidence that Islam has been existed in Bayan since many years ago. There is an ancient mosque, "Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq" in East Bayan village. It was one of the oldest mosques in Lombok, which was built during the early period of Islamic dissemination in Bayan. The oral tradition mentions that this mosque was built during the first Ratu Susuhunan Bayan (the queen of Bayan) reign after the queen converted to Islam. Therefore, this mosque is predicted to have been built around the 16th century (interview with the adat leaders, 2011). Budiwanti mentioned that the ancient mosque is evidence of the presence of Wali (saint), and the saint with his pupil helps the local people build the mosque using traditional building materials such as bamboo roof (santek), bamboo walls, and wooden pillars. In addition, the name of the village "Bayan" is believed to be given by the saint. The word "bayan" means explanation, coming from an Arabic word and derived from the verse of Quran [12].

Most people in Bayan village are working in agriculture sectors primarily as peasant farmers. Therefore, this village is surrounded by rice fields, farms, and un-irrigated agricultural fields. Most peasants grow paddy for their farmland. One of the paddy types cultivated in Bayan is Padi Bulu (bulu paddy) which is usually used for feast and adat rituals and religious ceremonies. Furthermore, there
are many ceremonies related to the farming cycle. For instance, *wiswitan* ritual is a ceremony conducted before starting to plant paddy or other agricultural products.

Administratively Bayan village is chaired by village leader who is in charge managing several hamlets including West Bayan, East Bayan, Karangsala, Teres Genit, Sembulan, Mt.Baru, Dasan Tutul, and Nangka Rempek. In the northern part, Bayan is bordered by Karangbajo village. In contrast, the Southern part is bordered with Senaru village, and the Eastern part is bordered with Loloan village (North Lombok government, 2010). This village leader was selected directly by residents through "pemilihan kepala desa" (selection of village leader) held every five years. On the other hand, the *adat* community in Bayan is led by a *penguku adat*. This *adat* leader has tasks to lead adat rituals and maintain adat rules. Meanwhile, religious ceremonies held among the *adat* community are chaired by *penghulu adat*. However, both *adat* and religious rituals in this community are interrelated because there will be *adat* and religious aspects during those rituals, including during *mamacan* tradition.

3. MAMACAN: AN ORAL TRADITION TO PRESERVE LOCAL VALUES

*Mamacan*, as described before, is an oral tradition practiced by people in Bayan village and its surroundings. This oral tradition is usually practiced when people have certain rituals or conduct certain activities (*gawe*). It is related to the life cycle such as birth, marriage, baby haircut ceremony, other rituals such as the beginning of rice planting, rice harvesting rituals, and others. During *mamacan*, *pambacan* (the readers) usually read the content of the lontar by singing it (*nembang*), and a poet will explain the meaning of the verses sung by the reader to the audience. Usually, two more people turn takes explaining each meaning of the verses. *Lontar* is read differently at each ceremony.

The *lontar* will be selected based on the rituals or ceremony; here are some examples: firstly, during the *ngurisang* ritual for shaving the baby’s hair for the first time, it is read *Kawitan lontar*. After completing the reading, the lontar is then washed with the water that has been provided. Then the water is used as "mel-mel" to rub the baby’s hair. In addition, during this ritual, they will read *lontar nabi haparas*, a manuscript containing the story of Prophet Muhammad when he cut his hair. Secondly, for the ritual of circumcision, they will read a manuscript of *Kawitan* and *Jatiswar*. This Jatiswara Lontar contains the story of the origins of human beings. Thirdly, they will read common lontar for ordinary ceremonies, for example, *Banghari lontar*. Fourthly, during the *khilawat* ceremony in the year of alif, they read *Babad Petung Bayan*. This chronicle contains the history of the birth of Bayan from the earth of *Sowung*. It also tells about Bayan’s relationship with Java. Fifthly, Tapel Adam Lontar is read at a particular time, namely in the Alif year, during the mosque’s *khilawat* ritual. Likewise, the Ambiya Layang lontar is read at a particular time.

Lontar or manuscripts categorized as "piagem" or sacred are stored in Kampu Bayan when they are not read. They will be taken out from their storage places only at certain times, such as when they will be cleaned at a specific time or when they will be read at certain ceremonies such as the *khilawat* ritual. One of the examples is *Babad Petung Bayan* that is categorized as a *piagem*.

The *mamacan* procession begins with the *adat* leader and the religious leader (*kyai penghulu*) from the *adat* community leaving the house of the host ritual to *barugak* (a kind of gazebo, but this is more traditional and usually serves to receive guests who come to the house) in the house. He carried a tray containing snacks and food, and water in a bottle, and brought a *lontar* to be read out. After arriving at the *barugak*, they sat cross-legged in a circle with a tray and water in a bottle placed in the middle of the circle. Before starting the reading, the lontar is washed with water or dipped in the water that has been provided. Then the religious leader begins by reciting a prayer, after which the lontar reading begins. After the *mamacan* was finished, the *adat* leaders, *kyai penghulu*, lontar readers, and lontar translators mingled and enjoyed snacks and food on the trays and drink the water in the bottles. The water is given to those who intend the event and those determined. This water is believed to have the power to cure diseases. Therefore, it is said that sick people are advised to drink water to recover.

During the *mamacan* procession, the adat community tries to maintain local traditions and values. On this occasion, they transfer the knowledge and values to the people who participated as the audience. There are various valuable teachings embedded in the manuscript used in the *mamacan*, so while enjoying the performance, people also can learn various values and knowledge, like the history of the Sasak community, the history of Prophet Muhammad, and other aspects of life.
This *mamacan* tradition is an important aspect of maintaining the local values and transferring the knowledge in it. The lontar are written using Jejawen (old Javanese letters) and Sasak and Javanese letters, and a mixture of Javanese and Sasak languages, which all people do not understand. Many of the younger generations cannot read the lontar and do not understand them because they cannot read the Jejawen letters. Therefore, by attending this procession, people will learn about manuscripts and their values. Furthermore, the tradition of *mamacan* is performed along with other local traditions or rituals, so that it has supported the existence of other local practices.

The implementation of *mamacan* is part of the way to preserve local traditions among the Sasak people amid the increasing number of outside cultural influences, which are not necessarily all good and not suitable with the culture of the community. In several other areas outside the village of Bayan on the island of Lombok, the tradition of reading lontar is still practiced too. Still, the activity is called with different names, such as *pepaosan*, *bekayat* (membaca hikayat or reading story). During *bekayat* tradition, there will be performed by four people wearing adat Sasak clothing or Muslim adat Sasak clothing. These four people have their tasks; one person plays as *penyaraup* (liaison/connector), one person as *pemacca* (panembang, reader who chant the stanza from the lontar), one person as a *piteges* (translator), one person as a *kahiti* (stimulator). The text of *mamacan* is read, recited, and transmitted, and its contents, gave faith and Islam. Therefore, by attending this *mamacan* tradition is an important way to spread religious values, primarily Islamic teachings. Hence, the *mamacan* tradition is an important aspect of maintaining the local values and transferring the knowledge in it.

4. MAMACAN: A LOCAL TRADITION TO SPREAD THE ISLAMIC VALUES

The activity of reading *lontar* to indigenous people in Bayan village can be recognized as a way to spread religious values, primarily Islamic teachings. The text in the lontar contains various Islamic teachings, for example, the script of the *Nabi Haparas* read during the ceremony of shaving the baby's hair for the first time. Moreover, it contained the history of the Prophet Muhammad when he shaved his hair [13]. In this case, the ritual and the lontar that are read connect, namely the same thing about "shaving hair". In addition, the text also includes aspects of Islamic teachings. For example, it is explained in the lontar about the teachings of monotheism, namely an invitation to believe in one God “Allah” [14]:

Asyhadu an la ilaha illallah hik, arti kikutahui reko, dengan hati putih suciye, hiye putus sinak iman, bahwe punike sungguh, tiada tuhan hingkang mulye. [I testify that, ilaha illallah, that means I bear witness, and am convinced with a pure heart, true belief, that there is no god but Allah, the most honorable of all]

Kang sinembak kang pinuji, setahu ne ye allah, wajihul ujud teko, jadikan sakovehing alam, kekak adanye sadiy, wa asyhadu ane puniku, muhammad rasulullah. [Who is worshiped and praised, only Allah is the truth, the law must be believed, He is the creator of the universe, master of all its contents, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah]

(I know, believe), with a pure heart, and truly, Prophet Muhammad is His messenger, Allah who created this world, both the jinn and the universe and its contents, gave faith and Islam).

In the text of the Nabi Haparas, there is also a prohibition on associating partners with God. In other words it is about monotheism. Furthermore, this manuscript contains a recommendation to remember prayers, as stated in the following stanza [14]:

Hangesakan sang widi, ngestokan raje kaua, hilingene yen ginawe. Setuhune temak rasan, apan hakoweh dumadiy e, kurip mati temah hipun, hiling rage nondang dose. [If you want to unite with God, don't equate the king with his people, as servants of God we always remember Him, can speak and be seen, is the creator of the universe, from the moment we live until we die, we always remember with the sin].

Other manuscripts also contain many Islamic teachings. For example the *Babad Selaparang* is a chronicle that contains the history of the arrival of Islam in the Bayan area and Lombok Island in general. It is narrated in the chronicle about the beginning of Islam entering Bayan from Java. Meanwhile, the Babad Lombok contains material about the origin of Islam on the island of Lombok, which Sunan Parapen brought from Java. It is said that Sunan Parapen, who had anchored in the Sugian area of East Lombok, during the stopover, Sunan Parapen, and his team also taught Islam to the local community.

The *lontar Kawitan* that was read during *mamacan* procession consists of the story of Prophet Mohammad since his birth, early childhood, until his prophecy. Thus, by reading this, it can be understood the life of the Prophet Mohammad and learned how he disseminated Islam to society. In addition, this lontar talks about prayer of commemoration of the origin of human beings and the formation of the world. In this prayer, God was firstly created as *Nur*
Rahmat, which is believed as the soul of Prophet Mohammad, then God created the universe [15].

In conducting the reading of the lontar, the explanation given by the kyai penghulu containing the religious teachings can be said to be part of the spread of religion. It is a way of conveying the noble values of religion to the audience at the ritual. At the same time, this mamacan can also be a medium of communication between traditional leaders, religious leaders and the general public because they have the opportunity to interact with one another in that occasion.

5. CONCLUSION

Mamacan practiced in Bayan village has existed for a long time and is an inherited tradition from ancestors transmitted from one generation to the next. The manuscripts read generally contain Islamic teachings and other ancestral advice, for instance, the history of Bayan, the history of Prophet Mohammad, the teaching of monotheism, praying, and how to live and interact with other human fellows. The manuscripts used in the mamacan are adjusted to the purpose and type of activity. There will be a direct or indirect link between the contents of the manuscripts used in mamacan and the rituals performed. The reading of this lontar can be said to maintain local traditions that are getting less attention from society.

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