

Mamaca In Madura Culture In Kabupaten Situbondo, East Java, Indonesian

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Abstract

The Madurese community in Situbondo has a lot of valuable cultural heritage. Some of the cultural heritages that can still be felt today are the heritage of the mamaca performing arts. In the life of the Madurese community, mamaca art has an important role in shaping the character of the Madurese community. It is a source of knowledge that is not only read by the perpetrators but also practiced by every Madurese who experiences the process of learning mamaca in everyday life. Mamaca is part of the folklore of the Madurese community which contains the values of wisdom and spirituality. In the past, mamaca was only held for sacred purposes. However, at this time the development of the era has made it more dynamic to adapt to the context and needs of the community. The form which was formerly sacred then developed into several forms of profanistic performances such as the form of the arèsan performance, and the form of the tangghâ'ân (response) performance which emphasizes the aesthetic elements in the performance.

Keywords: *mamaca, folklore, rokat pandhabâ, and local wisdom.*

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I. Introduction

The Madurese community in Situbondo has a lot of valuable cultural heritage. Some of the cultural heritage that can still be felt today is the legacy of traditional performing arts. This has become a national cultural identity that is proud and passed down from generation to generation in an area (Permanasari, Alis Triena; Setia, 2020: 60). Historically, the Madurese who lived in Situbondo were dominated by the Madurese from Sumenep who had migrated in the past (Husson, 1997). As an area with many cultural patterns that intersect with the Sumenep palace in the past, this area still looks fertile for several traditional performing arts typical of the palace. Ahimsa (2015, p. 3) refers to this area of the palace tradition as the great tradition with a cultural style that is heavily colored by the palace/palace culture which is often referred to as the 'superior' culture. One of the art styles of the great tradition that is still sustainable is the art of mamaca. Mamaca is an oral tradition art that lives in most of the Madurese community both on the island and in the migration area.

The art form of mamaca comes from the text of the book written in Arabic script, in Javanese language which is sung/sung using certain songs. Mamaca Madura is then interpreted into the Madurese language by tokang tegghes. In the life of the Madurese community, mamaca art has an important role in shaping the character of the Madurese community. It is a source of knowledge that is not only read by the perpetrators but also practiced by every Madurese who experiences the process of learning mamaca in everyday life. Like the art of music, the performing arts form of mamaca also has a function in presenting experiences, daily life and social conditions in which the art is actualized (Walidaini, 2020: 95).

In the past, mamaca was only held for sacred purposes such as *rokat child pandhaba* (ruwat anak). However, at this time the development of the era has made it more dynamic to adapt to the context and needs of the community. The form which was formerly sacred then developed into several forms of profanistic performances such as the form of the arèsan performance, and the form of the tangghâ'ân (response) performance which emphasizes the aesthetic elements in the performance. In addition, mamaca is also often 'used' for events such as cultural festivals or official government events that feature traditional arts as entertainment and the mission of introducing traditional arts in their area to the invitees and participants of the event. Regarding the dynamics of the performances that develop in the mamaca performances, it is interesting to study using the ethnographic method of communication because each form of mamaca performances will produce different meanings.

II. Discussion

Mamaca is one of the traditions that developed in the Madurese community in the form of performing arts. Mamaca is a performing arts performance carried out by the Madurese community in various contexts in the rites of life such as rokat pandhabâ (ruwat of a pandawa child before marriage), rokat tasè' (salvation of the sea),

mèrèt biological (pregnancy birth), Isra' Mi'raj and Maulid. Prophet. The term mamaca in the Madurese language has a close meaning with macapat in Javanese and Indonesian. Mamaca in the Madurese language means 'to read', this tradition is related to the activity of reading books containing stories/poems by singing/developing them. In form, the art of mamaca is quite complex, not only in the form of a poetry reading (book) that is played, but also dramaturgical elements, auditive theater (such as a dalang), and sound (musical) from the chanting of the song. Mamaca is part of the folklore of the Madurese community which contains the values of wisdom and spirituality.

Mamaca has lived and been supported by the Madurese community for a long time. Based on an interview with Kyai Ismail, a culturalist in Sumenep Madura, mamaca is a medium and strategy used by Wali Sanga when Islamizing the islands of Java and Madura. As a cultural heritage that has been passed down from generation to generation, the Mamaca contains a cultural record (mnemonic device) about history, identity, local knowledge, way of life, and hopes of the Madurese ancestors. It was also said by KH Ismail that the essence of the practice of mamaca art is a series of processes to become a wise human being, prioritizing manners, morals and manners. In Madurese culture, the process of learning mamaca is often referred to as the *ngji abâ'* process, which is a process that a Madurese must undergo in recognizing himself, recognizing his God, and understanding the surrounding environment. Mamaca is a way and a process to become a wise and virtuous Madurese.

The Madura mamaca tradition is closely related to macapat art in Javanese culture. Several writers and researchers on mamaca agree that Madura mamaca has a strong reference to macapat art in Java (Bouvier, 2002:160). Before the entry of the periodization of Islam in Java, the macapat tradition had existed among the Javanese people. Generally related to the tradition of the palace in which there are poets and scholars who write Javanese literary works.

The Javanese macapat tradition spread to the Madurese cultural area through relations between the palaces. In the pre-Islamic era, Javanese arts that grew up in the palace environment such as gamelan, wayang and macapat had a strong influence on the development of culture in Madura. In the Madura chronicle, it is illustrated that gamelan used to be an important vehicle in the convoy of Surakarta palace soldiers when picking up the prospective empress from Madura (Sastroyatmo, 1981; Setiawan, 2018:1). The close political relationship between the Javanese and Madurese kings in the past also influenced Madurese culture. In Madura, Javanese arts get a good place in the hearts of the people, until finally they become a source of inspiration and give rise to a variety of Madurese arts as a result of appropriation of their encounters with Javanese arts such as wayang masks (*dhalâng* masks), wayang kulit (*bâjâng kolè'*), gamelan, and mamaca.

Macapat then developed during the Islamization of the islands of Java and Madura. Traditional arts such as gamelan, wayang and macapat/mamaca were chosen by the guardians and scholars in the process of Islamizing Java and Madura. KH Ismail said that before the entry of Islam, macapat already existed in Madura, then Islam entered through the guardians, one of which used the symbol of macapat. At that time macapat began to find a new form, and in this period macapat began to be known not only in the palace environment but also in rural communities through the role of langgar or cultural education in the mushalla. Macapat art, which previously contained Hindu spiritual values, was later adapted and internalized by the guardians with contextual Islamic values.

In form, the books written no longer use Javanese script, but use Malay Arabic and Pegon scripts. The use of Arabic script is a strategy of the guardians in introducing Islamic culture to the local community. The hope is that when people are familiar with Arabic script, it will be easy for them to learn and understand the Koran and other Islamic books, most of which are written in Arabic script. Although the book has been written using Arabic script, the language still uses the Javanese Kawi language.

There is a fundamental difference between macapat in Javanese culture and mamaca in Madurese culture. The difference is in the role of the performer, whereas in Javanese macapat there is only the role of the reader/singer of the song, in Madura there is an additional role called *panegghâs/pamaos*. *Panegghâs* in the art of Mamaca Madura has an important role, because he is tasked with translating, interpreting and retelling the reading of the book developed by the *pamaos* (song readers/singers). *Panegghâs* conveys his interpretation in Madurese language with the speech style of a puppeteer. Bouvier explains in detail about the two roles in the art of Mamaca Madura as follows,

“In general, the two partners in the mamaca event reply to each other, so that both voice and content overlap tremendously. Readers (*tokang maca/pamaos*) sing with extraordinary freedom, especially in rural areas; vibrato whose pitch is very large, the variety of melodies is also large, various decorations, unexpected crescendo, the sound is getting higher in pitch. Reference text appears to play a secondary role compared to sound technique; Moreover, the text is in Javanese, so it is only understood by a few listeners. The commentator (*tokang tegghes*) explains what has just been developed. He repeated Javanese poetry in Madurese in the most expressive recitation style possible, like the *dhalang* of a masquerade. The sound is important in terms of meaning not in terms of sound. Without *tokang tegghes*, the mamaca event is nothing more than a vocal exercise with words whose meaning is not immediately understood” (2002:159).

The books and songs used in mamaca are mostly adaptations of Javanese literary texts, as described by Imron (in Bouver, 2002: 160), “Tembangs are not only found among ordinary people in rural areas. In the past, among the aristocrats, Javanese songs were a favorite. This may be due to the absence of a worthy court poet, so people prefer Javanese songs.” The scarcity of sources of books written in the Madurese language, especially in the Sumenep palace, led to the assumption of some researchers such as Bouvier that the scarcity of Madurese poets was the explanation why the books (mamaca texts) scattered in the villages were written in Javanese, and most likely a copy of the text. from the palace.

Indeed, there are several mamaca books that tell about the local history of the Madurese, such as the Chronicle of Sumenep, the Chronicle of Madura, Joko Tole and the Chronicle of Besuki, but they are written in the Javanese Kawi language. As far as observations during the research, there has never been a mamaca book whose songs were written in the Madurese language. The tradition of writing the mamaca book in the Javanese Kawi language is still maintained today. Currently, there are still a number of mamaca writers who are prolific in writing books using the Javanese Kawi language. Most of them are actually not active Javanese speakers, but they retain memories of the structures, patterns and grammar that are often used in writing the Javanese Kawi tembang. This is what makes Mamaca Madura interesting, because it contains a variety of cultural elements, namely Arabic (literature), Javanese (language of the book), and Madura (translation).

Mamaca performances in Madurese culture are closely related to rituals in people's lives. At first mamaca was used as a medium of da'wah and Islamic symbols through the guardians and scholars. Mamaca then spread to villages and became a means of transforming knowledge and education in the community. In terms of education, the Madurese have a learning tradition that is cultural in nature, namely through the role of langghâr (surau/musallah). Langghâr is a space used by the Madurese community to carry out the informal education process. This matter is manifested in the arrangement of the residential structure of the Madurese, which is known as tanèan lanjhang. In the tanèyang lanjhang structure, the langghâr becomes an important and even main building, which is placed on the west side. The existence of langghâr in every settlement becomes the center of Islamic education learning which is generally carried out every night. Every Madurese child is required to follow the learning process (recitation) in langghâr, this has become a distinctive culture in the Madurese community. Mamaca is one of the parts taught by teachers to their students after reciting the Koran. KH Ismail said that the purpose of teaching mamaca in langghâr is the formation of morals and etiquette to students, because in mamaca there is a lot of educational content and the formation of manners. However, it should be explained that in today's context, learning mamaca in langghâr is rarely found. This is related to the weak position and role of violators in modern times. This problem is one of the factors that hinders the process of regeneration of mamaca artists. Today, mamaca is only performed for functional purposes such as in ritual events.

Mamaca performances are closely related to the context of ruwat and salvation rites, such as the implementation of ruwatan pandawa children (rokat pandhâbaâ) before the wedding, sea ruwat (rokat tasè'), village salvation, womb salvation (mèrèt biological), Isra' Mi'raj, and Maulid Nabi (molotan). In the context of ruwatan and salvation, mamaca performances are interpreted to provide safety, blessing and protection to the community. The story told in the mamaca performance will adapt to the context of the ruwat and salvation. For example, for the rokat pandhâba event, the stories read are stories from Mahabharata fragments such as gatot koco kembhâr (twin gatot koco), gatot koco kromo (gatot koco kromo), sekar sarakèt (Sekar Serakit), Periwo Gandrung, and so on. In the context of rokat tasè', the story read is the story of Marsodo in which there are values about the relationship between humans and nature, especially the sea. In the context of salvation, the content of the story that is read is the story of Nur Bhuwwat and Prophet Yusuf. In the context of the celebration of the Prophet's Birthday and Isra' Mi'raj, the story that is narrated is taken from the story of Nur Bhuwwât and Isra' Mi'raj. Especially in the Besuki area, Situbondo, on the anniversary of Besuki, the story that was read was the Babad Besuki story.

In addition to dealing with the context of ruwat and salvation, mamaca performances are also related to participatory activities such as in the context of social gathering and kompolan events. In the context of social gathering activities, the participants are actors and observers of mamaca art. They gathered together to take turns reading and listening to the show.



Picture. 1: Trisno Pandowo's group
Source: Personal Documentation

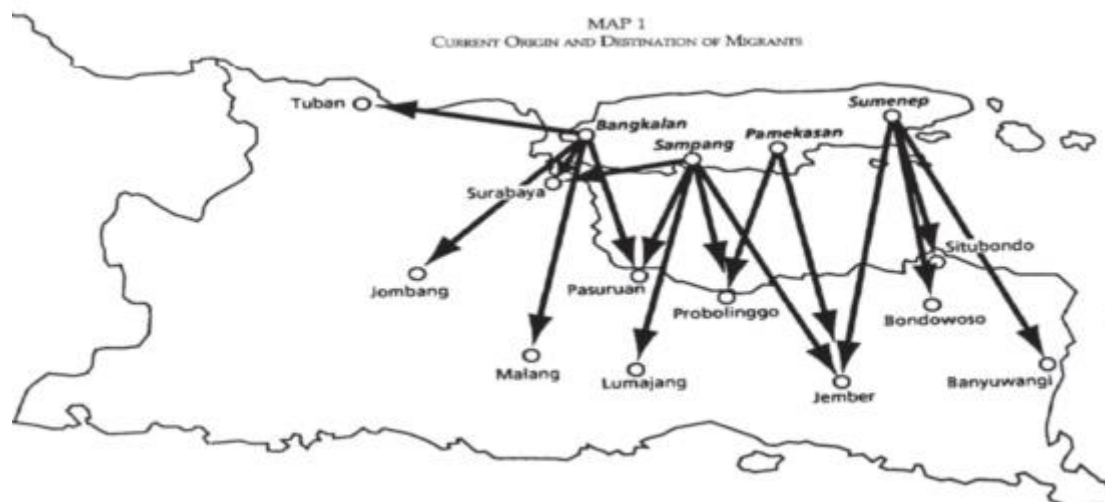
In the context of the social gathering event, the stories presented are generally popular, such as Juhar Manik and Murtasih. The format of the performance is more free, it can be in the form of reading alone, accompanied by a flute instrument, or it can also be accompanied by a Madurese gamelan format. As in the social gathering event in Saronggi, Sumenep Madura, which uses gamelan accompaniment in the reading of Juhar Manik's story.



Figure 2. Madura Gamelan Accompaniment
Source: Personal Documentation

The mamaca tradition has spread to various cultural areas of Madura, not only on the island of Madura but also in the distribution area of the Madurese community in Java, one of which is in Situbondo Regency. In Situbondo, mamaca performances have developed quite well and have various variants of distinctive performances. Mamaca performances in Situbondo are closely related to the cultural context of the Madurese people who inhabit the area. Culturally (cultural characteristics), the Situbondo region is divided into three regions, namely the West, Central and East regions. The western region covers the Besuki area to West Mlandingan, the central region covers the East Mlandingan area to Situbondo city, while the eastern region includes the Arjasa area to Banyuputih. The West Situbondo region has historically been an area dominated by Madurese migrants from Pamekasan (Arifin, 2008). The dominant culture in this area is closer to the Pamekasan Madura culture, this can also be observed from the articulation of the language which is close to the Madurese dialect of b̄arâ' (West) (Hidayatullah, 2017).

Figure 3. Migration Map of the Madurese Community



Source: Husson Laurance (1997)

East Situbondo, culturally closer to the Madurese culture of Sumenep, historically the Situbondo area has indeed been a migration destination for Madurese from Sumenep (Husson, 1997). While the Central Situbondo area is culturally not much different from East Situbondo, it's just that because it is the city and administrative center, this area is culturally more open and has a lot of contact with other cultures such as Javanese, Chinese, Arabic, and others. The East and Central Situbondo region in terms of daily linguistic practice using the Madurese dialect of Tèmor (East), especially in the urban area, many characteristics of language styles are found that are mixed with Indonesian and walikan (*cak labik*) languages. The diversity of cultures that exist in Situbondo, in the end, also gave birth to various variants of the articulation of the *mamaca* performing arts in the community.

III. Conclusion

The Madurese community in Situbondo has various valuable cultural heritages that can still be felt today. As an area whose cultural patterns have been in contact with the Sumenep palace in the past, Situbondo's culture has been colored by the palace/palace culture which is often referred to as the 'superior' culture. One of the art styles of the *ageng* tradition that is still sustainable is the art of *mamaca*.

In the past, *mamaca* performances were closely related to the context of *ruwat* and salvation rituals such as the implementation of the *ruwatan* of the *pandavas* (*rokat pandhâbaâ*) before the wedding, *ruwat* sea (*rokat tasè*), village salvation, womb salvation (*mèrèt biological*), *Isra' Mi'raj*, and *Maulid Prophet* (*molotan*). In the context of *ruwatan* and salvation, *mamaca* performances are interpreted as being able to provide safety, blessing and protection to the community. The form which was formerly sacred then developed into several forms of profanistic performances such as the form of the *arèsan* performance, and the form of the *tangghâ'an* (response) performance which emphasizes the aesthetic elements in the performance. In addition, *mamaca* is also often 'used' for events such as cultural festivals or official government events that feature traditional arts as entertainment and the mission of introducing traditional arts in their area to the invitees and participants of the event.

This is what makes the *mamaca* tradition still growing rapidly in Situbondo Regency. Even the *mamaca* tradition in Situbondo Regency holds the title of WTB (Intangible Heritage). This makes the regeneration process a serious job for the government of Situbondo Regency and the perpetrators of the *mamaca* art tradition.

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