

The Gastronomy of Tenggerese's *Cangkriman-Sodoran* Oral Literature

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ABSTRACT

The diversity and uniqueness of Tenggerese cuisine is a small part of the complexity of gastro-ritual. So far there have not been many comprehensive studies on the gastronomy in Tengger, especially the one in Tenggerese rituals. This article is focused on the ways *Karo* ritual reveals the aspects of art, aesthetics, socio-culture, history, and science and knowledge. Using the perspective of gastronomic literature, this research found out that the sacredness of traditional Tenggerese cuisine is stabilized in the oral literary piece of *Cangkriman*. This oral literary piece, which falls into the category of puzzle, becomes an integral part of the performance of *Sodoran* dance. *Sodoran* dance in turn becomes an integral part of *Karo* festival. The symbols of mercy, generosity, thoroughness, detailedness, and ancestor veneration can be seen in the preparation and serving of ritual foods (*sesaji* [food offerings]) and foods for the participants (cooked rice, side dishes, and snacks) in *Karo* festival. The preparation and serving of *Karo* ritual foods show unique culinary aesthetics. The preparation and serving of foods, side dishes, and snacks, which are done by the village institution *bethek-sinoman*, show a social activity that is full of the value of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). Specifically the genealogy and embryology of the Tenggerese people are symbolized in the traditional snacks of *pepes* and *pasung*.

Keywords: Cangkriman, Sodoran, Karo, gastronomic literature

ABSTRAK

Keragaman dan keunikan hidangan Tengger adalah bagian kecil dari kompleksitas gastroritual. Se jauh ini belum banyak ditemukan kajian komprehensif yang berfokus pada gastro di Tengger, lebih-lebih kajian yang menyoroti gastro dalam ritual Tengger. Artikel ini terfokus kepada bagaimanakah gastronomi ritual Karo mengungkapkan aspek seni, estetika, sosial-budaya, sejarah, dan ilmu pengetahuan. Dengan menggunakan

perspektif gastronomi sastra, penelitian yang berlokasi di Desa Tengger ini menghasilkan temuan bahwa hidangan tradisional Tengger distabilkan kesakralannya melalui sastra lisan Cangkriman. Sastra lisan kategori teka-teki ini menjadi satu bagian utuh dengan pentas tari Sodoran. Tari Sodoran pun menjadi bagian tak terpisahkan dengan perayaan Karo. Simbol kemurahan, kedermawanan, ketelitian, kedetilan, dan penghormatan leluhur ditampakkan dalam penyiapan dan penyajian makanan ritual (sesaji) dan makanan santapan (nasi, lauk, dan jajanan) pada rangkaian Karo. Tata sesaji Karo juga mencerminkan sebuah estetika boga yang khas. Proses peramuan dan penyajian masakan dan jajanan oleh institusi bethek-sinoman menunjukkan sebuah aktivitas sosial yang penuh nilai kegotongroyongan. Secara khusus, sejarah geneologi dan embriologi manusia Tengger disimbolkan dalam kue pepes dan pasung.

Kata Kunci: *Cangkriman, Sodoran, Karo, gastronomi sastra*

INTRODUCTION

Karo festival is one of the important annual rituals in Tengger. The festival is important because (i) it reflects the history and identity of Tengger, (ii) it is the only feast day which the multi-religious Tenggerese community have, (iii) it is carried out the longest period of time, simultaneously, and in the most lively manner, (iv) its ritual structure is the most complex, and (v) it serves the most complete foods. The Tenggerese, regardless of their religions and beliefs, consider *Karo* as their feast day (*riaya*). Very early on the first day of *Karo* festival, *Rakan Tawang* ritual is performed. The ritual is aimed at letting the ancestors know that *Karo* festival celebration will start soon. Afterwards the tradition of *Mblarai* symbolically opens the festival, which is carried out lively and continuously for two weeks.

Before *Karo* festival starts, various food offerings in the form of quite complex dishes are prepared. The local cooks relied on for preparing the foods are *bethek-sinoman*. These local professionals work in a *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation) manner and voluntarily. *Bethek-sinoman* work a shift system. *Bethek* activities start early on the day because they have to cook until around 9 at night, while the *sinoman* start working in the afternoon, through the night to do *melekan* (staying up all night), to the morning.

The diversity, uniqueness, and completeness of the foods prepared and served by *bethek-sinoman* are understandable because the feast day of *Karo* is celebrated once in a year. One example that represents the diversity, uniqueness, and completeness of *Karo* foods is a food offering that is called *Seroa Selawe*. *Seroa Selawe* is a complete and unique food offering that can be found in the *Karo* ritual of *Walagara*. *Seroa Selawe* consists of five regions each of which consists of five *takirs*. The *takir* in *Seroa Selawe* is made of sugar palm leaf. The contents of *Seroa Selawe* are *juwadab*, *ketan wilingan*, *pisang*, *ricikan*, *pasung*, *pepes*, *tetelan*, and *jenang koleh* (traditional food made from sticky rice mixed with palm sugar). The number of each food is 25. The word *selawe*

(twenty five) symbolizes the number of the children of the 'Tenggerese' forebears Roro Anteng and Joko Seger.

The diversity and uniqueness of Tenggerese dishes as described above are a small part of the region's (gastro) ritual complexity. So far there have not been many comprehensive studies on the gastronomy in Tengger, especially the one in Tenggerese rituals. Existing writings, studies, and research projects on Tengger are generally focused on its rituals and traditions. It can be said that the ritual gastronomy in Tengger is a research area that is rich, open, and challenging.

Food in a ritual should be seen not only from their physical or material aspect, but also from their metaphysical aspect. In addition, ritual foods are related to aesthetics and art. Good observation will reveal that around foods there are the arts of dancing, drama, painting, sculpture, literature, architecture, and music (Endraswara, 2018). In *Karo* ritual, we can find dancing art, drama, poetic literature, singing art, narrative oratory, music, handicraft, weaving art, and culinary art. These arts altogether become a pillar that supports *Karo* tradition in particular and Tenggerese tradition in general.

Initial gastronomy studies tried to understand the complexity of dishes in the *Karo* ritual of *Sodoran* as a part of the Tenggerese culture (see Fossali, 2008; Montanari, 2006). Since the literary aspect of *Karo* festival is also important to study, subsequent studies used gastronomic literature as their approach. Gastronomic literature comprises the appreciation (understanding), expression (creation), and gastronomy study (analysis) of literary works with a culinary and food twist. In short, this study is the gastronomic literature one because it seeks to analyse foods as the subject and at the same time object of an aesthetical work, as a symbol of the seedbed of Life (see Endraswara, 2018). The study also tries to understand food natural symbols and philosophy in the performing literary work of *Sodoran* (see Endraswara, 2018).

Considering the background above, this study is aimed at finding out how the *Karo* ritual of gastronomy reveals the aspects of art, aesthetics, socio-culture, history, and science and knowledge of the Tenggerese community. Meanwhile, this study on a series of activities in *Karo* ritual using the perspective of gastronomic literature comprises three domains, i.e. oral literature of gastronomy, art literature of gastronomy, and myth literature of gastronomy (see Endraswara, 2018). The perspective of oral literature of gastronomy is used because the main rituals in *Karo* festival, *Sodoran* dance and *Cangkeriman* recitation, are in the form of oral literature. All the characteristics of oral literature can be found in *Karo* ritual (especially *Sodoran* ritual). Some of the characteristics are that oral literature has existence, that it has bearers, and that it has audience. The existence of oral literature in *Karo* ritual is its dance performances. The bearers are the dancers, musical instrument players, ritual helpers, *Cangkeriman* reciters, and *Karo* narrative reciters. The community, owners, connoisseurs, or audience comprise the

local people, invited figures or officials, and mass media personnel (Amir, 2013).

Art literature of gastronomy is also covered because the literary work of *Sodoran* is expressed in a performance. It can be said that *Sodoran* dance is a ballet, a drama symbolizing the origin and purpose of human life. Myth literature of gastronomy becomes the other scope since the performance of the literary work of *Sodoran* is actually an important step in the performance of *Karo* ritual. The performance of *Sodoran* visualizes and symbolizes the legend of *Karo*, a legend that has a strong influence on the beliefs, life principles, and identities of *wong* Tengger (the Tenggerese people). The other Tenggerese legend that has such a strong influence is the legend of Jaka Seger and Roro Anteng (the legend of *Kasada*).

METHOD

The paradigm of this research is ethno-gastronomic literature. This paradigm sees that foods are unique cultural products and belong to a certain ethnic group. The paradigm emphasizes the knowledge of extrinsic (ethnic) literature. The philosophy of ethno-gastronomy becomes the base for emic and phenomenological-naturalistic approaches. Emic approach is used because this study incorporates informants' viewpoints in establishing data meanings. The approach focuses on meanings seen from the viewpoints of the society who own the culture being studied (Harris, 1999). Meanwhile, the phenomenological-naturalistic approach is used because data are real phenomena just the way they are without any treatment. Considering the paradigm and approaches above, it is determined that this research applies qualitative method for analysing data. The method is focused on the description of cultural facts and phenomena around the gastronomy in Tengger.

This research was conducted in the greater village of Tengger. The four parts of Tengger belong to the regencies of Malang, Pasuruan, Lumajang, dan Probolinggo. The majority of the villagers adhere to Hinduism and still hold tightly to the Tenggerese customs and traditions (Sutarto, 2008). The Tenggerese villages where the research was conducted are Argosari Village, Senduro Sub-district, Lumajang Regency; Wanatara Village, Sukapura Sub-district, Probolinggo Regency; Tosari Village, Tosari Sub-district, Pasuruan Regency; and Ngadas Kidul Village, Poncokusumo Sub-district, Malang Regency. The selection of these research locations was not carried out at random, but based on pragmatic considerations (see Sudikan, 2001).

The key informants in this research are ritual practitioners/reciters, art activists, tradition owners (*pandita*, *legen*, *sepub*, *sanggar*), village elders, cultural practitioners/artists, and village officials. The ordinary informants are common villagers who are involved in every ritual procession.

Data were collected directly from the Tenggerese community and other stakeholders. As a gastronomic literary text, *Cangkriman Kertijoyo* inside

the frame of *Sodoran* dance is a humanistic phenomenon. Therefore, it requires humanistic approach. Due to this, data were collected ethnographically through in-depth interviews, involved observations, and documentation.

Data analysis was carried out selectively and continuously until no new important information was obtained. The analysis of concrete data was started after data transcription was completed. Data obtained from the transcription were sorted by (i) opening oneself (the researcher) to what were happening in order that complete data could be obtained (open coding); (ii) breaking down, checking, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, categorizing, and organizing data that were neatly classified (axial coding); and (iii) explaining categories and conducting an in-depth analysis (display code) (Endraswara, 2018).

Data validity test was conducted by applying triangulation model or re-clarification with multiple data sources. Data triangulation was carried out by collecting other data with which the existing data were corroborated. Methods triangulation was conducted by comparing the methods of collecting data from observations, interviews, and documentation. Then, data were corroborated with informants to obtain confirmation (member check), consultation with experts was conducted, and peer reviews were carried out (Endraswara, 2018).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Immortalization of Tengger Offerings in *Cangkriman*

Using Foucault's perspective on discourse as the fixation and stabilization of realities on a written text, Tenggerese offerings can be considered as a reality that is stopped and stabilized on texts used in *Karo* festival, especially the tradition of *Cangkriman* recitation. Of the tens of Tenggerese mantras, *Cangkriman* is the only sacred text that must not be memorized. The other texts have to be memorized from time to time by all the priest-shamans from their inauguration time in the night of *Kasada* (*muluman*) throughout their term of service. It can be understood that the prohibition of the memorization of the sacred text of *cangkriman* has been responded by recording it in writing.

Memory (memorization-orality) and reading (writing-literacy) have had a special place from time to time. Sacred mantras, for instance, have been successfully created and conserved with the memorization technology of humans' oral civilization up to the present time. In contrast, the sacredness of *Cangkriman* in Tenggerese rituals is preserved with printing technology. Unlike the other sacred mantras of Tengger whose existence and development can be traced to the era of pre-Hindu (Walandit inscription), *Cangkriman*'s origin is still unknown. However, there is a speculation that the creator is Ki Dada Putih, a forebear of the Tenggerese people, who was a priest from Majapahit (Hefner, 1985). He is considered as the king of kings

of all the spirits, ancestors, and esteemed villagers in Tengger (Sukmawan, 2017).

The answer clues for the fifteen puzzles in *Cangkriman Kertijoyo* can be found in the set of food offerings and its infrastructure in any ritual in Tengger. The foods served in the offerings in sequence are (1) *lemek*, (2) *damar*, (3) *godong ajang*, (4) *sego*, (5) *tumpang*, (6) *bero*, (7) *panggang ayam*, (8) *takir kawung*, (9) *pepes*, (10) *juwadah*, (11) *jenang koleh*, (12) *tetelan*, (13) *pisang ayu*, and (14) *suruh* (Sukmawan, Rizal, & Nurmansyah, 2018). How the set of offerings and its infrastructure provide answer clues for the puzzles is explained in the following.

The answer to the first puzzle is *ndemek-ndemek lemek* (touching a tablecloth). *Lemek* means 'tablecloth'. Whatever the *sajen* (offerings) is, there must be a piece of *lemek*. The philosophical explanation is that everything in the universe must have a base. It can be said that *lemek* symbolizes the earth. The answer to the second puzzle is *daluh* or *damar*. *Damar* means 'lamps for lighting'. Lighting is needed to brighten human life or to have a smooth life, which means earning a good livelihood easily. Likewise, it is expected that human mind can be brightened (guided) by the useful knowledge about good and bad things. The answer to the third puzzle is *ajang malang*. *Ajang malang* is a kind of *dandangan/banten/sesaji* (food offerings), which means that in the life of every human, there must be obstacles. Life is always full of twists and turns. Every human must face such a situation. Because of this, it is expected that he/she never forgets to pray for a life that is free from obstacles.

Then, the answers are provided in sequence: (i) *sego* (cooked rice), which means the hope that humans will earn a livelihood easily; (ii) *tumpang* - its cone shape resembles the shape of a mountain, which symbolizes welfare and prosperity; (iii) *berah* (grain), which symbolizes seeds of life or the continuity of life; (iv) roast chicken as the symbol of harmony; the wings, head, and legs of the roast chicken are tied together; this means that we should not discriminate between the rich and the poor or between the superior and the subordinate; in order that humans can be '*ayam*' (chicken) or *ayem* (peaceful), all humans have to be considered as being equal; (v) *takir kawung*, which means 'entirety'; this means that when organizing our mind, we have to be conscientious and must not be careless; (vi) *pasung-pepes*, which symbolizes *lingga* and *yoni*; (vii) *juwadah*, which symbolizes the process of creation.

2. Exploring Art, Socio-Culture, History, and Science and Knowledge through the Lens of Gastronomy

Understanding the procession of *Karo* ritual from the perspective of gastronomic literature means uncovering the art, aesthetics, cultural symbols, social activities, and even science and knowledge of the Tenggerese (see

Endraswara, 2018). With the perspective, the Tenggerese history may also be revealed (Endraswara, 2018: 28-29). Basically each of the aspects revealed by the approach of gastronomic literature cannot stand alone. Each aspect is a network of meanings and all of them form a whole of interconnected meanings. Each aspect is described in the following.

a. Revealing Cultural Symbols

A cultural symbol in the form of refined state is shown in the symbolic movement of *Sodoran* dancers. *Sodoran* dance consists of three scenes, namely *papakan*, *adu sodor*, and *salipan*. *Papakan* movement portrays a meeting between a man and a woman. *Adu sodor* movement portrays an intimate relationship between a man and a woman. Meanwhile, *salipan* movement portrays humans' life journey. All these modest movements are performed with strong emotions. In the section of *pecah sodor*, the overflow of any emotions - sadness, being touched, excitement—explodes with the cry of the dancers. These emotional modest dances display the values of human existence wrapped up in symbolic-euphemism.

The symbols of mercy and generosity are shown in the preparation and serving of the ritual food (*sesaji*) and food for the participants (cooked rice, side dishes, and snacks) in the series of activities in *Karo* ritual, from *Mblarai*, and *Santi*, through *Lelivet*, to *Bawahan*. The *sesaji* that may be eaten by humans is the *sesaji* of *manusia yadnya*. The *sesaji* shows thoroughness and detailedness in its preparation and serving. Each group of *sesajen* (ritual foods) is given a name based on its composition. In this section, descriptions are focused on meanings of the group of *Pras* ritual foods. The group consists of five types, namely *Pras Goreh*, *Pras Petula*, *Pras Tebusan*, *Pras Among*, and *Pras Semoa*.

Each type of *Pras* basically has the same composition of constituent elements. The elements are usually *tumpang*, *pasung*, *pepes*, *bera*, *kulup*, *tetelan*, *wilingan*, *juwadab abang*, *putih*, *ireng*, *pangkon*, and *panggung ayam* (roast chicken). The five types of *Pras* become the base for the ritual foods in *Karo* ritual. What distinguishes one *Pras* from another is the number of constituent elements in each round, flat container of *tempeh* and the addition of other elements, such as *kembang gubahan* and *ucet* which are served in certain types of *Pras* only.

b. Revealing Social Cohesion

Tengger is a cultural landscape thriving with noble values adopted by the Tenggerese community and manifested through the performance of traditional rituals (Hamida, 2013). In this landscape, there are spirit, values, pluralism messages, multiculturalism, tolerance, mutual cooperation, unity, and social wholeness (Haliim, 2017; Haryanto, 2014; Nurcahyono & Astutik, 2018; Sukmawan & Febriani, 2018). Behind the unity of the Tenggerese community, there is diversity which becomes the pillar supporting the

wholeness of the community. The diversity is formed by, among others, the richness of traditional rituals (for instance, *slametan*), the various religions adhered by the Tenggerese, and their various professions.

The diversity in the Tenggerese community does not become an obstacle to the efforts to develop harmony and strong solidarity in the community. Wirutomo, et al. (2015) stated that pluralism and/or diversity often triggers attention because people may relate it to conflicts among social groups and social disintegration. This means that diversity in the community has the potential to trigger conflicts, be it personal conflicts or communal conflicts. However, this is not the case with the Tenggerese community. Up to now, the social wholeness, unity, and solidarity in the community have still been maintained well. In the community, diversity is not considered as a source of injustice, but a social asset that has to be preserved.

The villagers in Mororejo adhere to different religions, but they can live in harmony. During the rituals of Entas-entas and *Karo*, both Muslims and Hindus help each other. I am a Hindu, but I follow the ceremonies held by my uncle who is a Muslim, because it is indeed our (Tenggerese) tradition to follow each other's ceremonies and help each other in holding them.

(Interview with Mr Ismawan, 31 years old)

What the informants says above implicitly shows that the performance of *slametan* in Tengger is a part of the Tenggerese tradition. The performance of *slametan* involves not only certain community groups, but also the whole community groups in Tengger. Furthermore, *slametan* rite becomes a space for the Tenggerese to develop harmony. This is in line with Suseno's opinion (1993) that in *slametan* there are the most salient values upheld by the Javanese including the Tenggerese, namely the values of togetherness, neighbourliness, and harmony. This shows that *slametan* rite is a very important capital for the Tenggerese community to develop social interaction.

c. Exploring History

The ethnogenealogy of the Tenggerese ethnic group can be traced to Ajisaka, a forebear of the Tenggerese who in the legend of *Karo* was enthroned in Medang Kamulan. The feast day of *Karo* is actually a form of respect for the service and heroism of the Tenggerese forebears. The Tenggerese people believe that Ajisaka and his two servants, Setya and Setuhu, did not only exist and live in the legend of *Karo*, but also ever existed and lived in the area of Tengger in the past. They are the pioneers (besides Joko Seger–Roro Anteng) who started the lineage of the Tenggerese ethnicity. Seen from the perspective of graph-genealogy, the twenty Javanese alphabets are a chant of poetry lines of Ajisaka as a form of respect for the

loyalty, sincerity, and sacrifice of Setya and Setuhu. *Hanacaraka* is “there were messengers”; *datasawala* is ‘disputed each other’; *padajayanya* is ‘both were equally powerful’; and *magabatanga* is ‘both fell’.

From the perspective of embryology, studying *Karo* ritual means revealing the origin or the creation of all human beings, not only the Tenggerese human beings. The battle between Setya and Setuhu to fight over and defend Sarutama heirloom in the legend of *Karo/Ajisaka* symbolizes intromission. Setyo is the symbol of men and Setuhu is the symbol of women. Specifically *Sodoran* dance is the euphemistic symbol of the meeting between an egg cell and a sperm cell during intromission.

At least the genealogy and embryology above are symbolized in the unique Tenggerese snacks of *kue pepes* and *pasung*. These two sacred snacks are always served in the *sesajen* of any ritual. On ordinary days, the Tenggerese villagers are forbidden from making the snacks, which become the metasymbols of *yoni* and *lingga*.

d. Reading Science and Knowledge

Terrestrial questions in *Cangkriman Kertijoyo* show the cosmological awareness of the Tenggerese of four space sides to understand the realities of West-East and North-South. The mention of 18 place names (cities, sub-districts, villages, and regions), namely Wonorejo, Kenongo, Nggedangan, Puspo, Baledono, Watu Panggang Sate, Mungal, Ngijo, Gonong Wowong, Sepedang, Pakel, Posong Tepes, Bangil, Ngopak, Pasuruan, Suroboyo, and Sidoarjo, convincingly shows that geographical knowledge and understanding underlie the emergence of oral literature. Seen from the opposite way, oral literature contains geographical knowledge. *Cangkriman Kertijoyo* is basically a small description of social science questions. The understanding of localities is translated into the literary work very concretely, modestly, and contextually.

Food service is reflected in the technique of positioning *sesaji* (ritual foods) besides social science. *Ayam mancawarna*, *caru mancasata*, *livet*, *cecepan caru*, and *tumpeng kuning*, for examples, are positioned in certain places. *Banyu kurung*, *gedang ayu tayupan isor*, *gedang ayu tayupan nduwur*, *pras semoa sayud*, *ajang malangan*, *galang*, *roaban*, and *pras petula* are placed in front of the priest shaman. Meanwhile, *gedang ayu roaban* is placed at the right and left sides of the priest shaman.

The placing of *pras among* is different. This *sesaji* intended to *among-among* (to ‘protect’ human soul and body) is placed in Sanggar Surya together with *pras goreng*, *petra pesaksi*, *beras pitrah*, *wakul*, *suruh agung*, *suruhan*, *sudang*, *pras tebusan*, and *manden*. Then, *pras sesa pertiwi*, *bentung piti*, *ajang tlewer* and *pras sesa gangga* are placed for a moment at Sanggar Surya Bawah. Meanwhile *takir janggan*, *sega lungguh*, *tumpeng*, *sega lungguh ketan*, and *takir janur* are placed in Bale Banjaran Sari.

What are the function and meaning of *sesaji*? Informed by gastrosophy, the philosophical study on foods in various human needs including the ritual need (Endraswara, 2018), the function and meaning of

sesaji can be described as follows. The function of *pras tebusan* is to redeem all wrongdoing. *Pras goreng* is intended to be food presented for the forebears safeguarding the water springs. The composition of *pras goreng* is always added with a constituent element of the other *pras*, i.e. *kembang gubahan*. *Pras among* is used to respect the invited forebears, so that they will feel respected and calm.

As to *panggang ayam* (roast chicken), this ritual food can be replaced with *panggang mas*. This *pras* is made of chicken that is roasted or scrambled eggs of free-range *kampung* chicken. The replacement of chicken with eggs implies a moral meaning that cheaper stuff can be used as a way to minimize pressure from a certain requirement. Philosophically *panggang ayam* is the symbol of the presenter of the *Pras* that has been prepared and served. Eggs may be used to replace chicken due to the belief that later the eggs will become chicken.

With regards to *pasung*, it is a kind of conical wet cake made of rice flour. Banana leaf formed into a cone is used to shape the cake. To the Tenggerese community, the philosophical meaning of *pasung* is “when already ‘fit’, carried on”, which means that when the time has come to someone, it is time to ‘carry him/her to the tomb. After *pasung*, we can find *bera* and *kulup*. *Bera* and *kulup* are always placed side by side. *Bera* is a kind of food the main ingredient of which is big bean pieces. *Kulup* is a kind of food with cabbage leaves as the main ingredient. Philosophically both items have the same function. They are used to ward off the evil forces of Buta Kala.

Another philosophical meaning is revealed by the ritual food of *tetelan*. This dish made of finely ground sticky rice has an intact and round shape. This shape symbolizes obedience to what has been ordered. *Wilingan* is a *pras* element that is paired with *tetelan*. *Wilingan* is made of white sticky rice that is gripped and wrapped in banana leaf. The name of *wilingan* is taken from the Javanese word *welingan/wilingan*, which means ‘advice’ or *pitutur* (another Javanese word). Another cake is *juwadah*. In the *pras* arrangement, there are always three types of *juwadah* of different colours, i.e. *juwadah abang* (red), *juwadah putih* (white), and *juwadah ireng* (black). *Juwadah abang* is made of white corn flour and coloured red. Philosophically, *juwadah abang* symbolizes mother. *Juwadah putih* is made of white corn flour without the addition of any colour and symbolizes father. *Juwadah ireng* is made of the same ingredient and coloured blackish blue. The last offering from which we can uncover a philosophical meaning is *pangkon*. *Pangkon* is a bunch of bananas that is still attached to its base. Philosophically, *pangkon* means ‘supporting base’. *Pangkon* functions as a lap on which an arrangement of ritual foods is placed. It is placed on the front side of the round, flat container of *tempeh*.

Besides meanings related to the names and shapes of the constituent elements of *pras*, there are also meanings related to the number of each *pras* element in one *tempeh*. The number 2 symbolizes the creation of all things on earth that are in pairs and have two sides. The number 9 symbolizes nine holes on human body which become the sources of evil desires. To save

humans from any evil desires originating from the holes, *Pras Tebusan* is made for redemption. The number 3 symbolizes the importance of the nurture of proper thinking, speaking, and behaving.

CONCLUSION

The sacredness of traditional Tenggerese dishes has been stabilized in the oral literary piece of *Cangkriman*. This oral literary piece, which falls into the category of puzzle, becomes an integral part of the performance of *Sodoran* dance. *Sodoran* dance in turn becomes an integral part of *Karo* festival. The symbols of mercy, generosity, thoroughness, detailedness, and ancestor veneration can be seen in the preparation and serving of ritual foods (*sesaji* (offerings)) and foods for the participants (cooked rice, side dishes, and snacks) in *Karo* festival. The preparation and serving of *Karo* ritual foods show unique culinary aesthetics. The preparation and serving of foods, side dishes, and snacks, which are done by the village institution of *bethek-sinoman*, show a social activity that is harmonious and full of the value of *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation). Specifically the genealogy and embryology of the Tenggerese are symbolized in the traditional snacks of *pepes* and *pasung*. In short, Tenggerese foods reveal the art, aesthetics, socio-culture, history, and science and knowledge of the Tenggerese community (Mustapa & Supratno, 2018).

Finally, it is hoped that the findings of this study may introduce the identities of Tenggerese foods, especially the ones related to Tenggerese rituals; help develop the pride of national identities; and help open a wider horizon of gastronomic literature and its benefits to humanity.

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