

SORONG SERAH AJI KRAMA TRADITION OF LOMBOK SASAK MARRIAGE TO REVIVE ISLAMIC CULTURE

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Abstract

Sorong serah aji krama is a tradition of Lombok Sasak tribe community and as a symbol of appreciation in the marriage process of the Sasak tribe community. The symbol of this award is marked by the presence of aji krama. It does not merely have the symbolic meaning of the prospective groom to the bride but implied the symbolic meta meaning. That is, there is a profound meaning of the process of sorong serah aji krama that must be understood, internalized, and implemented in the marriage life of the prospective couple. To that end, this study wants to find the symbolic meta meaning of the tradition of sorong serah aji krama of the Sasak tribe community. This research used descriptive qualitative research. The result shows that the tradition of sorong serah aji krama is not only interpreted as mere preservation of a symbolic material tradition, namely the giving of dowry but also as a meta symbolic of the self-esteem as a human being in the life of the household. The Sasak tribe community views this tradition as the honor and respect of the groom to the bride.

Tradisi sorong serah aji krama merupakan tradisi masyarakat suku Sasak Lombok dan sebagai simbol penghargaan dalam proses perkawinan masyarakat suku Sasak. Simbol penghargaan ini ditandai dengan adanya aji krama. Aji krama tidak semata-mata memiliki makna simbolik dari calon mempelai laki-laki kepada mempelai perempuan melainkan tersirat makna meta simbolik. Yakni, ada makna yang mendalam atas proses sorong serah aji krama yang harus

dipahami, diinternalisasikan, dan dilaksanakan dalam kehidupan berumah tangga calon mempelai. Untuk itu, penelitian ini ingin menemukan makna meta simbolik tradisi sorong serah aji krama pada masyarakat suku Sasak. Penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa tradisi sorong serah aji krama tidak hanya dimaknai sekedar mempertahankan tradisi yang bersifat material simbolik, yakni pemberian maskawin semata, melainkan dimaknai sebagai meta simbolik akan harga diri sebagai manusia dalam menjalankan kehidupan rumah tangga. Masyarakat suku Sasak memandang tradisi ini sebagai penghargaan dan penghormatan calon mempelai laki-laki kepada mempelai perempuan.

Keywords: marriage tradition; Sasak tribe; sorong serah aji krama

Introduction

Sasak community is one of the tribal community miniatures of many tribes in Indonesia with historical background, shared values, culture, customs, life system, and interaction patterns as other tribes. In the context of customs, Sasak people have known what is called as *sorong aji krama* for years. *Sorong aji krama* is done in customary marriage procession of Sasak community and as one of the marriage steps that must be passed as a legitimate bond. *Sorong* means trusting, and *serah* means handover, while *aji* means to value or price, and *krama* means handover value or price which has been determined.

Sorong Serah Aji Krama is a tradition of the Sasak tribe which is not only limited to the noble class, but also to the ordinary people (*jajar karang*). This tradition is a reflection of respect and appreciation of the humanity value from the prospective groom to the bride. This tradition seems to have a gradual shift both in the context of the process and its definition. Along with the development of today's Sasak tribe, has been reduced and modified in spite of its existence in several locations such as in the south and north of Lombok. Whereas, this tradition has benefits that are not only perceived by the Sasak community itself but also by the public.

Sorong serah aji krama has reflected the strength of the relationship between the bride and groom, the bond that is built based on the principle of kindness, openness, sincerity and even as a reflection of religious values. Sasak people believe that whatever is done in a good way and intention will produce something good as well. Marriage is something sacred that means if it does not start with a good procession, it will cause something less good as well. It

means that marriage does not merely allowing or make *halal* something that is prohibited or *harm* (according to Sarah') Marriage strengthens the tradition and connects the kinship and ties the *silaturrahmi* between the two sides.

Being a concern of cultural activists in Lombok, in the last development, there has been a reduction in the meaning of the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* among the young generation of the Sasak community. Whereas this tradition must be retained as part of local wisdom, both in terms of the ceremonial procession and the aspect of its symbolic meaning. The fading of the meaning of *sorong serah* is caused by the attitude and pragmatism of Sasak people generation about the meaning of the *aji krama*. The symbolic meaning of *sorong serah* is less understood as a broker of Sasak tribe local traditions that must be inherited. Beginning from reality and the phenomenon, it encourages the researchers to conduct an in-depth study of the tradition of *Sorong Serah Aji Krama* in the marriage of Sasak people in Lombok.

Theoretical Framework

Tradition means customs and habits of a certain community commonly done from the past (Tim Pusat Bahasa, 2008: 1543). Custom is the eternal and hereditary practices from generation to another generation, so that their integrity is strong with the behavioral patterns of society. Furthermore, Alisyahbana (1986: 31) states custom is all rules that regulate the behavior of individuals in society from cradle to grave. Customs cover a wide area and encompass every event in the life of a society and its members. Suharsono (1996: 81) argues that a tradition is an act repeated by some societies in the same form and if it is violated, there are no real and deceptive sanctions.

According to Garna (1966: 166) tradition is an inherited habit that reflects the civilization of its supporters. Tradition shows how members of society behave in the world and in invisible life as well as religious life. It regulates how humans relate to other humans or one group to another, and also suggests how humans should treat the environment. It develops into a system that has a norm that also regulates sanctions and threats against violations and deviations against it. While Sztompka (2007: 69) says tradition is a similarity of material things and ideas that come from the past but still exists today and not destroyed. It can be interpreted as a true legacy or a legacy of the past. However, repeated traditions are not done by chance. Accordingly, anything done by a man from generation to generation from every aspect of his life as an effort to lighten human life can be said as "tradition". It means that

it becomes a part of the culture. Specifically, the tradition in van Peursen's term (1988: 11) is translated as a process of inheriting or forwarding norms, customs, rules, treasures. Tradition can be changed or lifted, rejected and combined with various kinds of human actions.

Summer in Wiranata (2002:106) divides the customs into two categories namely Folkways and Mores. Folkways is a daily work that is a habit in life such as saluting, leadership style and timing and so on. Its rules make everyday life orderly and efficient. Mores is a rule of social behavior between members of society related to holiness and belief in religion. Violation towards mores is heavier than Folkways, due to the rule that Mores form embodies the structure of society. The point is that Mores provide the formulation of the principle of inter-individual in the life of a society in which there is a marriage taboo (e.g. marriage between uncle and nephew, uncle with nephew status with father/mother). In the view of Suhardi (2010: 58), it will hold "*sedak basa*" event (the terminology of a Sasak person when mixed with family lines). The vocation line follows the line of the male family (uncle).

Sorong Serah Aji Krama is a tradition of Sasak tribe in the process of marriage. This tradition is done when the bride and groom have made *ijab qobul* as a sign of a legitimate couple according to religion. But lately, the tradition of *Sorong Serah Aji karma* has changed in the compliance of the Sasak tribe community. Wirasandi (2016: 12) found changes in compliance toward the culture of *sorong serah* in the community in the Selong district of Lombok. The results show that there are some influencing variables such as education, religion understanding, and globalization. In the aspect of education, the change is generally caused by the determinant factor that is the language factor used in the procession of *Sorong Serah*.

The tradition of *sorong serah aji karma* is a symbol of the marriage of the Sasak people in expressing the meaning of a prospective bridegroom's bride to the bride. Koentjaraningrat (2009:56) said the symbol is something to express the deepest meaning of intent. This happens because humans have limitations to express the intentions of the heart, mind with the existing language. Symbols can be in the form of everyday objects, that already have a special meaning, or the language and gestures of the human body.

Nirmala, et al., (2015: 102) examined the implementation as the effect of *menak* marriage with the *Jajar Karang* in Sasak community. Their findings indicate two views namely adhering to customary law and the willingness to accept change. People still adhere to the customary law since this marriage

violates the custom, then as a consequence, the *menak* (baiq) will be discarded from the family. It appears since the *bait wali*, the *mamiq* or biological father does not want to be the *wali* at the marriage. In another case, there is a *wali* or marriage guardian, but later not being accepted for the customary event. *Menak* who gets married with the *jajar karang* will no longer have a relationship with his family. Beside, being automatically dumped (discarded) as the moment of marriage to the *jajar karang*, the *menak* (in this case is Baiq) will go down into *Inaq* caste. The second view is to accept change and not merely using customary law but using Islamic law as well as national law. If there is a marriage with the *jajar karang*, indeed the result will be down of the caste. However, in this society, *menak* who get married to *jajar karang* is not discarded from the family and the marriage is accepted by the family. As the result of marriage law between *menak* and *jajar karang* the Rarang villagers consider the *menak* to be heirs and are entitled to get an inheritance.

Rodin (2013: 77) says the tradition of Javanese marriage, set based on numerological calculations that are believed to be valid. There was an event uploading (*ngunggahke*) rice, *manten* gathering (*temu manten*) accompanied by various rituals, doused with flower water, stepping on an egg, made a variety of wedding accessories from the yellow leaf in the form of Mayang twins. Maknun (2013: 129) showed wedding customs in Pekalongan such as *bedhol gelung* to refer to a summarized reception party held on the men's side; and *balik kloso sisan tilik* to refer to the visit of the bride's family to give a donation to the couple for their homecoming. The form of implementing a Bugis traditional marriage begins with the exploratory stage (*Mammanu'manu*, *Mappesek-pesek*, *Mattiro*), application visit (*Madduta*), receipt of applications (*Mappetuada*, *Mappasiarekkeng*), and marriage level (pre-wedding rituals like, *Mabedda*, *Mappasau*, *Manre Lebbe* or *Khatam Qur'an*, *Mappacci* (Kadir & Ma'ful, 2014: 69). These studies show how marriage is related to religious value

Noorthaibah (2012: 26-27) argues that the customs and values of Islamic teachings are complementary. It is as implied in the symbol which is the meaning of *jujuran* or dowry is a form of the obligation of a husband to provide for his wife and the necessary protection. Likewise, the Banjar linkage customs are full of meaning, like baskets *bam-bam* is a symbol for the bride to be desired, not easily emotional, rice is a symbol of hope so that the bride will be given an abundant fortune, and the spices are symbolized so that the bride is good at cooking.

Based on several studies related to the process of *merarik* (marriage), the actual *sorong serah aji krama* is one of the important elements in a procession that must be passed with a variety of knick-knacks provided by the groom to the bride. Even if *sorong serah aji krama* viewed by custom dimension, it will give implication to the emergence of the concept of *beteteh* (marriage of *menak* with the *jajar karang*) in the Sasak tribe.

Method

The approach used in this research is descriptive qualitative. It tries to uncover and understand the phenomenon, reality, symptom, view, an idea that occur in the field without the intervention of the researchers against the background of the study. The aim is, to deepen the ideas, views, perceptions, phenomena, symptoms and the reality in the development of the *sorong serah aji krama*. It involves two locations, namely Balungadang and Puyung. Both of these locations are representative enough to provide information on the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*.

The data collection was done by an in-depth interview about opinions, ideas, and views about the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. Direct observation was done in the procession of the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* and documentation on the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. Data analysis technique refers to Miles and Huberman (1984: 32) covering data collection, data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions. As for testing the validity of the data, (Sugiyono, 2009: 79), the researchers extended the research time in order to find the data as a whole. The triangulation was done between methods and sources in order to ensure data are related to the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. In addition, peer discussion is carried out in order to enrich and get input from experts or colleagues so that research findings can be accounted for scientifically.

Tradition of Sorong Serah Aji Krama in Sasak Society

The Sasak tribe people who live in Lombok Island use Sasak local language. In general, the language of Sasak is divided into two languages that are soft or polite language and *jamaq* language. Soft language is used to talk to older, elder people and with Sasak noble class. While the *jamaq* language is used in everyday language - especially in daily communication with ordinary people. On the other side, generally Sasak society is divided into two social stratifications that are the noble group or *permenak* and ordinary people group

that is called as *jajar karang* or *kaula*. This distinction of social stratification appears in the procession of the marriage ceremony that is known as the *sorong serah aji karma*. It is a part of the traditional marriage ceremony in Sasak. *Aji krama* (the customary price) of the noble class is higher than the class of *kaula* or *jajar karang* and the implementation of the marriage ceremony is more complicated than the ordinary marriage of ordinary people. But lately, the social stratification difference is not as tight as before, it is because of the influence of the cultural modernization that develops in the society of the Sasak tribe.

Maskur-Mamiq Cekun, a Balu Ngadang Praya indigenous leader, stated that the procession of *sorong serah* is a symbol that the marriage is based on the custom that is known by all relatives and the community. *Sorong Serah* also is known as procession *serah doe* (handovering property) to the prospective bride (interview 14 October 2012)

Sadarudin et al. (2008: 14) reveals that *sorong serah aji krama* is one of the local traditions maintained by the Sasak community until now. One of its procession is called as *tembang sorong serah*. This is a kind of speech in the soft language spoken by the head of the group called *Pembayun* addressed to the family of the bride. This song or *tembang* is the result of human works that are not easily done but must go through the learning process. According to Ratmaja (2012: 34), *tembang* is a rhythmic form of expressions, such as the short length of the voice and the weak pressure of the spoken tone on a particular part in a poem or sentence. The *tembang* in the *sorong serah aji krama* has special messages, especially to the bride, such as how to behave and produce good words, because marriage is actually a new milestone to proclaim themselves as a legitimate bond. *Tembang* contains educational messages to the bride and groom that mainly about how the bride and groom run the household with the guidance of religion, customs, and norms.

Maskur said that the most basic message in the *tembang* is how the bride and groom understand and run the religion pillars. i.e. starting from *shahadat*, prayer, fasting, *zakat* and *haji*. Especially in performing the prayers, how the prayer is used as the pillar of their life and they carry out with sincerity with the thirteen pillars as standard that exist in the prayer. The meaning of prayer starts with intention and ends with greetings containing messages of married life. Likewise, if marriage begins with good intentions, it will end in the salvation of the world and the hereafter. Both brides are required to be able to synergize the pillars of prayer with the twenty attributes of Allah SWT in marriage life. Meaning, these attributes of God can become a spirit

or household value by displaying, for example, the nature of affection, the nature of receiving, the nature of love and so on. If the attributes are summed with the pillars of prayer, then it will be thirty-three. It means that both brides have the obligation to be able to actuate the attributes of Allah SWT with the pillars of prayer in their household life (interview 14 October 2012)

In the next stage, the bride and groom are not only able to actuate the attributes and the pillars in their own household life, but the bride and groom have an obligation to actuate them in the wider life context, i.e. social life. In this context, the bride and groom have a greater responsibility to embody the pillars of prayer and the attributes of Allah SWT into sixty-six. In the last stage, the bride and groom not only can implement pillars and attributes of Allah SWT but also to articulate the ninety names of Allah SWT and added with his own name so they become a hundred. This is actually the highest level that must be achieved by the bride.

The numbers related to the Islamic culture above represent the levels understood by most of the Sasak community. In Clifford Geertz's (2014: xvi) term, there are *abangan* and *priyayi* communities. But that number cannot be associated with *abangan* and *priyayi* societies or caste in Hindu society, but that numbers are as a symbolic meaning, where the numbers as the meaning of religious teachings to execute. Both the bride and groom as a couple are more capable to understand and implement the teachings of religion, then they are believed to get a higher degree in the sight of Allah SWT. This degree will support the bride and groom in having harmonious interactions with family, citizens, and society.

The symbolization of the *aji krama* above is a substantive meaning and is a reflection of meaning contained in the karma age, which some Sasak tribe people understand only as a symbolic meaning. It means if it is examined in-depth and thoroughly, *sorong serah aji krama* has deep meaning about the importance of starting a married life based on the strength of *aqidah*, the depth of knowledge and the greatness of morals. It actually the concern of the Sasak tribe community that *sorong serah aji krama* is less understood as a meaning held in the household. Whereas according to the religious view, it is a sacred and great procession that must be glorified.

The paradigm of thinking based on local culture or local wisdom has implications for the robustness of local cultural wisdom. Cultural values begin to be rethought and even reconstructed and polished to reminiscent of past memories. Here is the cultural modification. This situation leads to

a history that is integrated with the present era. The existence of *sorong serah aji krama* is not only limited to preserve the culture but contained nuance of education that has togetherness meaning or values among human beings and in solving a problem. It should be done by way of deliberation and mutual consent between the family of husband and wife.

The procession of marriage begins with *Mesejati*. It is the first procession of the whole series of *sorong serah aji krama*. It begins with the process of the men sent some local community leaders or customary leaders to report to the village apparatus such as village head or *keliang* to proclaim the marriage plan. The next stage of *selabar* means the intention to proclaim to the family of the bride that is followed up with the talk of customs, including *aji krama* consisting of values of 33-66-100 which are represented by money or *kepeng bolong* or *kepeng jamaq*. Even this *salabar* procession is combined with a bride guardian's request at once.

Next is taking the guardian at the time of *selabar* or a few days after the implementation of *selabar*. It depends on the agreement of both sides or is called as *kapisuka*. Taking a promise means to talk about the *sorong serah aji krama* in accordance with the customs in the village of origin of the prospective bride.

The core of the implementation of *merariq* custom process is *Sorong Serah Aji Krama*. This procession is a customary official announcement that the marriage of a man and a woman is accompanied by the delivery of the groom's equipment or known as customary symbols. If this procession is not implemented, usually in the future, there will be questions that trigger new internal problems.

Nyongkolan, is done when the man accompanied by the family visit the woman's family wearing traditional clothes accompanied by *gamelan* and even *beleq* drum or traditional music such as tambourines. The last procession is called the *Bales Ones Nae (Napak Tilas)* is one of the traditions by visiting a parent's house. It gives the meaning of the importance of starting and strengthening friendship *silaturahmi* as a big family to create a harmonious atmosphere that builds a *sakinah*, *mawaddah* and *rahmah* family. *Sakinah* family means a family which contains calm, peace, security, and peace between family members. *Mawaddah* is a feeling of affection and *rahmah* a family built with love, affection, and also trust.

This procession is certainly inseparable part of the tradition of the Sasak tribe in marrying their son and daughter. This procession consumes much energy and time. It is no wonder, the preparation of the male family for both

in terms of material and energy and morale is needed. This is actually the meaning of the *sorong serah aji krama* that is not merely to give *pisuka* to the female family, but also to emphasize that the male family inwardly appreciate that marriage is not merely ceremonial. A marriage respects the degree of women in the view of human beings as social and religious creation.

Sorong Serah Aji Krama as Communication and Education Ethics

Sorong serah aji krama gives meaning that marriage is not just legalizing something. It is a symbol of appreciation to the person as a servant of Allah that must be ordered and always remembered. The *sorong serah* procession actually provides communication manners learning, i.e: *First*, in solving a problem should be done by deliberation or consensus and togetherness. *Second*, human beings must have manners and politeness in communication with others. *Thirdly*, delivering gratitude. *Fourth*, visiting politely the others' home and adhering to the prevailing customs.

Society is an entity that cannot be separated from communication. The interaction and establishing relationships with other communities, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communities, will be able to run smoothly when prioritizing communication. In this case, the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* is a communication tool that provides a specific message to the recipient of the message or object as the target of sending the message. It means culture provides a communication effect.

Marriage is a historical event for the bride and groom, thereby it is as a medium to deliver educational messages to the bride and groom. *Sorong serah aji krama* is a symbol of willingness and readiness in building a household. It is the expression of the groom's appreciation to the bride and also the educational message to humanity and human dignity. These messages can be used as a reference in running a household.

Sorong serah pre-procession represents mutual respect among others. There are patterns, symbols or ethics in *sejati* and *selabar* that must be adhered to. *Sejati* is a notification process to the girl's parents and is usually done by the head of the village together with the customary village leader using custom clothing. Likewise with a *selabar* procession. *Selabar* is to discuss the amount of the brideprice, to determine the guardian as well as the determination of the day to *sorong serah*. In a *sejati* and *selabar* procession, there is a difference in clothes used. The clothes actually distinguish them whether they are *nyelabar* or whether they are merchants or entrepreneurs. If they are *nyelabar*, they should

wear the *nyelabar* attribute, otherwise, if they are merchant or entrepreneur, they are free to wear outfits.

Symbols in the pre to post-process *sorong serah aji krama* have positive point in building the value of education and communication ethics among citizens. The values are built based on sincerity for mutual acceptance, mutual respect between the two sides on the basis of built, agreed, upheld, and implied values, in social life. So the parents of both parties have an obligation to provide advice to both men and women. In this context, as a form of tolerance and sensitivity to the emergence of clashes when the messages are misused or misinterpreted by the bride and groom in family and society. This parents' attitude is also as an ethic of communication in order to preserve custom and build family harmonization as a big family that wants to uphold the custom values in centuries.

Sorong serah aji krama is a symbol of marriage and symbolizes the mutual respect of each other as a servant of Allah SWT. It gives the meaning that marriage does not merely legalise an illegitimate thing, but also a symbol of respect for oneself as a servant of Allah SWT which must always be ordered and reminded especially to the bride. It is a medium to provide educational messages to the bride and the messages can be used as a reference in running life as a family.

***Sorong Serah* Interrelation Tradition in Sasak Interaction**

Culture in society is a symbolic system of meaning, some of which define reality as it is believed, and others determine the normative expectations that are imposed upon humans. In the procession of marriage implicitly treating humans as behavior that plays provisions previously designed in accordance with the norms that exist. From the perspective of functional theory, society is always in a state of gradual change by maintaining the balance of every event and structure that the social system needs, even poverty and social imbalance. Society is seen in dynamic conditions in equilibrium (Graib, 1992: 76).

Sasak society actually does not know caste but they know levels. These levels can be a guide for anyone. The words of noble people are not only seen from the levels, but they are seen from other dimensions. For example, a person with high knowledge is called a scholar and is also known as a nobleman. A person who owns a lot of wealth is called a rich man and can be called as a nobleman. The meaning of nobility is so narrow because Sasak society tends to interpret nobility genealogically.

Similarly, the tradition of *Sorong serah aji krama* for noble person in Sasak indirectly becomes a form of non-formal education, which aims to increase the sense of brotherhood in the framework of *silaturrahmi* to others, and increase the religious elements and animating the cultures with Islam nuance that is conducted through joint initiatives among the people to develop the sense of brotherhood. The people who are involved in this activity are not only the traditional leaders or religious leaders but also the youths so that they have knowledge about the local culture to maintain and preserve. The Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah are two places of many places that still strongly maintain the customs from the past until now. Despite the rapid development of technology and information flows, the custom is implemented there. The villagers of Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah set out custom and traditions in daily life. According to them, the custom is the organizer of their daily life. It is seen from the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* in marriage, the language used, and the socializing ethics.

It is a unique phenomenon when the society entity makes culture as an important element in maintaining fraternity (*ukhuwah*) between them. It is not rare for an entity to experience degradation and erosion of *ukhuwah* when many outside cultures present in their midst. Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah villages can be a model of how the culture is used as *ukhuwah* strengthener in various contexts of life and with various levels of the community involvement. Ranging from traditional customary figures to youth leaders, they work hand in hand in building the community as a whole and with strong cohesiveness.

Maskur (interview 14 October 2012) regrets, there is a kind of shift in meaning and the model that develops in the procession of *sorong serah aji krama*. In the contemporary context, the interrelation and internalization of *sorong serah aji krama* are much dramatized through un-Islamic ways. Such a *nyongkolan* is the symbolization of the *sorong serah* but now the model of *nyongkolan* is packed with models that are not cultured and much away from Islamic cultures. Some of the doers of *nyongkolan* (a tradition after the covenant of marriage in Sasak) are drunkards, and also interfere with the rights of others. Actually, *nyongkolan* can give sacred value for both brides because *nyongkolan* becomes *syiar* Islam. Therefore, it is important for the Sasak community, especially for the community to review the procession of *sorong serah* as Sasak custom procession to maintain, so as not to be washed away and degraded by the flow of negative cultures.

Marriage is to be upheld not only seen from the dimensions of *syara* but also from the custom dimension. In Sasak custom, marriage has been regulated in Sasak custom law but when they get divorced, it is not regulated in Sasak custom law. The existence of *sorong serah* as a result of Sasak community is to provide a better color of life and not deviate from the teachings of Islam. Likewise, levels sometimes are used as justification in various contexts of life, whereas the levels want to emphasize the educational messages.

Another form of interrelation is the obligation of Sasak tribe community especially the bride and groom who must understand the real purpose of marriage. In order to perpetuate that noble goal, they have the responsibility of internalizing these symbols in various forms, patterns of behavior in marriage life, and in the broader context of life that is interrelation with the people.

The symbolic meaning that is embodied in the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* is to uphold the values of marriage as well as the respect for the bride who has been binding with a legitimate bond. It also has a meaning, to maintain its traditions as a Sasak tribe community. These traditions lead to the value of social education and morals to educate on value of divinity, respect for others, mutual cooperation, strengthening kinship, and harmony. It is also related to the moral values of individuals that include responsibility, pleading, independence, patience, obedience, and willing to sacrifice in maintaining the family.

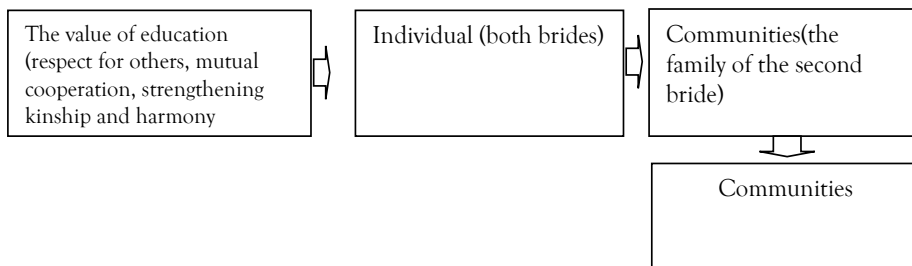


Figure 1: Sorong serah tradition in Sasak tribe community interaction

Figure 1 shows that the values are the deepest value of tradition that becomes the strongest spirit in running a household life. This deepest value will be meaningful if it is manifested in various life interactions, individual interactions as a couple in the household, and subsequently used as capital for interaction with both parents from the bride and groom. Then, it is as capital in interacting with the wider society.

Conclusion

Sorong serah Aji krama has become a tradition of Sasak community and is a symbol of the identity and humanity of the bride as well as a metaphorical symbol of self-esteem as a human running the household life. The Sasak tribe community views the tradition as the honor and respect of the prospective groom to the bride. The tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* has actually provided education on the communication ethics to the Sasak community, is a reflection of how great and sociable the society solves problems, and being ethical in speaking for building kinship ties through marriage. It is an indirect form of non-formal education, which aims to increase the sense of brotherhood in the framework of *silaturrahmi* with others, to increase the religious elements and to revive the Islamic tradition.

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