



MANGGARAI POETRY: SOCIOCULTURAL REPRESENTATION OF FLORES AGRARIAN SOCIETY IN LITERATURE

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat representasi masyarakat agraris dalam karya sastra Manggarai dalam tiga puisi dari kumpulan puisi Inosensius Sutam *Ca Léleng Do, Do Léleng Ca* (Satu sama dengan banyak, banyak sama dengan satu). Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan studi pustaka. Sumber primer artikel ini berupa tiga puisi berjudul *Manggarai, Tana Jari Manik Laing, Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang*, dan *Bincar Le Mose Di'a (1)*, sementara sumber sekunder berupa jurnal ilmiah dan buku untuk mendukung teori yang dipakai dalam analisis karya sastra. Pendekatan antropologis dipergunakan untuk mengungkap simbol-simbol yang dipakai untuk merepresentasikan budaya agraris orang Manggarai dan konsep representasi Stuart Hall dipergunakan untuk melihat representasi dari simbol-simbol masyarakat agraris itu. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Tiga puisi karya Inosensius Sutam ini menampilkan masyarakat Manggarai yang agraris dengan menggunakan representasi flora, fauna dan bentang alam. Setiap siklus hidup orang Manggarai tidak dapat dilepaskan dari lingkungannya dan menjadi sesuatu yang membedakan dengan sastra yang berasal dari wilayah lainnya.

Kata-kata kunci: representasi, masyarakat agraris, Manggarai

Abstract

*This study aims to see the representation of agrarian society in Manggarai literature in three poems from the collection of poems Inosensius Sutam *Ca Léleng Do, Do Léleng Ca* or one equals many, many equals one. This research is qualitative research using a literature study. The primary sources are three poems entitled *Manggarai, Tana Jari Manik Laing, Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang*, and *Bincar Le Mose Di'a (1)*. In contrast, the secondary sources are scientific journals and books to support the theories used to analyze literary works. An anthropological approach is used to reveal the symbols representing the agrarian culture of the Manggarai people, and the Stuart Hall concept of representation is used to see the representation of the symbols of the agrarian society. The research results show that these three poems by Inosensius Sutam represent the agrarian Manggarai community by using representations of flora, fauna, and landscapes. Every life cycle of the Manggarai people cannot be separated from their environment and becomes something that distinguishes them from literature from other regions.*

Keywords: poem, representation, agrarian society, Manggarai

INTRODUCTION

Manggarai literature is part of the community. Traditional literary forms such as *go'et*, *tombo nunduk*, *tombo turuk*, *tombo bundu*, and traditional songs (Janggur, 2008) are rooted in the socio-cultural conditions of the Manggarai people. One of the themes that emerge in Manggarai's literary works is the concept, view, and philosophy of the environment concerning the surrounding nature and fellow human beings in an agrarian society. According to Endraswara (2016: 5.13), the concept of literary and environmental relations found in literary ecology. This concept has two meanings: ecology, which is limited to natural ecology, and cultural ecology, which is determined by lifestyle and differences in regional characteristics. This second concept is interesting to be used as the basis of analysis in this article because it can display the cultural representation of the agrarian society in Manggarai, displayed by the writers.

The primary source for writing this article is a bilingual poetry book entitled *Ca Léléng Do, Do Léléng Ca* (One equals many, many equals one) by Inosensius Sutam published by STKIP Santu Paulus Ruteng in 2016. This book is one hundred and thirty-six pages, which contains forty-two poems in *go'et* format. The original language used in its production is the Manggarai language. However, it is translated into Indonesian to be understood by readers outside Manggarai and Manggarai people who are less familiar with the traditional Manggarai language (Sutam, 2016). The collection of poems *Ca Léléng Do, Do Léléng Ca*, is the first work of Inosensius Sutam. A priest and lecturer at the Indonesian Catholic University of Santu Paulus Ruteng studies Manggarai culture and has become one of the environmental activists in the West Flores region. Other environmental-themed works have been published in print and online newspapers as well as on social media.

According to Sutam (2016, p. 9), traditional Manggarai poetry has several characteristics: first, the use of words directly or indirectly related to speech or mantras in

Manggarai traditional ceremonies such as *torok*, *tudak*, *rengé*, *wede*, and *wajo*. Second, the use of poetic expressions in Manggarai culture is commonly done at formal events such as prayers, meetings, receptions, or other events that bring residents together. The poetic expression is conveyed in traditional speech or songs containing suggestions, invitations, praise, criticism, answers, questions, and advice. Third, the poetic expressions of the Manggarai people are inspired mainly by the agricultural world in the form of flora, fauna, and nature with their objects. Fourth, Manggarai poetry is descriptive narrative, chronological/historical narrative, socio-political narrative, moral/ethical narrative, and religious/spiritual narrative. Poetry, in this case, becomes a wrapper, bag, or container containing messages, advice, or living wills. This oral tradition becomes a way or vehicle to express or inculcate the values of life. Fifth, poetic tone or sound in the Manggarai language can occur because of the fundamental nature or function of the object indicated by a word.

Based on the concept of traditional Manggarai poetry, a study was conducted on the socio-cultural representation of agrarian society in Manggarai literature in the poems of Inosensius Sutam. Through the analysis, it can be seen that Manggarai literary works use symbols found in their daily lives. The symbols are in the form of words or phrases that indicate socio-cultural relations, the scope of cultural geography, and objects that are known in the life of an agrarian society. These socio-cultural concepts are the peculiarities of Manggarai literature which are always found in various forms.

The Manggarai area is an exciting area for researchers. Maribeth Erb & Fransiska Widyawati (2018), R.A.F Paul Webb (1994), and Widyawati & Yohanes S. Lon (2019) discuss the role of the Catholic church in various socio-political aspects of its society. Benefasius Jehadut (2012) and Widyawati & Lon (2020) researched the transformation of Manggarai traditional music and songs into church music. Dami N. Toda (1999) attempted to compile a Manggarai historiography,

while Ans Prawati Yuliantari (2016; 2019) and Yuliantari, Lon & Widyawati (2020) discussed popular culture in Manggarai. Writing about modern Manggarai literature has not been done much, so that this research is essential to see the form and development of Manggarai literature today.

METHODS

This research is descriptive qualitative research using the literature review method. The objects of study in this research are three poems in the book *Ca Léleng Do, Do Léleng Ca*, namely *Manggarai, Tana Jari Manik Laing, Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang*, and *Bincar Le Mose Di'a* (1). These three poems were chosen because the texts represent the concept of the social and cultural environment of the Manggarai community, which is an essential part of their mental and spiritual life. Based on this representation, the concepts of socio-cultural relations between individuals, humans, and the natural surroundings and their Creator can be seen. Meanwhile, supporting sources in scientific journals and books are used as references to deepen the analysis of the object of study. An anthropological approach is used to interpret the Manggarai cultural symbols in the three poems' texts. This approach is essential to find out the meaning behind the representations displayed by the poet in his poems. The data collection and analysis strategy was carried out by reading the text of the three poems that became the material object. The next step is to mark each poem's contents that have words, sentences that represent the socio-cultural life of the Manggarai community. The data is then classified according to the research topics that have been determined. The next step is data interpretation. The interpretation is carried out on the symbols displayed in Sutam's poems and relates them to the cultural context of the Manggarai community. In this interpretation, Hall's (1997) representation theory becomes the basis for looking at the socio-cultural representation of the agrarian society in Manggarai in literary works.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Traditional Manggarai poetry is in the form of *go'et* or expressions. One form of this Manggarai oral tradition, according to Deki (2011), contains the values, norms, and life views of the Manggarai people, which function as a guide in directing humans to achieve an ideal life with God, others, and the universe. In addition, *go'et* also contains advice to motivate the younger generation (Janggur, 2008) to achieve the goals and ideals of a better life. Manggarai traditional poetry has several characteristics (Sutam, 2016, p. 9), namely, first, the use of words directly or indirectly related to speech in traditional ceremonies or prayers in Manggarai traditional rites such as *torok, tudak, renge, wede*, and *wajo*. Second, the use of poetic expressions in Manggarai culture is commonly done at formal events such as prayers, meetings, receptions, or other events that bring residents together. The poetic expression is conveyed in traditional speech or songs containing suggestions, invitations, praise, criticism, answers, questions, and advice. Third, the poetic expressions of the Manggarai people are inspired mainly by the agricultural world in the form of flora, fauna, and nature with their objects. Fourth, Manggarai poetry is descriptive narrative, chronological/historical narrative, socio-political narrative, moral/ethical narrative, and religious/spiritual narrative. Poetry, in this case, becomes a wrapper, bag, or container containing messages, advice, or living wills. This oral tradition becomes a way or vehicle to express or inculcate the values of life. Fifth, poetic tone or sound in the Manggarai language can occur because of the fundamental nature or function of the object indicated by a word.

The representation of sociocultural life in the Manggarai community consists of the concept of the unity and integrity of indigenous peoples, the scope of cultural geography, and agrarian life. The symbols of customary unity are land, clan, and birthplace. Symbols of cultural geography in places show the unity of the Manggarai culture in the western part of Flores. While the symbol of agrarian life can be seen from the mention of flora

and fauna that are important for people's lives in rural areas.

The representation of the Manggarai concept as a cultural unit is seen in Manggarai's poem, *Tana Jari Manik Laing*. The second stanza (p. 22) mentions the concept of homeland as the glue of intergenerational relations and must be maintained by every member of the group.

Tana mbaté disé amé

Tana sérong disé empo

Tana pedé disé endé

Tana létang disé ema

Tana randang de adak tana

(The inheritance of the ancestors,
ancestral land,

Mother ordered land,

Land inherited from father,

Land glorified by traditional leaders)

The stanza above shows that human relations with *tana* (land) are not just property rights but also demand responsibility for maintaining and maintaining it. Humans build houses, cultivate crops and obtain food from farming results, so they are obliged to take care of them to use them still. Moreover, as a cultural unit, the concept of land ownership in Manggarai is not the only individual. However, the land is entrusted from the *ema*, *endé*, *émpo*, or ancestors from previous generations to their children and grandchildren. The importance of land as a glue between generations and clans can be seen from the system of inheritance to clan members. This inheritance issue can cause conflict if it is not validated by clans who feel they are owners. The importance of land as a representation of cultural unity can be seen in the various conflicts between villages or descendants in Manggarai (Pos Kupang, 2011; Elia, 2021).

The concept of the homeland or kampung is often referred to as the *Kuni agu kalo*. The lines in the stanza show relationship between humans as living beings and the land that has existed for a long time. The successors must take care of it and pass it on to their children and grandchildren. In other

words, the relationship between humans and their land occurs so that conservation and the obligation to maintain land rights must occur between generations. In addition to this philosophical concept, in the agrarian Manggarai society, agricultural land is the principal business capital. The community cultivates their land with annual crops such as coffee, cocoa, cloves, candlenuts, and seasonal crops such as rice, corn, and beans. The existence of owned land is their source of livelihood.

The awareness also accompanies the concept of the birthplace as an inheritance that all residents on it are one unit. Inherited land becomes a shared property that must be lived in a family manner. This can be seen in the text of *Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang* (p.28)

Tana wowo te latang ata do

Tana ongko ata do

Tana lonto ata do

Tana (natas) labar sanggéd lawa

Tana de sanggéd lawa

Pandé ras agu rangkang

Tana roés mosé loréng sanggéd ro'éng

(A land created for everyone A land to
unite everyone Homeland for everyone
Country (page) for everyone to play
Everyone's country knit harmony and
brotherhood

The land where all the people live)

The above stanza of the poem can be linked to the land division system in Manggarai. The typical land division procedure in Manggarai is a *lingko* in the form of a spider web. The division of *lingko* land starts from the middle point called *lodok* to the *cicing* or outer circle (Moses, 2018, p. 41). The division was carried out by *Tu'a teno* as a figure in charge of distributing land or *lingko* to each tribe in the village. Therefore, the Manggarai people value land very much and work together to protect shared land from being used for the community's welfare.

Moreover, land in Manggarai culture symbolizes Mother Earth which provides a

foothold and support for life (Sutam, p. 3). The land is always associated with women as nurses and givers of life to have an important position in people's lives (Yuliantari, 2019, p. 317). Protecting land belonging to a group or family has not only physical but also spiritual connotations.

Appreciation of land as a legacy of previous generations and life capital cannot be separated from respect for nature as a gift from God. This can be seen in the quote from Manggarai's poem, *Tana Jari Manik Laing*, the first stanza (p.22)

Manggarai... Manggarai
Tana dedek de Mori Mésé
Tana pandé de Mori Kraéng
Tana wantil de Mori Jari
Tana randang de Mori Ngaran
Nuca lalé papé de Mori Amé
Nuca wéla sénta de Mori Déwa
 (Manggarai...Manggarai
 The land created by the Almighty God
 Land made by God Almighty
 The land promised by the God of Being
 The land inaugurated by the Lord of the Owners
 Nuca Lale made by God the Father
 Nuca Wela which is declared by the God of Gods)

The Manggaraian belief in the creation of the world and its contents are found in various folklores. One famous folklore is *Poco Weri Ata's* legend (Su, Fatmawati, & Darong, 2016, pp. 102-106); (Erb, 1999, pp. 22-23). The story revolves around the creation of the universe in Manggarai. Heavenly light shone on the earth, a boy and a girl began to appear in the world. At that time, there were no edible plants, so, according to a dream, the father sacrificed his son on the orders of *Jari Dedek* or *Mori agu Ngaran*. The flesh of a human child spread in the garden by his father grew into various plants. This sacrifice shows the unity between man and his universe. "But the sacrifice of blood is necessary for life to prosper, and hence all rituals that Manggaraian do are done to remember this first sacrifice, directed by *Jari Dedek* (the maker

and nourisher)." (p. 24). From this folklore, it can be seen that the universe is God's creation which has many names, while plants and animals came from human flesh. On the other hand, humans emerged from plants.

Based on that story, Manggarai's poetry as a representation of the daily life of agrarian communities in western Flores cannot be separated from the concept of belief and culture. Rural life with the flora and fauna that surrounds them is a symbol of human dependence on the natural surroundings and the relationship between the elements of fauna and the landscape. In the poem Manggarai *Tana Manik Jari Laing* the relationship is described in stanza ten (p. 24).

Kaba peno satar
Jarang peno pa'ang
Japi peno rami
Mbé peno kébé
Ela peno céngkang
Acu peno mbaru
Manuk peno ngaung
Kusé peno lungé
Ikang kaing peno tacik
 (Buffalo fills the field
 Horses fill the village yard
 Cows fill the bush
 Goats fill the cliffs
 Pigs fill the bushes
 Dogs fill the house
 Chicken fills the pit
 Shrimp fills between the rocks in the river
 Fish fill the sea)

In the line, the *kaba peno satar* shows the relationship between the living creatures of the buffalo and their physical environment, namely *satar* (valley). *Kaba* lives in a *satar* overgrown with grass as their primary food so that the field becomes a suitable habitat for the animal. In the next row, rarely do peno pa'ang or horses fill the front of the village. The sentence refers to the Manggarai people's habit of using *jarang* or horses as a means of transportation before infrastructure in the form of roads and modern means of

transportation entered the area. It is described that they are rarely tied up or kept in the village yard. The village yard is chosen so that the horse can still graze without having to wait for a feed from the owner. This difference between buffalo and horses also shows each animal's role in the life of an agrarian society. Buffaloes are used to plow the fields, while horses play a role in the mobility of residents. In the past, Erb (1991, p.54) said that horses were also signs that a woman was kidnapped for marriage. A horse is tied up in the village yard by a man's family after taking a girl away. In giving the dowry, the value of dowry from the male side is symbolized by a large number of horses and buffalo.

The following sentence in the *kusé peno lungé* sentence, namely, the shrimp hide beneath a large rock in the river, shows that shrimp live in waters, especially rivers, seas, or lakes in Manggarai. Shrimp or crustaceans belong to the phylum Arthropoda (segmented animals), including freshwater shrimp, sea shrimp, and crabs. The sentence *kuse peno lunge* indicates that shrimp's habitat is known in rural areas fed by rivers, lakes, swamps, or water sources. The sentence *kusé peno lungé* also shows that the Manggarai region has rich natural resources with aquatic animals. This sentence is emphasized by the sentence *ikang kaing peno tacik* or fishes fill the sea. Although not all areas of Manggarai are on the seafront, trade between regions using a barter system occurred in the past before the money economy became a habit in the Manggarai community.

The representation of agrarian life cannot be separated from the flora, which is food for the population. Sutam shows this in the eleventh verse of the *Manggarai Tana Manik Jari Laing* poem (p.26).

Latung todo taung
Woja manga londa
Tago manga rangkong
Uté mana urék
Uwi manga nduring

Cué manga du duréng
Lémpang peno lémba
Tete peno tending
Sela peno hela
Hocu peno doku
Teko peno lengkong
Muku peno lungkuk
 (Corn all grow
 Rice is growing
 Long beans breed
 Vegetables galore
 Yam keeps sprouting
 Taro in the forest thrives when it rains
 Barley fills the load
 Sweet potato fills barn
 Black barley fills the bamboo tube
 Millet fills the winnowing
 Caladium thrives in the valley
 Bananas fill the container of areca fronds)

The representation of agricultural crops is also found in the poem *Bincar Le Mose Di'a* (1) third and fourth stanzas (p.36)

Le hitu...
Dé'i lobo ndési,
Wantang lobo hang,
Loas lobo woja,
Pa'u lobo latung,
Toko lobo bok,
Curu ali nuru,
Lonto lobo bombo,
Pedék lobo tété

Hopi lobo koil,
Das lobo nanap,
Lako lobo tago,
Mburuk lobo muku,
Tékar lobo déa Uré lobo uté,
Bémbang lobo lempang,
Uwa/wua lobo ruha,
Bisa lobo ikang,
Tu'a lobo lusa,
Cebong lobo gélo
 (Therefore...
 Fertilized in abundance of pumpkin

Moving in the womb on rice
Born in abundance of rice
Born on an abundance of corn
Sleeping on the shoots
Picked up by meat
Sitting on corn rice
Side by side on sweet potato

Crawling on the cassava
Hobbling on the porridge
Walking on long beans
Run on bananas
Jumping on rice
Dreaming on vegetables
Become big on corn from solor
Growing on eggs
Becoming an adult on a fish
Growing old on a wooden bean
Bathing in a water jug)

In the two poems above, it can be seen that the cycle of the Manggarai people cannot be separated from their natural conditions. The plants and animals mentioned in the poem show the bond between humans as inhabitants and their nature from creation in the mother's womb until death. All stages of life are matched with various types of flora and fauna that are familiar with agrarian life. In addition, the diversity of plants in the Manggarai countryside is a symbol of natural wealth and a source of food for its residents. The plants found in verse are *latung* (maize), *woja* (rice), *tago* (long beans), *ute* (vegetables), *uwi* (yam), *cué* (forest yam), *lémpang* (barley), *tete* (sweet potato), *sela* (sorghum), *hocu* (millet), *teko* (taro), *ndesi* (pumpkin) *bok* (plant shoots), *lusa* (wood beans) and *muku* (bananas). The plant diversity is a result of agriculture from Manggarai soil which is used as food.

Rice is the staple food in this region. During the Regent Frans Sales Lega (1968-1978) reign, the community in Manggarai began to apply modern farming styles after a meeting between the local government of Manggarai and Dalu as regional leaders and customary rulers. The meeting with Dalu Wontong and Dalu Bajo as owners of the

Lembor rice fields was held in Daleng. The meeting resulted in several decisions, namely digging canals, constructing dams, and distributing land allotments to community members consisting of 1484 project members spread over nine villages in the Lembor area (Haryanto, 2017, p. 73). Within a few years, the Lembor area became the rice granary of East Nusa Tenggara.

Ute (vegetables) are also cultivated by farmers. As a people who depend on produce in their gardens, vegetables have an essential role in the life of the Manggarai people. Even vegetables are more important than side dishes that come from farm animals. The diversity of vegetables and their abundance indicates the fulfillment of the food needs of rural communities.

The Manggarai people are not used to eating fruits as part of the banquet; instead, eating fruits as snacks that can be eaten according to their wishes and needs without a specific series of eating events. *Muku* (banana) is a fruit widely cultivated by farmers. However, other crops such as avocado, papaya, pineapple, various oranges, guava, jackfruit, and mango are commonly found in this area. The selection of bananas as a representation of the fruits in this area is related to the symbol of unity and unity, which is expressed in the words *muku ca pu'u neka woleng curup, teu ca ambo neka woleng lako*. A bunch of bananas depict a harmonious life so that they become the hopes and aspirations of the community.

Other crops are *tete* (sweet potato), *teko* (taro), *uwi* (yam), and *cassava*. These plants are beneficial in times of famine. The farmers split and dry the tubers as a food source when the rice harvest failed. Various tubers serve as substitutes for staple foods. Therefore, tubers have an essential role in the life of the Manggarai people.

Although not directly related to agriculture, the topographical environment influences the livelihoods of its inhabitants. The description of Manggarai in Manggarai's poem, *Tana Jari Manik Laing*, in verse 6 (p.24), shows the condition of the area that causes most of the population to farm.

Tana mésé agu léwé
Tana lélés le kébé
Tana palong le ngalor
Tana todo le golo
Tana mbaék le waé
Tana rojok le poco
Tana nunca le puar
Tana peno le lengkong
Tana ras le satar ta'a
 (Big and long area
 Areas surrounded by slopes
 The area blessed with rivers
 The area overgrown with hills
 Water-abundant area
 Area covered with mountains
 Area covered with forest
 Valley filled area
 Areas dotted with green fields)

In the stanza quoted above, words like *kébé* (slopes), *ngalor* (river), *golo* (hill), *waé* (water), *lengkong* (valley), and *satar ta'a* (greenfields) represent the landscape. The same thing is also found in *Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang*, in the first stanza (p.28)

Pocon lé, tacikn lau
Waé Mokeln awo
sélat sapén salé
Tacik Floresn lé
Tacik Sawun lau
 (Mountains/forests in the north
 The sea in the south
 Waé Mokel eastern boundary
 Sape Strait west border
 Flores Sea north border
 Savu Sea, southern boundary)

The two poems above represent two things, firstly the natural condition of Manggarai and the geographical location of Manggarai towards other areas. This geographical condition is not only in the form of landscapes but also cultural geography. In the first poem, *Manggarai, Tana Jari Manik Laing*, the Manggarai region is a mountainous area with forests covering the entire area and rivers flowing in various parts.

Geographically, Manggarai and parts of Flores Island are hills with steep valleys. The landscape is culturally proven by the striking cultural differences in each region. This natural condition caused each region to be isolated before the development of transportation and communication infrastructure. This natural condition is also implicitly intended to represent fertility and natural wealth because the forest is identical to the diversity of game animals. At the same time, the rivers that flow in this area are the source of aquatic animals such as shrimp and fish described in the previous section.

Tana Manggarai, Osang Momang first stanza' recounts the area of Manggarai on geographical conditions in the second and third lines: *Waé Mokel awon*, the Sape *salén Strait* (*Waé Mokel* is the eastern boundary, the Sape Strait is the western boundary). These two boundaries function not only as landscape boundaries but also as cultural boundaries. The western part of the island of Flores is the Bima area which historically has political relations with Manggarai. At the same time, the eastern border shows cultural differences with the tribes in the Bajawa area with a variety of languages and cultures that are very different from the Manggarai area. The following line shows the northern and southern boundaries of the sea, namely *tacik Floresn lé tacik Sawun lau* (the Flores Sea borders the northern part, and the Sawu Sea borders the southern part). This physical boundary in the form of a landscape is related to the previous description of the wealth of marine animals and salt that can be used for the community's welfare. The sea in Flores history associated with the naming of this area as *Nuca Nipa* (Snake Island) (Widyawati & Lon, 2019, p. 179) or *Nuca Lale* (Breadfruit Island) because residents use breadfruit tree bark as clothing in addition to being a trade commodity with the Makassar region (Erb, 1997). *Nuca* or *Nusa* denotes geographical conditions as an island. The term *Lale* or breadfruit is based on the endemic plants found in the region shown explicitly in *Manggarai, Tana Jari Manik Laing*.

The discussion of the three poems in the anthology of poetry in Manggarai by Indosensius Sutam shows that Manggarai writers still use philosophical concepts and local symbols to represent their people. These symbols show the life of the agrarian community in the West Flores region, which needs to be deepened in further research to explore the uniqueness and diversity of culture in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Manggarai literature is a representation of the arts and culture of its people. As an agrarian society, Manggarai writers use their cultural symbols to represent the socio-cultural conditions of their society. It can also be seen from the peculiarity of symbols, idiolects, and the selection of rhymes in the poetry created.

These three poems by Inosensius Sutam show the agrarian Manggarai community by using representations of flora, fauna, and landscapes. Every life cycle of the Manggarai people cannot be separated from their environment and becomes something that distinguishes them from literature from other regions.

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