

The Harmony Taste Of Bakar Batu Tradition On Papua Land

Abu Muslim

Balai Litbang Agama Makasar, Indonesia

Email : abumuslim.litbang@gmail.com

DOI : <http://dx.doi.org/10.31291/hn.v8i1.545>

Received: Februari 2019;

Accepted: Agustus 2019;

Published: Oktober 2019.

Abstract

This study aims to explore and understand the religious values contained in the Bakar Batu tradition for people in the land of Papua. With a qualitative approach, this research was conducted to find religious values in the culture of society, and describe the various meanings of the community towards these values. After going through the process of interviews, observation and study of documents, this study found that the tradition of Bakar Batu, which is an indigenous culture in the land of Papua, has undergone a transformation in governance, and the purpose of its tradition. Bakar Batu, which used to be a culinary wisdom of the people in the land of Papua, transformed into one of the solvents of vengeance and wound fusion for people who had previously fought each other. Bakar Batu also functions as a medium for channeling the blessings of the Supreme Being to the community, through the hands of executors of tradition. Tolerance, mutual cooperation and mutual respect are also reflected in the noble values of the implementation of the Bakar Batu tradition in the midst of the Papuan people. Bakar Batu is now a unifying medium between indigenous Papuans, people living in Papua, and migrants. The depth and noble wisdom of the process of Bakar Batu implementation also shows the achievement of religious values that have the potential to realize shared ideals towards a land of peace in Papua.

Keywords: Bakar Batu, Papua, Culinary, Harmony Taste, Tolerance.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali dan memahami nilai keagamaan yang terkandung dalam tradisi Bakar Batu bagi masyarakat di tanah Papua. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif, penelitian ini dilakukan untuk menemukan nilai keagamaan dalam budaya masyarakat, dan mendeskripsikan berbagai pemaknaan masyarakat terhadap nilai tersebut. Setelah melalui proses wawancara, observasi dan studi dokumen, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tradisi Bakar Batu yang merupakan budaya asli di tanah Papua, telah mengalami transformasi dalam tata laksana, dan tujuan tradisinya. Bakar Batu yang tadinya adalah sebuah kearifan kuliner masyarakat di tanah Papua, menjelma menjadi salah satu alat pelarut dendam dan pelebur luka bagi masyarakat yang sebelumnya saling bertikai. Bakar Batu juga sekaligus berfungsi sebagai media penyaluran berkah-berkah sang Maha kepada masyarakat, melalui tangan pelaksana tradisi. Toleransi, gotong royong, dan saling menghormati juga tercermin dalam nilai-nilai luhur pelaksanaan tradisi Bakar Batu itu di tengah-tengah masyarakat Papua. Bahkan belakangan, Bakar Batu kini menjadi media pemersatu antar orang asli Papua, orang yang tinggal di Papua, dan para pendatang. Kedalaman dan keluhuran hikmah dari segenap proses-demi proses pelaksanaan Bakar Batu juga menunjukkan ejawantah nilai-nilai keagamaan yang potensial mewujudkan cita-cita bersama menuju Papua tanah Damai.

Kata Kunci: Bakar Batu, Tanah Papua, Kuliner, Cita Rasa Harmoni, Toleransi

Introduction

An Online news from Bumi Cenderawasih, reported: There was a tribal war between the lower and middle groups in Timika, Papua broke out on Saturday (02/17/2018). The death toll from both groups was five people. The war between the two groups came from the Kwamki Narama area. One group did not accept his family's murder last December and wants a customary settlement. The local government is deemed not to have provided a solution to the killings that occurred, so that acts of revenge occurred. Several mediations have been carried out since December, opening dialogues from the two groups, but no results. The head of the Kwamki Narama police post, Iptu Harri Kattang, said he wanted the government to act in seeing the

conflict. (Harian Rakyat Merdeka 2018: Accessed on 29 Juli 2018 at 02.24 pm.)

This was conveyed by one of the local newspapers in Papua, around the tribal conflict that incarnated war and wanted a kind of resolution of any losses. In Papua, there are still often reports of inter-tribal warfare. News from the online media is one of the many wars that have taken place in Papua. The causes are varied, ranging from principle issues to trivial matters that can trigger inter-tribal warfare, even though it actually only begins with differences of opinion between individuals, which then becomes a problem between tribes.

The war seems to have become part of the social pattern in Papua which may have been fused and become part of the daily lives of Papuans. It is not surprising that due to its frequency, wars have become common event. Of course, seeing the context of this war is very complex, in it there is really a kind of inter-tribal conflict and / or dissent that triggers mutual revenge and attacks against one another. On the other hand, the context of war has become one of the typical elements of culture in the Papua land, along with all the consequences inherent in it.

However, it is not the war that will be discussed in this paper, but rather what happened after the war. When the wars happen so often without solutions, it has consequences. Therefore all type of dissent should be resolved. The social aspects that accompany the war are actually also important

things which if observed are very potential to give birth to a kind of cultural construction of its own.

"There is a kind of unwritten consensus on every dispute that occurred in the land of Papua. Especially regarding the choice of solutions for both parties in order to invite them to make peace. In Papua, the solution is always accompanied by a party, compensation for the consequences of the war". This must be done because it is not easy to invite the Papuans to become volunteers, especially if during the war there is a fundamental loss experienced. For example, in the war that occurred there were victims who fell, not to mention material losses and so on. Here the tradition of compensation is known as the "*Bayar Kepala*" (Fine for head) (Interview of Aloysious Yohannes, August 4, 2018). This of course must be read as the original tradition of the community that continues to experience adaptation. Elements of culture must be put forward, rather than other elements.

The *Bayar Kepala* tradition is a symbol of conflict resolution where number of dead victims are calculated. For one dead person, the party who killed must provide compensation. The process of this tradition is usually also assisted by the local government as a mediator. The compensation can be in the form of money or other valuables / objects that have very high value, it can reach 500 million to billions. The compensation payment is also often marked by a Broken Arrow symbol. The peace agreement between the two conflicting parties followed by the

tradition of *Bayar Kepala* is often carried out by the mountain people of Papua. This peace agreement also functioned as customary fines, and it has been going on since ancient time.

The amount of compensation that must be paid for the fulfillment of *Bayar Kepala* has now been considered as a very expensive ritual. From some of the experiences of paying Fine for Head, this ritual needs big budget. For example, in Mimika Gunung Village, Kuala Kencana District, Mimika Regency, on 19th of August, 2017, a *Bayar Kepala* ritual was conducted. The ritual requires as much as 2.5 billion as fine for the head of the deceased Musa Janampa, the victim of the Moni tribal war in 2014 at Jayanti village. A total of 2,442 million Rupiahs were handed over to Albert Janampa as representative of the family of the late Musa Janampa (Alfian, 2017).

Another example is in a tribal war between the Nduga Wamena people which lasted for 4 months causing the deaths of 8 people and dozens of houses burned. From the war, the Nduga Regency government had to spend 18 billion as fine to pay for head and property losses. The amount of compensation caused a number of parties wanted to review all forms of war settlement with fine for head compensation. In many ways, this tradition is considered a wasteful tradition, and should be stopped.

The District Head of Nduga District, Yairus Gwijanggae, in a peace event after the Nduga war in the Jilekma field of Napua District, Jayawijaya District, in July 2013 stated that

"Nduga district people have had to abandon war habits and are obliged to maintain security between residents. The public must not think that any compensation for the Chief Pay tradition will be compensated by the APBD. It is time for the community to wake up from their sleep and immediately realize that tribal conflicts and wars will only leave disasters for the people themselves, it is better for citizens not to be easily provoked by unlawful actions. It was emphasized that in any history on this earth, war and conflict are very detrimental. In addition to casualties, war has actually violated God's command, which forbids humans to kill each other." (Alvaro, 2013)

A tradition is certainly important in the development of social relations in society, in the context of postwar peace specifically has direct implications in carefully reuniting the wounded. Even though in reality, life forcefully taken is certainly not worth the amount of money. Even with the completion of the customary fines of Bayar Kepala fulfilled, is there a guarantee that all the aspects of disputes and revenge have been completed by both parties? It turns out that as an inseparable part of the mediation process there is still a kind of tradition that must be done to be able to really remove the revenge between the warring parties. The tradition is then known as the Bakar Batu tradition.

Bakar Batu is part of the way the Papuan people actualize noble values in a form of food for everyone without exception. The Bakar Batu tradition after the war is actually an important

part in any conflict resolution. The elements of guarantee, respect, religiosity, and even social harmony are presented through eat, dance and party together. Later, the segmentation of Bakar Batu was not only merely a matter of ceremony after the war, nowadays Bakar Batu is also a part of every life span of the Papuan people, it is always present at every celebration. Moreover, Bakar Batu has now been established as one of the intangible cultural heritage inventory Nusantara (Samakory, et al., 2015).

Apparently, there is indirect codification in the development of the implementation of Bakar Batu in the land of Papua. The form which was originally an expression of food presentation in a variety of special culinary, then manifested in several aspects of contextualization in the social realm of the Papuans. The tradition that was once a form of banquet to guests, then became a variety of ceremonial patterns that have touched all aspects of life in Papua. Religion, ethnicity, economy, socio-culture, and even politics, are the realms that are directly related to Bakar Batu. Furthermore, this will be elaborated in the context of tradition-based meaning, in order to sort out the values contained in Bakar Batu itself.

The extraction of values for such a thriving culture of society is then mandated by the law, so that many instruments are needed to sustain the promotion of culture, including those that embody specific religious values. This research is expected

to provide information for strengthening inclusive understanding and religious practices based on the culture of the local community.

Attention to religious aspects in a particular form of culture (religious reception in culture) is an important matter, because changes and movements in society in various places often occur as a result of the introduction of a religion and a 'new' belief system in the community concerned (Sedyawati, 2014: 467). The same thing was stated by (Zoetmulder, 2007: 327), that understanding of the peaks or forms of culture cannot be achieved well without understanding the teachings of religion, the values or ideas that are behind them that permeate and form culture (Iswanto, 2017). This attention can be seen in one of the seven elements of universal culture according to C. Kluckhohn in a work entitled *Universal Categories of Culture*, namely: Language (oral and written), knowledge systems, social systems / social organizations, living equipment systems and technology, livelihood systems, religious systems, and arts. (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 203-204).

Based on this background, this research will further review how religious values are extracted from the nobility of the Bakar Batu culture for people in Papua. The formulation is then operationalized in 3 research questions, namely:

1. How is the implementation of the Bakar Batu tradition in Papua

2. What is the development of the Bakar Batu tradition in Papua?
3. How is the content of religious values reflected in the Bakar Batu tradition in Papua?

Objectives and Uses of Research

This study aims to determine the process of implementing tradition, and its development in Papua, then explore and understand the meaning of religious values contained in the traditions of the local community. The results of the study of the three aspects are expected to be a material for the development and promotion of religious culture. In addition, the results of the study of this tradition are also embodiments of the function of the religious tradition of the community, as an important part in maintaining unity and peace.

Literature Review

Some studies on religious value extraction on community culture include: Agus Iswanto in the Analysis Journal of Social Science and Religion found that understanding religious reception in culture provides a great opportunity to build and maintain harmony among followers of religion and to increase solidarity in society. The article entitled Building Harmony Through Religious Reception In Culture: Lesson Learned From

Radin Jambat Folktale Of Lampung reveals the acceptance of aspects of religion (supreme truth / God, aspects of cosmological rituals and religion) in Radin Jambat cultural products, a folklore from Lampung, Indonesia (Iswanto 2017). Zulkarnain Yani Also presents the results of research that shows that oral tradition has religious values, namely the values of the monotheism in Islam and the values of Islamic teachings in the form of pillars of Islam (Yani 2017). Other research is the Religious and Cultural Harmonies in the Art of Masamper which tracks the potential for religious harmony through local traditions namely the Masamper art in the Sangir community. The results showed that Masamper as one of the ancestral cultural arts of the Sangir community, in addition to being a means of cultural development, also became one of the adhesives of socio-religious harmony in North Sulawesi. Masamper can dilute the difference of belief into the involvement of culture through art performances that invite the public to respect each other in the name of culture and mutual respect in the community (Muslim, 2016: 259-274).

Meanwhile the context of extracting religious values in the culture of society can also be seen from Adlin Sila's findings in Maudu's book: a Way of Union With God that explores the Cikoang community in commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad as a major Islamic principle they argued that the Prophet and Allah were one in mystical terms. They give priority to the worship of the Prophet and their “*Su teachers*”, *anrongguru*, above all other obedience. It was further stated that

during the *Maudu* festival, the Cikoang people believed was the time to get the blessings or blessings of God through the spirit of the Prophet. They also regularly visit ancestral tombs, carry owls and burn incense to ask for wasilah, intermediary actions to get blessings from Allah. The habit of visiting this graveyard is largely directed not to spiritual fellowship but to a demand for prosperity and good fortune for themselves (Sila, 2015: 119).

Based on that, then this research was carried out in addition as a continuation of the embodiment of religious values in general, also termed as a dead end in exploring religious harmony values, one of which can be chosen from rituals and / or cultural traditions of the community. This research not only explores values but also simultaneously looks at the functional rituals of the community in building harmony between religious communities. Furthermore, the results of this research can be developed as an important element of the tradition of tradition, and at the same time the tradition of harmony between religious communities through traditional ceremonies.

Theoretical Review

1. Functional Theory

Phenomenology approach is used in examining religious facts that are subjective, as well as thoughts, feelings, ideas, emotions, experiences, and so on from someone who is expressed in external actions, namely words and deeds

(Suprayogo 2003: 103). That way it can also be revealed about the phenomenon of religious culture in traditional society. The theory used is the functional theory of Thomas F. O'dea, this theory recognizes the functional contribution of religion given to the religious social system. This theory sees religion as a special culture that influences human behavior inwardly. From the functional theory, it is reviewed about the functions, values, and roles of community culture that contain religious elements. Functional theory views society as a social institution that is in balance; which mimics human activities based on norms shared together and considered legitimate and binding on human participation itself. (O'dea 1985: 3)

This theory is used in seeing how the functioning of the "Bakar Batu" tradition patterned its people to implement religious harmony. How far a tradition can pattern the behavior of social life side by side, and create harmony.

2. Cultural Interpretation

Geertz defines culture as a system of meanings and symbols arranged according to the way individuals define their world, express their feelings, and give their judgments (Geertz 1983). Because culture is a symbolic system, cultural processes must be read, translated and interpreted (Kuper 1999: 98). Culture can also be a system of inherited concepts that are expressed in symbolic form in which humans communicate,

maintain, and develop their knowledge of life and attitudes towards life. Thus, the culture of society is expected to convey meaning that can be easily read. Geertz said that in the study of religious culture we are expected to understand religion as a cultural phenomenon. Geertz's approach to culture is called the "thick description", which is to interpret the symbolic systems of cultural meaning in depth and comprehensively from the perspective of the actors of their own culture. (Geertz 1992)

Through this theory the interpretation of all forms of community culture in which contains a variety of meanings, can be interpreted according to their social context. Besides that, the most important thing is how the culture is interpreted as the entrance to understand the religious life of a community.

3. *Religious Value*

According to Luis D. Kattsof, quoted by Syamsul Maarif defines values as follows: First, values are empirical qualities that cannot be defined, but we can experience and understand the direct ways of quality contained in that object. Second, the value as an object of an interest, namely an object that is in reality and thought. Third, value as a result of giving value, value is created by life situations (Maarif 2007: 114). Value is the essence attached to something that is very meaningful to human life (Thoha 1996: 61). Value is something that is abstract, ideal,

value is not a concrete object, not a fact, not only a matter of right and wrong that demands empirical proof, but a social appreciation that is desired, liked, and disliked (Isna 2001: 98). According to Milton Rekeach and James Bank, value is a type of trust that is within the scope of a belief system in which a person acts or avoids an action, or has and is trusted (Kartawisastra 1980: 1).

Value is a trait that is inherent in something (belief system) that has been related to the subject that gives meaning (people who believe) (Thoha 1996). According to Horton and Hunt, as quoted by Wignjosoebroto value is the idea of whether an experience or something is meaningful or meaningless, valuable or not (Wignjosoebroto 2006: 55). According to C. Kluckhohn as quoted by Marzali, value is the concept of things that should be desired, which influence choices available from forms or ways of action (Marzali 2005: 115). Because value is something abstract, it is usually derived in norms (Liliweri 2014: 80).

Values can be distinguished from facts, because of that, values are related to subjects who judge, both themselves and others. Values relate to the properties added by the subject to the properties possessed by the object (Bertens 2011: 150-151). Therefore, exploring values must involve the subjects who provide these values, namely the people associated with the object and the person who explores the value itself. In relation to religion, value can be useful in three ways, namely as a basis for obligations or commands, as a framework for cultural orientation

and thinking, and as specific moral traditions. The harmony and synchronization that occurs because between religion and community culture can be coupled with the opening of the considerations of the perpetrators. Although the form of differentiation, but there is a collective identity that is used to interpret the traditions of the past, with the presence of religion as something newly received (Wekke 2013: 32).

This theory is used as a basis for developing harmony values which in this study become the main element of social observations of rituals. The value of harmony is then developed into the phrase 'a sense of harmony' (harmony taste), because in the context of stone burning, which is the culinary wisdom of the people of Papua, tasting together a dish, it is very possible to create a sense of harmony that can be developed in further search of the values of the value of harmony that cannot be separated from the search for religious values.

Research Methods

This type of research is descriptive qualitative with a phenomenological approach. Data collection uses interview, observation and documentation techniques (Cresswell 1994). The research informants consisted of key informants from the Government (ministries of religion / tribal leaders, and the Papuan People's Assembly), Religious Leaders (MUI, and

Church Leaders), and adat leaders (Papuan Cultural Leaders). Expert informants: academics (Cendrawasih University), local anthropologists / researchers. General public as ordinary informants. The analysis used in this study is descriptive which aims to make a systematic, factual, and accurate picture of the facts, traits, and relationships between phenomena, although it cannot be separated from the role of the researcher in playing its function as a hallmark of its main instrument (Cresswell, 1994: 305). Data analysis uses interactive model analysis (Milles 1984: 10-14). which takes place simultaneously with the data collection process. The steps are: Data collection, data presentation, data reduction, and drawing conclusions / verification (Nasution 1992: 128-130).

In examining religious values in the context of community culture, of course it cannot directly find these values. That value can be interpreted using the semiotic method, with a model of the connotation meaning (Zaimar, 2015: 398). In the semiotic study model, there is what is called the semantic aspect, which is popularized by Roland Barthes through the theory of significance. With this theory, Barthes presents an extension of meaning (connotation). This theory is based on the theory of markers (forms) and signs (concepts) proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure.

With this theory reading can arrive at the second stage of understanding. Significance is the order of connotation (Sunardi, 2004: 73). So to be able to find these two values, researchers

must check the order of denotation meaning and connotation meaning. In the context of Bakar Batu, the meaning of denotation can be seen from the work system and supporting tools for the implementation of rituals along with the order of explanation of those involved and knowing exactly the entire set of traditions. While connotative meaning can be seen from the expansion of meanings related to tradition in the form of contextual elements of the whole process of tradition.

Results and Discussion

About the Bakar Batu Tradition

The Bakar Batu tradition is a ceremony that is evenly distributed in almost all regions of Papua. Each region, although different in ethnicity, makes the Bakar Batu tradition one of the traditional ceremonies that is still often carried out. Bakar Batu in real terms is interpreted as a tradition of burning revenge for anyone who disagrees. Inclusion of Stones in every implementation of this tradition is a symbol of the removal of hard qualities in humans. The stone in the implementation of this tradition doubles, firstly as a symbol that must be softened, both stones serve as fuel, or if interpreted deeper always serves as the axis of tradition, which is to rely on the power of revenge recovery.

At first, the Bakar Batu tradition was part of the cooking tradition of inland Papuans, where cooking equipment was not as

modern as it is today. The stone that is burned (read: heated with fire) is the 'ripening' medium of food. The stones taken from this time are placed together with other foods, as well as the leaves obtained from edible plants, along with the inclusion of tubers and all kinds of processed meat (fish, pork, or other livestock) burned / cooked together with layers bounded by banana leaves at each stage of the food ingredients. Of course the adjustment of food ingredients, as well as the volume is very dependent on the ponds made, as well as the hot stones available.

The piles of materials are then stored in containers in the form of holes made specifically on the surface of the soil, with varying depth depending on the amount of food prepared, adjusting to the number of residents / indigenous peoples implementing the Bakar Batu tradition. The inclusion of prayers that can take the form of songs, dances, even distinctive shouts with and or without punching and blowing instruments to enliven the tradition which in the peculiarities of Papuan culture mentioned that singing, dancing, and chanting the distinctive sounds of people who while answering but not in the form of words or sentences that regularly show reverence in a happy atmosphere.

The use of traditional clothing devices, as well as other knick knacks, as well as typical Papuan paintings on the body as a medium show the strength of traditions preserved for generations. The symbols of paintings and knick-knacks are said to represent the presence of ancestors and goddesses who always

guarantee survival, and blessings for every citizen who carries out this tradition (Samakory, 2015).

The purpose of this ceremony is to show gratitude, to welcome happiness for birth, death, or to collect soldiers when fighting. This unique ceremony does not only have one designation, for example for the Paniai people to call it Gapiia and the people of Wamena call it Kit Oba Isogoa (Samakory, 2015).

There are interesting things in the process of hunting pigs that are believed by the local community. When the chieftain arches and the pig dies immediately, this means that the event will be successful. Whereas if the pig does not die immediately, they are sure that the event will most likely not be successful. After the food was cooked, everyone gathered in their respective groups and then began to eat together. They believe that traditions like this can create togetherness in everyone.

In the present, the tradition of Bakar Batu is not only done during the celebration of birth and happiness again. This tradition is growing and is being used to welcome large guests visiting Papua, for example state officials. In addition, Bakar Batu is also widely held at the commemoration of religious holidays, construction of houses of worship, salvation and thanksgiving, as well as lively and certain activities involving many people. Even at the time of the election to the regions in Papua recently, Bakar Batu was carried out by one of the gubernatorial candidates on

the last day of the campaign, as a form of gratitude and part of the prayer for success in the contest. Bakar Batu is also an important part of the welcoming ceremony of Indonesian President Joko Widodo and First Lady Iriana who were treated to Bakar Batu cuisine in Yahukimo, Papua, Tuesday (10/18/2016) (Ihsanuddin, Kompas Online, 2016).



Presiden RI Joko Widodo dan Ibu Negara Iriana yang disuguhi masakan Bakar Batu di Yahukimo, Papua, Selasa (18/10/2016). (Dok: Ihsanudin Kompas)

In subsequent developments, the Bakar Batu tradition has become so embedded in the hearts of the Papuan people that the implementation is no longer only carried out in the land of Papua. For Papuans who have settled outside Papua, this tradition is also often carried out. Because, in certain events, serving food to guests is something that has become an Indonesian tradition that can be done anytime and anywhere. *"Many times our children who have taken education outside Papua, after their studies are finished, there are those who hold*

Bakar Batu as a form of gratitude and guidance to relatives, guests and friends." (Interview with Kahar Yelipele Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulama Council of Jayapura City on August 7, 2018).

The Order and Work Process Tradition of Bakar Batu

Basically implementation Bakar Batu tradition is not too complicated, only because in turn requires the implementation of a vibrant tradition and involves a lot of people, in the sense as hospitality treatment process to the audience. Thus, require adjustments to materials, tools, and people who have to prepare it also must be adjusted. According to Aloysius Yohannes (Papua' Cultural Pamong, on July 27, 2018) and Kilyon Kogoya (community leader of Waena, interviewed July 24, 2018), The following details the tools and ingredients:

1. Pond (Excavation of soil as deep as 0.5 - 1 meter, with adjustable diameter). The pool can be more than one, depending on the needs, and on the allocation of the results of the Batu Bakar process.
2. Special bamboo functioned as a lift for hot stones, to be moved from burning to a pond that has been prepared.

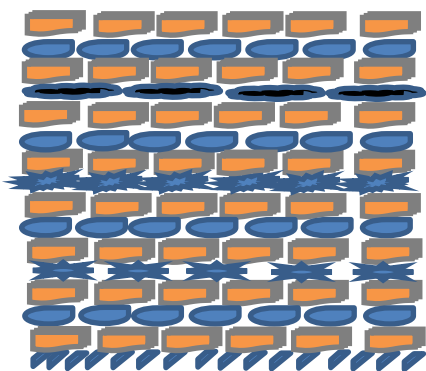
3. Fire-making equipment (traditionally using twisted wood, on top of other woods, and small twigs for burning) or *korek*.
4. Ilalang / leaf as a barrier for each layer of Bakar Batu, and so that food does not directly touch the ground.
5. Various tubers, usually from garden produce.
6. Stone for heating.
7. Various Vegetables
8. Water to accelerate heat evaporation.
9. Feeding plates / containers from leaves.
10. Knife to cut meat / tubers.

After all the materials and tools are available, then the implementation of Bakar Batu can be carried out with proactive collaboration between *mama-mama* (read: women) and *pace* (the men). *Mama-mama* is in charge of preparing processed food ingredients for cooking / burning (meat, tubers, and various vegetables). Meanwhile, *pace* is preparing stone times, burning wood, weeds, and ponds for cooking containers, as well as lifting / removing hot stones from stone burning into cooking ponds.







Next is to carry out the Bakar Batu ceremony led by the organizer of the celebration. In certain tribal scales, or in an implementation of the Bakar Batu tradition which aims to manage postwar peace, the ceremonial leader is the tribal chief involved in the war, inviting the surrounding tribes to enliven. While the tradition of Bakar Batu on a regular ceremonial scale, or thanksgiving for something is usually led by the most elder /

executor of celebration, pastor, governor, or Mayor. The leader of tradition is the one who directs everything, starting from the placement of the first branch / leaf which functions as the base, to the next sequence based on the available layer. This is necessary to determine the heat content of the stone, and adjustments to the surrounding natural conditions, including in order to prepare an alternative step if it rains (Kilyon Kogoya, community leader of Waena, interviewed July 24, 2018).

Layer by Layer in Bakar Batu:



Caption:

-  : Stone
-  : Leaves/thatch
-  : Various meet
-  : Vegetables
-  : Sweet potato
-  : Twig

The following is the description of each sequence (Aloysius Yohannes, Papua’s Cultural Leaders (Pamong Budaya), interviewed on July 27, 2018). :

1. Base The first twig / leaf is placed, after ensuring that the level of the burned stone has reached sufficient heat as a cooking tool.
2. Put the first layer of hot stone on it.

3. Next is to add twigs / leaves of the second layer on hot stones,
4. Place the tubers so that they don't directly touch the hot stone.
5. After that, the third layer of twigs / leaves is placed,
6. Following then hot stones on it,
7. and followed by the fourth layer of twigs / leaves,
8. so that further laying of various types of vegetables in the next layer, not directly touching hot stones. At this stage too, various spices are also often added.
9. Put the fourth layer of twigs / leaves
10. Hot stone again on the branch
11. Then put various meat (pork, or can be replaced with chicken / fish, other meat). Spices spice results by mama-mama Papua also often spiked at this stage, certainly different from the seasoning vegetables in the previous stages.
12. Closed again with the fifth layer of grass
13. More hot stones on it
14. Finally, the last layer of the weeds / leaves layer cover.
15. After that, bonding / wrap technique is possible, optionally it is not wrapped if the food ingredients and pool are made large enough.

After closing and adjusting layer-by-layer stages, then the next thing is to wait for the cooked food, which usually takes at

least one hour. This is where ceremonial / ritual leaders are required to be able to ensure the correct timing of the duration needed so that the dish cooked perfectly.

After cooking certain dishes, comes the next process which is to share the cooking results to all those present. At this stage, the position of the leadership of the ceremony was again very active role. Leaders are required to ensure all present received the food. At the large scale Bakar Batu ceremony, the preparation and or feeding was usually first given to religious leaders / pastors, or both internal and invited traditional leaders and the neighboring tribal chiefs. They received appropriate portions. The first feeding is usually treated as the way of thanksgiving for the blessings of food given by God to the citizens in Papua. After that, the food is distributed evenly to all present.

The ceremonial leader must be able to ensure that the treat is enough for everyone present, by that, he and his core family will never touch the processed food for themselves before making sure everyone gets it. *"Abstinence for the celebration party to eat if the people present are not yet part of it. Respect for guests is prioritized, including for guaranteeing to other tribes if they previously fought, because the presence of the guests to the celebration he made was an honor and a sign of blessing for the performers of the celebration"*. (Aloysius

Yohannes, Papua's Cultural Leaders (Pamong Budaya), interview July 27, 2018).

Bakar Batu and Barapen: Mountain People and Coastal People

There are several affiliations naming traditions that are identical to Bakar Batu in the land of Papua. Not just similar in terms of naming, but also in implementation. The term Bakar Batu is more popular as traditions carried out by people in the indigenous territory of La Pago and Meepago or better known as 'the people of the mountain'. Meanwhile there is also the term Barapen, a similar tradition practiced by 'beach people' or coastal Papuans. In principle, Bakar Batu and Barapen have the same function but with slightly different implementation. The difference is more influenced by the serving of food that is burned, as well as the way and sequence in 'burning' (cooking) (Wetipo, Wempi dan Marthen 2015).

Bakar Batu requires the excavation of soil as a burning container or in the term Papua called a "pool", a kind of hole in a certain size of land to present materials that will be burned. But for Barapen, the food burning ceremony does not require a "pool" as a place to "burn" the materials provided, but it is enough to do it on the ground with a flat surface, the ceremony process can be done. Moreover, Bakar Batu to use the Stone Mountain as a 'tool' heat / burn, while Barapen using the Rock

(Interview with Tony Wanggai, Member of Majelis Rakyat Papua. July 26, 2018).

Given the process works, between Bakar Batu and Barapen in principle have the same implementation. Mountain stone / stone / rock of the first burned or heated in a pile of firewood as the source of the fire. The process of burning stone requires quite a long time. Although there is no time limit or minimum and maximum stone being burned, but it usually depends on the heat content of the rock, because that is the future that will serve as the only heat source in processing a variety of food that will be included in the implementation of the tradition. (Kahar Yelipele Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulama Council of Jayapura City, Interviewed on August 7, 2018).

While waiting for the stones to achieve the desired heat level, some people assigned to make a hole or in a local terminology is called a pool. The size and depth of the pond depends on the amount of food to be cooked. To scale Bakar Batu involving people with large enough quantities, it usually takes more than one pool as the container., For smaller Bakar Batu celebration, the pool is approximately half a meter depth. It is certainly a little different for the Barapen tradition for the Papuan coastal community, because even though the stages are the same, there is no need for a pond to collect the ingredients to be cooked later.

Besides preparing the pool, other things that need to be prepared are food ingredients such as meat, vegetables and tubers. Usually, mama-mama (mothers) are the ones who will prepare all these ingredients. In the case of meat processing, for example, it is this material that actually requires a lot of money that make the implementation of this tradition very expensive. For one pond, it requires at least one pig, as a mandatory part in every Bakar Batu implementation.

"Bakar Batu is only" allowed "(read: steady) if there is a pig there, if there are no pigs, it is not permissible (read: steady), of course those who make the celebration will usually try to make the pig as much as possible. "Lebe bae tra Bakar Batu kalo tra ada Babi" (it's better not to carry out the tradition of Bakar Batu if there are no pigs) (49-year-old Kilyon Kogoya, community leader of Waena, interviewed July 24, 2018). Just to note, the price of one pig in the Mountains of Papua is the cheapest of 20 million rupiahs, and the most expensive can reach hundreds of millions of rupiah. The position of Pigs in every traditional ceremony in Papua is very decisive.

Since a long time ago, there was not a single ceremony that did not include Pigs in the implementation of rituals in Papua. Pigs, other than as mandatory food ingredients, in the oral story of the Papuan people, Pigs are the incarnation of the holy god for the traditional adherents to the religion. So that its position becomes very sacred. Sacralization of Pigs is also very significant in influencing the price level of pork meat in Papua.

In the case of certain adjustments, it is actually also possible to prepare Bakar Batu ingredients in the form of meat other than pork. Chicken, Cattle and Goats for example, or in terms of regional adaptation, for the Papuan people of the coast, also often use fish and various other marine products as a substitute for pigs.

Some other preparation is the preparation of tubers (*kasbi*/cassava, taro, and the like) to be included together with meat and vegetables such as kale, cabbage, and the like. Mama-mama Papua, once again plays an active role in preparing these materials. Generally, the ingredients are the crop harvested, prepared, cleaned and drained together. Almost no Bakar Batu process that does not involve a lot of people.

This is what makes every event of Bakar Batu / Barapen always crowded and lively. Other ingredients that must be in the Bakar Batu / Barapen process are the need for wood branches, and weeds or often also use banana leaves as a coating for each cooked ingredient. Banana leaf is used to separate each layer of food ingredients.

Wooden branches are usually placed at the bottom. Furthermore, banana / weeds leaves are coated before finally inserting a pile of hot stones as a base layer. After that, then again coated with leaves / base on the hot stone, to put the tubers in the next layer. Furthermore, the leaves / weeds are still needed as a separator / heat sink directly from the stone for each food

ingredient that is placed, successively placed vegetables, longer leaves / weeds, hot stones again, leaves / weeds again, then put various meat, then coated the leaves / reeds again and finally in the topmost layer were placed hot stones from the burning of the stone which had been prepared from the beginning.

The position of the twigs / leaves / weeds is denotatively indeed as a filter for any inclusion of one material with another. However, in the construction of culture in Papua, this can be interpreted as a form of social screening of aspects that affect the lives of people there. In this context, Bakar Batu is at the same time an important part of the way the Papuan people invite people from outside Papua to integrate with indigenous culture, of course with adjustments. Likewise for all forms of influence from the outside whenever possible "filtered" things that are good to do, the bad is kept away. (Interview with Tony Wanggai, Member of Majelis Rakyat Papua. July 26, 2018).

Transformation, Adaptation, and Assimilation

The Bakar Batu ceremony as a tradition is a form of embodying the values of local wisdom of the Papuan people in relation to culinary. If you look further, actually in the Bakar Batu there are many cultural values contained in it. Although basically Bakar Batu is a kind of meal with certain elements that

its processing and presentation have been handed down from generation to generation, but in fact in such a long process there are other cultural values that are adapted either directly or indirectly. Mutual cooperation, for example, the value of which is naturally created by the need for the provision and implementation of Bakar Batu ceremony. Everyone involved is a cultural part of the local community. With and or without being ordered they carry out their duties regularly and functionally. In that context, togetherness becomes very important and has been internalized in this tradition.

Another thing, cultural adaptation also takes place regularly and naturally in relation to the use and selection of materials needed in Bakar Batu. As stated earlier, the use of Pigs, for example, as an important element in every Bakar Batu process that goes on for generations in the mountains of Papua shows how a tradition becomes less 'bite' if it does not include Pigs in its implementation. In a cultural perspective, of course this can be called as fulfilling traditional agendas based on procedures and order. He has also been embedded in the social life of Papuans.

However, lately especially after the heavenly religions slowly spread in Papua, construction and presence of pigs that had been functioning as a cultural element that must in any implementation Bakar Batu, today could be replaced with other materials that are more adaptive. Fish, beef, chicken meat and

others. *"The pig basically has become a very high economic value for people in the Baliem Valley which is very important for their lives, but, after Islam enters and the community is equipped with Islamic knowledge, and has studied Shari'a, we replace the pig with chicken* (dikutip dari Pernyataan Abbu Asso, The Head Tribal of Walesi dalam channel Youtube Lentera Indonesia TV Programs, accessed on July 29, 2018). "

The replacement is of course only specifically for an appreciation of whether or not pigs may be allowed in certain communities. Speaking of religion, for example, pigs are already known to be something that Muslims cannot eat, as well as some Catholic, Buddhist and community groups who avoid it. *"Pigs, which are actually an important part of the Bakar Batu procession, of course, these days do not have to be forced to exist. Because if we do that, then of course we have discriminated against our brothers in Walesi (the Papuan Muslim community). However, the most likely thing to do is to separate the Bakar Batu pool. So we made it apart, Bakar Batu, who had a pig, and Bakar Batu which did not contain pork elements. Because after all, for the mountains of Papua, a new Bakar Batu is considered "permissible" (read: lively and steady), if there are pigs in it, even for traditional indigenous people, pig inclusion is sacred as well as a blessing from the ancestors."* (Interview with Aloysius Yohannes, Papua's Pamong Budaya, July 8, 2018).

This of course is a form of cultural transformation of Bakar Batu by changing its most basic material with the intention of adjusting or adapting to religious diversity in the land of Papua. In turn, the adjustment of the use of confectionary certain Bakar Batu than previously allowed for all, be allowed a limited, because it involves aspects of religious belief, so the use of non pig staples into meat others who do not make certain religions had been reluctant to participate because there are elements of the pig, being back alive with them to join the party and tradition after adjustments. *"I was worried about participating in the Bakar Batu, because I was a Catholic who did not eat pork, but after hearing and seeing for myself that there was a separation of the Bakar Batu pond containing pork, and that did not contain pork, then I felt a party and the tradition became more lively and more excited we participated in the party. Of course, even if we have to eat later we will only look for and provide food that has no pork meat. In fact, I see the enthusiasm of the people who are not only from Papuans (Bugis, Javanese, Sumatran People, etc. They are all excited and look harmonious."* (Yuliana (Makassarnese), Anthropology Lecturer at Cenderawasih University of Jayapura, July 9, 2018).

Exploring the Value of Picking Meaning: A Reflection on the Implementation of Bakar Batu

1. Sharing Food: Sharing Blessings for Knitting Harmony

In the Bakar Batu implementation, the basic principle that has been passed down from generation to tradition is the concept of presenting food to the people as a form of appreciation from the host to the guests. This concept, as stated earlier, that Bakar Batu is a culinary culture has undergone a transformation, from what was previously just a kind of food presentation concept, now transformed into a celebration or ceremony performed to solve problems. In the context of the social community, of the process of giving and receiving is also found in the process of this Bakar Batu.

Told that, if all the Bakar Batu stages are finished, and the food is ready to be served, the ceremonial leader will stand in the middle of the crowd, then begin to distribute food to the audience. Those who come from the highest rank in the ethnic group will get their share first. After that, then the food was distributed to all who attended.

It is an honor for the organizer of Bakar Batu, if the people who come in the Bakar Batu ceremony look very enthusiastic. The enthusiasm of the people can be read in two directions, first because they can enjoy the results of the Bakar Batu offering from the host, secondly because they can finally mingle with each other intimately, even by those who have been at loggerheads (Tony Wanggai, Member of Majelis Rakyat Papua. Interview, July 26, 2018).

It is understandable for the host to abstain from touching the processed food before everyone present gets the food. For traditional organizers, guests are kings. The portions regulated carefully, to ensure there are people who do not miss. The host does not even eat before making sure everyone has been given the food.

For the Papuan people, especially for those who organize Bakar Batu, it can be interpreted as a process of sharing blessings. Although Bakar Batu has been done so often, but because the ingredients used are special food ingredients, such as pork, as well as diverse garden products, it can be expected that the amount of the costs in the implementation is not small, especially in the traditional Papuan community system, information on the agenda of Bakar Batu by certain ethnic groups / communities, can easily be spread to the village of the fund to know the surrounding tribes (Klyon Kogoya, community leader of Waena, interview on July 6, 2018).

So in every implementation of Bakar Batu, it always involves a large number of people. Because of that for anyone who wishes to carry out Bakar Batu, they must have careful preparation, both in terms of time selection, up to material preparation which must be ensured enough to invite many residents to eat. In the tradition of the Papuan people, every one of Bakar Batu's guarantees does not require official invitations, because the principles of kinship and closeness to one another,

even though they are different from fam or tribe, will automatically be called to come to the celebration even if only heard from whispers between residents, because its presence or not in a celebration determines the host's response to it.

In addition, there is a blessing dimension that must be conveyed equally in a Papuan community. Because Bakar Batu is very closely related to serving food, it is a necessity for anyone who has heard the news about the implementation of Bakar Batu, and at the same time thinks that it is a blessing that cannot be denied. Arrival to the event is at the same time making the blessing to be shared by the organizer to be wide open, and vice versa. *"Here, in the land of Papua, there is no need for someone to go to people's homes to invite him to come to enliven the Bakar Batu, just by telling a few people, it will automatically spread from mouth to mouth to even distant citizens, but when they hear there Bakar Batu, they will surely come. There are blessings that must be shared, and there must be people who come who will facilitate the exit of the other blessing doors. Therefore, inviting and attending the Bakar Batu celebration is a thing that we have long been upholding in Papua."*(Tony Wanggai, Member of Majelis Rakyat Papua. Interview, July 26, 2018).

Every blessing for the food treats at the same time can foster friendship between fellow communities in Papua. The treats of processed foods in Bakar Batu also turned out to imply a meaning and value of tolerance between religious communities

in Papua. Though Bakar Batu's main ingredient is pork that has been carried down from generation to generation, but considering about the other brothers who can't eat pork, they go middle way to look for solutions, as discussed earlier. Pigs can be replaced with chicken, beef, and even fish.

This shows how people in Papua still uphold the values of tolerance and mutual respect for each other, regardless of religion and ethnicity. It is in Bakar Batu that the dialogue space between adherents of different religions respects one another, those divisions occurred naturally. Whoever finally got the chance and had enough to carry out the Bakar Batu pilgrimage, in that position then social awareness as an inhomogeneous society rose by preparing food ingredients made from Pork and also the Bakar Batu pond made from chicken/fish.

2. *Removing Revenge and Wound Healer*

Building a positive outlook in Papua is very important in terms of cultural, ethnic and religious wealth. Cultural and linguistic diversity in Papua is actually the power of Papua. *"There must be no nature of revenge by fencing oneself, because it disrupts togetherness"*. (Wetipo, Wempi dan Marthen 2015: 37-38). The Papuan generation must use the word "we" and not the word "they". We mean all Papuan children with all the

potential they have to participate in jointly building a peaceful Papua.

The peaceful process in Papua involves what is called "compensation". The traditional compensation process aims to resolve disputes peacefully and quickly, emotional reconciliation between the two parties, and the restoration of their previous relationship. The compensation process on the one hand is a path chosen to promote peace, while on the other hand there is a wide open space in seeking personal revenge through violence, which can potentially increased to war. Both of these are choices in order to re-establish the relationship between the two parties who are in conflict, or in conflict, which can be caused by many things, both intentional and unintentional, including murder, theft, women's problems, even problems of magic or *suanggi* (Diamond 2017).

Re-establishing relations in traditional conceptions, even customary law in Papua is the expected end result of each dispute. Even though the process of heading in that direction twisted and twisted. The societal relationship network tends to be more important and must be maintained, because a dispute is possible due to small reasons that can involve many people on behalf of certain tribes or clans. Papuans tend to maintain that important relationship throughout their lives.

Therefore, those who receive or pay compensation not only those directly involved personally, but also relatives near and far,

even within a tribe or group / clan. One form of compensation for 'revenge' for both previous disputes involving individuals per individual, nor the tribe by tribe, is to participate in a deep sadness over the loss of property / lives to one another. As recounted in the introduction to this article about the compensation to be paid on each count of lives lost, or loss of property that occurs shows how socially, people in Papua are interrelated and complementary.

Naturally, there is no grudge that can really recover only with the compensation paid. It also takes some special rituals in Papua to complete the compensation process. Pay for a head, for example, when a sum of money is asked for each life that has been paid, has the payment been paid, will it just disappear, like the previous situation? Indeed, in the context of humanity, it is impossible to equate one human life with a certain amount of money. But when the ritual and procession have been fulfilled, what is more important is to melt the frozen atmosphere again. This is where in the context of melting the atmosphere, in order to eradicate wounds and treat past wounds, it takes the joy of one another, who in the context of the Papuan people often do so in one ceremony of the Bakar Batu which involves all the elements of the warring society.

When Bakar Batu has been announced, all the people who were previously involved in the war must be present. Their presence is a measure of sincerity to forgive one another. Within

Bakar Batu, an open dialogue is held, while enjoying a meal together. this condition is the most effective means of re-establishing good relations between the two parties to make them more harmonious.

When Bakar Batu been blown, call it, for example by the party who has just received a compensation amount of money on pay-head because the impact of the previous war, then they were previously engaged in war can be measured sincerity mood, if you'd come and sit Together in the ceremony Bakar Batu done. Bakar Batu within this context an open dialogue while eating congregation become the most effective tool in managing the relationship of both parties to be more harmonious.

"One of the easiest ways to find out whether a person or group of people has forgiven or is still holding grudges between people in the land of Papua. Enough to hold Bakar Batu alone, those who have been in conflict, if they hear or know the ceremony and are willing to come even if they are not invited directly, as long as they hear the news, then the person has indeed forgiven him. And if the host sees the 'enemy' long time ago comes with relatives or other members of the tribe, it is an obligation to welcome him wholeheartedly. Because Bakar Batu is a means to mutually seek peace, called by the implementation of the intent, the party that was once the enemy or opponent in the war. So if you are willing to come it safe already". (Klyon Kogoya, community leader of Waena, interview on July 6, 2018).

Bakar Batu is one way out for every dispute in the land of Papua. When you sit together, have an intimate dialogue, eat together, drink together, the spirit of relationship recovery will be better. Like the word, if you have eaten in the same pool, the brotherhood bond has already begun and the law must always be upheld. *"If you eat, drink and sit together, the distance between individuals on the land of Papua has been cut. That's where the brotherhood is bound well, guarded together, and forget all the grudges and wounds that have been past, for the sake of knitting again in the hope of happiness in the days to come"*. (Kahar Yelipele, Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulama Council of Jayapura City on August 7, 2018).

The social mirror reestablished positive post-dispute relations in Papua, one of which was carried out with the participation of all parties to the conflict, witnessed by the local community, and migrant communities who also participated in enjoying Bakar Batu treats, according to the author, is a sense of harmony presented through food tasting. The traditional processed products of the Papuan people can be an example in other regions. The whole Batu Bakar process, which begins with inviting (consolidating), serving food (harmony), attending food invitations and tasting it with joy (the process of forgiveness and grace), as well as the involvement of many people from different ethnicities and religions (tolerance), is an important essence that shows that: through the taste of food that is processed and enjoyed together, then transforms into a celebration and a joint

party. Of course, it is no exaggeration to call it a place of consolidation through local traditions that are later ritualized and traded.

Closing

Bakar Batu is one of the local traditions that has been carried out from the past until now. During its development, Bakar Batu which was once a culinary expression of *mama-mama* Papua by selecting the cooking container is provided nature, namely soil, rocks, animals, and crops with the aim of eating together. Now it has been done a lot in commemoration of the big day, peace after the war, welcoming guests, for thanksgiving, and even as a means of political communication.

The Bakar Batu tradition, which is an indigenous culture in the land of Papua, has undergone a transformation in governance, and the purpose of its tradition. Bakar Batu, which used to be a culinary wisdom of the people in the land of Papua, transformed into one of the solvents of vengeance and wound fusion for people who had previously fought each other.

Bakar Batu also functions as a medium for channeling the blessings of the Supreme Being to the community, through the hands of executors of tradition. Tolerance, mutual cooperation and mutual respect are also reflected in the noble values that are inspired by the process of implementing the Bakar Batu tradition

in the midst of communities in Papua. Bakar Batu is now a unifying medium between indigenous Papuans, people living in Papua, and migrants. All of them can actively participate in every traditional process, so that it can be seen that there is an internalization of the values contained in Bakar Batu which is understood not only by the support community / indigenous people, but also by people outside the community (migrants, travelers, tourists, etc.).

All of these aspects show that the Bakar Batu tradition in a religious context can be linked to belief, worship to the creator, and religious ceremonies. The depth and noble wisdom of all processes for the implementation of the Bakar Batu process have demonstrated the manifestation of religious values (ethics, morals, and morals) that have the potential to realize shared ideals towards a land of peace in Papua.

Recommendation

The value unearthed in the Bakar Batu tradition can at least be an important part in relation to cultural advancement, conflict resolution, and inspiring curriculum enrichment in the Education media.

1. In relation to the promotion of culture, preservation point values in Bakar Batu, among others, mutual cooperation and solidarity, and to build harmony between communities is an

integral part of strengthening the local cultural values in Papua. Technically, it can be done through the Protection, Development, Utilization, and Guidance of Bakar Batu as a local tradition belonging to Papua that Indonesia.

2. Bakar Batu can also be used as a development of the realization of conflict resolution both in Papua and in Indonesia. Because by looking at the methods and principles of Bakar Batu's work that elaborates individual local wisdom towards community wisdom is an important matter. It is integrated with the realization of Indonesia's diversity and nationality insight, which requires coexistence peacefully even though it comes from different ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds.
3. Religious values and social wisdom contained in the Bakar Batu tradition can also be teaching points that can be included in the contents of the local Education curriculum in Papua.

References

- Alfian. 2017. "Bayar Kepala, Tradisi Unik Masyarakat Adat Suku Moni Timika Papua." *Patriot.Id*, 2017.
- Alvaro, Hans. 2013. "APBD Bukan Untuk Bayar Kepala." *Kompasiana*, 2013.
- Bertens, K. 2011. *Etika*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Cresswell, Jhon W. 1994. *Research Design, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. California: Thousand Oaks.
- Diamond, Jared. 2017. *The World Until Yesterday (Dunia Hingga Kemarin) Apa Yang Dapat Kita Pelajari Dari Masyarakat Tradisional?* Jakarta: KPG.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1983. "Religion as Cultural System" *Local Knowledge: Futher Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. New York: Basic Book.
- . 1992. *Kebudayaan Dan Agama*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Harian Rakyat Merdeka. 2018. "Semoga Bumi Cenderawasih Lekas Damai Kembali Tanpa Perpecahan Warganet Ingatkan Pejabat & Elite Politik Urus Konflik Papua." *Kantor Berita Politik Rmol.Co*, 2018.
- Ihsanuddin. 2016. "Sambutan Adat Untuk Jokowi Di Papua, Mulai Dari Koteka Hingga Bakar Batu." <https://Nasional.Kompas.Com/Read/2016/10/18/18383501/Sambutan.Adat.Untuk.Jokowi.Di.Papua.Mulai.Dari.Koteka.Hingga.Bakar.Batu>. 2016.
- Isna, Mansur. 2001. *Diskursus Pendidikan Islam*. Yogyakarta: Global Pustaka Utama.
- Iswanto, Agus. 2017. "Building Harmony Through Religious

- Reception In Culture: Lesson Learned From Radin Jambat Folktale Of Lampung.” *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion by Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang*. Volume 02 (Nomor 2 December):182–97. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v2i2.474>.
- Kartawisastra, H. Una. 1980. *Strategi Klarifikasi Nilai*. Jakarta: P3G Depdikbud.
- Koentjaraningrat. 1994. *Kebudayaan Mentalitas Dan Pembangunan*. Jakarta: Gramedia. Pustaka Utama.
- Kuper, Adam. 1999. *Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Liliweri, Alo. 2014. *Pengantar Studi Kebudayaan*. Bandung: Nusa Media.
- Maarif, Syamsul. 2007. *Revitalisasi Pendidikan Islam*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Marzali, Amri. 2005. *Antropologi Dan Pembangunan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media.
- Milles, M.B. and Huberman. 1984. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage Publication.
- Muslim, Abu. 2016. “Religious and Cultural Harmonies In The Art Of Masamper.” *Analisa Journal of Science and Religion* Volume 1 (No. 2 December):259–74. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v1i2.283>.
- Nasution, S. 1992. *Metode Penelitian Naturalistik- Kualitatif*. Bandung: Tarsito.

- O'dea, Thomas F. 1985. *Sosiologi Agama Suatu Pengenalan Awal (Terj.)*. Jakarta: CV. Rajawali.
- Samakory, Hobel., dkk. 2015. *Bakar Batu (Inventarisasi Warisan Budaya Tak Benda (WBTB))*. Papua: Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Propinsi Papua.
- Sedyawati, Edi. 2014. *Kebudayaan Di Nusantara: Dari Keris, Tor-Tor Sampai Industri Budaya*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Sila, Muhammad Adlin. 2015. *Maudu': A Way of Union with God*. Canberra: Australian University Press.
- Sunardi, ST. 2004. *Semiotika Negativa*. Yogyakarta: Buku Baik.
- Suprayogo, Imam dan Tobroni. 2003. *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial-Agama*. Bandung: Rosdakarya.
- Thoha, M. Chabib. 1996. *Kapita Selekta Pendidikan Islam*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Wekke, Ismail Suardi. 2013. "Islam Dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis." *Jurnal Analisis* Volume XII (Nomor 1, Juni).
- Wetipo, Wempi dan Marthen, Medlama. 2015. *Gunung versus Pantai Dalam Perspektif Nilai-Nilai Hidup Bersama*. Yogyakarta: Asdamedia.
- Wignjosebroto, Soetandyo. 2006. "Norma Dan Nilai Sosial." In *Sosiologi: Teks Pengantar Dan Terapan*, edited by J. Dwi Narwoko dan Bagong Suyanto. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Yani, Zulkarnain. 2017. "Nilai-Nilai Keagamaan Dalam Tradisi Lisan Tadut Di Kota Pagar Alam Sumatera Selatan." *Jurnal PENAMAS Balai Penelitian Dan*

Pengembangan Agama Jakarta. Volume 30 (Nomor 1 April-Juni):71–84.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v30i1>.

Zaimar, Okke K.S. 2015. “Metodologi Penelitian Sastra Lisan.” In *Metodologi Kajian Tradisi Lisan*, edited by Pudentia MPSS., Revisi. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor dan Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan.

Zoetmulder, P.J. 2007. “The Significance of the Study of Culture and Religion for Indonesian Historiography.” In *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, edited by Soedjatmoko. Jakarta: PT Equinox Publishing Indonesia.