

Distinction of Sacredness and Economic Commodification in Bau Nyale Tradition in Lombok Society

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Abstract

Bau Nyale is a Lombok Sasak tradition associated with Princess Mandalika's sacred and mythological qualities. Every year, this ritual is carried out as a manner of thanking Allah and honoring Princess Mandalika's sacrifice in preserving West Nusa Tenggara's integrity. This study aims to explain the distinction between sacredness and economic commodification in the *Bau Nyale* tradition. The research method used is qualitative, with a sociological approach to religion. The main informants in this study were forty people from elements of the Chief of Tribal Council, Tourism Operators, Religious Leaders, Village Youth, Village Apparatus, Economic Actors/ Traders, Participants/ Community who joined *Bau Nyale*, who were selected by purposive sampling technique. The research procedure was carried out in stages: data collection, reduction, presentation, and analysis. This study shows that the distinction between sacredness and economic commodification in the *Bau Nyale* tradition is seen in the socio-religious and cosmological form of the Sasak people of Lombok, which has an interpretation value between the society and tourism managers. *Bau Nyale* is a symbol of the success of the feast and a form of gratitude to God for the abundance of grace and gifts to the harvest, both in the agricultural and marine fields. The mythology of Princess Mandalika as a figure of wisdom represents the dignity and worth of the female figure of the Sasak people of Lombok. In addition, *the Bau Nyale* tradition has a tourism value that should be promoted to be known in foreign countries, aimed at boosting the economy of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

Keywords: Distinction of Sacredness, Economic Commodification, Bau Nyale, Sociology of Religion.

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INTRODUCTION

Religion is a topic that is always intriguing to discuss, especially as society evolves and has a sociological and anthropological viewpoint on each of its devotees.¹ Religion is present as an instrument for humans to understand life theologically. Besides, religion is also a value system, a symbol that influences and shapes the structure of society in the social, cultural, economic, and political realms. In comparison, the functional approach sees religious communities as a social system consisting of elements that have attachments and form a system of balance. Religion exists as a tool for humanity to comprehend life theologically. Religion is also a value system, a symbol that influences and shapes society's social, cultural, economic, and political structures. While the functional approach sees religious communities as a social system made up of elements that have attachments and form a system of balance.² This means that religion is a universal human phenomenon because of the universality of religion, so the study of society is certainly not interesting if it is not juxtaposed with religion.

Indonesia has demonstrated in the past that the invaders arrived with the 3G mission (Gold, Glory, Gospel), all of which had religious spirits. Spirits like this will most definitely not be put into effect unless there is a religious loyalty.³ The occurrence of an exchange practice of supplying a sense of security that humans acquire from religion is how religious people's allegiance might be established. Giving people a sense of security can lead to loyalty, which leads to the practice of propagating religion.⁴

There is a lot of faith in anything that can be developed in the localized space in Indonesia. In the Indonesian state of Lombok, a collection of local beliefs has developed into its style. The Sasak Tribe is the traditional style of the inhabitants of Lombok. C. H. Goris describes the etymological meaning of the word Sasak. Sasak is

¹ Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (UK: Routledge, 2019). 7.

² Olivia J. Wilkinson, *Secular And Religious Dynamics In Humanitarian Response* (UK: Routledge, 2019). 112.

³ Fatchur Rohman, "Indonesian Tourist' Perceived Sacredness on Pilgrimage Journey," *APMBA (Asia Pacific Management and Business Application)* 8, no. 3 (2020): 209–22.

⁴ Jesse Graham and Jonathan Haidt, "Beyond Beliefs: Religions Bind Individuals into Moral Communities," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14, no. 1 (2010): 140–50.

a Sanskrit term derived from the words *Saka*, origin, and *Sak*, which means go.⁵ As a result, he interpreted Sasak as locals who had moved away from their initial location, possibly from Java or other locations and had gathered in Lombok. The evidence of the aristocrats' genealogy and many works of literature written in the Jawa Madya language and the Jejawan script, or the Sasak script, strengthen this opinion.⁶

In support of the previous opinion, according to Van Teeuw, *Sasak* is a word that derives from the local society itself, specifically the local community that wears *tembasaq*, or white cloth. The term *tembasaq* is repeated until it becomes *sagsaq* and, ultimately *Sasak*.⁷ The Sasak Tribe is the largest in Lombok in terms of population. The Sasak tribe, with a population of roughly 3 million people, does not share the same religious, livelihood, or local sub-beliefs styles whose space is smaller than that of the Sasak people in general.⁸ The *Bau Nyale* tradition, which can be found in Seger Beach, is one example of local communities' sub-beliefs.

Geographically, Seger Beach is located in the Lombok Tengah Regency's Sukadana Village, Pujut Subdistrict. Seger Beach is close to Lombok's Kuta Beach and Tanjung Aan Beach. Mandalika is another name for this neighborhood. The Sasak people believe this location has historical significance because of a mythological woman named Princess Mandalika, who is noted for her gorgeous and beautiful face.⁹ The locals thought that a kingdom governed by a wise monarch existed in ancient times, resulting in a peaceful country and rich people. Finally, a calamity occurred, resulting in Princess Mandalika drowning herself in the ocean to preserve the integrity

⁵ G. E. Marrison, "The Literature of Lombok: Sasak, Balinese, and Javanese," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 25, no. 73 (1997): 221–34.

⁶ David Harnish, "Worlds Of Wayang Sasak: Music, Performance, And Negotiations Of Religion And Modernity," *Asian Music* 34, no. 2 (2003): 91–120.

⁷ Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan, "Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat" (Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan, 1978), hal 8

⁸ Adrian Widisono, "The Local Wisdom on Sasak Tribe Sade Hamlet Central Lombok Regency," *Local Wisdom: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Kearifan Lokal* 11, no. 1 (2019): 42–52.

⁹ Yuke ARDHIATI, "An Artificial Intelligent of Princess Mandalika Legend: A New Strategy to Sustain the Resort of Mandalika-Lombok," *The Eurasia Proceedings of Educational and Social Sciences* 13 (2019): 148–54.

and tranquility of West Nusa Tenggara, which subsequently became the history of the *Bau Nyale* tradition.

Objects or activities that become real in society have thus far only repeated sacred actions. Starting with the existence of Gods, heroes, and ancestors, all matters that do not have a specific model or purpose are regarded as "meaningless."¹⁰ The belief in the Princess Mandalika mythology is undeniably real, with knowledge of the legend being passed down through the Sasak tribe until it becomes a tradition. Of course, this is inextricably linked to *nyale's* sacred, which is regarded as a transformation into Princess Mandalika and distinguishes her from other worms. The first is a matter of time, one factor contributing to its being sacred. The indigenous people perceive the timing of *nyale's* release as unusual because *nyale* will not appear outside the Sasak indigenous people's calendar, which has become a patent (determination) on the 20th day of the 10th month, namely if placed on the Masehi calendar, the *nyale* ceremony occurs around February-March.¹¹

As for several articles discussing the *Bau Nyale* tradition, they do not focus too much on the form of the distinction of sacredness and economic commodification which will be discussed in this article, for example an article titled "Ethnoscience-Based Science Learning Model to Develop Critical Thinking Ability and Local Cultural Concern for Junior High School Students in Lombok" which aims to provide learning method for science students in junior high school with an ethnoscience-based learning model in developing critical thinking skills and concern for local culture as in the *Bau Nyale* tradition.¹² The research entitled "Strengthening Maritime Cultural as a Source of Creative Ideas for Maritime Tourism Development in Kuta, Central Lombok" Several articles about the *Bau Nyale* tradition do not focus enough on the form of the distinction between sacredness and economic commodification that will be discussed

¹⁰ Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of The Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, vol. 682 (Princeton University Press, 2021).

¹¹ Imam Bachtiar and Naila Taslimah Bachtiar, "Predicting Spawning Date Of Nyale Worms (Eunicidae, Polychaeta) in The Southern Coast of Lombok Island, Indonesia," *Biodiversitas Journal of Biological Diversity* 20, no. 4 (2019): 971–77.

¹² Hikmawati Hikmawati, I. Wayan Suastra, and Ni Made Pujani, "Ethnoscience-Based Science Learning Model to Develop Critical Thinking Ability and Local Cultural Concern for Junior High School Students in Lombok," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan IPA* 7, no. 1 (2021): 60–66.

in this article, for example, an article titled "Ethnoscience-Based Science Learning Model to Develop Critical Thinking Ability and Local Cultural Concern for Junior High School Students in Lombok," which aims to provide a learning method for junior high school science students with an ethnoscience-based science learning model to develop critical thinking ability and local cultural concern for junior high school students in *Bau Nyale* tradition. The study, entitled "Strengthening Maritime Cultural as a Source of Creative Ideas for Maritime Tourism Development in Kuta, Central Lombok"¹³ looks more at how to develop tourism potential in West Nusa Tenggara without reducing the existence of local cultural identity, by developing capabilities, business management, and capabilities in developing a business network, of course this must maintain the prevailing norms in Lombok society.

Futher research titled "Mapping of Local Wisdom of West Nusa Tenggara to Developing Ecology Textbook"¹⁴ is more about local wisdom in West Nusa Tenggara with its relation to Ecology with the maintenance of the Bayan customary forest, the *Bau Nyale* tradition, cleaning houses with cow dung, using *mind*i leaves as a natural insecticide, the value of this local wisdom must be maintained as the basis for the development of ecological textbooks. Finally entitled "*Nyale* (Eunicidae) Flour Potential to Animal Trial *Rattus Norvegicus* Wistar Strain of Anemia".¹⁵ This research is more about the prevention and control of anemia with the aim of knowing the function of "*Nyale*" sea worm flour. Several publications focused largely on the function of *Nyale*, traditional learning models by recognizing local traditions, and mapping local wisdom in West Nusa Tenggara, but none were more explicit about the *Bau Nyale* tradition in the sociology of religion.

The focus of this research is on the Sasak people's beliefs, with the *Bau Nyale* tradition being seen as more than just a relation to the Princess Mandalika mythology.

¹³ N. Kurniasari, U. Muawanah, and C. Yuliaty, "Strengthening Maritime Cultures as a Source of Creative Ideas for Maritime Tourism Development in Kuta, Central Lombok," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 674 (IOP Publishing, 2021), 012064.

¹⁴ Laras Firdaus, "Mapping of Local Wisdom of West Nusa Tenggara to Developing Ecology Textbook," n.d.

¹⁵ Yunan Jiwintarum et al., "*Nyale* (Eunicidae) Flour Potential to Animal Trial *Rattus Norvegicus* Wistar Strain of Anemia," *Asian Journal of Applied Sciences* 4, no. 5 (2016).

The Sasak people believe that *Bau Nyale* is linked to agriculture, and that the release of Nyale is also a sign of heavy rain, according to local folklore. It is at this moment in the Sasak people's agricultural legacy that they place such high hopes in the fate of rice farming. They are hopeful that their harvest will be plenty following the Nyale discharge and strong rains. Because food is an essential need in human life, the study of food (such as that of the Sasak people) is particularly relevant if researched in numerous sciences.¹⁶

Adaptation to the environment is required in the Sasak community, as it has been since their forefathers, but it does not end there. To this day, the Sasak people will continue to adapt to their surroundings. Especially in the face of changing weather or natural realities, they rely on nature or the environment for their survival. Adaptation is one of their survival strategies, and they will continue to try to survive in any condition (change) and in any form. However, there is one flaw in the investigation of this hypothesis that stems from the viewpoint of researchers in religious space as an *epiphenomena*. Until the 1970s-2000s, several environmental anthropological studies that linked the elements of community religiosity emerged,¹⁷ some of the places that were used as research centers were Papua, Dayak, and Loksado.¹⁸

The majority of Lombok people are Sasak people, who are Muslim.¹⁹ In Islam, farming activities is a noble job, which is explained by Imam Al Mawardi that the main source of livelihood is farming, trading, and making goods (industry).²⁰ Then the As-Shafi'i school of thought opines that agriculture is the best.²¹ Farming is worship

¹⁶ Kamrul Hossain, Dele Raheem, and Shaun Cormier, "Food Security: A Basic Need for Humans," in *Food Security Governance in the Arctic-Barents Region* (Springer, 2018), 5–14.

¹⁷ Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology Of Religion: Culture To The Ultimate* (UK: Routledge, 2014).

¹⁸ Umi Hanik and Nur Khamidah, "The Eco-Theology of The Lombok Community in The Tradition of Bau Nyale," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 10, no. 1 (2022): 131–52.

¹⁹ Galang Asmara, "The Principles of Religious Tolerance and Harmony among the People of Sasak Tribe in Lombok Island, Indonesia," *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues* 21, no. 1 (2018): 1–6.

²⁰ Jawad Syed and Abbas J. Ali, "Principles of Employment Relations in Islam: A Normative View," *Employee Relations*, 2010.

²¹ David George Surdam, "Business Ethics from Antiquity to the 19th Century," *Springer Books*, 2020.

because in farming activities a person will be trained to strive, trust, be patient, and be grateful. The idea of connecting humanity, the environment, and God is not a novel concept in people's minds. Local religious perspectives teach that the environment has a sacred value, and that nature itself contains spiritual and supernatural qualities, similar to Eliade's notion of traditional cultures' feelings of religiosity in the sanctity of nature.²² This concept is instilled in the Sasak people's understanding of the environment, and they believe there is a link between the community and the environment in which they live. Ecotheology is the scientific term for this topic. This connection is undoubtedly linked to the community's local culture, which shows the autonomy of each location in question or where the culture is formed.

The other side of the tradition that is considered sacred by the Sasak people in general coincides with Government Regulation Number 52 of 2014, that Mandalika was then officially made a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) for Tourism, with an area of 1,035.67 hectares and facing the Indian Ocean, exporting potential tourism attraction in West Nusa Tenggara through the charm of the beach and underwater which has its own bargaining value²³. Built in a period of 29 years, of course the Mandalika SEZ project is not an ordinary project; this area is indeed used as a leading tourism area in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

Observing societal changes, such as the value shift from ecotheology (sacredness) to ecotourism (economic commodification) that occurred in Seger Beach, the Mandalika area in the *Bau Nyale* tradition, will undoubtedly help us to learn more about the value shift practice process. One of the elements that lead to research on the *Bau Nyale* traditional culture in the Sasak people of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, was this understanding of the concept of ecotheology in Islam. To dig deeper into the practice of changing from ecotheology to ecotourism, it's critical to consider the interaction between socio-economic issues, which can help make studies (sociology of

²² Mircea Eliade, *History of Religious Ideas, Volume 3: From Muhammad to the Age of Reforms* (University of Chicago Press, 2013).

²³ Peraturan Pemerintah Tahun 2014, PP Nomer 54 Tahun 2014

religion, anthropology, and economics) particularly significant in this *Bau Nyale* traditional culture study.

METHODS

This study used a qualitative method based on field data obtained from the community in the Seger Coastal area.²⁴ This research was conducted using a phenomenological research design as the chosen approach. It was quite clear that the strategic design that the researcher used is to identify the nature of a community phenomenon based on the experiences of individuals of a Sasak tribe, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.²⁵ Therefore, researcher needed to study directly by involving research subjects to find out the patterns and relationships that exist in the *Bau Nyale* tradition. Efforts to understand the experiences of research subjects required the researcher to put aside personal experiences because one characteristic of phenomenological research is research rooted in psychology and philosophy and focuses on the experience of the subject being studied.²⁶ The data were obtained through in-depth interviews with resource persons involved in this research, namely the people of the Seger Coastal Area. The interview was conducted with a blended model, namely online and offline, considering the current Covid-19 pandemic. The purpose of this study was to determine the distinction of sacredness and economic commodification in the *Bau Nyale* tradition. This research was conducted for 10 months, starting from June to March 2020.

The main resource persons in this study were 40 people from several elements, 4 Chief of Tribal Council, 4 tourism managers, 5 religious leaders, 5 village youth, 2 village officials, 10 economic actors/traders, 10 participants/community who joined the *Bau Nyale*. The technique determination using purposive sampling was according to predetermined criteria. The procedural technique in this study was carried out with the stages consisting of data collection, data reduction, data presentation and data

²⁴ Vibha Pathak, Bijayini Jena, and Sanjay Kalra, "Qualitative Research," *Perspectives in Clinical Research* 4, no. 3 (2013).

²⁵ Carla Willig, "Reflections on the Use of a Phenomenological Method," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 4, no. 3 (2007): 209–25.

²⁶ Abayomi Alase, "The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA): A Guide to a Good Qualitative Research Approach," *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies* 5, no. 2 (2017): 9–19.

analysis, and drawing conclusions.²⁷ Data collection was carried out using in-depth interviews; interviews were conducted intensively with resource persons. Questions were asked openly and casually, namely the resource persons provided information at their discretion without any intervention. Interviews were conducted with two models; the first was conducted in Lombok, namely Seger Beach, Kuta, Central Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, and via WhatsApp due to impossibility to stay longer at the research location due to the pandemic. Resource persons were asked to explain various questions according to the research focus, with reference to the interview guidelines. Some questions were among others: what is the meaning of the *Bau Nyale* tradition for the Sasak people of Lombok, what is the distinction of sacredness in the *Bau Nyale* tradition, and is the shift in the *Bau Nyale* tradition from sacredness to economic commodification.

RESULTS

The *Bau Nyale* Tradition as The Mythology Of The People Of Lombok About Princess Mandalika

The study of the distinction of sacredness and economic commodification in *Bau Nyale* tradition is a study that refers to Government Regulation Number 52 of 2014, which later Mandalika officially became a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) for Tourism. Furthermore, the contestation to socialize Sasak people of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara sociologically has a strong belief in Islam and defends their ancestors' customs.²⁸ One of them is the *Bau Nyale* tradition, which is still practiced as a way of expressing thankfulness to God for all of his favours. Even during the Covid-19 pandemic that rocked Indonesia, the *Bau Nyale* tradition was carried out with very tight and limited health regulations, but this did not take away from the ceremony's sacredness. Furthermore, the Lombok government institution continues this legacy as

²⁷ Jane Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Sage, 2005).

²⁸ Suprpto Suprpto, "The Theology of Tolerance in Hindu and Islam: Maintaining Social Integration in Lombok-Indonesia," *Ulumuna* 19, no. 2 (2015): 339–52.

an annual festival that attracts both foreign and local tourists. As a result, this research can be divided into three categories: the *Bau Nyale* tradition as a mythological system of the Lombok people about Princess Mandalika, the *Bau Nyale* tradition as a sacred cultural system of the Lombok people, and from Ecotheology to Ecotourism in the *Bau Nyale* Tradition.

The Sasak tribe's *Bau Nyale* is forever linked to the legend of Princess Mandalika, the King's stunning and beautiful princess. Her beauty was talked about all the way up to the sons of kings, and there were a few who wanted to marry her. Princess Mandalika did not force the King to choose the Princes who came because the King's policy allowed her to do so. Princess Mandalika was caught in a circle of confusion and had to choose between the many Sons of the King who wanted to seduce her. Finally, Princess Mandalika prayed the Almighty for guidance by doing *semidi*. The Princess then assembled the Princes who would propose to her on the 20th day of the 10th month of the Sasak calendar at Seger Beach, Kuta Beach, Lombok.²⁹

Princess Mandalika declared from the top of Seger Hill that she intended to unite Lombok into a peaceful place. Fearing a split in the end, Princess Mandalika accepted all of the princes' proposals. All was taken aback by what the Princess stated all of a sudden. Princess Mandalika dived into the water after swearing an oath to unite Lombok, which all the audience sought to save her from, but in vain because the waves had swept her into the center of the ocean.³⁰

The miracle arrived not long after, with the appearance of multicolored worm figures adorning the sea where the Princess submerged her body; according to Lombok folk mythology, *nyale* is the manifestation of Princess Mandalika. Until now, the *nyale* tradition has been used as a release for Princess Mandalika's longing, and the *nyale* tradition's sacredness for the people of Lombok has been a symbol of blessing.³¹ There is no clear story about how the *nyale* tradition began in the Lombok people's mythology, but the local community's belief that *nyale* is the incarnation of Princess

²⁹ Wawan Sujarwo, "Sasak Traditional Villages: A Tourism Potential and Conservation Effort for Culture and Plants," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, 2019, 203–20.

³⁰ ARDHIATI, "An Artificial Intelligent of Princess Mandalika Legend."

³¹ Edfan Juliansyah and Sutiono Mahdi, "Mood System in the Tourism Brochure of 'Friendly Lombok,'" *Linguistics and ELT Journal* 8, no. 1 (2020): 10–16.

Mandalika, regardless of the number of Princes who wanted to marry her, or there are some stories - being chased by Princes who wanted to marry her - all of them have special meaning for the people of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.³²

***Bau Nyale* Tradition As A Cultural System Of The Lombok People Which Has Sacredness**

Besides being a Lombok community belief that is full of mythological nuances, *Bau Nyale* also has a sacred value which is believed to strengthen belief in God Almighty as evidenced by the release of *nyale* only once a year with a certain time in the Sasak calendar on December 19th and 20th of the eleventh month of the Sasak calendar.³³ Moreover, before carrying out *nyale*, the traditional elders and chief of tribes consisting of the four chiefs of the winds (north, south, west and east) begin with a "*rapat wariga*" to read natural signs and who to be involved in organizing the *Bau Nyale*.

The *nyale* is in the air between dawn and sunrise at the time described above, which creates public concerns regarding the time-based magic of *nyale*. The people of Lombok believe that the force of God's will is manifested in the condition in which the *nyale* emerges. Furthermore, every application of the natural *nyale* also replies with light rain, signalling the end of the rainy season (musim taun) and the beginning of the dry season) (musim balit). Rain, as a symbol of God's grace and a manifestation of God's greatness, determines the agricultural conditions of the Lombok people during the *nyale* season.

The synergy of *hablum minallah* (relationship with God), *hablum minannas* (relationship with humans) and *hablum minal alam* (relationship with nature) serves as a form of sacredness of the *Bau Nyale* tradition.³⁴ Furthermore, the sacredness of this tradition, which the Sasak people believe is proof of God's power, is that there is a

³² Syaiful Bahri, "The Relation between Sasak and Samawa Folktales: Comparative Literature to Multicultural Education," *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2017): 75–85.

³³ Bachtiar and Bachtiar, "Predicting Spawning Date Of Nyale Worms (Eunicidae, Polychaeta) In The Southern Coast of Lombok Island, Indonesia."

³⁴ Ubaidillah Ubaidillah, "Interpreting Ruh As an Ecological Spirituality in Relation To Islam and Java Mysticism," *El Harakah* 23, no. 1 (2021): 139.

meeting between parallel and sex stars, in which the male *nyale* removes his 10-15 cm long part and the female *nyale* removes her 10-15 cm long part, which expands to the surface for "having sex." This one miracle strengthens the belief that the *Bau Nyale* tradition has a sacredness that is contained in the drama art of the Princess Mandalika, as an icon from the mythology of the *Bau Nyale* tradition.³⁵

From Ecotheology to Ecotourism in the *Bau Nyale* Tradition

Bau Nyale tradition not only has sacredness and the mythological legend of Princess Mandalika, but this tradition also has an ecotheological form. Ecology is etymologically derived from the word *oikos* which means "household" or "residence", while *logos* is a science³⁶. Etymologically ecology is the science of the interrelationships of living things with their environment.³⁷ This means that ecology can be explained in terms of the reciprocal relationship between beings and their surroundings, which includes processes and interactions involving living species with a common life. Of course, there is a place in their interaction that we must not overlook as a reflection of religiosity, which can be referred to as **theology** or environmentalism.

This theological dimension will give birth to a value system to guide humans to have ecological awareness. In line with the thoughts of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, it is necessary to reinterpret religion in addressing ecological problems, one of which is by overcoming ecological problems, such as weather changes, depleting ozone, lack of natural resources, as well as air pollution and drought.³⁸ The movement carried out by Nasr was the beginning for the awareness of Muslims about the importance of paying attention to ecological issues.

³⁵ Desak Made Yoniantini, "Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Cerita Putri Mandalika Analisis Tzvetan Todorov," *Nusa: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra* 16, no. 2 (n.d.): 154–64.

³⁶ Shah, S., & Kumari, P. (2019). An eco-critical study of khaled hosseini's and the mountains echoed.

³⁷ Annie Milgin et al., "Sustainability Crises Are Crises of Relationship: Learning from Nyikina Ecology and Ethics," *People and Nature* 2, no. 4 (2020): 1210–22.

³⁸ Ibrahim Ozdemir, "Toward an Understanding of Environmental Ethics from a Qur'anic Perspective," *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust*, 2003, 3–37.

Awareness of ecology based on theology will have an impact on a wise attitude for humans as creatures that inhabit the earth.³⁹ Unlike the present society's paradigm fallacy which perceives the scientific order as undermining human-nature balance. Exploitation in the name of scientific development, the use of the environment for research, and the exploitation of natural resources without regard for environmental ethics, all in the name of environmental protection and public welfare. This is what Nars refers to as a "ghost of modernity" that we must all work to correct.⁴⁰ The presence of these religious values is called **Ecotheology**, a transformative theology that presents religion and nature in synergy (Interrelationship of Religion and Nature).⁴¹ The relationship between the environment and the creator is simplified in the study of ecology, which provides the theological aspect, meaning that the environment or ecology is not only biological, but there is a process of creation and the Creator. In Islam, ecotheology is known as prophetic ecology, which includes the concept of transformative ecology, which is found in the *Bau Nyale* tradition in this context.⁴²

Bau Nyale in its celebration is centred on Seger Beach as a form of annual tradition that has the value of sacredness, culture, and environmental care, so this tradition is a human interpretation of the sociological relationship between religion between humans and their gods (*adat gama*), humans and their fellows (*tap sila*), and humans and their environment (*lumir gamma*).⁴³ This means that the *Bau Nyale* tradition serves as a platform for synergy in order to preserve Lombok's natural balance in West Nusa Tenggara. The establishment of ITDC (Indonesian Tourism Development

³⁹ Soumaya Pernilla Ouis, "Islamic Ecotheology Based On The Qur'ān," *Islamic Studies* 37, no. 2 (1998): 151–81.

⁴⁰ Stephen Ray, "Contending for the Cross: Black Theology and the Ghosts of Modernity," *Black Theology* 8, no. 1 (2010): 53–68.

⁴¹ Julian Hensold et al., *Religion in Motion: Rethinking Religion, Knowledge and Discourse in a Globalizing World* (Springer, 2020).

⁴² Stanisław Rabiej, "Ecotheology in the Service of Religion and Science," *Studia Oecumenica*, no. 20 (2020): 51–65.

⁴³ Sarwiji Suwandi, Herman J. Waluyo, and Nugraheni Eko Wardani, "Between Ecology and Economics: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Putri Mandalika Folklore," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 12, no. 11 (2022): 2388–96.

Corporations), notably the Mandalika Circuit Area, has no effect on the people of Lombok as humans who have a strong belief in God Almighty, yet the Sasak people still keep their sustainability and belief.

The strength of the religiosity of the Sasak people of Lombok is reflected in the awareness that everything they get comes from God Almighty, so this foundation becomes a philosophical foundation in the *Bau Nyale* tradition.⁴⁴ In addition, the mythological account of Princess Mandalika as a symbol is sacred to reinforce belief in the presence of God because she sacrificed herself for the integrity of the people of Lombok. As a result of this, awareness of environmental protection and the realization that humans cannot create the beach or everything on it, the function of the Sasak tribe of Lombok's existence is to care for what God has given them, which is an ecotheological concept reflected in the *Bau Nyale* tradition.

In its history, the community near Seger Beach never intended for the *Bau Nyale* ritual to become so large and well-known, and they did it as a way of expressing thankfulness to God for the abundance of grace bestowed. However, there is a type of economic commodification with this well-known tradition because there are items on exhibit that attract a large number of tourists, such as bonfires, arts, and local cultural acts, so visitors can shop during or before the event. Because *Bau Nyale* takes approximately 2 to 2.5 hours, the wait for the peak to end is quite long.

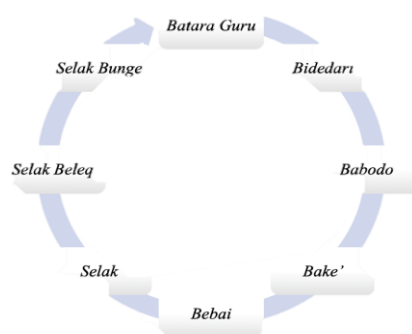
Of course, staying up late waiting for *nyale* to be caught demands energy, so eating and snacking are unavoidable. The existence of this tradition in the sector of enhancing the economy of the surrounding community provides traders with reciprocity at this time. The economic activity was very high when the *nyale* tradition was held because the number of those present was so large, it was impossible for those who attended not to stop by to eat and drink, especially for foreign tourists, and local souvenirs were also provided, implying that the tradition has many functions traditionally. Starting with the *Bau Nyale* tradition, which has spiritual values steeped in mythology, and moving on to environmental stewardship and economic commodification for coastal communities.

⁴⁴ Muliadi Muliadi and Didin Komarudin, "The Islamic Culture Of 'Wetu Telu Islam' Affecting Social Religion In Lombok," *El Harakah* 22, no. 1 (2020): 97.

DISCUSSION

The Foundation of Socioreligiosity as a Form of Sacredness in the *Bau Nyale* Tradition

In terms of socioreligion, this manifests itself in a deep grasp and awareness of the concept of god. They believe that a huge power exists outside of themselves - the Lombok Sasak people of Lombok - and that this power is known as God. However, before arriving at this theological notion, a protracted search begins with the belief system of Animism and Dynamism. Animism is a belief in a personal power that lives behind all things, and it is a very old thought from all religions,⁴⁵ in another view animism explains the psychic concepts of the theory of spiritual existence in general.⁴⁶ Th: The culture of the people who were still primitive affected the constructivism of the Lombok people's beliefs in ancient times. This gives rise to a notion of life's reality that is linked to animistic and dynamic matters that are adaptable to the events that occur. This is what people's brains are dominated by, therefore they believe in things like the following:



Batara Guru, was the God who sent the King of Lombok, Bidedari, a goddess who was believed to live in *madya*, Babodo', a spirit who comes out when the sun begins to set, especially on Thursday nights. This creature is believed to be able to kidnap children who go out at that time, so many parents forbid their children to leave the house at sunset. Babodo' is described by the Sasak people as a woman who has big

⁴⁵ Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (IRCIsoD, 1996).

⁴⁶ Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1965).

breasts to hide her catch, to find a missing child, people need a *parang bunting* and salt. Bake' is almost the same as Babodo', but bake' is the ancestor of the Sasak tribe who has an antagonistic role, whose presence is able to spread disease in every house, and bake' usually lives in forests, rocks, and big trees.

Bebai, a small ghost, a kind of *tyul* who has an employer or is called a selak. Selak, is not the same as the type of animist above that resembles a spirit, but selak is more of a human who has magic, who is able to change according to his wishes. Selak can be obtained by studying, descent, or of marriage with Selak. Selak has two types namely; Selak Beleq; The typology of the power possessed by Selak is to destroy the opponent's strength, Selak uses carrion and human waste. Selak Bunge: different from selak beleq, selaq Bunge does not eat dirt and lives in space.⁴⁷

This animist belief demonstrates the Sasak people's awareness and belief in powers that exist outside of humanity before they discovered the real religion. The community's experience serves as the foundation for this information. These ideas were frequently employed as myths and legends to be passed down or as dogmatic education about worlds beyond the natural world, one of which being the *Bau Nyale* tradition. Not only do the Sasak people of Lombok believe in animism, but they also believe in dynamic things, such as sacred animals and objects with khodam or guardians.⁴⁸

The Sasak people of Lombok's constructivism in comprehending dynamism may be seen in the pattern where every material has the same nature and substance as humans, implying that material existence always has a spirit in it. Other materials, like humans, have a spirit that allows them to life. There are visible and invisible substances in seas, forests, rocks, and plants. These materials are said to have qualities, thus they act as guardians or destroyers in the event of a disaster or other.

⁴⁷ Wiyatmi Wiyatmi, "When Women Are as Guardians of Nature: Reading Ideology of Ecofeminism in Indonesian Folklores," in *Proceeding of The International Conference on Literature*, vol. 1, 2019, 379–91.

⁴⁸ M. Rahayu et al., "The Ethnoecology of Sasak People in Mandalika, Lombok Island: Local Knowledge and Wisdom in Relation with Land Use," *Jurnal Pendidikan IPA Indonesia* 10, no. 3 (2021): 407–15.

The Sasak people of Lombok believe in this concept as well, believing that things and animals have a sense of dynamism. Mice, cats, and caterpillars are symbols of destruction, and they are thought to have powers similar to genies or unseen creatures. As a result, speaking or cursing with the emblem of dynamism in the form of animals is forbidden since it will arouse the watchman's wrath. With the exception of animals, which are still believed to have reinforcements or causality when killed or molesting them, Sasak people have begun to shift their beliefs due to the development of knowledge that is more rational than the mythological constructivism of the ancient people, with the exception of animals, which are still believed to have reinforcements or causality when killed or molesting them, one of which is a cat.

Another sort of confidence in the Sasak people's dynamism is constructivism, which is based on sculpture that can only be understood by the person who creates it. On certain days, the amulets are additionally wrapped in a fabric that has been coated with perfume. When travelling long distances or feeling threatened, cloth amulets were worn as belts. Amulets can be in the form of writing the Koran or in the form of Javanese, in addition to being worn as a belt. Aside from the fact that he is thought to be a guard, there are some things that should not be done to him, such as placing him beneath the bathroom sink, using him by women who are menstruating, or placing him in public locations. That is, storing the amulets need a unique location. If it is broken, the amulets' effectiveness will be diminished, if not eliminated entirely. Amulets can take many different forms, including textual amulets as well as liquid amulets comparable to oil. The oil is thought to give the person immunological characteristics. It is applied to certain bodily parts by smearing it on them. Because there are particular stages that only an expert can undertake, making amulets in the form of oil necessitates the employment of a professional and skilled person.

It may be extrapolated from the Sasak people's different core ideas on animism and dynamism that they had a long history of belief before finally anchoring in the concept of divinity. Nonetheless, these two ideas are part of our forefathers' cultural history and cultural assets. Animism and dynamism traditions, such as the *Bau Nyale* tradition, are still preserved today by blending them with religious practices. The

existence of *nyale* activities in the Sasak people of Lombok is proof of the acculturation of religious traditions and ceremonies, demonstrating that they still believe in the power of God in the presence of *nyale*.

Cosmological Awareness of the Sasak People in the *Bau Nyale* Tradition

The necessity of safeguarding the environment acts as a macrocosm that is in tune with human life on the planet. This discussion is expected to correct the previous paradigm of human-nature relations, which portrays humans as natural resource exploiters. As a result, the error of human obligation as *khalifah fil a-ard* by Allah to maintain the integrity of the universe must be raised again, as the mission entrusted to us in Surah Al-Baqoroh verse 30.

Which means; “.....Surely I am making in the earth a successor. ...”

The *tafsir* of the above verse shows that the word *khalifah* in the universe is reduced as a subject of exploiter to a subject of conservation by presenting the concept of divinity as a synergy between the relations of God, Humans, and Nature.⁴⁹ It is intended that through providing the holy space, it will become a new formulation for improving human attitudes and behavior toward nature, resulting in a synergy between the three that provides ecotheology as the foundation for people to exist in the world.

The involvement of *hablum minallah*, *hablum mina an naas*, and *hablum mina al-alam*, is the key to the practice of the ecotheological movement in West Nusa Tenggara. The synergy between religious communities, multiculturalism and diverse cultures is a unique feature to be seen in the study of scientific integration. The **sociological** perspective sees the practice of religious communities with cultures that are closely related to local "mysticism" such as in the *Bau Nyale* tradition, **anthropologically**, how is the correlation of mysticism believed by the people of West Nusa Tenggara with *Bau Nyale* culture which is indicated by food prosperity in the form of agricultural products, and mythology of Princess Mandalika which becomes central in the local community's stories, and the position of **religion** also has a strong synergy in the form of gratitude

⁴⁹ Willis Jenkins, "Islamic Law and Environmental Ethics: How Jurisprudence (Usul Al-Fiqh) Mobilizes Practical Reform," *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture, and Ecology* 9, no. 3 (2005): 338–64.

for the gift of the natural wealth of West Nusa Tenggara in the form of charming natural panoramas, beautiful beaches, hills that reflect exotic beauty, making the nature of West Nusa Tenggara as a piece of heaven born on earth.

The researcher sees something intriguing as the contribution of sociology, anthropology, and religion with an ecotheological frame in the construction of idea. Building construction can be divided into two categories based on the relationship between "people" and "nature," namely maintenance (nurturing mode) and intervention (interventionist mode). The synergy of God, Man, and Nature, all of which are in synergy with God, forms the framework of this structure in Islamic theology. As a result, there are three different interpretations of the Sasak people's cosmology when it comes to the *Bau Nyale* tradition.

Theologically, there has been a shift in synergy between humans, who were initially seen as secondary creatures who put forward social relations between humans and humans, and humans and God, who have shifted to a new relationship position, namely nature and humans have synergy in the form of real-life implications, which will ultimately return to the Creator. The initial building's synergy can be regarded as a distinct demarcation line between humans and nature, both of which are as if two separate creatures with no attachment to one another. Since then, the presence of the ecotheological concept has become the basis of a single synergy, namely God is the source of wholeness who created nature and humans to need each other, as stated in the Qur'an Surah Al-Baqaroh verse 30 above.

The Sasak people thought that there was a force in this world that threatened, prohibited, and caused power in their ancestors' time. Even ordinary people/laymen can view the hidden world with all of its contents. The mind's reach to embrace the souls and lives of individuals they believe will experience compassion, redemption, or else curses and suffering at some point in the future. They believe that metaphysical and non-metaphysical things, including the universe and everything in it, are interrelated. Humans as part of the universe also contribute to the cycle of natural law/*sunnatullah*. Therefore, changes that occur in the universe always affect all life, including human life.

This is why they seek for a harmonious and balanced relationship with the universe, ensuring peace, tranquillity, and prosperity in both the visible and invisible worlds. They do not influence nature arbitrarily; instead, they make a request to supernatural creatures first. When building a house or digging a well, for example, this is a common sight. Before beginning development, communicate with the supernatural beings that stakeholders have constructed. In the Sasak culture, this action of connecting with the supernatural is known as *Bebangar* (permission of supernatural beings to live together in one place).

The Sacredness and the Economic Commodification of the *Bau Nyale* Tradition

Emile Durkheim places religion as an inseparable element of human life.⁵⁰ Inevitably, humans will recognize the existence of a particle that is sacred and has power over everything that is different only in terms of what is considered sacred. It can be concluded that Durkheim defines religion as a set of beliefs in something sacred, has authority over creatures, determines which actions are immoral and immoral, and so on.⁵¹ In addition to explaining what religion is and its function, Durkheim also asks several core questions in all matters, whether it is social, philosophical, and so on, one of the questions is "What is the purpose of the existence of this 'The Sacred?'," "What influence does it have on human life?" and "Is this sacredness able to create a community or society that has morality?". It turns out that religion has its main goal, namely to form a community and a place of worship, and to create community welfare by guiding it through ethical (moral) values.⁵²

Sociologically, the *Bau Nyale* tradition also has The Sacred Things that are protected and isolated by prohibitions (taboos), while The Profane things are things where these prohibitions are applied and must be kept away from The Sacred Things. The Sacred is something forbidden and separate. The definition of sacred as something

⁵⁰ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Free Press, 1965).

⁵¹ Graham and Haidt, "Beyond Beliefs."

⁵² Jonathan Haidt and Jesse Graham, "Planet of the Durkheimians, Where Community, Authority, and Sacredness Are Foundations of Morality," *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification*, 2009, 371–401.

forbidden and separate is felt more appropriate not to assume that sacred is synonymous with something sacred because even in The Profane, there is something holy and bad, but it will not turn into The Sacred. On the other hand, in The Sacred one there can also be good and bad at the same time, but it will not turn into The Profane.

The Sacred conception will be attached to The Profane, meaning that if the religious power of the Sasak people is the philosophical basis in carrying out their lives, then the *Bau Nyale* tradition becomes sacred because there is a concept of belief that everything that happens in this tradition is the power of God, so that the sacredness of the tradition is in line with what they believe about the concept of divinity. Therefore, it is not a distinction between the natural and the supernatural, which has been known as God or gods and goddesses. But The Sacred includes a very powerful reality, a mysterious and amazing quality of power, not from humans but related to it, so the conception of ritual that exists in the *Bau Nyale* tradition is born.

Rituals are understood as something that repeats regularly, is traditional in nature, which carefully presents certain behaviors that symbolize the value of a belief and takes place in all religious life. Rituals are carried out by humans to approach The Sacred, which in this case is to maintain the tradition of *Bau Nyale* as a way to get closer to The Profane, namely Allah, something that is not easily touched by just anyone and just anything. In the *Bau Nyale* ritual, it does not only function personally but also socially, that the ritual which was originally individual in nature has become socially valuable in the Sasak people of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

The manifestation of the *Bau Nyale* tradition has survived until now because it already has cultural values that give Sasak ethnic identity in general, and Sasak women in particular.⁵³ Apart from being the identity of the Sasak people, the *nyale* tradition implies noble values such as Spiritual Values or Divine Values, Integration Values, and Solidarity Values.

⁵³ Judith L. Ecklund, "Sasak Cultural Change, Ritual Change, and the Use of Ritualized Language," *Indonesia*, no. 24 (1977): 1–25.

The sacred values in the *Bau Nyale* tradition are also found in the people's admiration for the rain, about which they consider a magical activity, the rain suddenly stops according to the time predicted by customary leaders. Systemically, it is intended to begin with a “*rapat wariga*”, to discuss the hunches felt by chief of tribal to determine the right time by referring to natural signs, occurrence or events that occur in the community, and who involved in the implementation. In order to strengthen the existence of the *Bau Nyale* tradition, the Sasak people have given cultural values, something that is respected by most members of the community as an ethical system.

Apart from the existence of sacredness in the *Bau Nyale* tradition in Lombok, it has become the Mandalika Special Economic Zone, which is currently being developed as a tourism object. The definition of a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is an area with certain boundaries included in the area or territory to carry out economic functions and obtain certain facilities. SEZs are developed through the preparation of areas that have geo-economic and geostrategic advantages and function to accommodate industrial activities, exports, imports, and other economic activities that have high economic value and international competitiveness that have benefits for investors. Data on the potential for tourist visits to Kuta Beach shows a significant increase over the last five years. In 2008 there were 40,000 tourists while in 2014 increased to 257,400 people, consisting of 155,400 foreign tourists⁵⁴ and 102,000 domestic tourists⁵⁵.

The statistics reflect Kuta Beach, which is already well-known among both local and international tourists, and so has room for improvement in the future. However, the area currently faces a number of complex issues, including the use of areas that are not in compliance with its classification or the area's carrying capacity. Excessive exploitation of natural resources is a problem, and it is feared that it would harm local natural resources. Similarly, given the rapid development of the tourism economy in the Kuta Beach area, it is expected that many coastal areas will face increasingly complex ecological pressures in the form of pollution as a result of increased tourist visits, particularly the problem of waste and exploitation of natural resources, biodiversity degradation, and physical degradation of coastal habitats. Aside from the

⁵⁵ BPS Kabupaten Lombok Tengah 2014

environmental impact, tourist economic development has a beneficial social impact, as it can stimulate the creation of job and business possibilities that can improve the local community's well-being.

One of the roles incorporated in the *Bau Nyale* tradition is a recreational function. Because nature is so supportive, the *Bau Nyale* tradition has been able to continue to survive. Moreover, the community's and government's responses, including district and provincial governments, as well as the federal government, give opportunities through tourism. In summary, catching *nyale* is a highly engaging kind of amusement for all community members that support this practice, and tourism serves as the Lombok people's economic capital in the *Bau Nyale* tradition. As a result, the dichotomy between sacredness and economic commercialization in the *Bau Nyale* culture can be seen in the chart.

In terms of capital sources, there are two types in the *Bau Nyale* tradition. The first is capital raised directly from local communities, while the second is funding provided directly by the government. The overall economic capital only came from the local community before being touched by the hand of command, who prepared from before the event until the event was over by using economic capital independently and born of independent awareness from generation to generation, and the event was only attended by the local Lombok community, so the value of sacredness is still maintained because people design it with traditional provisions. However, when this tradition was touched by the hands of the command, they only prepared event activities, and the government was more focused on designing and funding the promotion of the *Bau Nyale* tradition, so it would be visited by more people, as well as being used as a destination in the Lombok Mandalika beach area. The government's project to organize and manage Mandalika beach area as well as promote the *Bau Nyale* tradition is an effort to improve the community's economy. There are two forms of capital that are handed down by the government to the *Bau Nyale* tradition, namely fixed capital and non-fixed capital.

Fixed capital is capital that is intended for the procurement of buildings or physical goods, goods or buildings intended to meet the needs of tourists, which will

also have an impact on increasing tourists visiting the Mandalika beach area. The role of tourism destinations is to focus on facilities and services designed to meet the needs of tourists. Currently, tourists are very smart in determining the tourism destinations to be visited, which is an important factor in the development of tourism destinations. This helps in identifying the impacts of tourism activities regionally and helps manage the demand side and supply side in maximizing the benefits of tourism. Tourism destinations are part of the tourism system along with the tourism industry, tourism marketing, and tourism institutions.⁵⁶

Therefore, paying attention to physical facilities in a tourist area is also very important as a supporting factor for tourist satisfaction. Further, current capital is capital that is devoted to promotional needs, especially during the Covid-19, the government is facing a very difficult challenge in terms of managing tourism in Special Economic Zones (SEZs). The West Nusa Tenggara Tourism Office explained that tourist visits from January to August 2019 reached 2,390,889 tourists, including 1,429,768 domestic tourists and 961,131 foreign tourists. This number will be different in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic.⁵⁷

PT. Pengembangan Pariwisata Indonesia or The Indonesian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) as the operator of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) and the Mandalika super priority tourism destination explained that in 2020 it was predicted that there would be a decline in the number of tourist visits due to Covid-19. On the other hand, ITDC temporarily closed the operation of the Mandalika tourism destination as an effort to prevent Covid-19 and carried out health and hygiene protocols in all destinations. The impact of Covid-19 on the Mandalika tourism destination can trigger a decline in the tourist market. Various policies carried out by tourism institutions as an effort to prevent and recover post-pandemic aimed to maintain the existence of tourism destinations during and after the pandemic.

⁵⁶ Mark Anthony Camilleri, *Travel Marketing, Tourism Economics and the Airline Product* (Springer, 2018).

⁵⁷ Pahrl Irfan and Apriani Apriani, "Analisa Strategi Pengembangan E-Tourism Sebagai Promosi Pariwisata Di Pulau Lombok," *ILKOM Jurnal Ilmiah* 9, no. 3 (2017): 325–30.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the line of demarcation in one culture that is mixed up with various sectors should be a priority discussion in cultural preservation, especially in the *Bau Nyale* tradition which is full of nuances of sacredness and cultural values from the mythology of Princess Mandalika. The results of this study show that the distinction of sacredness and economic commodification in the *Bau Nyale* tradition is seen in the socio-religious and cosmological forms of the Sasak people of Lombok which have interpretation values between the community and tourism operators. It is necessary to clarify the distinction of the *Bau Nyale* tradition because it is full of The Sacred herein, so it needs to be maintained and preserved at the level of practice.

For the Sasak people of Lombok, the *Bau Nyale* tradition is a symbol of the success of the feast and a form of gratitude to Allah for the abundance of grace and gifts given to crops, both in agriculture and in the marine sector. In addition, the mythology of Princess Mandalika as a figure of wisdom represents the dignity and worth of the female figure of the Sasak people of Lombok. In another view, the form of government-oriented capital (tourism operators) of the *Bau Nyale* tradition has a tourism value that deserves to be promoted and to be known abroad, with the aim of boosting the economy of the people of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. From these findings, the distinction of sacredness and economic commodification in the *Bau Nyale* tradition can be seen clearly, so there is no bias in the practice of the *Bau Nyale* tradition so as to erode local values that have existed since the ancient times. In addition, the community and government institutions can place their positions in which corners this tradition will have a tourist nuance, and in which corners this tradition is a sacred value for the Sasak people, so there is no mixing of the practices of the *Bau Nyale* tradition.

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