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A STUDY ON MOTIFS OF SASAK TRADITIONAL WEDDING UNDERGARMENT DODOT AND BENDANG IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIO-CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

The Sasak tribe is a native of the island of Lombok, a small island located in the province of West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. The traditional clothing of the Sasak tribe is unique in its clothing style, which is a mixture of Javanese and Balinese customs, but it also adapts the Malay style in the use of songket cloth which is called the "Subahnale songket" cloth as the undergarment. The objectives of this study are to identify and analyse the motifs of songket subahnale fabrics and their relations in the social and cultural context of the Sasak tribe. The researcher provided 4 samples of songket subahnale which are commonly used as undergarments, called dodot and bendana, for traditional Sasak clothes. To analyse the cloth motifs, the researcher uses the Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic theory which studies the meaning of symbols or signs. The results show that there is a dominant type of floral motif from all identified motifs and Islamic values which are found embedded in the symbolism of these motifs. In addition, many motif meanings describe the social and cultural aspects of the Sasak tribe, such as the nanas motif, which describes the background of the Sasak people who are agrarian, and the tri raja motif, which symbolises the 3 pillars that the king of Lombok must practice for his princess' life. Apart from aiming to find out the social and cultural values implied in the songket motifs on the undergarments of traditional Sasak clothes, this research also aims to be a reference for relevant research which raises the theme of socio-cultural values in the motifs on traditional clothes in Lombok which is still rarely explored.

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1. Introduction

According to Mulyadi (2014), Sasak is the name of an indigenous tribe that inhabits the island of Lombok, located in the province of West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. The past immigrants, most of whom came from the kingdoms and sultanates of Java, Bali and Malay, and Arab Muslim scholars and traders, influenced the socio-culture of the Sasak people. This is reflected in the pattern of clothing of the Sasak tribe which has a blend of Javanese and Balinese traditional clothing, and there is a Malay touch from songket cloth. The subahnale songket is used as the undergarment of these traditional clothes (Siandari 2013).

Pratama (2017) stated that the songket cloth used as traditional undergarments is a typical songket made by the Sasak people called the songket subahnale. This cloth is produced traditionally by female weavers from the village of Sukarara, a village located in the Central Lombok district. The Subahnale songket cloth has its uniqueness in its motifs, some of which still carry animal and human themes which in the Malay tradition may be considered forbidden. In addition, the distinctive feature of songket with the Subahnale motif is the hexagonal pattern arranged in a "beehive-like" pattern, especially fabrics with derivatives of the Subahnale laeq motif (Rosyidi 2012).

This study focuses on the motifs in Sasak's traditional wedding dress undergarments. As the objective, the motifs of the cloth are identified and categorised, and the meaning of the motifs are described in their relation to the social and cultural aspects of the Sasak tribe. From identifying the motifs and meanings of dodot undergarments and their relation to the prevailing social and cultural phenomena of the Sasak tribe, the researcher hopes to provide the readers with a deeper understanding on the culture of the Sasak tribe and their traditional clothing. In addition, this research is also expected to be a reference for research related to traditional and socio-cultural clothing of the Sasak tribe who are residents of the island of Lombok and may as well contribute to scientific fields that study motifs, symbolism, tradition and art, and socio-culture in the Archipelagos.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Sasak Traditional Clothing

Based on Mulhimmah (2017), Sasak traditional clothing is influenced by cultures that have been involved in the development of the *Sasak* tribe in the past. Nations from the lands of Java and Bali who brought religious and cultural influences at that time also had a major influence on beliefs, culture and art, one of which was traditional Sasak clothing which had a blend of Balinese and Javanese traditional clothing. In addition, the Malay culture also plays an important role in its contribution to the traditional *Sasak* clothing style. The rapid development of Malay culture is due to the existence of a common identity based on interaction and interrelation (Sumadewa and Hasbullah 2021). In the past, various Malay nations came to harbour in Lombok with the intention of trading, teaching religion, studying, and introducing their arts (Pratama 2017).

Based on Siandari (2013), the main male Sasak traditional clothing consists of a sapuq, pegon, keris, kereng bereng, and dodot, while for women, it consists of onggar-onggar, ringgit necklace, kebaya, bebet, and bendang. Subahnale songket cloth functions as undergarments in traditional Sasak clothing for both men and women. For in men, it is used as a dodot, while in women it is used as a bendang. The name "subahnale" originated from the admiration of the villagers when the first woman in the village of Sukarara succeeded in making the first songket cloth. The amazed villagers immediately said, "subahnale" which is an absorption word from Subhanallah (hisabit) that is derived from Arabic, means "glorified be to Allah" (Misnawati 2016).

Table 1 Male Sasak Traditional Clothing

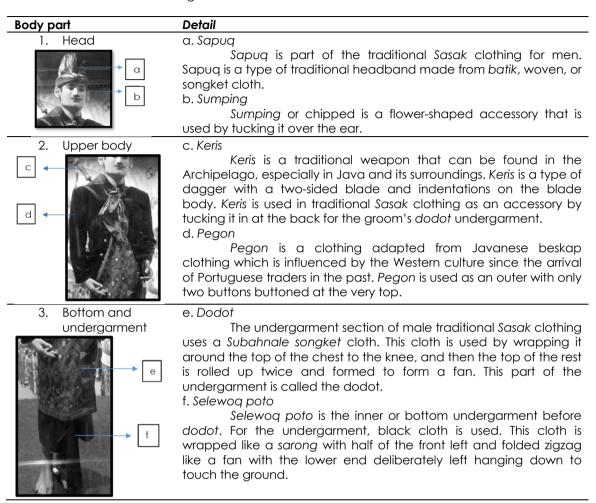


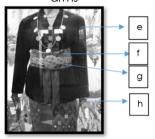
Table 2 Female Sasak Traditional Clothing

Body part	Detail
1. Head and neck a b c d	a. Onggar-onggar Ongga-onggar is a crown decoration in the form of a golden flower made of light metal. b. Remawe decoration A remawe or "rose" decoration is placed on the forehead right in the middle of the parting of the hair. c. Sekang gigi due olas This decoration is in the form of earrings that are quite prominent, made of metal, and coloured gold.

d. Kalung ringgit

A string of old ringgit coins on a gold chain and used on the bride.

2. Upper body and arms



e. Kebaya

Kebaya is a form of Javanese adaptation of clothing which is also used by Sasak brides. Generally, the Sasak wedding kebaya has a black colour to match the pegon, which is a typical Sasak groom's suit.

f. Bebet

The cloth used as a belt is called *bebet*, which can come from ordinary woven cloth, batik cloth, or songket cloth.

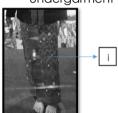
a. Pendina

The pending belt is an ornament made of gold-coloured metal and decorated with gemstones.

h. Gendit

The *gendit* is a gold metal accessory worn on both wrists by the grooms. *Gendit* shapes can be in the form of tree tendrils, dragons, or snakes that are wrapped around to form a bracelet.

3. Bottom and undergarment



i. Bendana

The bendang is the undergarment for the bride and is used by wrapping it like a sarong from above the waist to the ankles. The bendang cloth uses subahnale songket cloth.

2.1 Motif and Symbolism

Aris (2014) stated that the idea of motifs is created from human experience with the environment and society they live in. Bahauddin & Abdullah (2019) shared the same opinion that motifs inspired by living things, environment, surrounding objects and nature, social and cultural values, reflections of the civilisation and inheritance of oral literacy from the ancestors from the past in which the art was found. In Budiwirman (2018), it is stated that motifs have a close relationship with symbols where their function is to represent objects both physically and abstractly. According to Ferdinand de Saussure in Culler (1986), semiotics is a field that studies symbols, signs, and the meaning of symbols. The semiotic theory of symbols and signs involves 2 important elements which are different but interrelated, namely: signifier and signified.

2.3 Motifs and Socio-culture

In the relationship between motifs and socio-culture, several factors influence the initiation or idea of making motifs. Based on Arba'iyah Ab. Aziz (2020), the following are 5 factors of social and culture that influence the creation of motifs, including:

a. Uses and Benefits

Objects that are considered useful and/or beneficial often become a source of inspiration to humans. The uses and benefits of certain objects give an impression, therefore weavers try to make objects with these characteristics to be used as motifs.

b. Traits and Habits

The traits and habits of an event or object in the environment can also create an impression on humans if there is uniqueness or characteristic that distinguishes it from other events or things.

Natural laws and God's decrees

The Jelo or sun motif on songket subahnale jelo is an example of a motif inspired by natural laws and God's decrees, something that has been arranged in such a way in the universe.

d. Uniqueness

Human amazement begins with their witness to the uniqueness around them. Nature and its surroundings provide a place for living things to adapt and develop in it. Many forms of life and natural characteristics amaze people who are always curious.

e. Symbolism and Implied Meaning

The symbolism of a motif does not always represent the literal meaning of the motif. Motifs can also be used by the initiator to convey implied intentions or meanings that are different from what the motif shows.

3. Methodology

This research is a type of qualitative study. The researchers were using observation and interviews for data collection methods. From the observation, the researchers provided 4 samples of subahnale songket used as undergarments. The songket fabrics used as samples are the subahnale bulan begantung, the subahnale nanas, the subahnale rincik, and the subahnale awun. Therefore, the researchers identified the motifs and categorised them into several types. The researchers interviewed several informants who were able to provide reliable information regarding this field. Next, the data collection was observed based on the information obtained from the interview. Research informants came from various backgrounds, including weavers, librarians, museum employees, academics, representatives of traditional institutions, and traditional elders.

Data analysis uses the semiotic theory proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure. This semiotic theory is used to interpret the meaning contained in symbols or signs that are in motifs. The separable components of semiotics can be divided into signified and signifier. The meaning of these motifs is then identified concerning the social and culture of the Sasak tribe who are the original inhabitants of the island of Lombok.

4. Results

Following the objective of this study, namely examining the motifs in the undergarment of Sasak traditional clothing, the 4 samples of the songket were identified. Through interviews, the informants were asked information about the meaning of motifs and their relation to the social and culture of the Sasak tribe, and then the researchers observed the samples and the results of the interviews and collected the footage needed for documentation purposes. The results were obtained after the collection of data in the form of songket cloth motifs used in the undergarment of traditional Sasak clothing and were analysed through data analysis which carries the Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic theory. The following table provides 4 samples of songket weaving that have been collected:

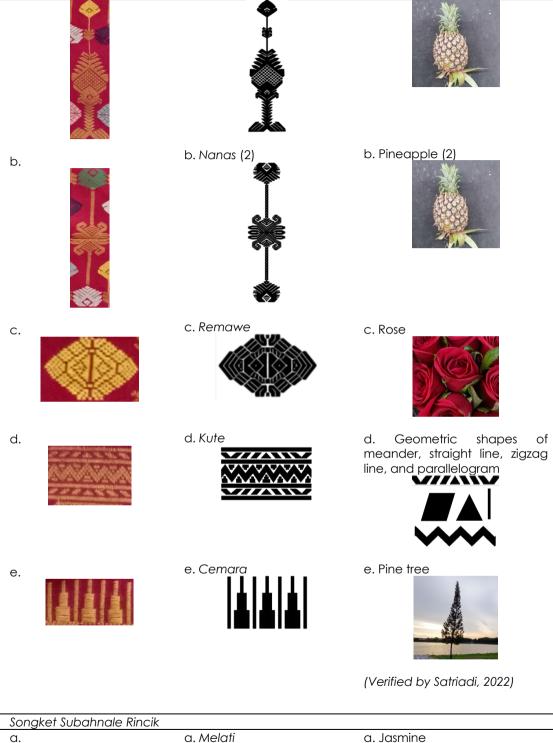
Table 3 Data Collection

No.	Sample		Description
1		Figure 1: Subahnale bulan begantung cloth.	Name: Subahnale Bulan Begantung Height: 100cm Length: 200cm Material: Cotton Design: The songket subahnale bulan begantung has an index motif in the form of a flower-shaped moon flanked and hung between two palm trees. This fabric has a black base colour with gold decorative threads.
2		Figure 2: Subahnale nanas cloth.	Name: Subahnale Nanas Height: 100cm Length: 200cm Material: Cotton Design: This songket cloth has a red base colour with a motif index of pineapple.
3		Figure 3: Subahnale rincik cloth.	Name: Subahnale Rincik Height: 100cm Length: 200cm Material: Cotton Design: This subahnale songket cloth has a motif in the form of colourful roses, each of which is in a hexagon- shaped motif.
4		Figure 4: Subahnale awun cloth.	Name: Subahnale Awun Height: 100cm Length: 200cm Material: Cotton Design: This weaving cloth is a songket subahnale with an index motif in the form of cloudy clouds. The basic colour of this fabric is black with dark green trim.

The motifs on songket are investigated and searched for the related subject matter. Here are the 4 fabrics and the motifs contained therein as well as the matter object represented by each motif. The motifs are broken down and matched with respective object matter and then analysed for the meaning contained therein.

Table 4 Songket Motifs

	Songket	Motif	Subject Matter
1.	Songket Subahnale Bulan Be		
	a.	a. Palem	a. Palm tree
	b.	b. Bulan begantung	b. Moon
	c.	c. Awun	c. Cloud
	d.	d. Kute	d. Geometric shapes of line, triangle, circle, rhombus, and meander
	e.	e. Rembaung	e. Bamboo shoot (Verified by Satriadi, 2022)
2.	Songket Subahnale Nanas		
	a.	a. Nanas	a. Pineapple



3.	Songket Subahnale Rincik		
	a.	a. Melati	a. Jasmine







b.



b. Tri raja



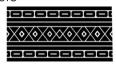
b. Geometric shape of a hexagon ____



c.



c. Kute



c. Geometric shape of line, rectangle, triangle, and rhombus



d.



d. Cemara



d. Pine tree



(Verified by Satriadi, 2022)

4. Songket Subahnale Awun





a. Awun



a. Cloud



b.



b. Awun



b. Cloud (2)



c.



c. Jelo



c. Sun

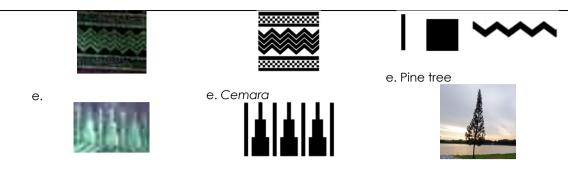


d. Kute

d. Geometric shapes of line, rectangle, and zigzag line







(Verified by Satriadi, 2022)

The motifs that have been identified and the subject matter of each has been found and then analysed for the symbolism that lies behind them. To find the meaning of the symbolism that represents these motifs, the Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic theory is used to analyse each motif and look for the meaning of these motifs in the social and cultural context of the Sasak people. The scientific field of semiotics in the Saussurean tradition is called semiology, which broadly means the study of signs. Below are the motifs along with their respective subject matter and symbolism.

Table 5 Motif and Symbolism

Cimpling	
Signifier Motif Subject Matter	- Signified
1. Palem Motif Symbolism	
Palm tree	The palm tree motif often appears in subahnale songket motifs, especially in the bulan begantung, keker, and mahkota motifs. The palm tree is a tree species characterised by dicotyledonous fruit, fibrous roots, and rectinervis leaf veins. The characteristic of a palm tree that has a long trunk with shady leaves is a symbol of protection and security. However, in the subahnale bulang begantung, this palm tree means uncertainty and restraint (Lestari, Paridi, and Ashriany 2019).

2. Bulan Begantung Motif Symbolism



Bulan begantung



Moon

The moon motif on the *bulan begantung* is a modification of the rose or *remawe* motif which has been changed in such a way. The symbols of the rose and the moon in Sasak culture mean women, and feminism, and sometimes they can mean purity and dignity (Lestari et al. 2019).

3. Awun Motif Symbolism



Awun



The awun motif is a modification of the tri raja motif from subahnale laeq. This motif is inspired by the shape of a floating cloud but is simplified into a geometric hexagon shape. In the traditional religious teachings of the Sasak people who are still based on the Hindu-Buddhist religion, the cloud is a symbol of shade, safety and protection. However, after the entry of Islam, this value changed and the cloud became a sign of incoming rain. The value of teaching in Islam believed that rain is a symbol of blessing and sustenance, and implies the coming of good things (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).

4. Kute Motif Symbolism





shapes of Lines, ziazaas, parallelograms, triangles, circles, rhombus, rectangles, and meanders

The word kute in the Sasak language means fort. The kute motif has many types and consists of various geometric and abstract shapes. In songket subahnale strictures, the kute motif is usually located on the top and bottom edges of the cloth which is illustrated to protect the object in the middle. The kute motif itself is a symbol of the protection and guarantee of security given by the king (Rosyidi 2012).

5. Rembaung Motif Symbolism





Rembauna

Bamboo shoot

The rembauna motif is a simplification of the shape of a bamboo shoot object into a geometric shape. The form of the rembaung motif is a square with high steps like a pyramid. The rembaung motif is usually located on the structure of the subahnale sonaket cloth on the edges of both sides of the cloth. The majority of the Sasak people are an agrarian population, bamboo shoots are a symbol and a sign of the start of the farming season. Good bamboo shoots appear in a good rainy season. The unique nature of bamboo shoots which is a sign of nature is what has inspired the motif of rembaung. Apart from being a symbol of the rainy season, the roof is also a symbol of fertility (Rosyidi 2012).

6. Nanas Motif Symbolism





Pineapple

The word "nanas" is derived from the Sasak language which is an uptake of the Malay language which means "pineapple", which is also the motif inspired by this fruit. Pineapple farming has become a side job for most of the Sasak people who are known to be agrarian. Although pineapple is not one of the main agricultural commodities, it is sufficient to help the community in supporting their needs for trading activities. The nature of the pineapple which is very compatible with the type of soil of the residents there and easy to grow is considered a blessing and uniqueness of the fruit. This nanas motif is considered a blessing from God almighty who has entrusted the Sasak people with the fertile Gumi Lombok land (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).

7. Remawe Motif Symbolism





Remawe in the Sasak language means "rose". The remawe motif is a simplification of the rose flower object shape which is made geometric and is a derivative of the subahnale laeq motif because it still represents the hexagonal shape typical of subahnale. In the culture of the Sasak tribe, the rose or the moon is a symbol of femininity or women. It is the duty of men internally in a family to protect the women in it, such as their sisters, mothers, and wives, and in the wider or external milieu such as society, men must be good at protecting the women around them through guard their lust and look from women (Rosyidi 2012).

8. Cemare Motif Symbolism





Pine tree

The cemara motif is a motif inspired by a type of pine tree that is often found growing on the coast on the island of Lombok. The pine tree, according to the Sasak culture, is a symbol of popular culture that is not easily forgotten, is always remembered, and practised. This understanding is a representation of the uniqueness of the evergreen tree which always finds a way to keep growing and developing even though it is repeatedly knocked down by the waves and wind from the tide (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).

9. Melati Motif Symbolism





Jasmine

The melati motif on songket subahnale rincik is a stylization of the jasmine flower figure. The melati motif on the cloth has 5 colour variations and has a random pattern which makes this cloth called the subahnale rincik cloth, wherein in the Sasak language, the word rincik means random, uncertain, or something patternless. Jasmine is a symbol of human personality and the uncertain pattern on the colour of this cloth shows the human nature that is uncertain, often lost, and often easily deceived. However, like the fragrance of jasmine, there is always hope no matter how bad the past is. The laying of parallel jasmine motifs in hexagonal motifs is a symbol of the hope that humans will find a straight path and return to order as long as they adhere to a religion (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).

10. Tri Raja Motif Symbolism



Tri raia



The hexagon motif which is often found on *subahnale* songket cloth is called the *tri raja* motif. The *tri raja* motif is used as a symbol of the social status of the king. This motif represents 3 points that the king and his government must be able to guarantee to their princess as a form of their honour, among which are: (1) a princess's night journey

hexagon	must be illuminated with lighting, (2) when leaving the house, the princess must be accompanied by maids or the male relative or biological mother, surrogate mother, or wet-nurse mother; and (3) it is only permissible to leave
	the house after the daughter gets her parents' permission (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).
11 Jelo Motif Symbolism	<u> </u>

11. Jelo Motif Symbolism





The jelo motif is a cosmic type of motif that imitates the shape of the sun object. In pre-Islamic times, the sun symbol was a representation of "Surya", the sun god who has power over the sun. After the arrival of Islam to Lombok and the spread of Islamic values, these values changed to become more Islamic and the sun symbol became a form of manifestation of the power of God, who governs what is in the heavens and on earth (Satriadi, an interview on 26 May 2022).

5. Discussion

Of the 4 songket samples used, a total of 17 motifs and 3 subject matters with several variations of the motifs were obtained. Based on Arba'iyah Ab. Aziz (2020), motifs can be put into 7 categories of motifs, including:

- Flora
- Fauna
- Cosmic
- Objects
- Culinary
- Calligraphy; and,
- Geometric

The motifs from the identification of 4 samples of songket subahnale were analysed and put into these 7 categories.

Table 6 Motif Categorization

N.	Songket weaving	Motifs categorization						
No	Categories	Flora	Fauna	Cosmic	Object	Geome- tric	Culi- nary	Calligra- phy
1	Subhanale bulan begantung	a. Palm tree b. Bamboo shoot	-	a. Moon	a. Cloud	a. Kute	-	-
	Total	2	-	1	1	1	-	-
2	Subahnale nanas	a. Pineapple (2) b. Rose c. Pine tree	-	-	-	a. Kute	-	-
	Total	4	-	_	-	1	-	-
3	Subahnale	a. Jasmine	-	-	-	a. Tri raja	-	-

	rincik	b. Pine tree				b. Kute		
	Total	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
4	Subahnale awun	a. Pine tree	-	a. Sun	a. Cloud (2)	a. Kute	-	
	Total	1	-	1	2	1	-	-
To	otal Summary	9	-	2	3	5	-	-

Then, these motifs are analysed with the social and cultural influences that inspired the creation of these motifs. Based on Arba'iyah Ab. Aziz (2020), 5 aspects influence the creation of motifs, including:

- Uses and benefits
- Traits and habits
- Natural laws and God's decrees
- Uniqueness
- Symbolism and implied meaning

The 17 motifs obtained were analysed and then included in the 5 categories of aspects that influence the development of motifs, namely as follows.

Table 7
Motif Influencing Aspects

No	Songket weaving	Motifs influencing aspects				
	Categories	Uses and benefits	Traits and habits	Natural laws and God's decrees	Uniqueness	Symbolism and implied meaning
1	Subhanale bulan begantung	a. Bamboo shoot b. Palm tree	-	a. Cloud	-	a. Moon b. Kute
	Total	2	_	1	-	1
2	Subahnale nanas	a. Pineapple (2)	-	-	a. Pine tree	a. Rose b. Kute
	Total	2	_	1	1	2
3	Subahnale rincik	-	-	-	a. Pine tree	a. Jasmine b. Tree raja c. Kute
	Total	-	_	-	1	3
4	Subahnale awun			a. Cloud (2) b. Sun	a. Pine tree	a. Kute
	Total	-	-	3	1	1
	Total Summary	4	-	5	3	7

6. Conclusion

Sasak traditional clothing has its uniqueness because of the many cultural elements resulting from the socio-cultural assimilation of the Sasak tribe with cultural influences from outside the island of Lombok originating from various regions. It can be seen that the traditional clothing of the Sasak tribe has a blend of Javanese and Balinese traditional clothing styles, but on the undergarments, instead of using batik cloth or simple weaving, they used songket cloth which is the

representative of Malay culture. This is the result of the absorption of Malay culture brought by Muslim traders and scholars in the past. There are 2 types of undergarments in typical Sasak clothing, including dodot for the groom and bendang for the bride. Both types of undergarments use songket as a basis. The songket cloth used is also a special songket cloth typical of the Sasak tribe, which is called the songket subahnale.

The researcher has identified the motifs on the cloth samples and with this, the objective of this research has been fulfilled. It is found that in the category of motifs on the cloth, there are as many as 9 floral motifs, 5 geometric motifs, 3 object motifs, and 2 cosmic motifs. In addition, this study also found that the aspects that mostly influenced the creation of motifs were the aspects of symbolism and implied meaning in as many as 7 motifs, and the remaining 5 were from the aspect of natural laws and God's decrees, 4 from the aspects of uses and benefits, and the least was from the aspect of uniqueness that has 3 motifs. Hence, from the 4 samples of the subahnale songket cloth, it is found that the floral motif is the motif that has the most number and the aspect that most strongly influences the creation of the cloth motif is the aspect of symbolism and implied meaning. Many of the social and cultural values in these subahnale songket motifs are values that lean towards a very strong Islamic teaching or are values of transitional teaching from the beliefs of the ancestral religions and the influence of Hindu-Buddhist religion brought by ancient kingdoms from the island of Java and Bali in pre-Islamic times on the island of Lombok.

Although the results of this study cannot be immediately used as a benchmark for the overall results of the motifs of the subahnale songket cloth, the results of this study can provide an overview of the dominant categories and socio-cultural aspects that influence the creation of motifs on the subahnale songket cloth of the Sasak tribe on the island of Lombok.

Finally, this research is expected to have significance as a reference in research related to traditional Sasak tribal clothing, songket subahnale, and social and cultural aspects of the Sasak tribe. Research on the subahnale songket fabric used in the undergarments of traditional Sasak clothing is very interesting to study more deeply so that the results of the research can show how strong the influence of the entry of Islam was in the archipelago and to be able to see more closely and more broadly, also to find out more deeply the traces of civilisation the Malay nation, the spread of religion, and historical traces of ancient kingdoms in the archipelago, especially to know historical values through social and cultural records as outlined in the motifs on the songket subahnale typical of the Sasak tribe.

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