

## Another Side of Folk Tradition; Da'wah, Entertainment, and Magic in the Madurese Community<sup>1</sup>

**Acep Aripudin**

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati  
acep.aripudin@uinsgd.ac.id

**Yaya**

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati  
yaya@uinsgd.ac.id

### Abstract

The emergence and development of traditional arts is closely related to the process of spreading religion. Not always art in religious communities appears deductively as a development of the spirit of religious teachings. This is because, in fact, art in traditional societies is potentially produced and can become a medium as well as a tool in spreading religion and relationships as well as strengthening the character of the community. Cultural values in art are then unified and integrated into a local wisdom that complements each other, so that religious arts and culture are functionally inductively attached. This article aims to reveal how Islamic values as a religion are functionally related to the art traditions of the Madurese community. The position of art as something profane and entertaining then changed to follow the position of a sacred religion and had similar consequences. The form of the relation between art and Islam can be seen in song lyrics, the history of the emergence of art, moments of performing arts, art genres, the spread of religion and the legality of religious leaders. In the end, the traditional arts of the community were preserved as Islam was preserved, and even developed into a multi-force that has an impact on improving the community's economy.

**Keywords:** Da'wah, Art, Entertainment, Ritual, Madura, and Local Wisdom

### Abstrak

*Muncul dan berkembangnya seni tradisional sangat berkaitan dengan proses penyebaran agama. Tidak selamanya seni pada masyarakat beragama muncul secara deduktif sebagai pengembangan dari spirit ajaran agama. Karena, dalam faktanya seni pada masyarakat tradisional secara potensial diproduksi dapat mejadi media sekaligus alat dalam menyebarkan agama dan dan hiburan sekaligus yang memperkuat karakter masyarakat. Nilai-nilai budaya dalam seni kemudian menyatu dan terintegrasi menjadi suatu kearifan*

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<sup>1</sup> Individual Research. Dosen Fakultas Dakwah & Komunikasi dan Magister (s2) KPI Pascasarjana UIN sgd Bandung, 2018.

*lokal yang saling mengisi, sehingga seni budaya beragama secara induktif melekat secara fungsional. Artikel ini, bertujuan mengungkap bagaimana nilai-nilai Islam sebagai agama berhubungan secara fungsional dengan tradisi seni masyarakat Madura. Posisi seni sebagai sesuatu hal yang profane dan menghibur kemudian berubah mengikuti posisi agama yang sacral dan memiliki konsekuensi serupa. Wujud relasi seni dan Islam nampak pada syair lagu, sejarah munculnya seni, momen-momen pentas seni, genre seni, penyebar agama dan legalitas dari pemuka agama. Seni tradisional masyarakat pada akhirnya terpelihara sebagaimana terpeliharanya Islam, bahkan berkembang menjadi kekuatan multi yang berdampak seperti pada peningkatan ekonomi masyarakat.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Da'wah, Seni, Hiburan, Ritual, Madura, dan Kearifan Lokal*

## **Introduction**

The relationship between Islam and art as local wisdom has not yet received a clear solution, especially if it refers to the traditional Islamic academic tradition. S.H. Nasr, for example, only limited Islamic art to calligraphy and nasyid. Nasr's view was criticized by Herzfeld (Faruqi, 1988: 201) for being very narrow-minded and Arabistic. Art outside of that, even though it is practiced by Muslims, can be considered to have no theological basis, so it can be said to be doubted and even rejected. Nasr's view is similar to Iqbal's thesis on the motion of life as a manifestation of God. Therefore, art as part of that manifestation, must also embody the shadows of divine values, not the shadows of the devil that plunges people away from God (Surah 6: 162). More specifically, art in Islam must reflect tawhid to God (Faruqi, 2019).

The relatively strict view of art in relation to Islam, as stated by several Muslim scholars above, has given rise to the incorrect perspective of Western scholars that Islam limits, reduces and hinders artistic creativity (May, 2012, 3). Islam does not have a "sense of art" as if it is not compatible with art, especially visual arts (Grabar, 1983: 31).

The relationship between art and Islamic values in fact as practiced by Islamic society does not always run smoothly like railroad tracks, hand in hand but still distant, or like the relationship between water and oil, can be together but still separate. In some cases, the relationship between art, culture and religion is very dependent on the human being as the player behind the toy.

The factor of social setting and where art and culture develops is also a determinant of an art and culture as a product of human culture, functional, complementary and mutually reinforcing.

The question of whether art, culture or religion is superior or dominant, becomes less relevant if you look seriously at how the relationship between the two in practice crosses sectoral boundaries that are of poor quality. There are views of some scholars in Islamic history who have a conservative perspective on art and seem ambiguous in their relationship to religion, but there are also moderate, traditional, and even liberal ones. However, all these views do not dampen the development of art in religion, or vice versa, practiced by Muslims.

Along with the times, changes and relations between art and religion are also dynamic. Both are elements that complement and maintain each other. In fact, Islam and art in certain realities overlap and complement each other. The two became difficult to separate. Such relations are increasingly important in dealing with the classic issue of the position of art in religion, especially the traditional arts of society, due to the onslaught of modernization and Islamization. Islamization in certain Islamic notions, such as Wahhabism is often identified with the puritanical movement of religion, where art is considered to have potential and is suspected of being able to destroy religion. Meanwhile, modernization is considered to be able to displace traditional values and be replaced with modern traditions which are often identified with westernism (Madjid, 1987).

Cultural conservation, including the traditional arts of the people in it, has raised public awareness regarding the importance of art produced by the community as local wisdom. Religion also strengthens it by spreading ideas regarding the importance of maintaining the local wisdom, through the concept of *urf*. Then it is more strongly confirmed by facts and reality in

society, where the sacred and spiritual values of religion are manifested in art, and vice versa.

Art performances are eagerly awaited and treated with reverence by elements of the audience, especially clergy and artists, or culturalists including the pesantren environment such as through religious nadzam (Bukhory, 2011). Therefore, art and Islam will be more flexible if it refers to the limitations offered by Blair, namely art that lives in Muslim society. *“Islamic art is generally held to be “the art made by artisus or artisans whose religion was islam for pourson who live in predominantly muslim land, or for puposes that are restricted or peculiar to a muslim population or a muslim selting”* (Blair & M. Bloom, 2014).

There is an attraction in the development of the relationship between art and religion, especially if it has developed into a tourism industry. But such a situation does not make it damaged. Religious and cultural leaders act as bridges as well as brokers in the relationship between arts and religious traditions as played by cultural and religious leaders in Madura, one of the 4th largest ethnic cultures in Indonesia.<sup>2</sup>

In the folk art tradition of the Madurese community, it appears that Islamic art is not limited to religious works, but includes all artistic traditions in the local Muslim culture. Its strong aesthetic appeal transcends time and space, as well as differences in language and culture. The common features of Islamic art provide remarkable coherence, regardless of the country or time in which it was created.

The study of folk art in the Madurese community uses a phenomenological approach with direct observation and in-depth interviews related to the targeted topic. The research theme includes the actualization of religious spirituality in folk art that is functional in maintaining community

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<sup>2</sup> Lusiana Mustinda, *Domestic Destinations 10 Suku di Indonesia yang Jumlah Populasinya Paling Banyak*. Pada sensus tahun 2010, suku Madura memiliki populasi sekitar 7.179.356 jiwa. Suku ini berasal dari daerah Madura dan sekitar provinsi Jawa Timur. <https://travel.detik.com/domestic-destination/d-4708589/10-suku-di-indonesia-yang-jumlah-populasinya-paling-banyak> diakses 17 Desember 2020.

culture. In addition to these themes, this study also shows the functionalization of art and Islam as a medium for spreading religion.

Observations were made at folk art centers in five districts on the island of Madura. Meanwhile, interviews were conducted with religious leaders, such as H.D Zawawi and Edy Setiawan, cultural observers, artists, policy makers relevant to the study theme and stakeholders who help and develop Madurese folk arts. The data obtained were then classified based on a study related to the study theme. Therefore, literature search is also a way of viewing and analyzing data carefully, so that the data collected can be reduced to certain folk arts that have functional values of the relation between art and religion (Islam) which influence in shaping the character of the Madurese community.

In this way, it also aims to avoid repeating similar studies on the same object that have been carried out by previous researchers. Even so, the researcher admits that the data related to folk art captured in this study are only a small part of the hundreds of folk arts on this largest salt-producing island.

### **Literature Review**

The relationship between Islam and art, and even art and culture and religion in general, has been glimpsed by scholars through observations of Islamic archaeological remains from upstream to downstream. Several findings revealed that art and culture and Islam have a dynamic relationship, absorbing local cultural values and ethnic communities. Not only Arab culture, where Islam was first introduced, but includes non-Arab cultures where there is a struggle between Islam and the local community, including the relationship between Islam and European cultural arts (Ryan, 2019).

The nuances of Arabic in Islamic cultural arts, especially folk art, at the sociological level do seem to stick and still dominate because they have become a unit with new traditions that have become Islamic culture. Art in

religious rituals is emotionally infused and has spiritual value (Haldane, 1982). Not only ritual aspects, religious momentum is also used as a suggestion to absorb the artistic aspects inherent in art performances.

Other research related to the Madurese community was carried out which more or less influenced the social and cultural system of the community, such as the social change of the Madurese community as an agrarian society (Kuntowijoyo, 1981). He found the uniqueness of the Madurese community in the distinctive ecological formation of the moor, distinguishing it from similar conditions in Java, because it can form a pattern of scattered settlements and migrate outside the area, or in Geertz's observation, the Madurese community belongs to the category of coastal people who are trade-oriented and strong in their interests. Islam (Geertz, 1981, 3). The social and economic organizational structure has shaped the individual-centered Madurese personality and political leadership in the hands of the ulama.

Complementing Kunto's findings related to changes and shifts in values in Madurese society by modern education, Islamic organizations and ulama still maintain the sacred values of religion. The influence of pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and kiai in religious and worldly affairs is very strong. The Madurese believe that Islamic law, especially Sufism and local culture is very important and needs to be applied in all aspects of their lives (Pribadi, 2013), including its influence on folk art culture. This view reinforces Bouvier's findings, the structure of art and culture in the Madurese community is closely related to the fields of religion, politics, and economics (Bouvier, 2002).

Muslims in the Madura archipelago do have their own charm, especially the study of religion and folk arts. The stereotypes of previous researchers about the Madurese community are too simplistic, so it is necessary to know from other perspectives such as their actualization in religious life and art. The Madurese community as the fourth largest ethnic group in Indonesia, out of

633 ethnic groups that still exist, has a wealth of culture that needs to be revealed as part of efforts to preserve cultural heritage.

Specifically, evidence of the relationship between art and culture and Islam in the Madurese community can be seen in the ritual of tandhe' art which is integrated with Islam (Hidayaturraman, 2018) and the art of karapan sapi (Juhari, 2016). The tandhe culture is presented in Islamic wedding activities. The presence of religious leaders and Muslims at the ritual event is a form of the harmonious relationship between Islam and the tandhe culture in addition to the religious values that are included in the tradition.

### **Madura Island Flash**

Madura is known since ancient times. It is known not only for its abundant natural resources, especially salt, but also for the island and its people, which then creates the culture and character that is attached to the Madurese. Physically, Madurese, referring to Van Gennep's opinion, distinguish them from Javanese people in general, "...they are more muscular and muscular, but not bigger. His face is larger and less refined and his cheekbones are very prominent. He looks more fierce and often rude. Vert further notes that the face of the Madurese is "cruel in nature", because the structure of the head is thicker, looks more fierce and mighty. Madurese, both commoners and aristocrats, are less agreeable than Javanese. They seem wild, hairy and often thick mustache or beard.<sup>3</sup>

The Madurese woman is also said by Western observers to be not so well positioned compared to her Javanese sister. Van der Linden writes that Madurese women are said to be strange, fat and ugly, and their beauty is far below the average woman from Central Java, let alone East Java. Madurese women are said to get old quickly, their bones are too rough and their faces are too thick. As the composer J.S. Brandts Buys wrote.<sup>4</sup> The only positive

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<sup>3</sup> Huub De Yonge, *Garam*,....ibid, h. 64.

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thing about Madurese women, according to Hageman, is that they have nice and plump breasts, because they are not used to wearing penjung or kemben.<sup>5</sup> The character of the Madurese, according to Linden, can also be seen in the attitude of dressing which is said to be chaotic and tacky, shabby and dirty. The men have a habit of wearing knee-length tattered pants, a sarong that is draped and a negligee tied arbitrarily around the head.

What these Western observers saw and expressed about the Madurese community is of course still debatable, especially considering that the characteristics and characters as mentioned above can also be found in people outside Madura (Raditya, 2020). However, what is more interesting is that the character of a society will continue to change and continue to create its culture. Social and cultural changes as a result of advances in information technology and transportation, such as the Suramadu bridge in the context of today's Madura, are of course very influential on the cultural changes of the Madurese community. This change will also bring about a shift in values and cultural arts that have been maintained and developed by the Madurese, both at the level of form and attributes.

It can be proven that the culture of the Madurese community has changed as seen in their artistic culture. Do you still see the stereotypes of the characteristics and characteristics of the Madurese as stated by the Western experts above in the form of art and culture that they are preserving today? Why also have to go through the arts and culture, not through the social structure for example. These questions are of course very useful to explore more deeply about the Madurese community as reflected in the actualization of their art and culture today.

Starting a discussion about art and culture in Madura, religious arts more specifically, it seems I have to immediately remember the words of

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<sup>5</sup> *Selemba kain yang dikenakan untuk meratakan buah dada, dan arena kebiasaan "aneh" wanita Madura yang membawa apa saja dengan menjunjung di atas kepalanya, sesuatu yang tidak akan pernah dilakukan oleh wanita Jawa.* Huub De Yonge, *Garam*,...ibid, h.65.



Helen Bouvier, a European scholar who writes completely and seriously about the arts and culture of the Madurese community. Bouvier said that art is not a light activity without a purpose, not related to space, time, material and society around it. On the other hand, material, social and historical conditions play a decisive role in the development of artistic production.<sup>6</sup>

Studying arts and culture, to writing and publishing to a wide audience, directly or indirectly is a separate point of knowing who (who) and how (why) the culture of the community is. Culture in the form of art, both its ideas (the art of ideas), actualization of behavior in the form of art (the art of behavior) as well as the very visible facts of art artifacts (the art of artifacts) is a form of art-culture that describes the characteristics and character of a society or nation. Therefore, studying the arts and culture of a society or nation is actually studying and understanding human *candradimuka*. Moreover, if human society has a diversity of art and culture actualization that refers to ethnic diversity, ethnicity and even religion, such as Indonesia, it will be more extensive and complicated to study it.

Bouvier sees art as evolving through space, time and material as a means, tools and even media to make art sustainable. Including the media in question is religion. The relationship between religion and art is like two said of the same coin, because they complement and need each other, especially as a medium for preserving the arts and culture of the community. Religion can also be sustainable and accepted by many adherents mediated by the arts and culture of the community. Cultural arts in question are arts that have been and are developed in society. It is difficult to reveal when the acculturation of art and religion took place. However, the relationship between the two in the context of Indonesian society is difficult to separate. In the arts and culture of

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<sup>6</sup>Helene Bouvier, *Keasingan dan Keakraban, dari Lapangan ke Susunan Tulisan: Satu Contoh Pengalaman dan Metode Etnografis dalam Bidang Antropologi Kesenian*, dalam Pudentia MPSS (Editor), *Metodologi Kajian Tradisi Lisan*, Jakarta, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2015, h. 333.

the Madurese community, the majority of adherents of Islam, really give color to the development of both.

Research on arts and culture in Madura as one of the centers of art and culture of the Madurese community, in general, especially those related to religion, as carried out by local researchers is still separatist, seems incidental, so that it has not been a factual description of Madurese art and culture which is mostly is still stored in the traditions of society which are sometimes "hidden". Whereas the Madurese are the fourth largest ethnic group in the archipelago. "Outside" researchers such as Bouvier seem to be very helpful with information about the object in question, so that facts about the cultural heritage of the Archipelago appear to the surface and become information material that can be used by relevant agencies about the wealth of cultural heritage in Indonesia.

Below, I try to reveal, confirm and explore some of the arts and culture of the Madurese community, both those that have been written by several experts related to Madurese arts and culture or those that have not been related to the motivation and or actualization of religious arts and culture accompanied by elements of culture. integrative elements in the art tradition of society.

### **Art as a Media of Da'wah**

Two young men, around the age of 24-years and above, face to face just like they are about to fight. They each hold a bat made of certain wood roots, usually from rattan, approximately 100 cm (lapalo) which is reserved for fighting. That was the beginning of the Ajhung Art performance which was also called lapalo or kol-pokol and panjhalin.<sup>7</sup> The art of Ajhung (SA) is practiced by some Madurese people, especially in Sumenep. Before the Ajhung event is held, a simple ritual ceremony by reading readings such as prayers or

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<sup>7</sup> H. Bouvier, *Lebur, Seni Musik dan Pertunjukan Dalam Masyarakat Madura*, Jakarta, YOI, 2002, h. 200.

mantras is carried out, so that the sense of magical aura is very evident when the event takes place.

The reading of the prayer that accompanies the demonstration of the Ajhung art of the Madurese people is not only the legality of "halal" and additional ceremonial rituals in the staging event, but also emphasizes that the art is not against religion. The Madurese community, as it is known, is almost 100% Muslim. Art in Islam is a reflection of society as a way of looking at the spiritual realm and the universe (Hussain, 2009). For Muslims, reality begins with and is centered on Allah. Allah is the essence of worship and aspirations for Muslims, and the focus of their lives. Islamic art is a spiritual representation of objects, and not on their physical qualities.

There is not enough information about the historical background of why this art was created. But according to Bouvier's findings, SA started as a moment for "revenge" for the mountain people who were cruelly carried out and ended with serious injuries, even death. SA art is performed in terms of human and material contexts that are despised, but feared.

Religious rituals are also seen in the Damar Korong stage, which is a ceremony to make a firelight wrapped in paper like in a lantern. Damar means "illuminator". Korong means "in brackets". Elements, such as fire, paper, oil when designed with traditional technology can indeed make a kind of fire balloon and then float because of the power pressure from the fire. However, this argument is not enough to be the reason why the lantern floats. Before the Damar Korong (DK) event was held, a few days earlier the actors carried out ritual ceremonies, such as prayers, chanting mantras and revealing the function and purpose of the event.

The DK ceremony is still carried out by some people in Madura, especially Sumenep when commemorating major Islamic holidays, such as the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, Isra Mi'raj and the Commemoration of the Islamic New Year (1 Muharam). DK's art performances in fact attract the attention of the public, apart from being

considered to have "miracle" full of mystery, they also have the following reasons:

First, that the performance of the DK event cannot be done by just anyone, so the time for the performance is very limited and may be deliberately limited to foster curiosity and witness it. At first glance, the DK event is like a children's game like a child in a village. However, if explored, the DK event procession has a very special value and is staged only by certain people. Magical and mystical auras are difficult to separate when DK is staged. Moreover, if it is done at night, and indeed, if it is done during the day, the DK performance has less special value than at night.

Second, DK's initiation is dominated by older people who have become respected community leaders. It is almost difficult to find young people who participate in live performances, except for one or two people who have met the requirements to conduct a DK demonstration. The audience who witnessed DK's performance were very enthusiastic about watching the event and felt that they belonged to it as part of the entertainment of the people, especially Muslims. DK's performance at the commemoration of Islamic holidays is difficult to separate. Commemoration of religious holidays without DK rituals feels bland, lacks attractiveness and has no taste. The DK performance in conjunction with the commemoration of Islamic holidays, is like honing the truth of the commemoration being celebrated in a more contextual form.

Unlike the art performances of SA and DK, it is the art of hadrah. Hadrah is an art that has a special bond with Islam. Almost every corner of the village in Madura Regency found hadrah art groups with various names. Referring to the data from the Tourism Office, in Sumenep Regency alone, there were 231 hadrah arts groups (SH) founded by people scattered in rural areas.<sup>8</sup> The data does not include hadrah art groups in other districts, such as

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<sup>8</sup> Dinas Pariwisata Kabupaten Sumenep, (tulisan lepas), 2010.

Pamekasan and Bawean which show the closeness of society to hadrah art. However, SH in Sumenep is more lively and evenly distributed in almost every village. Hadrah is the art of using percussion instruments, namely songs accompanied by spiritual songs to draw closer to the Almighty through sung poems.<sup>9</sup> The poems are usually in Arabic, and/or a combination of Arabic and local languages.

SH seems to be a typical Islamic religious art that is not originally from Madura. Just looking at the name hadrah from the Arabic word hadara, which means present<sup>10</sup> which refers to the presence before God. SH is done as a form of presenting the divine spirit in humans. Observing the poetry that is sung, the space and time of execution, as well as the attributes used by SH actors when performing, it is clear that SH is an art with Islamic religious nuances. Referring to Malau's view, art in Islam is an educational process that is positive, enlightening, liberating, generating optimism, guiding and developing noble morality and good character.<sup>11</sup> Art in Islam, namely morality.

SH in practice, not only an art, but also has a recreational or entertainment value. The rhythm of the tambourine (Madura: flying) which is synchronized with the song's lyrics, even though it looks Arabic-Arabic, SH can still highlight the entertainment aspect. The entertainment aspect in SH has the aim of making humans submit and submit to God, so that art can improve the quality of human degrees. Therefore, on the contrary, it is an infidel attitude if arts and entertainment do not lead to submission to God. SH art in other languages shows that the purpose is more than just entertainment, but has the depth and breadth of its authentic manifestations, which always emphasizes the beauty and inseparability of God (Nasr, 1993: 218).

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<sup>9</sup> Dinas Pariwisata Pemerintah Kabupaten Sumenep, Laporan penyusunan Data Base Sistem Informasi Potensi Wisata, Seni dan Budaya Kabupaten Sumenep Laporan Akhir (Final Report), LPPM Institut Teknologi 10 Nopember Surabaya, 2006, h. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Munawwir, Kamus Arab-Indonesia Al-Munawwir,

Fadmin Prihatin Malau, Seni Berekspresi dalam Islam, Harian Waspada, 14 Juni 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Fadmin Prihatin Malau, Seni Berekspresi dalam Islam, Harian Waspada, 14 Juni 2016.

Through religious art performances, Madurese people can get closer to God as experienced by the perpetrators. Internalization of Islamic values is more easily accepted through traditional arts. Islam can be integral to local culture (syncretic). The experience of religiosity is almost experienced in every art event, including theater which is able to present 'threshold' events to the performers and the audience. The religiosity that is presented through this 'threshold' event is that the Madurese people find their moment of encounter with God (Hidayatullah, 2019). According to Malau, this is what is called art in Islam as a donation rather than tamaddun (civilization) with the aim of being for Allah.

SH is a special art and is performed by men. According to Bouvier, the basis of SH is qasidah which is the basis for lessons for musicians and dancers before they hit the drums or start the basic movements of choreography in a sitting (ruddad) or standing (zaf) position. The main source of nadham or sung poetry comes from the Book of Barzanji or the Book of Diba 'which can also be witnessed in the performing arts of samroh and gambus.<sup>12</sup>

SH is an art that has a fairly thick religious content, it even contains the Prophet's salawat and the content of the Koran. However, the entertainment aspect is also there, especially when watching the movements of the dancers with full appreciation. SH art in each region in Madura has slight differences. SH in Sumenep, for example, SH's performances are not only worth preaching which tends to be religious, but also has entertainment value that really entertains the public. SH in Sumenep was introduced for the first time by Zainal Arifin and AB Ta'lab. The stage was quite complicated but still entertaining, especially when watching the performers..<sup>13</sup> Combining an entertaining taste in art with a serene religion does not seem easy to do. sometimes the performers themselves laugh at themselves because of the

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<sup>12</sup> Helene Bouvier, *Lebur Seni...*h. 214.

<sup>13</sup> Khozien Arnanta, *Hadrah, Seni Musik Favorit Masyarakat Madura*, tt. <https://www.scribd.com/document/293304938/Hadrah> diakses 22 Desember 2020.

difficulty of combining the two orientations of rhythm, religion and entertainment. However, this difficulty was in fact solved by the earnest efforts of the performers in the spirit of presenting entertainment that combines art with religion.

Another Madurese folk art tradition that has a significant and significant relationship with da'wah is the Nyadr Customary Activity. The word nyadr, from Arabic nadzr, is a traditional ceremony in Madura, especially in northern Madura. The Nyadr Traditional Event (AN) is held around July (or the month of Maulid). AN is a custom that is difficult to explain by default. The flexibility of the relationship between belief with mantras and prayers, the sensitivity of Islamic beliefs and the self-actualization of society are integrated in the community's cosmology. AN is considered by a small number of local scholars to have led to animist beliefs. However, according to narratives from community leaders and academics, these views and attitudes are only concerns. The participation of religious leaders who attend every AN ceremony shows that AN is not animist, so it can be preserved.

Initially, the AN activity was carried out, namely the story of a king from Bali wanting to seize a Sumenep virgin (girl) until a war broke out between Prince Telor and Prince Wetan. However, the attempt to seize the virgin was unsuccessful. In the morning, the local prince came to celebrate the salvation, and the nyadr tradition arose. The implementation of the nyadr procession is now carried out through the following process; The night before the nyadr event, preparations were carried out carefully, like a celebration event. They call this event a salvation. In the morning of the celebration, they bring a family group with food, such as rice, to be cooked to and at the ceremony with a clean heart and keep evil thoughts away.

There is a fact that, if those who come don't mind (not clear) the rice that is cooked to become rice is not cooked (remains raw). When the rice is cooked (cooked), then it is placed in a plate that has historical, magical and

unique values. The plate is very expensive if sold. About this plate, hundreds of millions have even been offered, because it has value as a relic from the elders. In the story, the plate was bargained for and sold and instantly the plate broke.<sup>14</sup>

The AN program is still being practiced in the Dadap area of Sumenep. Why in this area? Referring to the information above, the story of the Balinese who got lost due to war in the Dadap garden location which is separated by the flow of the river. There is a burial site in the Dadap garden. If entering the grave, visitors are marked as a sign of belonging to the family. The sacred grave, if photographed, does not become. When the grave is dug there is water. Local people believe there is magical power, especially when the character is still alive. However, when the character dies, the grave becomes dry. Some say it is a "miracle".<sup>15</sup>

There is also another version of adat nyadr which can be considered more objective and more reliable. The nyadr tradition was originally practiced when the potential for salt was discovered in Madura. Then when Islam came the event shifted to tahlilan or salvation. When the pre-ceremony is carried out, the local community first takes a boat to compete for speed. After the event is over, large rice such as tumpeng is installed or served and then eaten together, distributed to residents and the rest is dried, a kind of aking rice in Java. This leftover rice, in the future is also still eaten by mixing it little by little with good rice to get barakah. People believe that if the leftover rice is mixed with ordinary rice, it will get a blessing. In this AN procession, there appears to be a process of acculturation of Islam in intercultural da'wah (converting to Islam peacefully). Islam entered Sumenep earlier than Gujarat through the activities of traders. A year later, Islam in Sumenep was strengthened by Sunan Giri and Sunan Kudus from Java, especially Prince Katandur, the grandson of

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<sup>14</sup> Wawancara....Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Lihat buku ITS itu dari Dinas Parawisata itu



Sunan Kudus, who also carried out Islamization through local cultural media, namely Karapan Sapi.

Karapan Sapi (KS) according to the kyai and cultural expert from Sumenep D. Zawawi Imron <sup>16</sup> Initially, it was a da'wah to spread Islamic values. Islam is absorbed, and/or community culture absorbs Islamic values as an accommodative form of local cultural values and vice versa, so that it becomes a form of complementary hybrid culture. Conceptually, the absorption process (receptie) in da'wah science belongs to the category of intercultural da'wah.<sup>17</sup> The potential context of local culture is not wasted by Muslim missionaries from Kudus who are popularly called Sultan Katandur. The name of this sultan later gave birth to its own art, namely Tandhur Art. The grandson of Sunan Kudus who is called by Sultan Katandur is Sayid Baedowi. Baedowilah is considered to be the first to introduce KS which later developed into a cow complaint that entertained the public. Even in KS, elements of gambling, magic and prestige are developed which are more visual and material than spiritual which are the motivations.

Baedowi was assigned to Madura not only to change religion through his da'wah, but also to spread culture, match the soil with nets and then be given seeds to plant (tandur). Teaching reading and guiding the community through traditional arts. While planting rice, Islamic da'wah was delivered by quoting verses from the Koran. As a result, plants are more abundant, fertilized, watered (tandur) and so on as experienced and believed by the community. Thanksgiving after harvesting, the rake (soil processing tool) is cut off the edges and the rake, then becomes karapan sapi. In that arena, local people believe that there are sightings of small planets in the field. (Abdurrahman, Tempo 1994).

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<sup>16</sup> Wawancara tanggal 19 April 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Tentang Dakwah Antarbudaya, secara teoritik dapat dilihat dalam buku penulis. A. Aripudin, *Dakwah Antarbudaya*, Bandung, PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2013.

## **The Art of Cultivating the Spirit of Knights**

Referring to Wahyuni's view,<sup>18</sup> KS is favored by the public because it has uniqueness and interest which is full of the above elements, namely magic, gambling and prestige. Many cow owners before the competition came to the grave of Prince Katandur, asking for blessings from the spirit of that place. Ask the shaman or kyai to pray for the cows to be contested to be strong and run fast. Another interest, namely the element of money betting (gambling). It is not uncommon for bettors (carok) to fight (fight) if the cow loses in karapan. Carok, sometimes not only the audience, but also the owner of the cow. The next interest is prestige, especially for the owners of the winning cattle. The owner of the winning cow, not only raises his status, but also increases the selling price of the high-priced cattle and the owner is famous. Therefore, it is not surprising that the owners of the cattle for karapan dare to take care of the cows even though the maintenance costs are high and expensive.<sup>19</sup>

The last interest is that KS is popular with the public because of the combination of KS's complaints with art, namely saronen. Saronen was staged before the KS event started. The saronen players really describe the attitude of courage, chivalry and pumping the spirit of fighting KS, so that the audience is more interested in watching this art performance, both domestic and foreign. Saronen associated with KS was originally a demonstration of the beauty of a female cow with a horse for rituals in sacred tombs. Saronen is usually played by no less than seven people with the instrument sitting cross-legged, circular on a mat that is protected from rain and sun because it is protected by a tarpaulin. Saronen is also staged at family events, weddings and parties.

Towards the end of the saronen performances in other locations, such as in Bangkalan, the Paterongan art is performed. Paterongan, in more detail

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<sup>18</sup> Wahyuni, *Perkembangan Karapan Sapi sebagai Obyek Wisata Budaya di Kabupaten Sumenep 1998-2007*, Skripsi Jurusan Sejarah Universitas Jember, 2009, h. 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> Interview dengan Hasbi, Juli 2017

Paterongan Galis, is the name of a place in Bangkalan Regency as well as the location of a sickle-making center (are, takabuh, muteng or kitchen knife), which is a type of weapon that serves to protect themselves from brokers. The sickle is a kind of antique made of selected ancient iron material which is the source of livelihood for the Madurese people, especially Bangkalan. Paterongan is also the center for the maintenance of these tools, including other ancient objects (gaman), such as sickles, kris and whips, so that they look clean, shiny and their pamurs are preserved.

This Paterongan art is in the form of a drama that performs a play in its performance. Stories that are staged in performances have cultural values, namely about the nature of human life, the nature of human work, and the nature of human relationships (Pramono, 2019).

### **Folk Traditions as Media of Social Relations**

An art ritual that has both social and religious functions is the Pangka ritual. Pangka is the last harvest feast, which is old, even as old as karapan sapi. Young people in new clothes came to the rice fields to participate in the harvest. People cook outside the paddy area to cook rice. Unmarried men while singing hambohaha-hambohaha came carrying ropes to the women. If there is a woman who is suitable/close then accepts a man's rope to ask for his "heart". If the woman accepts, then it is a sign that there is a match, then the man goes to the chosen woman's house. If the woman doesn't want it, she doesn't want to give up her rice. At 12 noon they ate together, then returned to the sub-district town and then to the women's house. This process is a sign that the man and woman have already made up.

According to the scholar and humanist D. Zawawi Imron, this Pangka ritual is Islamic.<sup>20</sup> Pangka rituals by historians and elders are highly preserved and preserved. Pangka rituals are considered better than modern youth

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<sup>20</sup> Wawancara, Juli 2017

courtship, because after the Pangka ceremony, they are soon married. Generally they are adults. At that time rice was abundant because of the harvest season. For young adult couples, this situation is an indicator that they will soon get married. Culture adapts to nature and is very closely related to the development of other local cultures.

The Pangka ceremony on the island of Kameang (east of Sumenep), for example, includes a form of party and a place to find a soul mate or life partner. Pangka in the form of harvesting rice by leaving good rice. Good rice will be served when the wedding will take place. In the evening before the wedding, local people hold a kotekan tradition, a kind of staying up all night by making flour like kotekan. Traditional communities are very closely related to the cultural heritage of their ancestors, so that every step of their new life they must pass through the stages of traditional ceremonies which are indeed an important part of their relationship with the cycle of social life.

In the pangka ritual, prayer and feast are united in a cohesive and sacred way. Passing through the cultural ritual procession will lead to a sense of emptiness and even danger in the future. The procession, clearly contradicts modernization, therefore modernization is considered dangerous, including modern religious attitudes. The dangers of Modernist Islam, such as not believing in prayer, prayer is only a formality and religion is considered limited to pleasantries and pleasures, as Bovier's analysis (Bovier, 2002) in "Lebur", from the word Lebu means pleasant.

In every Madurese folk art performance, the elements of magic, entertainment and religion are indeed difficult to separate. This demonstration of folk art can also be seen in the ritual art of sandhur (Dhamong Ghardam) which is one of the traditional arts practiced by the Madurese community. The Sandhur Ritual (RS) according to Aziz, is a rite that is danced with various purposes, such as asking for rain, guaranteeing a well full of water, respecting sacred tombs, removing the dangers of disease and rejecting reinforcements

(rejecting disaster). The sandhur ritual is a dance and song accompanied by music. Movement in dance is nothing more than adjusting the rhythm of the body to the dance movements of the local community. Body rhythms arise as a spontaneous response to singing or music. Sometimes, one or two people experience a trance state that is conditioned by the handler/elder/shaman as a medium of conditioning and communicating with the unseen.

There is the story of this hospital and it becomes, a kind of *asbab at-Tarikh* as well as the spirit of the hospital, which is alluded to the story of Prophet Zakaria. *Alkisah*, a person named Sandhur who is a teenager, a devout and pious Muslim. His piety became the talk of the town, yet he was only a shepherd. The teenager's position made the infidel jealous, so he intended to harm him and kill him. While the Saleh was herding, the infidel planned to commit murder, but the Saleh was swallowed by the earth (*Sandurrelang* = Sandhur-lost), and the Saleh was saved by God by being put in a tree. Knowing Sandhur was in the tree, the infidel then sawed the tree.<sup>21</sup>

The initial frame of mind of the hospital ceremony is related to the procession of the journey of human life, especially traditional communities, such as farming and fishing communities. They, like other humans, have the potential to depend on the Most Infinite in the process of their life struggles. In order to reach the infinite, humans need symbols and media so that their goals and ideals are achieved and granted. The ritual procession referred to, the Madurese community calls it Sandhur, which is attributed to the Saleh figure above.

The hospital ceremony procession is usually led by a shaman who is in charge of reciting prayers in Madurese and Arabic in turn. When the ritual ceremony takes place, the actors are not allowed to include elements of music during the procession. In addition to being considered standard, violations of the implementation can cause illness and disaster. There are many variations of

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<sup>21</sup> <http://lidawati.blogspot.com/2012/02/sandhur-pantel-perlambang-perjalanan.html>

the name of the hospital ceremony in each region. Sandhur Lorho is known in Pasongsongan, rokat somar in Batuputih and in Guluk-Guluk there is Sandhuran Duruding (SD) which is done when harvesting corn and tobacco. There are also rateg and rubaru forms, which are processions asking for rain, as found in Pakondang and Kalebengan villages. SD is a male or female song or both, but without musical accompaniment.

Another variation of the hospital, namely the lede dance or ledeg which is a village procession, such as in Daramista village and Lenteng village. This dance is accompanied by a lumping horse. In the village of Sarongangi there is cahe or ginger which functions to bring rain which is danced through saronen music. All of the above art forms clearly contain multi-cultural elements. The traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Java and Islam are integrated into a kind of cultural hybrid unit that is typical of Madura. The elements of Old Javanese, Madurese, Arabic blend together as can be symbolized in the form of offerings, holy water, mantras, prayers and songs.

Another form of hospital is Sandhur Pantel (SP) which is a traditional art form from Ambuten Barat village. SP is a ceremony when dealing with the Single Essence, the ruler of the universe. SP is an expression of smallness and smallness as well as human incompetence when facing various problems, calamities and trials. SP's position is like a bridge that becomes a medium when dealing with God that functions to keep and repel disasters and is reflected in the form of praise, a summary of prayers accompanied by songs, dances and music. The local community believed that SP was able to open the heavens' doors, so God the Lord was willing to extend his love. Through the SP procession, the local community begged for rain to fall soon. The fishermen ask for abundant fish catch (rokat base), children's rokat event (rokat pandhaba)<sup>22</sup> and the goal of healing.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Tujuan dari prosesi ini agar si anak selamat dan dijauhkan dari bermacam gangguan, materi maupun makhluk halus.

SP, like other traditional arts, is passed down by the community from generation to generation, the heritage is intact and the community does not dare to change it. Any changes to the SP are believed by the local community to cause disaster and illness to the perpetrators. Apart from being a cultural heritage (treasury), the form of inheritance such as SP can be interpreted as how persistent the community is in carrying out traditional efforts to solve the problems of life they face. Alternative thinking is the only way when efforts to solve problems in life are considered dead ends. The optimistic attitude of the simple community which is generally practiced by the people in the area is the right psychological attitude that makes life continue to survive.

### **Other Cultural Arts**

Madurese folk art is not limited to a few arts that are widely known among the public, because there are certain artistic traditions that are practiced in smaller areas that do not originate from Madura, but are developed by the local community. There are arts that are developed in Islamic boarding schools and offices based on certain instruments. We simplify the limited data by dividing it into two forms, based on instruments and genres, as follows:

#### **1. Gambus**

There are two forms of Gambus Orchestra in Madura; village gambus and Arabic "flavored" gambus. The art of Arabic "taste" gambus is thought to have come from Arabia, namely the Hadramaut of North Yemen, Egypt and Kuwait. Gambus, both the instrument and the music are said to have come from Arabia.

Gambus musical instruments include a group of stringed instruments. The material is dadap wood. The voice box is watermelon-shaped, with no pitch markers. Gambus has 9 strings (three single strings and three doubles).

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<sup>23</sup>SP dilaksanakan oleh seseorang ketika didapati sakit yang menimpa seseorang tidak kunjung sembuh meskipun sudah melakukan pengobatan medis maupun tradisional. Upaya terakhir kemudian dilakukan prosesi SP. A. Fahrizal Aziz, *Kebudayaan...*h. 4.

Gambus does not have Javanese buttonic rules, but Arabic music rules with the characteristics of short intervals, do not have metallophones and melimas which have various melodic decorations.

In contrast to the Arabic "flavored" gambus, there is also a "village gambus" which is indeed designed according to the tastes of the Madurese community. Gambus village which is usually displayed by young Muslim farmers. The village gambus often uses modern instruments, such as organs, guitars and accordions. Based on these modern musical instruments, the team that compiled the Sumenep Regency information database in their Final Report interpreted gambus as art accompanied by dances with Islamic nuances but with more complete equipment, such as flutes, drums, kerincing, violins and elektons.<sup>24</sup>

However, in Bouvier's observation, the use of these modern musical instruments, turned out to make the rhythm and sound chaotic due to poor sound and microphone settings. Gambus Orchestra, both pure Arabic and village-style, are commonly used by the Madurese at weekly social gatherings, before and after Ramadan, and are even used as a complement to weddings.

## 2. Dangdut

In a collection of articles about modern Indonesian culture, dangdut is not mentioned at all. Indonesian intellectuals who are keen on writing about pop literature, films, comics and even graffiti, are dumbfounded to hear that someone is interested in dangdut. While Western scholars pay attention to researching the culture of developing societies, they tend to research on fine arts and literature rather than music. Indonesian scholars, who are partly educated in the West, seem ridiculous, considering dangdut as a kind of shallow and cheap art. That's what William H. Frederick said in his paper

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<sup>24</sup> Dinas Pariwisata Pemerintah Kabupaten Sumenep, *Laporan...*, h. 41.



Rhoma Irama and The Dangdut Style: Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Popular Culture.<sup>25</sup>

The Malay dangdut orchestra began to appear in 1972/1973. In fact, dangdut has existed since the colonial period which coincided with the emergence of keroncong music. When rock and pop music groups from the West began to emerge in the 1960s, in Padang and in Medan there were also "Malay-Deli" orchestras that were influenced by music in Indian films. At the same time, in 1970, Rhoma Irama, a descendant of the East Priangan from Tasikmalaya, launched his own musical style that was intelligent and pithy. This new style of music, does not highlight the Western style, but is modern. Carries a message even though it is simple and in language that is easy for young people to understand. Do not imitate Malay-Deli with Arabic and Indian style decoration. This new style of music is called dangdut and Rhoma Irama himself was the originator. With his Sonnet troupe, he spread his wings through musical films, spreading social, moral and Islamic messages. The scholar above, Frederick even called it da'wah music, Islamic pop.<sup>26</sup> Since then, dangdut has become popular with its various variants and has become widespread.

The new Malay music, in Madura it is called dangdut, where the flute and drum are the main instruments. Dangdut orchestra performances are usually held at weddings of wealthy urbanites, school year-end ceremonies and national celebrations. In Sumenep Regency, Malay dangdut music is not yet popular in rural areas, due to language barriers. However, it was developed with the Madurese-Sumenep language which is known in the community. Moreover, nowadays, in several areas in Madura there are Malay Pop Festivals throughout Madura. The songs are varied, pure Malay, Arabic and Madurese.

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<sup>25</sup> William H. Frederick, *Rhoma Irama and The Dangdut Style: Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Populer Culture*, Indonesia, 1982, h.102.

<sup>26</sup> William H. Frederick, *Rhoma Irama*.....h. 116.

### 3. Saronen

According to a report from the Tourism Office, Saronen is music and dance accompanying the bull race team before advancing to the battlefield. The music is dominated by the sound of trumpets, *cenek*, *cendung*, drums and the pounding of gongs which are usually played by men with flashy make-up, so it looks festive.<sup>27</sup> The art of Saronen, actually a kind of musical instrument, can be found almost in every corner of Madura, especially when *karapan sapi*. Saronen (*surnai*, *sirnai*, *sorune* or *shanai*) in Tatar Pasundan is often called *tarompel* and in Bali called *pereret* has existed since Hindu times. This *selompel* comes from the Arab-Persian culture, so this musical instrument is accepted by interfaith communities.

Saronen art in Madura, besides being used to beautify *karapan cows*, is also used for horses at weddings as well as complementing certain household rituals which are sometimes also equipped with mask dances. Except in Dasok Sumenep Village, the saronen orchestra which is performed by less than seven players has its own uniqueness, especially from the musical instruments used. In addition to the trumpet, there are drum instruments (large and small), *tongtong*, *kenong* and a *ghung raja* and *rencek*. In other places sometimes found saronen with the addition of *angklung* musical instruments.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, based on the genre, Madurese folk art is spread in small art traditions and is performed by certain communities, such as *Wayang Kulit*, *Mask Arts*, *Laddrok*, *Drama*, *Tayub*, *Lok-Alok*, *Dhamong Gardham*, *Ratep*, *Penca' Silat*, *Diba'*, *Samroh/ Qasidah*, and *Samman*. This folk art tradition is preserved by the Madurese even though it is not from the region. *Samman*, for example, describes the art of dance from Aceh. However, the local community maintains it as in certain communities in Pamekasan which require further research.

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<sup>27</sup> Dinas Pariwisata Pemerintah Kabupaten Sumenep, *Laporan...*, h. 45.

<sup>28</sup> Helene Bouvier, *Lebur Seni...*, *ibid*, h. 57.

## **The Tendency of Today's Madurese Cultural Arts**

The orientation of Madurese community activities today has similarities with people outside Madura. Fulfillment of daily economic needs is the target of each family, so to meet these needs many Madurese have migrated. For those who do not migrate, they carry out activities that are concentrated on agriculture, fishermen, salt farmers, services and tourism. To complement the latest activities, especially services and tourism, the business of community cultural products is used as an amazing tourism commodity, especially certain well-known cultural arts, such as karapan sapi and saronen.

Every cultural arts performance, not only local tourists are interested, but also foreign tourists. Religious cultural arts performances in Madura are getting stronger, because of the attitude of the people who are religious and strong in maintaining local culture. Religious and national holidays become a momentum to show the existence of the arts and culture of the Madurese community. Religious rituals are also used as local media to strengthen the existence of culture and show it, so that every change in the culture becomes more visible, both materially and in its mission.

Indeed, there are some products of religious art and culture that are rarely "interested in", but are more of protection and conservation in order to avoid misuse of their meaning and mission, such as in the art of carok. There is a shift in values at the same time due to the influence of outside culture, especially after the opening of the Suramadu bridge, so people need to be careful in doing so. Madurese culture is sufficient to describe the character of the Madurese community with all its advantages and disadvantages.

## **Conclusion**

Referring to the explanation as stated in the discussion section above, it shows that folk art has a complex relationship with elements of society's culture in general and is interrelated, such as religion, entertainment and

conservation of tradition. Cultural arts arise due to various motivations, such as religious motivation and cultural conservation and entertainment. Even in its development, cultural arts can be a bridge to gain the position and influence of a person or group of people in society.

Cultural arts are used as media, even the symbols of Islam (da'wah) itself because of the very religious background of the community. The actualization of cultural arts in the Madurese community even shows religiosity, or at least becomes an element in "lawful" religious rituals, as seen in the art of qasidah, rituals of pangka, katdur and aeni Ajung. Meanwhile, it appears that religious art and culture refers to the background as part of the dominance of religious elements leading to the demonstration of the tourism art business, so that it seems to lead to conservation to get additional economic income for the community, as most prominently in karapan sapi and dangdut Rhoma Irama. Cultural arts performance services are also developing, not only in secular events, but also in religious events.

The original purpose of certain artistic performances, such as carok and Ajung as performances to cultivate a spirit of chivalry and patriotism among the people, began to appear to shift towards a more "soft" and limited one. In addition to avoiding the stigma of conservation of violent arts, it also avoids negative stigma against the Madurese. Art performances that are considered to contain elements of violence are then polished more gently and performed at certain and more limited events. The original purpose of art demonstrations was to cultivate the spirit of patriotism and chivalry, and the demonstrations were limited and not publicly exposed.

The existence of the art and culture of the Madurese community in the end can be seen in general as a media produced by the community that functions as a connector for social and cultural relations of all elements of society regardless of the background of social status. The integration of the

Madurese community appears in the arts and culture as an instrument. Cultural arts not only strengthens and strengthens social and cultural religiosity, and vice versa, the religion of the Madurese community justifies it. Likewise, mutually reinforcing relationships are seen in the economic growth of tourism and even political practice. Islam as the majority religion of the Madurese community, folk art and other social systems seem to be integrated in the Madurese social system, so that they cannot be separated from one another, and even complement and strengthen each other.

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### **Mikihiro Moriama**

### **Jurnal/Koran**

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Waspada, Harian Umum Medan

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SA Animous (Pegawai Swasta, Pelaku Seni, 24 Tahun)

Staf Dinas Pariwisata Sampang

Staf Dinas Pariwisata Sumenep

Staf Dinas Pariwisata Pamekasan

### **Istilah/Konsep**

Pemimpin yang mukmin tapi adil-pemimpin adil tapi kafir (jika adil untuk orang lain-kafir untuk orang lain) (D. Zawawi Imron)