



‘ANDE BACA’ AS A COMPLEMENTARY RITUAL FACING PROBLEMS

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ABSTRACT

‘Ande baca’ or the foods that will be read and prayed is a food set (offerings) that is a compliment in the ‘tola bala’ ritual, thanksgiving ritual, etc., held by Mandar society, in West Sulawesi. The foods usually consist of; ‘sokkol’ (lemang/sticky rice), ‘buras’ (lapat/rice cooked with coconut milk), ‘ketupat’, boiled egg, chicken curry, ‘cucur’ (made from fried rice flour and red sugar), various kinds of banana, etc. However, Ande Baca has changed nowadays. It means, that the people’s behavior has different in holding the ritual, they don’t prepare the various offering (Ande Baca) completely for another food alternative, until the way to serve the Ande Baca. This paper tries to find out how the Ande Baca compromise faces various problems, from social, cultural, and surrounding sides. This qualitative research gathered the data through discussion, documentation, interview, observation, and looking for information from the various additional literature such as books, journals, etc. The analysis of Ande Baca will be based on Turner's and Durkheim's ritual and social politics theories. In summary, Ande Baca will come last after it has compromised with the change. By allowing other factors to enter, the original Ande Baca will remain alive, allowing the Mandar ritual as a tradition to be maintained.

Keywords: Ande Baca; ritual

1. INTRODUCTION

Ritual is an activity closely related to an event with food and consumption concepts, worship, and affection for things or living being. Nur Syam defined ritual as a series of actions that constantly link to religion or magic, and are legitimate through tradition. Rituals differ from worship, as the first is held daily (Winnick in Nur Syam, 2005: 17-18). Syam stated that ritual is termed as series of actions containing religion, or magic which consistently performed and justified into a tradition (culture), and is not part of worship as it is a daily or habitual custom.

Abidin (2010) had described on “Pudarnya Ritual Massure (The Faded of Massure Rituals)” and “Maddoja Bine” in the Bugis community:

“Maddoja Bine’ ritual performs nearly similarly to most Buginese rituals. The similarities are that during the preparation for essential work or events, it must present a ritual to ask for a blessing by offering the divine being over the work or place in which the work took place. The offering can be cattle or fruits.”

Abidin indirectly defined a ritual as asking for a blessing before the divine being in advance of particular work or place, providing an offering in the form of cattle or agricultural yield as fruits. Therefore, Abidin refers to a ritual as worship.

However, Arquiza (2010:7) stated:

“... All of us are traditionalists in our ways and, within the context of our time, ritualistic. Rituals and rites are a collective response to a particular fear, another ventured. For so long as there is fear, people will not stop doing the rituals to appease the sources of their fear and to assuage their fear and themselves consoled of their fear. The old society’s sources of fear were the unseen, the spirits, ghosts, and metaphysical existence that the folk’s limits of reasoning and technology (i.e., artificial natural intelligence and cultural advancement) could not grasp and explain. So, they resort to rituals to appease the offended spirits, to distract or drive away the malevolent, and to attract the good ones. Usually, propitiation is done in a form of commemoration or celebration through the offering of food, objects, and valuables (i.e., such as gold or silver coins, dinnerware, or jewelry) and through symbolic acts or cultural objects such as songs, musical instruments, and performances that are held to be demanded and favored by the spirits. Noise in every form and manner usually accompanies the rituals to set the phase or mood and emphasize the ritual activity's grandeur, fanfare, and religiosity.”

According to Arquiza, ritual is a way of self-calming over the fear of the unseen creature, though we lived in the modern world. Generally, this ritual presents food, objects, and precious personal items or performs a loud activity emphasizing glorification, cheerfulness, and religiousness. Ritual has tightly related to food concepts, worship, and love. As Abidin’s description of ritual is related to worshiping concept and food gratitude through the offering. The performed work is a love expression as it is regularly carried out until it is transformed into a custom.

The Mandarese, an ethnic group in West Sulawesi, experience various events performed in their neighborhoods each month. Those events relate to food offerings (a thankfulness act), prays

and their love for The Creator, and honoring their ancestors. The ritual series starts with Muharram, Safar, Rabiul Awal, Rabiul Akhir, Jumadil Awal, Jumadil Akhir, Rajab, Sya'ban, Ramadhan, Syawal, Dzulkaidah until Dzulhijjah. In the 10th night of Muharram, they have a ritual humming “Hasbunallahu wanimal wakil, ni'mal maula wani'man nasir” repeatedly to seventy times. Afterward, as the ritual complementary, green been porridge, or called as ‘ule-ule’, will be provided.

In Safar, there is Safar bath ritual. Safar bath is performed every Wednesday by putting specific pray ‘salamun kaulammirabbiraim’, into the water and spelling the pray over the water. Though this ritual does not involve any food, the spelled prayer during the bath asks for goodness and safety in present life and after-life. In Sya'ban, or nishfu Syaban, they read Ya'sin three times continuously, for happiness in the present and after-life, have fortune, and faith. During Ramadhan, a week formerly, Mandarese people will engage in pilgrims, performing food-offering, and praying intensely to welcome the holy month. They cook sticky rice or ‘masokkol’, ‘lemang’. They provide several bananas and many more. They light on fire, ‘mattunu sulo’, ‘pallang’, using candle, torchs, etc. This ritual aims to ask for blessing, grace, and Allah mercy, fortune and keep shining (mabaya), as the fire, throughout the Ramadhan.

The other months are called ‘sala” months, which are less lively as there are not many rituals, except for those who have personal events. Moreover, particular events are being held without referring to the particular months and community events such as the wedding ceremony. However, the bride and groom are given with ‘pacar’ leaf separately, known as ‘millatigi’, ‘mapacci’, and ‘korongtigi.’

For pregnant women, the ritual is the ‘tujuh bulanan’ (the month of the seventh’s pray), messaging, or, in Mandar, ‘miuri’. The messaging is aimed to provide convenience during the delivery and so on. Other rituals are performed for those who fell ill or were recovering by providing particular food to dispel the diseases(s). There is a ritual prayer over the house as it is perceived as a life spirit (the watchman). Some rituals are performed during a funeral. Some gratitude prays are being conducted after graduating from college, civil servant tests, and so on. It has also ‘kuliwa’, a ritual after buying a new car or motorbike, by providing particular foods or fruits.

Moreover, the ritual problems in Mandar were identified by Ismail dan Zuhriah. Ismail (2012) on their publication “Agama Nelayan Pergumulan Islam Dengan Budaya Lokal (Fisherman religion:

Islam Struggle with Local Culture)”. It described the Pambusuang-Mandar fisherman rituals. To Ismail (2012), ‘barzanji’ has accompanied many rituals in Mandar. Barzanji has become solely part of local custom; any local ritual is perceived invalid if Barzanji fails to be performed.

Ismail (2012: 18), says:

“Berzanji reading is performed in nearly all rituals, namely during ‘akeka’, ‘masunnaq’, ‘likaq’, the Prophet maulid, ‘makulliwa’ and other events. Furthermore, Barzanji also performed during ‘marroma’ (welcoming). This tradition is being conducted to welcome particular months like Rabul Awal, Rajab, Muharram (including 10 Muharram), and Sya’ban (particularly Nishfu Sya’ban). This is performed by inviting the ‘annangguru’ for repeat pray.”

Zuhriah (2010), in “The Synthesis of Mandar Culture and Islam (An Analysis of Ritual in West Sulawesi,” stated that the synthesis had taken place in the Mandar ritual with Islam, namely: previously food is part of the offering ritual, as Islam came it transformed into the blessed food, ‘barakka’ (Ande Baca). Zuhriah (2016) in “Kuliwa: A Cultural Identity of the Local People of Mandar, West Sulawesi,” explained that ‘kuliwa’ is a ritual for dispelling any threat performed by the fisherman community. Zuhriah (2017) also documents in “Peziarah Imam Lapeo: Akulturasi Antara Budaya Mandar dan Ziarah Islam (Imam Lapeo Pilgrim: the Acculturation between Mandar Culture and Islam Pilgrim)”, that the house of Imam Lapeo, the saint, became a golden-triangle space as it facilitates three rituals namely eat food in Boyang Kayyang at the house of Imam Lapeo, pray in the mosque, at the Masigi Lapeo, and love in form the grave, at Ko’bah Lapeo.

2. METHODS

This article focuses on the offered food in a ritual known as ‘Ande Baca’ (foods as the subject of the prayer) or ‘ande baraka’ (the blessed food). It seeks to observe the compromise of ‘Ande Baca’ as the complementary ritual against various contests, either through; social, cultural or environmental approaches. The qualitative research method was conducted through discussion, documentation, interview, observation, and collecting information from various literature resources such as book, journals, etc. The collected data will be analyzed using Durkheim analysis up to Turner Hich that relates to ritual, and ritual as political tools.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ande Baca or Ande Barakka

Mealtable sharing (is) it represents a deep mutual sharing and honest communion that addresses most human needs: for food and life. (Antone, 2003:90). Mealtable sharing or sharing the food on the table is emphasizing togetherness and honesty within a feast by focusing on the substantial human needs as to eat and live (Zuhriah, 2003). In another way, food is the sustaining facility within a feast that unites people.

In Zuhriah (2013: 113), Woodward described that worshiping food has become a main blessing source. In Lapeo, therefore, the main blessing source is on Boyang Kayyang, the food that is the subject of the prayer. The well-known quotation for this is “Mo sicco’ asal mabarrakka”, (though is a smaller amount, it has the blessing to be consumed by many). Therefore, for Mandar people, food is the primary to be included in a ritual since it will be blessed and channeled. As a sample, after a new house is being prayed, any food presented will be consumed by all attendance. Some people keep a small amount of the food and put it in a particular spot or bowl or hang it at the house pillar just for the sake of the soul of the house.

Zuhriah in Qureta platform, “Nilai Hidup (Value of Live) (2019)”, stated that food objects carried within a ritual as a thankful statement before God. The tradition of the West and South Sulawesi (Sulselbar) people during the pilgrim, to well-known people’s homes or graves, such as ‘annangguru’ (religious guru), will carry food as the subject of the prayer, so the food gets the blessing. It is also a presentation of thankfulness (for the fortune), carried along the pilgrim ritual.

While Elizabeth Gilberth had written a widely known novel and actualized it into a film entitled “Eat, Pray, and Love”. It is, however, happened at different situation and condition which she eat in Italy, pray in India and find love in Bali. While, for Mandar those three happen in one place. As mentioned above, Zuhriah (2017) had written in “Peziarah Imam Lapeo: Akulturasi antara Budaya Mandar dan Ziarah Islam (Imam Lapeo Pilgrim: the Acculturation between Mandar Culture and Islam Pilgrim)”, that the house of Imam Lapeo, the saint, became a golden-triangle space as it facilitate three rituals namely food (eat) in Boyang Kayyang, the house of Imam Lapeo, pray in the mosque, the Masigi Lapeo, and love in form the grave, Ko’bah Lapeo. All indicated that life for eat instead of eat for life, thus food or Ande Baca, Ande Barakka is substantial within a ritual.

Below are foods or variety of Ande Baca. It is normally consisting of sokol (lemang, sticky rice), buras (lapat, bullet-rice with coconut milk), ketupat, boiled egg, chicken curry, kue cucur (made from rice flour and brown sugar), various bananas, etc. however, today Ande Baca facing a substantial alteration. In today's situation, it follows the social transformation in performing a ritual, wherein Ande Baca is served incomplete form, from the alternative food to the presentation arrangement.



Figure 1. Sokol, lemang, sticky rice in three colors (left), and kue cucur (right)
(Source: Personal documentation, 2019)

Ismail (2012: 154-155) stated that the symbolic meaning of the offered food in 'makkuliwa' ritual is:

"First, sokol of seven small plates is a symbol of prayer for safety on the ocean in seven days. Second, tallo manu is a symbol of the earth which means safety on earth for seven days. Third, loka manurung, is a pray for fishermen caught abundant flying fish (tuung-tuung) eggs. Fourth, loka tira is a pray symbol for well-being in finding a fortune and endlessly overflowing. Fifth, loka warangan, means collecting intact and plentiful of fortune. Sixth, cucur miana, is a symbol of safety on the ocean, and the boat can produce fortune to buy a new boat. Cucur miana is a cake that floating when it thrown out to the ocean. Seventh, ule-ule is a prayer symbols for endless fortune."

While Zuhriah (2016: 170-17) stated that 'kuiwa' ritual menu consist of six trays, kappar.

"The menu which is prepared for the ritual placed in to the six trays. First tray is the largest tray, which is containing seven plates of sokkol (kinds of food made from glutinous rice, beras ketan), in which on the top of the each there is an egg. Seconds is a big tray placed or put nearer to the pillar of house (boyang). This tray contains six bunches of banana, fourteen sokkol/wrapped in banana leaves, and fourteen kue cucur (cakes made from white flavor and brown sugar). Third, a large tray with a glass of water and three plates of dishes, in which one

of each plate are containing chicken, fish, and vegetables. Fourth, a tray containing four bananas above it puts a plate of sakkol and an egg. Fifth, a tray containing eight glasses of Ule-ule or green peanut porridge (bubur kacang hijau). Sixth, in the last tray, there is a pack of Barakka' (food for prayer to get the blessing and offered to everyone who joined the ritual) that contains cookies and bananas. While the menu given to the guests/visitors consisted of rice and water, placed into six trays, each tray serving four persons. Each tray contains a plate for three pieces of chicken, a plate for two slices of smoked fish, a plate for four pieces of dried fish, a plate for four eggs, a plate for fried noodles, a bowl of vegetables, and a bowl of rice."

Some food varieties are offered in various Mandar rituals, in West Sulawesi: bananas, sokol or lelang, egg, chicken, and fish with local flavor and so on, as a ritual complementary.

Social, Cultural, and Environmental Transformations

An old proverb says, "you are what you eat". This means food represents who we are, our identity. How food became part of ritual has indicated the human existence in going through their lives; ritual and food are inseparable. Durkheim explained how the ritual is performed previously or and the food is part of the ritual since it is consumed during the sacred ritual. As in Durkheim (2011:444) and Durkheim in Pals (2012: 158).

"...Furthermore, daily behavior or act are also prohibited during the religious performance. Eat is a profane act, in daily basis, eating is an act to fill the utilitarian and physical needs and part of man daily existence. This is the reason that food is being prohibited during the religious ceremony. Thus, when a totemic group borrows churingannya from other ethnic, as they return it and bring it back to ertnatulunga is the most solemn moment. No one is allowed to eat until the ceremony is done, which took substantial time."

Durkheim stated that in negative worshiping and its functions, a profane act is a worldly thing. Eat is something prohibited during the ritual. Any eating activities will probably disrupt the solemn ritual.

In another hand, Pals had written in *Seven Theories of Religion*, 2012: 158.

"As we had explained, this religious ceremony had drawn Robertson Smith, Sith and Freud attentions, as it closely similar to sacred feast in Christianity. In the beginning of rainy season, the male member's clan begins the ceremony to informed their totem (sacred animal) development. This ritual starts in a particular area around the stone. It is followed by "religious happiness", then in the middle of the ceremony, the totem is being captive, and slaughtered, and eaten in a sacred feast.... (They done it) This is the beginning of the offering

process, which is a crucial moment in some religions. During offering the totem, everyone obtains goddess power and renew their sacred energy. Durkheim described it as “sacred exchange”. In intichiuma, people providing their live before God and God give them back.”

At this point, Pals, Durkheim, stated that during the ritual (ceremony) the totems were captive, slaughtered and eaten and being offered as food for sacred feast. These indicate that the ritual has related to food. Between eat after the ritual to keep the solemn or and eat during the ritual as part of the sacred feast.



Figure 2. Ritual which provides martabak and a favorite snack
(Source: Personal documentation, 2021)

Social

In social life, ritual is needed to indicate mas as a social creature. Turner in Arquiza (2010:7-8) wrote that:

“As society modern, the sources of fear also change. Wherever reason and science have advanced and metaphysical and unseen worlds have begun to be comprehensible, the new society invents yet another source of fear, shifting from the unseen world to the seen world. The different ‘others’ who are not like ‘us’ are dissonant and incongruous. They became the source of fear. Corollary with this xenophobia, alienation and un-belongingness becomes the stronger fears, so that rituals have taken the form of marking identities or reinforcing identity markers and emphasizing our belongingness to it. Outward appearances, dressing, behavior, and bodily deployment are past of these rituals,” (Nordholt 1997; Bryan Turner 199).

According to Arquiza, as the world became the fear sources, ritual plays as an encouragement as it indicates an identity or became society identities. Further, Arquiza stated,

“But ritual is also a political tool of control as Bryan Turner (1991) would elucidate in his discourse on religion as social control and in Foucault’s notion of discipline as totalization at the same time individualization into a hegemony by state institution as social (i.e. population) management and Rousseau’s registration, integration in the polis. “The exterior body can be expressed as the medium through which feelings and emotions are expressed, but these expressions have to assume a socially acceptable form if they are not to disrupt the normal flow of interpersonal actions. The exterior body problem is not one of restraint but of normative representation.”

Therefore, though a ritual is reinforced as it is an identity marker in a particular society, it also plays as a political tool for social acceptance.

Mandar society in present days has scattered as they leave their homeland, as they return to Mandar, some feel like missing the ritual and some begin to leave it behind. According to KR, a recital teacher, many young generations who had been off from West Sulawesi by going to university in Makasar, or Java have gain non-traditional religious concept and more moderate. Thus, they uninterestedly perform the ritual and some prohibit their parents from performing it.

The ritual, which is supposed to play as an identity marker over society, begins to shift when the students, as agents of change, are back carrying different religious knowledge against their parents. Today, ritual is rarely performed in home, such as visiting those who are ill or pray for the new house. The ritual, however, remains performed in mosques such as read pray during the tenth Muharram days and religious main events such as the Prophet Maulid.

In addition, some people gradually leave the ritual regularly performed by their elders as traditional Islam followers. They tend more toward new understanding and obtaining new teaching that is less likely to involve ritual and more emphasis on the simplicity of praying before God, which no longer includes *Ande Baca*. Hence, *Ande Baca* is less likely to present in a small ritual, within the home ritual. It only exists in main particular events. *Ande Baca* can only be enjoyed at particular events for those with new religious knowledge. During the Ied Feast, for example, *sokol*, burned-*lemang* or *gogos* at the street food and can only be found at night are no longer cook for specific ritual. LY, who had move to going to college in Makassar for some time, felt curious when *Ande Baca* was prepared in complete form for ritual, just as during Ied Feast.

For AR, the ritual will remain to exist as long the parents inherit the custom to the next generation; even though time is change but the tradition will remain to exist if the elder performed

the ritual as a way of life and is deeply rooted. Hence, it will feel less if the ritual is not held. According to AR, ritual is supposed to be a habit thus, it is a heritage from elders for the next generation. Life only has a meaning if rituals are performed.



Figure 3. The prayed-Ande Baca
(Source: Personal documentation, 2018)

Culture

Culture permeated in Indonesia is art (movies), fashion, and food, particularly fast food. Food is part of the lifestyle and society identity who perceive as modern. Thus, some felt outmoded if they did not taste fast food.



Figure 4. Fast food in various brands
(Source: Personal documentation, 2019)

Even though fast foods have been under critique overseas, as they treat the fundamentals of national identity, they disseminate widely in Indonesia. Schlosser (201) wrote in *Fast Food Nation*.

“Overseas critique on fast foods is more random than in Soviet, the US old enemy. The farmer, the anarchist, the nationalist, the environmental activists, the consumer advocates, educators, health care workers, labor associations, and animal rights defenders have found mutual grounds in the campaign against what they called as Americanization of the world. Fast food becomes one of the targets as it spreads massively and treats fundamental aspects of national identity how, where and what choice one has,” (Eric Schosser, 2015; 308).

If fast foods have mushroomed and treated the fundamental aspects of national identity, Ande Baca, as part of the ritual and social identity of Mandar, West Sulawesi, has also faced alteration in the cultural term. Some had shifted the food menu with another alternative. In Ande Baca, sometimes, it no longer consists of chicken curry or sweet fried chicken, they altered it with casual fried chicken they bought as it is perceived as more practical, timesaving or/and providing new food for the ritual. Lastly, they even put in fried chicken KFC-like, fried with flavored flour.

Other alternatives include Javanese menus such ‘gado-gado’ and ‘pecel’. Bananas remain used but they add other fruits, such apples. ‘Kue cucur’ also replaced with brownies, and Bandung cake, though it has been modified taste.

According to KA, “Today we can find ‘kue cucur’ variations in brownies flavor. The cucur is tastier and more luring to be eaten. Unlike its original appearance and taste , which look too sweet and oily, making it easier to feel full and disinterested.” For KA, ‘kue cucur’ in Ande Baca can be replaced by a modern one with brownish variant to tempt the millennial generation. However, according to KE, “It cannot be named ‘kue cucur’ if it tastes different, as it is made by rice flour or wheat flour and added by brown sugar which tastes sweet and oily. And kue cucur normally eaten with ‘sokol’, ‘lemang’, or sticky rice, so the sticky rice can taste sweet without adding brown sugar.” For KE, ‘kue cucur’ can only be named ‘kue cucur’ if it keeps its taste as it is complementary for sticky rice. It is a custom for people of West Sulawesi to drink coffee while eat ‘kue cucur’ and sticky rice as an afternoon snack. In line with KE, CS also said that though some modified, and alter the Ande Baca menu, it no longer can be perceived as part of the ritual as each has specific philosophy.

Environment

Zuhriah (201) in Qureta, “Ways to Environmental Awareness”: As it happened in my neighborhood, more people prefer to be practical. The traditional food as we named sokol, or

lemang which previously wrapped with banana leaf, now it is wrapped with brown food-paper and or transparent plastic. Some no longer use leaf. Although by using leaf, the food will taste better, more natural and long lasting. When I share this in my whatsapp-stature, Tami, my friend, respond by said “Here many food are still wrapped with leaf. And teak leaf also.”

Traditional food substantially wrapped with banana leaf as it more natural, has specific aroma, and environmental friendly. Some people change the wrapper with brown food paper and transparent plastic. As the wrapper is modified the taste also changed and Ande Baca traditional taste also dismissed.

Ande bacca, will taste unique because of banana leaf, and more environmentally friendly. Banan leaf easily to find and the waste easily to be composted by the soil. The use of food paper or plastic only base by more clean look, practicality and cheaper.



Figure 5. Food wrapper, Ande Baca, in two versions. Leaf (left) and food paper (right)
(Source: Personal documentation, 2019)

Drinking in plastic glass is also becoming more favored as one can just waste it. The community custom of using washable glass gradually altered for practicality. For AD, previously, people get used to working together to perform an event, borrowing eats tools or glasses. Today the custom has changed as one-shoot plastic glass is easier to find.



Figure 6. Plastic glasses
(Source: Personal documentation, 2019)

CONCLUSION

Traditional values will be lost if society is more rational (logic) (Grand Theory of Max Weber). The praying ritual that includes the food of Ande Baca in the community life is regularly performed by the Mandarese communities, the research subjects. However, Ande Baca, should compromise in many situations. For example, people's behavior has changed in performing rituals. Less complete in preparing the Ande Baca menu since they can access other food alternatives due to present lifestyle and food taste. It took place through how Ande Baca is presented.

Ande Baca needs to be flexible in facing the time changes in social, cultural, and environmental terms. Lastly, Ande Baca will remain to exist as long it compromises with any changes. The original Ande Baca will remain to exist by keeping the existence of 'other' thus, the ritual of Mandar remains being performed though it had been modified.

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