

Transformation of the Perak Api Ritual: Negotiating between Sasak Tradition, Islam, and Global Modernity



Abdurrazak^{1*}, Noorhaidi¹ & Moh Soehadha¹

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Corresponding author: razakabdur846@gmail.com

Abstract

The transformation of local traditions within Muslim societies frequently engenders tensions among traditional cosmology, Islamic values, and modern rationality. This phenomenon is exemplified by the Perak Api ritual, a component of the birth traditions of the Sasak community in Lombok, which is believed to serve as a protective mechanism for postpartum mothers and newborn infants. The present study seeks to describe the practice of the Perak Api ritual and to analyse its transformation within the contexts of Islamisation and global modernity. This research is significant as it illustrates how local communities maintain their cultural identity through processes of symbolic adaptation, without wholly relinquishing their ancestral traditions. Employing a qualitative-descriptive methodology with a phenomenological approach, data were collected via observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation in East Praya District, Central Lombok. Participants included religious leaders, traditional leaders, *belian nganak* (traditional birth attendants), and members of the Sasak community. The findings indicate that the Perak Api ritual is conducted through three principal stages – separation, liminality, and incorporation – each embodying symbols of protection, purification, and the restoration of socio-cosmological balance. Furthermore, the study identifies the concept of “Perak Api Lebur Anyong” as a form of transformation from local cosmology towards cultural Islamisation and global modernity, achieved through processes of symbolic negotiation. The contribution of this study lies in advancing the discourse on lived Islam and the cultural transformation of local Muslim communities amid contemporary social change.

Abstrak

Transformasi tradisi lokal dalam masyarakat Muslim sering memunculkan ketegangan antara kosmologi tradisional, nilai-nilai Islam, dan rasionalitas modern. Fenomena tersebut tampak pada ritual Perak Api dalam tradisi kelahiran masyarakat Sasak di Lombok yang diyakini berfungsi sebagai mekanisme perlindungan bagi ibu dan bayi pascamelahirkan. Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan praktik ritual Perak Api serta menganalisis transformasinya dalam konteks Islamisasi dan modernitas global. Riset ini penting karena memperlihatkan cara masyarakat lokal mempertahankan identitas budaya melalui proses adaptasi simbolik tanpa sepenuhnya meninggalkan tradisi leluhur. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif-deskriptif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi. Data diperoleh melalui observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi di Kecamatan Praya Timur, Lombok Tengah, dengan melibatkan tokoh agama, tokoh adat, *belian nganak*, dan masyarakat Sasak. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ritual Perak Api berlangsung melalui tiga tahapan utama, yaitu *separation*, *liminality*, dan *incorporation*, yang mengandung simbol perlindungan, pemurnian, dan pemulihan keseimbangan sosial-kosmologis. Penelitian ini juga menemukan konsep “Perak Api Lebur Anyong” sebagai bentuk transformasi dari fase kosmologi lokal menuju Islamisasi budaya dan modernitas global melalui proses negosiasi simbolik. Kontribusi penelitian ini terletak pada penguatan kajian lived Islam dan transformasi budaya masyarakat Muslim lokal di tengah perubahan sosial kontemporer.

Keywords:

Perak Api;
Sasak
community;
Cultural
transformation;
Islamisation;
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Kata kunci:

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Introduction

Birth traditions constitute a significant component of the cultural system of the Sasak community in Lombok, embodying the interrelationship between humans, nature, and the spiritual realm. Various rituals are performed as symbolic and religious practices intended to ensure the safety of mothers and newborn infants. One such ritual, still observed among the Sasak community today, is the Perak Api tradition, a customary practice believed to possess symbolic power in safeguarding mothers and infants following childbirth.¹ This ritual is embedded within the local cosmology of the Sasak people, wherein fire is perceived not merely as a natural element but also as a symbol of protection, a means of averting misfortune, and an instrument of purification from both physical and metaphysical disturbances. Within this cosmological framework, fire is regarded as a medium capable of creating a secure environment for mothers and infants during the postpartum period, which is considered a vulnerable phase in the human life cycle. The advent of Islam in Lombok during the sixteenth century² prompted a reorientation of the meaning of Perak Api through the incorporation of Qur'anic recitations, Islamic prayers, dhikr, local preaching, charitable acts, and invocations to Allah.³ Consequently, the ritual acquired religious legitimacy within an Islamic context. However, in the context of global modernity, Perak Api remains subject to religious discourses that interrogate the relevance and legitimacy of the ritual within contemporary Islam.

In the field of Islamic studies, this paradigmatic shift has facilitated the development of approaches that conceptualise Islam not solely as a normative, text-based system but also as a lived and experienced practice within specific social contexts, commonly referred to as lived Islam.⁴ Bauman's theory of liquid modernity elucidates this phenomenon, describing a condition in which social structures, values, and identities become fluid, flexible, and unstable. Contemporary society is characterised by rapid social change, uncertainty, and the erosion of previously stable social frameworks.⁵ This perspective highlights forms of Islamic expression among Muslims that are continuously negotiated between normative Islamic teachings, local traditions, and evolving social conditions.⁶ Consequently, local Islamic culture emerges

¹ Erni Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak Waktu Telu Versus Waktu Lima*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: PT. LKiS Printing Cemerlang, 2000), 254.

² Adi Fadli, *Pemikiran Islam Lokal Tgh. M. Shaleh Hambali Bengkel*, ed. Retno Sirnopti & Baiq Mulianah (Lombok Barat NTB: Penerbit Pustaka Lombok & UNU NTB, 2017), 39 <https://repository.uinmataram.ac.id/1026/1/Pemikiran-Islam-Lokal-Tgh.-M.-Shaleh-Hambali-Bengkel.pdf>

³ Azher Hameed Qamar and Saima Azher, "Birth Care Belief Practices: Traditional Mother-Child Care during Birth in Rural Punjab, Pakistan," *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 18, no. 1 (2024): 167-85.

⁴ Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 53.

⁵ Evandro Consalter Abdeljalil Akkari, Altair Alberto Favero, "The Liquid Modernity of Bauman and Its Implications in a Proposal for Citizenship Education," *Praxis Educativa* 20 (2025): 1-10.

⁶ John R. Bowen, *A New Anthropology of Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-40.

as a crucial medium through which religious meanings are produced, sustained, and transformed. While traditional civilisation exhibited greater dynamism than pre-modern systems, the changes engendered by global modernity have become markedly more profound.⁷ This is exemplified by the Perak Api ritual tradition among the Sasak community, which, once regarded as sacred, is now gradually diminishing, alongside increasingly evident processes of acculturation and assimilation involving tradition, Islam, and global modernity.

Research on Islamic rituals in Lombok, as well as in other Muslim societies, has predominantly been descriptive and ethnographic in nature, often concentrating on popular traditional practices without thoroughly situating them within broader theoretical discussions regarding the interplay between local traditions, religious rituals, Islam, and the dynamics of global modernity. More specifically, previous investigations into birth rituals and local customs can be categorised into three groups. Firstly, studies addressing birth traditions and cultural practices in general contexts have been undertaken by Qamar and Azher,⁸ Kayahan Kucuk,⁹ Munisah and Eko Prasetyo,¹⁰ and Siti Umu Kulsum.¹¹ Secondly, research focusing specifically on the Perak Api tradition of the Sasak community has been conducted by Nur Azizah Zuhriah and Titis Srimuda Pitana,¹² Ahmad Aris Arifin,¹³ Yayuk Andayani, Prapti Sedijani, and Septi Yunika Rahayu.¹⁴ Thirdly, analyses emphasising the social dimensions and character formation within Sasak traditions have been carried out by Subki.¹⁵

The aforementioned studies predominantly regard the Perak Api ritual as a local cultural phenomenon or a traditional community practice, without offering a comprehensive analysis of the transformation of the ritual's significance within the context of the interaction between Islam and global modernity. This limitation highlights a significant research gap warranting further investigation, particularly in

⁷ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (London: MacMillan, 1981), 1-20.

⁸ Qamar and Azher, "Birth Care Belief Practices: Traditional Mother-Child Care during Birth in Rural Punjab, Pakistan."

⁹ Kayahan Kucuk, "Traditions of Birth, Wedding and Death of the Kazakhs," *The Journal of International Civilization Studies Uluslararası Medeniyet Çalışmaları Dergisi* VII, no. I (2022): 13-23.

¹⁰ Munisah Munisah and Eko Prasetyo, "Ngurisan Tradition in the View of Buddhism," *Subhasita: Journal of Buddhist and Religious Studies* 1, no. 1 (February 11, 2023): 57-74.

¹¹ Siti Umu Kulsum, "Analisis Urf Terhadap Mencukur Rambut Bayi Pada Hari Ke-40," *Jimmi* 2, no. 1 (2021).

¹² Nur Azizah Zuhriah and Titis Srimuda Pitana, "Peraq Api Tradition In Lombok: A Bourdieu Perspective Review," *Humaniora* 11, no. March (2020): 21-27.

¹³ Ahmad Aris Arifin, Yayuk Andayani, and Prapti Sedijani, "Rekonstruksi Etnosains Tradisi Pedak Api Masyarakat Narmada dalam Pembelajaran Biologi" 6, no. 1 (2024).

¹⁴ Septi Yunika Rahayu, "Tradisi Peraq Api Antara Islam dan Tradisi (Studi di Desa Bonder Kecamatan Praya Barat Kabupaten Lombok Tengah Nusa Tenggara Barat) The Peraq Api Tradition Between Islam And Local Customs (A Study In Bonder Village, Praya Barat District, Central Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara)" 13, no. 2 (n.d.): 1-10.

¹⁵ Subki, "An Analysis of Character-Building And Motivation Behind Coins-Sowing Tradition By The Sasak in Lombok Island, Indonesia," *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 16, no. 4 (2022): 42-56.

terms of how the Perak Api ritual experiences processes of negotiation, reinterpretation, and contestation of meaning amidst contemporary social change and religious discourse.

This study distinguishes itself from prior research by emphasising three key aspects. Firstly, it seeks to investigate the practice of the Perak Api ritual among the Sasak community of Lombok. Secondly, it analyses the transformation of the Perak Api ritual across three distinct phases: the local cosmological phase (early phase), the cultural Islamisation phase (post-Islamic phase), and the global modernity phase (contemporary phase). Thirdly, it elucidates the changes within the Perak Api ritual tradition resulting from the influences of Islam and global modernity. To address these objectives, the researcher utilises Van Gennep's theory of Rites of Passage to examine ritual practices,¹⁶ alongside Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity¹⁷ to interpret the transformations and changes occurring within the Perak Api ritual tradition among the Sasak people of Lombok.

This study utilises a qualitative-descriptive research methodology¹⁸ with a phenomenological approach,¹⁹ conducted in East Praya District, Central Lombok Regency, focusing on three villages: Marong, Sengkerang, and Landah. These locations were selected as comparative sites to observe the practice of the Perak Api ritual among the Sasak people of Lombok. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. The researcher adopted dual roles as both a pure observer and a participant observer. The observational framework comprised three levels: first, non-participant observation,²⁰ wherein the researcher did not engage in the Perak Api ritual but solely observed; second, participant observation, where the researcher actively participated in social interactions directly related to the ritual; and third, extreme participation or naturalistic observation, in which the researcher immersed themselves in the daily lives of the participants, experiencing the Perak Api practice in a natural context.

Furthermore, this study utilised both general and in-depth interviews. General interviews were conducted to acquire broad data, whereas in-depth interviews aimed to obtain detailed information from key informants concerning individual experiences. Typically, in-depth interviews were carried out with individuals possessing direct experience of the issues under investigation, as well as those regarded as experts with profound knowledge of the subject matter. The informants in this study comprised three groups. The first group included community elites, such as Tuan Guru, ustadz,

¹⁶ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 78.

¹⁷ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Semi-Scholars*. Rodney Needham, Transliteration (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 159.

¹⁸ Satori dan A Komariah, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: CV. Alfabeta, 2017), 54.

¹⁹ Richard C. Martin, *Approaches To Islam In Religious Studies* (U.S.A: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), 77.

²⁰ Moh Soehadha, *Metode Penelitian Sosial Kualitatif untuk Studi Agama*, ed. Kedua (Yogyakarta: SUKA-Press, 2018), 105-108.

traditional leaders, and *belian nganak* (traditional birth attendants). The second group consisted of ordinary community members actively engaged in the cultural practice of the Perak Api ritual. The third group comprised practitioners of the Perak Api ritual tradition itself. Additionally, the researcher gathered data through documentation methods, drawing on literature studies that encompassed books, journals, digital documents, and social media posts. Following data collection, analysis was conducted using the Miles and Huberman data analysis technique,²¹ which involves four stages: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

Results and Discussion

The Portrait of the Perak Api Ritual: Birth Traditions and Cultural Identity within Sasak Community

Perak Api originates from the Sasak language and comprises two words: *perak* or *pedaq*, meaning “to extinguish,” and *api*, meaning “fire.” The fire referred to in this context is not an ordinary fire, but a special fire believed to provide warmth to newborn infants and postpartum mothers.²² Typically, the Perak Api ritual is conducted between the seventh- and ninth day following childbirth or after the detachment of the infant’s umbilical cord. The purpose of this ritual is to bestow a name upon the baby, mark the conclusion of the ritual phase of heat protection (*api dapuh* in Sasak), and offer prayers for the well-being of both mother and child.²³

The ritual sequence commences with the practice of *perapian dapuh*, which involves lighting a special fire within the room of the mother and newborn immediately following childbirth. This fire is kindled using specific materials, such as fragrant woods for example, *cempaka* wood, *galih waru*, and *leong* leaves,²⁴ which are prepared and placed in containers such as buckets or vessels. The presence of the *dapuh* serves to warm the bodies of both mother and infant, as well as to eliminate unpleasant odours associated with childbirth.²⁵ This practice is maintained for several days until the mother begins to recover, and the infant has passed the initial postnatal stage. From a health perspective, the practice also holds a therapeutic dimension, as postpartum mothers often experience reduced haemoglobin levels, resulting in

²¹ Dian Fatihatur Rohmah and Martinus Legowo, “Fenomena Luntarnya Tradisi Jawa dalam Bidang Fashion Akibat Modernisasi,” *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Humaniora Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2022): 69–74.

²² Nur Azizah Zuhriah and Titis Srimuda Pitana, “Eksistensi Sufisme dalam Tradisi Pedaq Api di Lombok,” *Humanika* 26, no. 2 (2019): 119–28.

²³ Zuhriah and Pitana, “Peraq Api Tradition In Lombok: A Bourdieu Perspective Review.”

²⁴ *Galih waru* denotes aged agarwood that has undergone maturation over an extended period. As a result of its ageing, the wood develops a dark inner core (*galih*), which is subsequently sliced and utilised as fuel for the *depuh* therapy fire.

²⁵ Zuhriah and Pitana, “Eksistensi Sufisme dalam Tradisi Pedaq Api di Lombok.”

sensations of coldness.²⁶ To prevent and address this condition, traditional birth attendants recommend the performance of *perapian dapuh* therapy to warm the body.²⁷

Arifin elucidates that Perak Api embodies profound meanings and values across historical, philosophical, religious, and social dimensions.²⁸ Historically, the Perak Api ritual tradition functioned as a collective protective mechanism enacted during periods of crisis, such as disease outbreaks, natural disasters, and social unrest, all of which were perceived as indicators of cosmological imbalance.²⁹ Within the Islamic tradition, the relationship between God and His creatures is interpreted as a manifestation of divine grandeur.³⁰ Consequently, the ritual reflects the foundational principles of safety and protection within the pre-Islamic Sasak community. This conception is communal and ecological in nature, rather than individualistic and theological. Thus, safety denotes the establishment of harmony among human society, the environment, and the supernatural realm.³¹

Within a philosophical framework, Perak Api embodies a ritual of veneration for blessings and the essence of life itself. The Sasak people perceive life as a divine gift granted by the Creator. Consequently, the birth of a child is approached with profound gratitude towards God. This gratitude is often articulated through ritual performance. Beyond its role as a traditional ritual within the Sasak community, Perak Api also functions as a specialised postpartum therapy. Women in the postpartum period (*masa nifas*) are subject to stringent restrictions and taboos. The extinguishing of the fire thus symbolises the transition from the postpartum phase to the resumption of ordinary life.³²

The Perak Api ritual should be understood not merely as a traditional practice but also as a complex representation of the interplay between health, culture, cosmology, and religiosity within Sasak community. Within the performance of the Perak Api ritual, several terms are commonly employed by the Sasak community, as outlined in the following table.

²⁶ Interview with Sinta, Midwife at Mujur Village Community Health Centre, 21 December 2025.

²⁷ Interview with Qulan, Traditional Birth Attendant, 17 December 2025, Sengkerang Village, East Praya.

²⁸ Arifin, Andayani, and Sedijani, "Rekonstruksi Etnosains Tradisi Pedak Api Masyarakat Narmada dalam Pembelajaran Biologi."

²⁹ Zakaria Ansori, "Tradisi Peraq Api dalam Dinamika Perubahan Sosial pada Masyarakat Kawo," *Schemata* 7 (2018): 61–76.

³⁰ Rifqah Najwa Azizah, Taufik Illahi, and Roshiiifah Bil Haq, "Contribution of Emanationist Philosophy to the Development of Environmental Conservation," *An-Nida' Journal of Islamic Thought* 49, no. 2 (2025): 183–201.

³¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 87–125.

³² Nur Azizah Zuhriah and Titis Srimuda Pitana, "Representasi Ajaran Islam dalam Tradisi Pedaq Api di Lombok (Analisis Semiotika C. S Peirce tentang Simbol-simbol yang Merepresentasikan Ajaran Islam dalam Tradisi Pedaq Api di Lombok)," *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Linguistik dan Sastra (SEMANTIKS)*, 2019, 634–43.

Table 1: Terminology and Meaning within the Perak Api Ritual Tradition of the Sasak Community

No	Terminology	Meaning	Actors
1	<i>Perak Api</i>	A thanksgiving ritual performed to express gratitude for the blessing of a child and to honour the Creator.	Tuan Guru
2	<i>Belian</i>	A ritual specialist, or traditional healer, who plays a significant role in the Perak Api ritual procession	Perak api ritual's practioner
3	<i>Sembek</i>	A process symbolising the unification of the self with nature and the divine	Belian
4	<i>Pahandang</i>	An offering comprising rice, money, lekok buak (betel leaves and areca nut), and other ritual items, presented to the traditional healer in gratitude for their assistance	Belian
5	<i>Kepeng tepong</i> (Ancient Perforated Coins)	Coins symbolise prosperity. Furthermore, perforated coins represent the mineral elements of nature, which are believed to return to their origin. This reflects the notion that humans originate from the earth, live upon it, and ultimately return to it	Belian
6	<i>Benang katak</i> (Bundles of raw white thread)	The thread employed in the Perak Api ritual is referred to as <i>benang sifat</i> . It symbolises the significance of sustaining communication (<i>silaturahmi</i>) among individuals through mutual care, connection, and remembrance	Traditional and cultural leadership
7	<i>Benang bireng</i>	The black thread symbolises protection against malevolent spirits and harmful supernatural forces	Traditional and cultural leadership
8	<i>Teken</i> (bracelets crafted from spices)	The spices incorporated into the bracelet – namely turmeric, black garlic, garlic, jeringo, betel leaves, lime paste, and areca nut – are traditionally believed to offer protection to both the mother and infant from jinn, malevolent spirits, and demons. From a health standpoint, the aromatic properties of these spices are also thought to provide therapeutic benefits, aiding in the restoration of the mother's strength following childbirth.	Belian

9	<i>Api</i>	Fire symbolises anger and human desires. Consequently, in the ritual, the fire is extinguished to teach the child to regulate anger and desires throughout their life	Tuan guru and Ustaz
10	<i>Beras</i>	Rice symbolises gratitude for the sustenance provided by Allah and reflects sincerity in sharing with others	Tuan Guru and Ustaz
11	<i>Santen</i> (coconut milk)	Coconut milk, which is extracted from coconuts and is white in colour, symbolises purity and cleanliness for women following childbirth	Belian
12	<i>Aik</i> (water)	Water constitutes a fundamental component of the human body, serving as the source of life, with approximately 75% of the body's composition comprising water	Belian
13	<i>Daun Bikan</i>	Daun bikan is a creeping plant that retains its freshness regardless of its growing environment. Symbolically, humans are likened to this plant, embodying the hope that every child born will live safely and, irrespective of the distances they travel in life, will ultimately return to the Creator	Tuan Guru
11	<i>Name</i> (name)	A name serves as the fundamental symbol of human identity. Each individual is expected to maintain and uphold a good name throughout their life	Tuan Guru

The table above illustrates that the Perak Api ritual tradition among the Sasak people of Lombok constitutes a structured symbolic system imbued with theological, cosmological, and social significance. Each term utilised within the ritual – from Perak Api itself, as an expression of gratitude for childbirth, to the role of the belian as ritual specialist, and material symbols such as rice, fire, water, thread, kepeng tepong, and various spices – embodies the Sasak worldview concerning the harmonious relationship between humans, nature, and God. These symbols serve not only as protective agents for mothers and infants during the transitional postpartum period but also as vehicles for the internalisation of moral values, social cohesion, and cosmological awareness regarding the origin and purpose of human life. Consequently, the Perak Api ritual may be understood as a cultural mechanism that reinforces both religious and social identity while simultaneously maintaining equilibrium between the spiritual and ecological dimensions of Sasak communal life.

The Stages and Practices of the Perak Api Ritual within Sasak Community

Prior to the advent of Islam in Lombok, the Perak Api ritual tradition practiced by the Sasak people was embedded within a local cosmological belief system that conceptualised the world as a relational order encompassing humans, nature, and mystical forces. In practice, the Perak Api ritual was conducted during liminal phases, such as nocturnal hours, seasonal transitions, or following extraordinary events.³³ Typically, the ritual took place in open spaces, including house yards or sites regarded as possessing spiritual potency.³⁴ Within the ritual procession, the *belian* served as the principal figure, wielding full authority over the proceedings. This authority was not derived from formal religious institutions but was grounded in experience, lineage, and an understanding of symbolic meanings.³⁵ During the ritual, traditional birth attendants frequently recited local mantras articulated through performative utterances believed to harbour mystical power. These chants aimed to expel malevolent spirits and invoke protective forces. This indicates that the significance of the ritual resides in its actions and social effects rather than in doctrinal veracity, as emphasised in scriptural religions.³⁶

The practice of the Perak Api ritual can be delineated into several distinct stages. In this study, these stages are categorised into three principal phases: separation, liminality, and incorporation. Van Gennep posits that social rituals serve as transitional mechanisms that facilitate the movement of individuals or groups from one state or condition to another.³⁷ His theory of rites of passage is applicable not only to individual life-cycle rituals but also to collective rituals aimed at restoring social and cosmological order. Within the context of the Perak Api ritual among the Sasak people of Lombok, the ritual may be interpreted as a collective rite of passage that transforms society from a state of crisis to one of equilibrium. The stages of the pre-Islamic Perak Api ritual as practised by the Sasak community are as follows:

1. Separation Stage

This stage constitutes the preparatory phase, encompassing the determination of the ritual timing, the selection of the ritual location, and the preparation of materials required for the Perak Api ceremony. Observations indicate that the Perak Api ritual, as performed in Sengkerang and Marong Villages, typically takes place at night, around 7:00 p.m. following the Maghrib prayer. According to Papuq Oman, this time signifies a cosmological threshold, a moment when the boundary between the human realm (*alam nyata*) and the supernatural realm (*alam halus*) becomes more permeable. This timing is

³³ Catherine Ball, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). 214.

³⁴ Interview with Mamiq Oan, traditional leader of Marong Village, East Praya, conducted on 27 December 2025 in Marong.

³⁵ Interview with Zulaiha, a practitioner of the Perak Api ritual, conducted on 12 December 2025

³⁶ John R. Bowen, *A New Anthropology of Islam*, 1-26.

³⁷ David Gregor Koppensteiner, "Rezension - 24 _ Van Gennep The Rites of Passage," no. March 2013 (2014).

significant because the Perak Api ritual is associated with protection, neutralisation, immunity, and safety.³⁸ Following the determination of the ritual time, the subsequent step involves selecting the ritual location. Papuq Ati notes that the ritual is generally conducted in the front yard of the house, as this space symbolises two dimensions: the outer world and the inner world. The outer world represents the public sphere, whereas the inner world denotes the familial and private sphere.³⁹

Following the determination of the ritual time and location, the subsequent step involves the preparation of ritual materials. During this phase, the belian nganak assembles various ritual instruments, including sembek, grated coconut, and turmeric for hair cleansing, as well as bracelets intended for the infant's wrists and waist (see Figure 1). Additionally, the traditional birth attendant prepares materials for igniting the ritual fire, comprising kambut niur (old coconut fibre) for female infants and bobok (dried coconut fronds) for male infants. The separation stage signifies that the newborn and the postpartum mother, having undergone a transitional phase, have moved from a profane state into a ritual space. Van Gennep (1960) elucidates that this transition serves to detach individuals or groups from the previous order, which is regarded as disturbed, thereby facilitating symbolic transformation.⁴⁰



Figure 1. Preparation of Ritual Fire Materials by the Belian



Figure 2: Belian Massaging the Infant's Body

2. The Liminality Stage

This stage represents the central phase of the Perak Api ritual practice. During this phase, individuals or groups occupy an "in-between" state, no longer

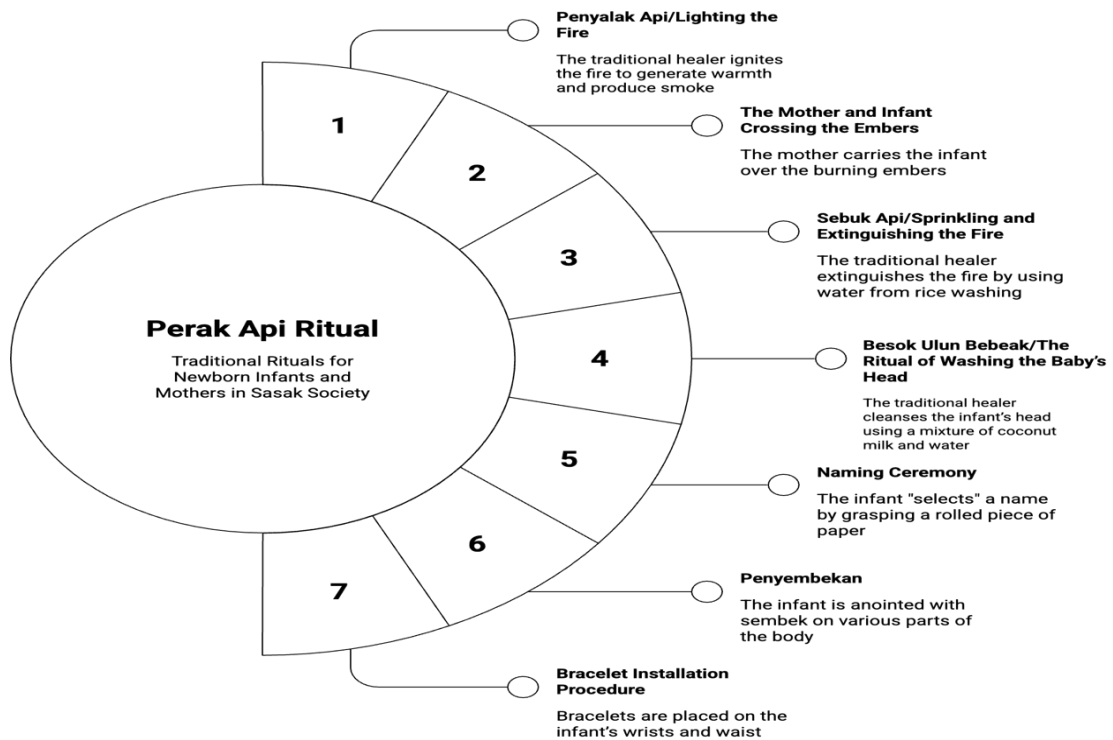
³⁸ Interview with Papuq Oman, the eldest Belian Nganak (traditional birth attendant) in Sengkerang Village, conducted on 5 November 2025 in Sengkerang.

³⁹ Interview with Papuq Ati, Belian Nganak, 5 December 2025, Landah.

⁴⁰ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*.

fully belonging to their previous condition, yet not having fully attained the intended new status.⁴¹ Typically, this stage occurs between the seventh and ninth day following childbirth, within the domestic setting – specifically in the room or yard where the ritual procession is conducted – and is overseen by the traditional birth attendant.

Figure 5. The Fundamental Stages of the Perak Api Ritual Practice within Sasak Community



During the liminal stage, several ritual processions are performed. The first is *penyalak api*, or the lighting of the fire. The fire is ignited by the traditional birth attendant and allowed to burn until it forms embers, with the intention of spreading warmth and smoke throughout the room. The second ritual involves the mother and infant passing over the embers. Once the fire has diminished to embers, the mother carries the baby using a *kemben* (*bekemben*)⁴² and circles the infant nine times above the embers. The third ritual is the sprinkling and extinguishing of the fire, known as *sebuk api*. After the baby has been carried around the embers nine times, the traditional birth attendant extinguishes the fire using rice-washing water until it is completely extinguished. It is from this process that the term *Perak Api* originates.⁴³

⁴¹ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Semi-Scholars*. Rodney Needham, *Translite*.

⁴² *Bekemben* is a traditional garment worn by the mother of the baby, crafted from *kereng* (sarong cloth), which covers the body from the chest to below the knees.

⁴³ Interview with Siti Nur Qodri, a practitioner of the *Perak Api* ritual, conducted on 13 December 2025 in Sengerang, East Praya.

The fourth stage involves washing the baby's head (*besok ulun bebeak*). Following the fire-extinguishing ritual, the baby's head is cleansed with coconut milk, which serves as a natural hair cleanser. Additionally, the traditional birth attendant gently massages the baby's body (see Figure 2). The fifth stage is the naming ceremony. Once the baby has been dried with a towel and wrapped in a *lampin* (cloth wrapping), the naming ritual is conducted. During this ceremony, the parents prepare two names, each written on a piece of paper and rolled up. These rolled papers are placed in the baby's hands for the infant to grasp. The paper that remains in the baby's hand is believed to signify the chosen name. The sixth stage is *penyembekan*. Following the naming ritual, *sembek*—a mixture composed of areca nut, turmeric, rice, lime paste, boiled water, and *lekok* (betel leaves)—is applied to various parts of the baby's body, including the forehead, crown of the head, chest, knees, and soles of the feet. This application symbolises that the baby has officially received a name and represents the stages of human life.⁴⁴

Seventh is the installation of bracelets. Following the *penyembekan* ritual, bracelets are placed on the infant's wrists and waist. These bracelets are typically composed of turmeric, *jerangoan*, and garlic, bound together with black thread. Each material incorporated in the *teken* carries specific symbolic meanings and functions. According to Inaq Isuk, a traditional birth attendant, the plants used as bracelet components are commonly employed in traditional medicine (see Figure 3). These bracelets embody multiple significances and purposes. Firstly, within Sasak mythological belief, the *teken* serves to protect the infant from malevolent spirits. Philosophically, the black thread is thought to repel dark supernatural forces, while the potent aromas of turmeric, *jerangoan*, and garlic are believed to deter evil spirits. Secondly, from both traditional and medical health perspectives, the fragrances of turmeric, *jerangoan*, and garlic function as a form of aromatherapy. The bracelet worn around the waist is also believed to prevent excessive bowel movements in infants.⁴⁵ Thirdly, from a moral standpoint, the bracelet symbolises parental affection, the preservation of local traditions, and the expression of faith in divine power through positive spiritual suggestion.⁴⁶

During the liminal stage, social structures are temporarily dissolved. In this phase, individuals and communities experience symbolic equality. The extinguishing of the fire serves as a transformative medium that 'burns away' the imbalances of the previous condition, thereby opening possibilities for a new order. From Van Gennep's perspective, as interpreted by Victor Turner in "The

⁴⁴ Arifin, Andayani, and Sedijani, "Rekonstruksi Etnosains Tradisi Pedak Api Masyarakat Narmada dalam Pembelajaran Biologi."

⁴⁵ Interview with Inak Isuk, Belian Nganak, conducted on 12 December 2025 in Sengkerang, East Praya.

⁴⁶ Arifin, Andayani, and Sedijani.

Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure”, liminality within the Perak Api ritual tradition can be understood as a symbolic space in which norms, identities, and social life are renegotiated.⁴⁷

3. Incorporation Stage

During the incorporation stage of the Perak Api ritual, the sequence concludes with two closing processions: the cleaning of the fire embers and the presentation of pahandang, also known as andang-andang. The cleaning of the embers is typically carried out by the infant’s father, symbolising his role as the head of the family and his responsibility for the welfare of both the child and the mother. Following this, the father offers the pahandang to the belian nganak as a gesture of gratitude for their support. The pahandang customarily comprises money, rice, and traditional chewing items such as areca nut, betel leaves, tobacco, lime paste, alongside other items determined by the family’s financial means. These offerings are arranged within a tray or container.⁴⁸

Within the context of Perak Api, the pahandang presented to the traditional birth attendant functions not merely as an expression of gratitude but also holds symbolic significance. Rice represents a willingness to share, symbolising gratitude for the sustenance provided by Almighty God. Meanwhile, betel leaves, areca nut, lime paste, and mako laek signify that the child has been formally named. Philosophically, these symbols also embody humanity’s designated role as leaders on earth.⁴⁹ This stage further signifies that individuals or groups have returned to the normal social order. As Turner elucidates, once the ritual process is complete, individuals resume their ordinary daily lives with the conviction that disturbances experienced during the critical phase have been expelled and cosmological balance restored.⁵⁰ For greater clarity, the three stages of the Perak Api ritual practice are summarised in the following table.

⁴⁷ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Cambridge: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 94-130;

⁴⁸ Interview with Siti Nur Qodri, a practitioner of the Perak Api ritual, conducted on 13 December 2025 in Sengkerang, East Praya.

⁴⁹ Nurkayatun, “Analisa Praktik Klinik Keperawatan pada Bayi dengan Intervensi Inovasi Pemberian Kangaroo Mother Care (KMC) terhadap Status Termogulasi pada Bayi dengan Berat Badan Lahir Rendah di Ruang NICU RSUD Taman Husada Bontang” (Kalimantan: Universitas Muhammadiyah Kaltim., 2022), 278.

⁵⁰ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*.

Table 2: Stages of Ritual Practice, Symbolic Meanings, and Socio-Cultural Functions of the Perak Api Ritual

Context of Van Gennep’s Theory	Perak Api Ritual Procession	Symbolic Meaning	Socio-Cultural Function
Separation Stage (Separation)	The determination of the ritual time – either at sunset or following the Maghrib prayer at 7:00 p.m. – and the location, specifically the front yard of the house, was established	This denotes a state of crisis	Raising awareness among individuals or groups regarding an abnormal situation and preparing them to engage in the transformative process
Liminal Stage (Liminality)	Penyalak Api (lighting the fire), the mother and infant circling the fire, Besok Ulu Kanak (washing the infant’s head), the naming ceremony, Penyembekan, and the installation of bracelets	Fire symbolises purification, protection, and cosmological negotiation. Additionally, it represents safeguarding and security against malevolent spirits	Establishing a new communal identity for the infant and creating a space for the redefinition of the concepts of safety and protection
Reincorporation Stage (Incorporation)	The removal of fire embers and the presentation of pahandang to the belian nganak (traditional birth attendant)	The conclusion of the ritual signifies the restoration of both cosmological and social balance. The Pahandang serves as an expression of gratitude towards the belian	Consolidating a new social order and establishing symbolic legitimacy following the ritual

The table above illustrates that the Perak Api ritual can be systematically analysed through Arnold van Gennep’s tripartite framework of rites of passage, as outlined in “Les Rites de Passage”. During the separation stage, the specification of ritual time and place signifies a state of crisis and detachment from a social context deemed abnormal, thereby preparing the family to undergo

a transformative process. The liminal stage is manifested in the processions involving circling the fire, naming the infant, and the installation of bracelets, each symbolising purification, protection, and a cosmological negotiation between humans and supernatural forces. This phase constitutes a transformative space wherein both mother and child acquire a new social status. The incorporation stage is characterised by the cleaning of the embers and the presentation of “pahandang” to the “belian”, symbolising the restoration of social and cosmological equilibrium and reaffirming the infant’s legitimate position within the community. Consequently, the Perak Api ritual operates as a cultural mechanism for managing the crisis of childbirth through symbolic processes that renew social structures and redefine the concepts of safety and well-being within Sasak society.



Figure 3: Pahandang and Equipment Used in Fire Rituals



Figure 4: The Baby Naming Ceremony Performed by a Religious Leader

The Transformation of the Perak Api Ritual within the Contexts of Islamic Culture and Global Modernity

Lombok, often referred to as the “Island of a Thousand Mosques,”⁵¹ is also distinguished by its rich diversity of beliefs, cultures, and traditions.⁵² This diversity is exemplified in various ritual celebrations, notably the Perak Api ritual tradition. The Perak Api ritual is a ceremonial practice conducted during periods of crisis, intended to secure protection and safety for newborn infants, and is deeply rooted in local belief systems. Following the process of Islamization in Lombok from the sixteenth century onwards, the Perak Api tradition was not entirely abandoned; rather, it experienced a

⁵¹ Abdurrazak, *Leadership Nahdlatul Wathan Pasca Maulana Syaikh TGKH Zainuddin Abdul Majid Al-Ampanani* (Yogyakarta: Tonggak Media, 2024), 1.

⁵² Abdurrazak, Sukron Azhari, Putra Wanda, Lalu Suparman Ambakti, “Religious Tolerance Based on Local Wisdom: Social Perspective of Lombok Community,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 20 (2022): 203–26.

transformation in meaning through symbolic reinterpretation within an Islamic framework. Elements of the ritual that were perceived as potentially incompatible with the principle of tawhid were gradually renegotiated through the incorporation of Islamic religious practices, including the recitation of dhikr, Islamic prayers, the reading of Barzanji, and the enhanced role of religious leaders in guiding the ritual proceedings. This transformation was further characterised by a shift in the source of symbolic legitimacy: protection and safety, once associated with the symbolic power of fire, came to be understood as supplications directed to Allah, the ultimate source of salvation. Consequently, the Perak Api ritual underwent a process of cultural Islamization that was adaptive rather than eliminative, preserving the structure of local tradition while integrating Islamic theological values as the foundation of its significance.

This transformation process illustrates that the relationship between local tradition and Islam within Sasak community does not invariably manifest as a rejection or eradication of tradition. Rather, it frequently occurs through mechanisms of cultural negotiation that facilitate the synthesis of indigenous cultural elements with religious teachings. Within this framework, Perak Api can be understood as an exemplar of how local traditions undergo processes of rearticulating meaning, thereby enabling their continued practice within Muslim society without compromising their religious legitimacy. This phenomenon concurrently exemplifies the dynamic interplay between religion, culture, and social change within Sasak community in Lombok.

From the perspective of the Sasak people of Lombok, Islam did not seek to completely eradicate local culture; rather, it aimed to Islamise existing traditions and customs.⁵³ The historical development of Islam in Lombok exemplifies a prolonged process of acculturation. This is evident in the roles of religious figures such as Tuan Guru, Kiai, and santri, whose approaches were characterised by persuasion and accommodation.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Islam functions as a normative framework that does not abolish ritual structures but instead reinterprets ritual symbols. Talal Asad contends that Islam, as a discursive tradition, remains intrinsically linked to local cultural practices through processes of articulation and the imposition of disciplinary meaning, rather than through the obliteration of the past.⁵⁵

Within the dynamics of global modernity, Perak Api has entered a more complex phase. Global modernity has transformed Perak Api into a ritual that is challenged by scientific rationality through health bureaucracies and global discourses concerning

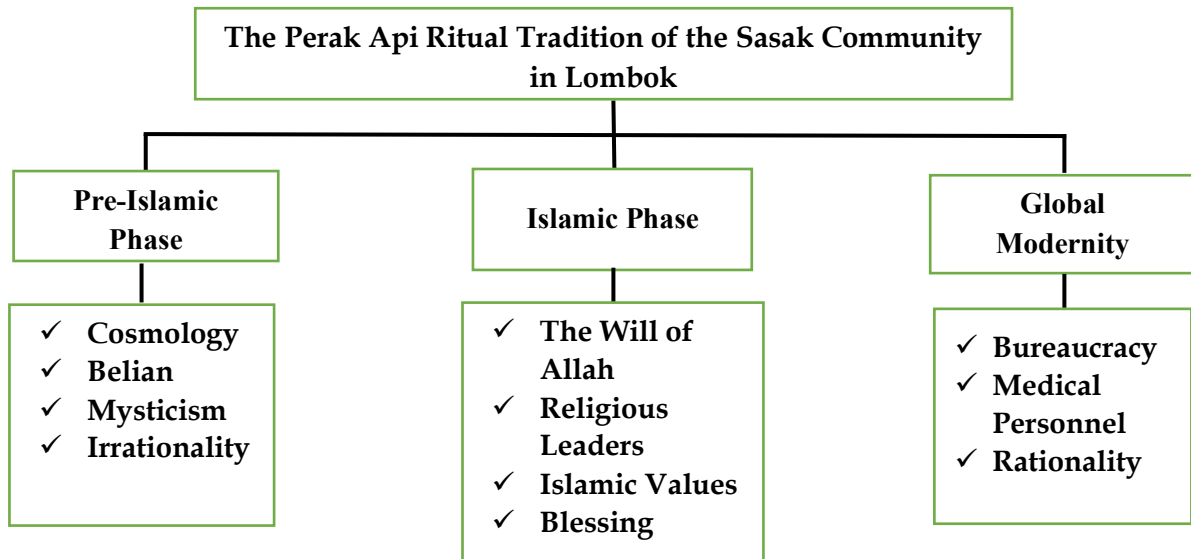
⁵³ Interview with TGH Abdul Karim, Islamic leader of East Praya, conducted on 15 December 2025 in Mujur.

⁵⁴ Rahayu, "Tradisi Peraq Api Antara Islam dan Tradisi (Studi di Desa Bonder Kecamatan Praya Barat Kabupaten Lombok Tengah Nusa Tenggara Barat) The Peraq Api Tradition Between Islam and Local Customs (A Study In Bonder Village, Praya Barat District, Central Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara)."

⁵⁵ Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 14-20.

risk and safety, which frequently regard local rituals as irrational practices. In the context of liquid modernity, Perak Api instead intensifies feelings of uncertainty and social anxiety. This condition fosters the emergence of various symbolic practices aimed at achieving a sense of security and temporary stability. To better understand the transition of the Perak Api ritual from its early tradition (pre-Islamic phase) to the post-Islamic and global modernity eras, refer to the diagram below.

Figure 5: The Transition of the Perak Api Ritual Tradition among the Sasak Community of Lombok



The diagram above illustrates the transitional development of the Perak Api ritual tradition among the Sasak people of Lombok, particularly within the East Praya District of Central Lombok Regency, in response to social, religious, and cultural transformations. This evolution is evident in the pre-Islamic phase (early phase), during which the Perak Api ritual was embedded in local cosmology that interpreted social disturbances, disease outbreaks, and natural disasters as manifestations of an imbalance in the relationship between humans, nature, and supernatural forces. In this phase, fire was regarded as a sacred medium endowed with protective power, while the role of the belian was central in mediating between the community and supernatural realms. Accordingly, the ritual served as a collective mechanism for restoring cosmological equilibrium and providing a sense of security and protection.

With the spread and influence of Islam in Lombok, the Perak Api ritual tradition underwent significant shifts in both meaning and commodification. Elements of the ritual deemed incompatible with Islamic values were progressively renegotiated through the incorporation of Islamic principles. The authority of the belian within the ritual process was increasingly supplanted by religious figures such as the Tuan Guru and Kiai (see Figure 4). Fire, once regarded as an autonomous source of power, came to serve primarily as a symbol accompanying supplications to Allah. This development demonstrates that Islam operates as a normative framework that guides and

restructures ritual meanings without necessarily eradicating the traditional balance. In other words, Islam did not function as a force of elimination regarding the Perak Api ritual tradition, but rather as an agent of renewal, filtration, and adaptation in accordance with Islamic law (sharia).

Within the context of global modernity, Perak Api has encountered challenges posed by scientific rationality, state bureaucracy, and medical authority, all of which frequently regard the ritual as irrational. Perak Api is no longer perceived as a causal solution grounded in beliefs related to protection, salvation, and supernatural power; rather, the ritual has evolved into an expression of cultural identity among the Sasak people of Lombok and a manifestation of social solidarity that coexists alongside modern systems of knowledge. According to Bauman, this phenomenon exemplifies the effects of liquid modernity (global modernity), characterised by uncertainty.⁵⁶ This implies that social structures are subject to continual change, instability, and ongoing renegotiation. As a result, society is encouraged to maintain symbolic practices that serve as mechanisms for social cohesion and the management of collective anxiety. Moreover, within the framework of liquid modernity theory, this ritual practice can be understood as an adaptive and reflective tradition, capable of responding to contemporary challenges and transformations by altering, reshaping, and modifying its symbolic language and foundations of legitimacy. Thus, contemporary Perak Api practices represent a dynamic negotiation between tradition, Islam, and global modernity, without necessitating the mutual negation of these elements.

“Perak Api Lebur Anyong Ritual” Tradition: The Adaptation of Indigenous Customs in the Context of Global Modernity

The Perak Api Lebur Anyong ritual tradition can be understood as a tangible embodiment of what Zygmunt Bauman describes as liquid modernity, a social condition characterised by the fluidity and continual reconfiguration of structures, identities, and cultural practices, rather than their fixed or solid nature. Within this framework, lebur anyong signifies more than the mere amalgamation of cultural elements; it also represents the ontological transformation of tradition itself—from a previously stable and normatively inherited entity to a practice that is open to negotiation, reinterpretation, and ongoing adaptation. Consequently, the existence of Perak Api Lebur Anyong is not simply the outcome of interactions among local customs, Islam, and global modernity, but also a manifestation of a fluid social condition in which the boundaries between these three elements become increasingly blurred and intertwined.

The concept of the Perak Api Lebur Anyong ritual tradition may be likened to the process of blending diverse elements into a cohesive cultural practice, analogous to the combination of various ingredients in a cup of coffee or tea to create a novel and complete beverage. From the perspective of Zygmunt Bauman’s theory of liquid

⁵⁶ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005). 1-25.

modernity, the Perak Api Lebur Anyong can be understood as a cultural practice shaped through an ongoing process of fusion among pre-Islamic local traditions, Islamic values, and the influences of global modernity. This process does not treat these elements as discrete components but rather as interconnected factors that interact and coalesce into a unified, integrated ritual practice.

Within Bauman's conceptual framework, liquid modernity is characterised by the attenuation of singular authority in the determination of social meaning. This phenomenon is exemplified in the practice of Perak Api Lebur Anyong, wherein no single dominant authority—be it custom, religion, or modernity—exerts absolute control over the form and significance of the ritual. Rather, the ritual emerges through an ongoing process of negotiation among diverse social actors, including traditional birth attendants, customary leaders, religious figures, and the wider community, who collectively shape ritual forms deemed legitimate, relevant, and acceptable. Consequently, the ritual is no longer enacted as a fixed traditional inheritance but is instead practised as a reflective and adaptive process, continually modified in response to social contexts, religious discourses, and the imperatives of modernity.

Furthermore, the concept of lebur anyong, from this perspective, illustrates that the continuity of tradition is no longer contingent upon the purity of its form or strict adherence to its origins, but rather on its capacity to adapt to continually evolving circumstances. Pre-Islamic traditions persist as symbolic references; however, they are no longer preserved in a literal sense. Islam offers a normative framework, yet it is also subject to contextualisation within local practices. Concurrently, global modernity exerts pressures characterised by rationalisation, efficiency, and the pursuit of public legitimacy. These three elements do not exist within a hierarchical structure but operate through fluid and interconnected relationships, resulting in ritual forms that are both hybrid and dynamic.⁵⁷

Therefore, Perak Api Lebur Anyong should not be understood merely as the product of syncretism or cultural acculturation in a classical and static sense. Instead, it constitutes a form of fluid assemblage, that is, a socio-cultural configuration characterised by continuous change, wherein ritual meaning exists within a process of "becoming" rather than "being." Within this framework, tradition endures precisely because of its inherent instability and its capacity for ongoing negotiation, reinterpretation, and adaptation to evolving social realities. This perspective aligns with Zygmunt Bauman's assertion that "modernity does not eliminate tradition, but transforms it into a fluid, adaptive, and contextual cultural practice."

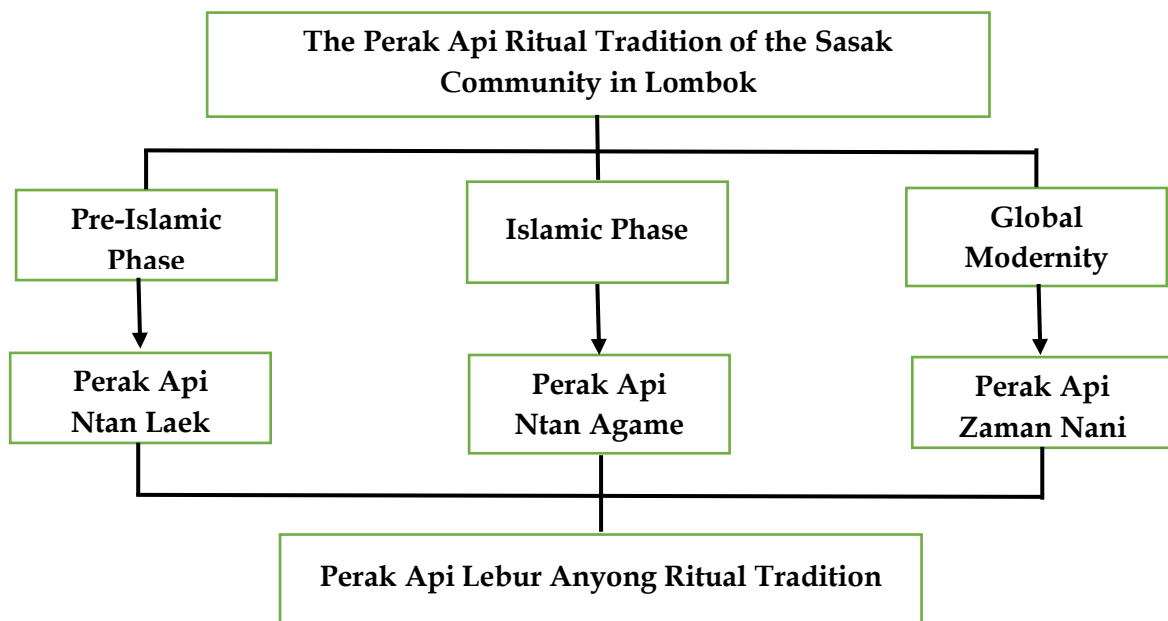
The concept of Perak Api Lebur Anyong can thus be regarded as an empirical illustration that substantiates Bauman's thesis, which posits that in modern society, the persistence of a cultural practice is no longer contingent upon its stability but rather on its adaptability to change. This is exemplified by the evolving authority of the belian

⁵⁷ Alicia Mattiazzi and Martín Vila-Petroff, "Is Bauman's 'Liquid Modernity' Influencing the Way We Are Doing Science?," *Journal of General Physiology* 153, no. 5 (2021): 1-5.

nganak (traditional birth attendant), who once exercised exclusive authority but whose role has since become more collaborative. Historically, the belian was responsible for the entire Perak Api process, encompassing childbirth and the associated rituals. In contemporary contexts, many of these duties have been transferred to midwives within medical settings, particularly concerning childbirth and maternal and infant healthcare, while the belian retains responsibility for cultural and ritual elements, such as overseeing the dapuh and conducting the Perak Api procession.

From the perspective of Zygmunt Bauman, this phenomenon exemplifies the “fluidity” of authority, wherein no single entity retains dominance. Authority becomes flexible and is allocated according to necessity. Rather than supplanting one another, the belian and the midwife collaborate: the midwife ensures medical safety, while the belian maintains symbolic significance and tradition. Consequently, this transformation does not abolish the role of the belian but rather repositions it within a more modern and adaptive framework, thereby enabling the Perak Api tradition to persist amidst social change. This process is further elucidated in the diagram below.

Figure 6: The Formation of the Perak Api Lebur Anyong Ritual Tradition



The diagram above illustrates that the Perak Api Lebur Anyong ritual tradition constitutes a synthesis of the early Perak Api tradition (pre-Islamic), the post-Islamic phase, and contemporary global modernity. As outlined in the preceding section, the initial Perak Api ritual practices were informed by indigenous beliefs; hence, this stage is designated by the researcher as Perak Api Ntan Laek (classical Perak Api ritual practice). Following the advent of Islam, the Perak Api ritual experienced substantial transformation, resulting in what is termed Perak Api Ntan Agame (Islamic Perak Api). Subsequently, the impact of global modernity has rendered the ritual practice more modern, adaptable, and rational, culminating in the form known as Perak Api

Zaman Nani (contemporary Perak Api). The confluence of these three dimensions – tradition, Islam, and global modernity – has ultimately engendered a novel concept identified in this study as the Perak Api Lebur Anyong ritual tradition.

Conclusion

This study addresses the transformation of the Perak Api tradition among the Sasak community, which is characterised by tensions between local cosmology, Islamic values, and global modernity. The findings indicate that the Perak Api ritual is preserved through three principal stages: separation, liminality, and incorporation. Each stage encompasses symbols that serve as mechanisms of protection, purification, and the reinforcement of the community's cultural identity. These results demonstrate that the Sasak people are capable of negotiating their ancestral traditions alongside Islamic teachings and modern rationality without diminishing their symbolic significance. The implications of this research suggest that local traditions can function as a medium for social, religious, and cultural integration within contemporary Muslim societies. Nevertheless, this study is limited to the East Praya area and utilises a qualitative phenomenological approach; therefore, it does not comprehensively represent the diversity of practices across the broader Sasak community. Moreover, the influence of digital media on the transformation of the Perak Api ritual has not been examined in this research.

This study recommends that future research broaden its scope to encompass various Sasak communities across Lombok, thereby facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of ritual variations, symbolic transformations, and the interplay between local traditions, religion, and modernity. It is further advised that subsequent investigations adopt interdisciplinary methodologies, integrating perspectives from anthropology, Islamic studies, public health, and digital media studies, to enable a more nuanced analysis of the dynamics underpinning cultural transformation. Moreover, it is imperative to explore the roles of younger generations, religious institutions, and healthcare organisations in the preservation and reconstruction of the Perak Api practice within the context of globalization. Consequently, the Perak Api Lebur Anyong ritual should be regarded not merely as a cultural heritage of the Sasak people but also as a form of creative adaptation that exemplifies the capacity of local traditions to endure, evolve, and maintain relevance amid contemporary social changes. This tradition simultaneously exemplifies the adaptability of local culture in responding to the challenges posed by global modernity.

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