



Banyumas People's Characteristics Symbolically Reflected on *Calung Banyumasan* Performance

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Abstract

This research aims at examining how Banyumas people's characteristics are symbolically expressed in *Calung Banyumasan* performance. This qualitative research employs a hermeneutic approach to examine any symbolic meanings in *calung* performance. The data are collected by literary study, document study, observation and interview, which are then analyzed using content analysis and interactive analysis of Miles and Huberman. The research results show that some song lyrics identify Banyumas people's images and characteristics such as equality and honesty (*cablaka*) just like the *ngoko* level language they use. The performance consists of opening, *Lenggeran*, *Badhudan*, and *Baladewan* acts in the process of illustrating the character of Banyumas people who love jokes and crowd. Some aspects arising in performance reflect Banyumas people as an egalitarian, straightforward, like-to-gather, and syncretic society.

Keywords: Calung Banyumasan; Characteristics Symbolically; Banyumas People

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INTRODUCTION

When we pay attention, many song lyrics and dance moves in *lengger*, *dagelan*, and *senggakan* are very special and reflect Banyumas people. The expressions used in *senggakan*, for example, tend not to have lexical meaning, but do exist in every *calung* performance (Murwaningrum, 2012a). Moreover, Sutton, (1991a) calls this activity "noisy" or "busy". Repeated appearances of *senggakan* throughout performance are not necessarily presented without any meaning, primarily in the context of performance and culture as the background. Its musical aspect has been discussed by both researchers, but the cultural back-

ground needs to be thoroughly studied. They only study *senggakan* "in plain view" and technically from musical perspective by mentioning it as an identity, but they have not thoroughly discussed the meaning behind *senggakan*. Therefore, the meaning of "noisy" impression proposed by Sutton can be examined.

The music of *calung* used to accompany certain art performance has certain work which is well processed by its supporting artists, thus Banyumasan styled *karawitan* appears with style and work similar to *karawitan* which uses *gamelan ageng*. This work model, which is considered typical, is also supposed to appear in adjustment to Banyumas people's sen-

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se. This artistic sense may appear based on the character of its supporting society, which is also reflected in a play style like that in *calung* style, which is not like that in *gamelan ageng* play.

That songs with lyrics in thick Banyumas dialect are added into *calung* play shows its distinctiveness. Specific nuance is produced by how quick instruments are struck, complementary plays and *senggakan*s made by *nayagas* and *sindhens*. These plays create very *ramé* (boisterous) impression. However, the word *ramé* in some studies is considered something positive, not something negative, by certain communities, primarily in the context of art performance (Mulyana, Haryono, Simatupang, & Mada, 2012). According to the research conducted by Mulyana, the *ramé* dimension which appears in art world exists in many regions with a meaning far from negative element. This means that the organizer and the players want their performance to be *ramé*. What does *ramé* in *Calung Banyumasan* art performance with different cultural background mean?

The research conducted by Priyadi, (2003) proposes that Banyumas people's character may be examined from their daily behavioral elements in social interaction, figures' character, taboos, and proverbs. These elements may exist in *calung* performance, including song lyrics, performance presentation, and the content of performance itself. Since art is the expression of people's culture, then art content, including *calung*, may reflect the character of people who produce such culture. It is very interesting to study their relationship.

A cultural analysis is based on an idea that daily life stretches out in a meaningful arrangement (Mulder, 1996). This concept explains that esthetic activity through *calung* performed by Banyumas people is something inevitable which has important meaning for their lives. The inevitability and meaning-making takes place in the world of shared knowledge, which is Banyumas culture, which may be analyzed as a system of perception, classification and other interpretation they may have.

Priyadi's dissertation (2010) entitled "*Dinamika Sosial Budaya Banyumas dalam Babad Banyumas Versi Wirjaatmadjana*" shows that the value system of Banyumas culture is based on *cablaka* which produces paradoxical/contradictive values as reflected in its figures' character. The upheld values tend to be paradoxical, in which thesis is faced with antithesis, which then produces a synthesis. Meanwhile, the value orientation of Banyumas culture is at traditional and modern positions, which may be observed from Banyumas people's view on the meaning of life, work, perception of time, and relation between human and human and nature.

Previous researches conducted by Priyadi, (2003; 2007) show that Banyumas people have a specific character called *cablaka*. *Cablaka* is the main model of Banyumas people's character. *Blakasuta*, *thongmelong*, or *cablaka* has the same meaning, which is to talk as it is or frankly. Banyumas people with Banyumasan dialect has established an egalitarian culture, which is to acknowledge equality among its people. The researches conducted by Priyadi (2003, 2007, 2010), from Banyumas people's character to people's view on the relation with the nature, have not specifically studied how art and culture as a form of cultural expression take a role in the dynamics of people. Do art and culture, including *Calung Banyumasan*, also reflect the dynamics of people as observed from the form of performance and performance elements?

Banyumas people's character is reflected in the existing value system in their socio-cultural life. *Calung* is born and developed from a dynamic people's social life, which in its birth is a civilization and part of their cultural system. Songs in *calung* have lyrics in Banyumas typical language, which reflect Banyumas people's character (Suharto, 2016). According to the rhythm of songs, its *gendhing* playing style which refers to *gamelan ageng* is the symbol of low-class people's culture which represents low-class culture, in which they want to reflect on how the *priyayi* play *gamelan* as

a representation of a bigger culture, which is Javanese culture.

Song lyrics and how they are sung in Banyumasan music like *Calung Banyumasan*, for example, cannot be separated from those characteristics. The expressions in use –some community groups say it rude– is the reflection of people’s daily life. However, those expressions are considered rude only by ethnocentric people, who view art from the different cultural corner like *kraton* culture, which is incidentally created from a new culture to restrict themselves (*kraton*) from low-class culture.

Culture belongs to people, which is collectively used as guideline or terms of reference for relevant people. People’s behavior is not free from culture, which is essentially the complex of knowledge, values, ideas, and faiths or beliefs which controls them (Bachtiar, 1985). The relevant guideline may become model selectively used by supporting people to communicate, to preserve and to connect knowledge, to behave and to act, not only to fulfill life necessities, but also to solve constantly evolving life challenges (Geertz, 1993).

Meanwhile, Geertz also defines “Culture is a system of arranged meaning and symbol, in the sense that individuals define their world, express their feeling and provide valuation; a meaning pattern historically transmitted, realized in symbolic forms through media where people communicate, monumentalize and develop their knowledge and attitudes toward life; a collection of symbolic equipment to regulate behavior, extra-somatic source of information. Since culture is a symbolic system, the cultural process must be read, construed and interpreted (Bauman, 1978; Kuper, 1999).

Banyumas is a region smaller than the whole region of Javanese culture, which is called bigger culture. Differences in character from a bigger culture will usually make Banyumas people’s character and behavior different. Cultural changes brought from the center of culture only reach the elites, while low-class people who live in the remote area remain to

maintain culture hereditarily acquired from their ancestor.

Because of its local nature, Banyumas culture becomes an integral part of a more general culture adopted by the Javanese. However, its remote geographical location from the center of *kraton*’s power and the inherent view of life make Banyumas people’s various cultural aspects different.

Banyumas people have been established with characters of having popular spirit and acceptance of given condition because of helplessness. These behaviors are then called sense of inferiority from other economically, politically or culturally stronger or superior strata.

Banyumas culture is also formed from a combination of the elements of old Javanese culture and local public life pattern. In its journey, Banyumas culture is influenced by New Javanese culture as bigger culture, Sundanese culture, Islamic culture, and Western culture. It is prevalent that a bigger culture influences a smaller culture. Moreover, the elements of Old Javanese culture (Ancient and Middle Javanese) is influenced by Indian culture (Hinduism-Buddhism) which has long time ago been disseminated by a priest named Aji Saka (Yusmanto, 2006).

Based on the background above, the main problem is how the *calung Banyumasan* performance presentation may describe Banyumas people according to musical and non-musical meaning in its performance.

METHOD

Approach and Focus of Study

This qualitative research employs a hermeneutic approach with *Calung Banyumasan* music and socio-cultural interactive-adaptive patterns underlying the process of emergence of *calung* music and its development until now as the objects of study. This is on the reasoning that *calung* music and all of its musical systems which forms *calung* music develop to acquire support from people of the extensive area from several regencies.

In this symbolic study, *calung* art performance is in this case construed as "text". This method is made only to understand the analysis in use. In this study, the researcher tries to construe a work as readable text. According to the hermeneutic perspective, a researcher may construe an art performance or event by first paying attention to the views of artists in the community to which the art belongs and then proposing his/her interpretation (Ahimsa-Putra, 1999).

This study focuses on *lengger calung* performance presentation which contains many symbols such as music, dance, literature, etc. Each of these elements has its own symbol system. However, according to (Turner, 2008; 1974), visual symbols bear the meaning at two levels: first, where such symbols are placed, and; second, in the social context where such symbols appear.

That *lengger calung* performance is essentially a performance which study is conducted to the elements of performance, constituting the performance. However, formal elements cannot be ignored as its supporting elements. *Lengger calung* performance consists of some formal elements such as music, dance and, sometimes, theater, and for the influence of phenomenological thinking, it focuses on the performance itself. This view emphasizes that music, including songs, is created for singing, thus the event of singing should be the center of all analyses on the song. Similarly, dance is created to be performed/presented, thus the event of dancing, for example during the performance, should be the center of any analyses on dance (Simatupang, 2013).

Calung performance from its start to the end is a series of art performance events which in this approach is considered text. Since performance is considered text, it must be read and interpreted. Therefore, the approach employed in this research is essentially a study of performance.

The study is focused on performance presentation by finding the symbolic meanings in the acts of *lengger calung* perfor-

mance often presented. This study is associated with Banyumas people's character to examine whether this performance reflects Banyumas people's life.

Pursuant to the research problems, the following data are needed. The source of data in the form of the document comprises demographic data of Wangon village of Banyumas regency, art group's document, musical notation of songs in possession of group "Wahyu Sejati", and photos and recordings in the form of Video Compact Disk. Besides offline data, videos are also taken from the Youtube page. The document data, which belong to Wahyu Sejati and Studio Bintang, are uploaded to the video-sharing website Youtube.

Informant needed in this research constitutes Banyumas humanists, *calung* artists, historians, leader of group "Wahyu Sejati", players of "Wahyu Sejati" and children involved in *lengger calung* training. Societal elements involved in *calung* preservation and supporting community are also taken as the main sources of data.

lengger calung performance becomes the primary source of data in this research. Acts in performance presentation are carefully observed. The elements of performance which becomes the source of data involved in performance are *calung* players, host, and audience.

Data Collection Technique

Observation is conducted to *lengger calung* performance both at stage and taken from performance document in the form of VCD obtained from the owner of *lengger calung* group, which is group Wahyu Sejati of Wangon Village, Banyumas and from some recording studios which often record it. The observation includes songs sung, dance moves and types of accompanying music, with the center is the performance presented. Observation is also performed during the group's trainings.

Thorough interview is necessary to obtain necessary data. Interview is addressed to the players of *lengger calung* of Wahyu Sejati and Probo Laras, supporting community, academicians, local humanists and

art performance critics.

Document Study.

Document Study is necessary to reveal the history of art in Banyumas, types of script, especially of songs and music of *calung* from time to time, performance recording in the form of audio visual (*Compact Disk Video/VCD*) in possession of group leader, studio Studio Bintang, or those distributed in the society.

Data Analysis Technique

This research employs song composition analysis (content analysis) and interactive analysis of (Miles, 1984). The content analysis is needed to analyze the formal data of music works often played in *lengger calung* performance covering instrumentation (*ricikan*), songs, play style, etc.

Data collecting process may be simultaneously performed with qualitative analysis referring to an interactive analysis model as proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), including data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. In data reduction, the researcher selects, focuses and simplifies the data obtained from the interview which are selected based on the designated scope of the problem. As proposed by Miles and Huberman, reducing data means selecting and summarizing the main things, focusing on important things, and then searching for the theme and pattern based on the collected data. Presenting data is a process to arrange information obtained from the interview, document, observation and literary study descriptively presented in the form of description of words and pictures of the development of *lengger calung* performance form. The last one is the conclusion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Calung Banyumasan Presentation Order

The order of a presentation usually consists of pre-opening, opening, presentation and closing. Presentation often performed consists of Pre-opening and Open-

ing, *Lenggeran Act*, *Badhudan Act*, and *Baladewan Act*.

Pre-Opening and Opening

Before show starts, the master of ceremony will give a code to the operator to prepare anything with regard to sound system setting. This is to anticipate any technical error during the performance. After such *uborampe* are complete, the music players play their instrument for three songs, and after the music instruments stop, the master of ceremony (MC) will call all *sindhens* to come to the stage, and the opening starts.

In this pre-opening act, the *calung* group always presents songs with vibrant rhythm and happy tone. This part is a symbol of notice to surrounding society that the performance has started. *Gendhings* usually played in an opening include *Sekar Gadung*, *Gudril Banyumas*, etc. These opening *gendhings* are chosen for their excitement from *lancaran* type, aiming at inviting audience or as a mark that *calung* performance will immediately start (Waluyo, 2017; Yusmanto, 2006).

In the opening of a *calung* music performance of many group, an MC will open the show by greetings addressed to the host, audience, and guests, and introducing the crews of *calung* music (group). In this opening, the MC will also congratulate the host for his/her son/daughter's marriage or circumcision, and pray that Allah SWT will always bless them. The performance starts when the opening ends.

A ritual to pray to God and a thank you note to the audience and guests as well as request for blessing have become tradition and never been missed in any *lengger calung* or *ebeg* performance. Offerings containing various foods and food ingredients such as *kembang telon*, banana, and other market snacks are put onto a *tampah*, and is then placed in the middle of stage.

In this act, Master of Ceremony (MC) plays a quite important role in guiding, giving introduction speech and giving warm tone to the performance. The offerings are placed in the middle of stage to symboli-

ze their gratitude to God and to pray for smooth course of performance. The host, *lengger* holds a bowl containing yellow rice and some coins, symbolizing the hopes of all performance supporting parties that they will be blessed and earn living from the performance. Likewise, coins are put into a washbasin or plate, which are then disseminated to the audience at the start of performance. This sequence must be performed, particularly when the performance is a promise (*ujar kaul*) of the host (interview with Legono (50).

The song *Sekar Gadung* is often sung in an opening, particularly during offerings ceremony. *Gending* with *wetanan* tone gives distinctive nuance during this ritual. In the scene of these acts, the grand ritual nuance is particularly felt to give quite deep meaning for those who understand it. People who usually watch *lengger calung* will understand that a performance has just started if such songs and offerings scene are played. Therefore, any person who is going to become a host of such event will readily perform it.

The solemn tone is created by music players, *lengger* dancers and also audiences. The audiences and music players seem to be used to this kind of ritual in *lengger calung* performance. A *lengger lanang* deemed as senior may become "supernaturally very powerful" that some mothers approach the stage to have their children blessed by the *lenggers*. The *lengger* then prays for the toddlers and kisses their forehead while their mother brings them to the edge of stage for the *lengger's* "blessing". According to Bawor (59), the leader of *lengger calung* Wahyu Sejati, some of the people still believe that *lenggers* have power to bless people and even heal disease. According to some witnessing audiences and the mothers, this supernatural power is caused by *indhang* that has possessed the *lengger*, giving him healing power. This opinion is supported by a Banyumas humanist, Gitosewojo (72).

Lenggeran Act

This section takes fairly long time

since some audiences participate in singing, dancing and *mbancer* (tipping). This often called *lenggeran* act gives opportunity to the audiences to get onto the stage to dance with the dancers (*lengger*). The communication pattern between audiences and players changes from one-direction to multi-direction.

Moves used in this part are those commonly played, in the sense that they are self-taught moves since there is no standard (*pakem*). These moves tend to be monotonous and repeated, as explained by Bawor. They are reworked to make moves of each *sekar* clear, thus a *sekar* will differ from the other. In addition to *seblak sampur*, *gerak ukel* and *gerak geol*, there are now some additional moves such as *pentanganan tangan*, *entrangan*, *lampah tigo*, *kosekan* and *pentanganan sampur*. However, this depends on *lenggers'* skill. SMKI students often add more moves to them (Interview with Bawor, May 2017).

Meanwhile, *lenggeran* act usually uses *Gendhing Malangan* and *Sekar Gadung*. However, those *gendhings* are of *lenggeran* standard. When there are many requests for songs, then they will adjust to the rhythm of the performance. *Lenggeran* which is thought to be a Hindu influence, as an expression of celebrating after the harvest, is still favored by the Banyumas community until now. In this loose round, the audience was given the opportunity to dance together (Koentjaraningrat, 1994; Priyanto & Jurusan, 1980; Yusmanto, 2006).

Opportunity to respond to received message comes to an end. The musical communication process is analogized as a tree in which the root is performance players and the audiences are at the top of it which may ramify depending on their aesthetic experience. Esthetic experience is, according to (Regelsky, 1981), action learning and, according to Jamalus, (1988), musical experience, which causes the audience's various reactions.

Audiences involvement in an art performance is no a disturbance, but is intentionally created, as proposed by Meyerhold (1999) that audience in performance is the

fourth creator after scriptwriter (McAuley, 2002, p. 238). Emigh (1996) considers that performance is not merely an event of self-expression or demonstration of standard techniques, but is an interactive event between performer and others (audience) in the context of the certain show. That the role played by non-performing participants is very important, researchers should pay attention to this aspect in research of art performance (Simatupang, 2013).

Bandhudan Act

Bandhudan act performance is always awaited by audience in *lengger calung* performance. In this act, the audience will be entertained by a combination between music plays, either instrument or songs, and dance as well as *banyolalan/dagelan* (jokes).

Bandhudan act may take more than an hour depending on how much time the host desires it will take. This will get longer if a high-rated "*badud*" is hired. This *Bandhud* appearance on the stage marks the end of *lenggeran* act and beginning of *Bandhudan* part. *Bandhudan* serves to refresh the tone, presented on stage to invite laughter with jokes and funny moves, in which *badud* may directly interact with the audiences. In this *Bandhudan* part, the audience may also request for songs and dance with *lengger* and *Bandhud*. A requested song is usually written on a paper and given to *Bandhud* and *lengger* dancer. This request is sometimes inserted into a box of cigarette or in the form of cash. Upon receiving *gendhing* demand, *lengger* dancer will sing the requested *gendhing* and dance with *Bandhud*.

Bandhudan makes a performance more attractive, of course, if the *Bandhud* is able to balance the playing pattern. A *Bandhud* will perform his/her entertainment duty by teasing *lengger*, singing songs with funny lyrics, and performing dance moves which are usually his/her own creativity and spontaneous, following the rhythm of music such as *kendang* playing. That is why, according to (Budiarti, 2008), *Bandhud* is a dancer of improvisation. Therefo-

re, a *Bandhud* must skillful in dancing, not only *lengger* dance, but also other types of dance, since he/she has to improvise in various genres of dance to make it attractive and funny.

Bandhudan is presented using Banyumas dialect in its communication, both between co-players and with audiences in a straightforward manner without any partition, symbolizing that all of them on the stage are one. They are considered equal and of the same level, thus anyone will be involved or **be** targeted, either in the form of satire, greeting, or singing and dancing together. They symbolize themselves egalitarian *panginyongan* people. Anyone including the host must feel it, thus he/she must also sing and tip. Host's participation is indeed expected and he/she will do it with pleasure when so requested during *Bandhudan* or *Lenggeran*.

Baladewan Act

Baladewa dance is presented in Baladewan act. This dance is one of the dances in *lengger calung* performance growing and developing in the distribution area of Banyumas culture, including the administrative regions of Banyumas, Cilacap, Purbalingga and Banjarnegara Regencies (Agustina, 2017). In *Baladewan* act, generally in *lengger calung* performance, a dancer gets onto the stage after changing to *Baladewan* dancer costume. *Baladewan* dance illustrates the character of *Baladewa*. *Baladewa* also plays the role of king of Mandura in Mahabharata story. This character is illustrated as a gallant and hot-tempered but funny character.

Songs used in Baladewan act are usually of cheerful and gallant rhythm that the costume, make up and moves presented reflect gallant and vigorous character. In the past, Baladewan dance in *lengger* is performed by highly experienced *lengger* dancers (senior dancers), since after performing *lengger* dance, they must perform a gallant Baladewan dance. Baladewan dance is a male gallant dance, that even if the dancer is female, she has to perform it in a gallant way (in private interview to

Legono, Januari 2017; Agustina, 2017).

Songs usually presented are those with *sigrak* rhythms such as *Bendrong Kulon*, *Kulu-kulu* and *Ricik-ricik*. These songs are sung in a *medley* way. However, as dancers are about to enter the stage, *gendhing Kulu-Kulu* is often played. *Kulu-kulu* is derived from the word "*kuluh*" which means *kuluh* or shabby and rumpled fabric or *gombal* usually used for *kelud*/or to clean dirty item. This song must be presented in *Baladewan* act to give the meaning of "cleaning up". This song also bears the meaning of finishing as cleaning up since the performance is about to end, thus the condition must be clean before leaving (interview with Legono, 2017; Bawor, 2016).

According to Bawor, the leader of "Wahyu Sejati", *Baladewan* dance must be presented as the closing of performance. However, for some reason, such as for its far distance from residence or in the field, a *Baladewan* dance does not necessarily change her costume. All dancers on stage must perform *Baladewan* dance with songs with gallant rhythm such as *Bendrong Kulon*, *Kulu-kulu*, or *Ricik-ricik*. Every time *Baladewan* dance is presented, all audiences, host, and all performance crews will understand the meaning, as if it is a symbol that *lengger calung* performance will immediately end, and they who still want to further dance will understand it.

Banyumas People's Characteristics in Calung Performance Presentation

Some of Banyumas people's characteristics are reflected in a calung performance. These characteristics may be in the form of personal matters, social life, nature, or philosophy of life. Some of these characters may be described below.

Syncretic Society

A supplication reading ritual is made at the start of every calung performance, preceded with MC's Islamic introduction and sentences using opening words such as *Basmallah* with an expectation that Allah SWT will bless them. However, such Islamic recitations are simultaneously made

with "spell" reading ritual performed by senior *lengger* while a plate containing yellow rice and coins is mutually held with the host. They are then disseminated to the audiences from the surrounding area who watch the performance. Similarly, *lengger's* blessing of toddlers directly brought by their parent to *lengger* is considered as bringing luck.

Gitosewojo who is also a *dalang* (puppeteer) in the 80s and MC in celebration events also performs such ritual, which sometimes starts with burning incense, or fragrance, to start any event he participates in. According to Gitosewojo, "Frankincense or incense is a symbol of fragrance that is worth giving to respected ancestors"

Egalitarian Society

An egalitarian society is reflected throughout calung performance. However, the most prominent act showing egalitarian people's characteristics is *Bandhudan* act. Some art expressions reflecting egalitarian society appear in this act. *Glowehan* or *glewehan* made by mocking others, host and *lengger* show that they are equal. They perform *glowean* but do not intend to offend others, since all of them understand, thus anything happens are considered funny and makes them laugh.

Straightforward attitude (*cablaka*) arises in this egalitarian society and even everyone talks straightforwardly without considering any consequence of it (*blakasuta*). In this *Bandhudan* act, anyone may become object of the joke. Egalitarian character also appears in every song played either by *sindhen*, *lengger*, *penyenggak* or *Bandhud*. Banyumas songs with Banyumasan dialect show such egalitarian character.

Cablaka is a character spontaneously expressed by Banyumas people of any phenomena appearing before them without cover. Therefore, Banyumas people's *cablaka* should be considered as an attitude of frankness, open mind, intimacy, or freedom expression to state anything without anything covered up (*tanpa tedheng aling-aling*).

Some Banyumasan songs are always

played in every art performance in Banyumas, for example, according to Bawor, the song 'Eling-Eling'. This song describes the life of Banyumas people to a large degree, and even describes the philosophy of Banyumas people that we may only submit to God, while we are equal among human. We must always be aware of our identity as God's creation.

Esthetic Society

Songs with lyrics in Banyumas dialect are played during the performance, starting from Pre-performance to *Baladewan* act. It is interesting to hear songs with lyrics containing local literature like *cakepan*. *Cakepan* is a text/lyric form of literature used in *sindhenan*. Such text is played by *sindhen* or *swarawati* in a *karawitan* performance and also by other *penayaga* (music player), including *Bandhud* in *Bandhudan* act.

This *cakepan* literature usually has a theme of human life containing advice, character education, household life, life guide, etc. This also applies to *cakepan* of Banyumasan songs. Although there are only a few of them and no specific attention is given, some *cakepan sindhenan* also contains advice, ideology and ideals or utopia. Utopia is the ideal of an ideology. The concerned ideology constitutes *local genius* adopted only by a certain society, that is the Javanese and, more specifically, Banyumas or *Panginyongan* people. The song *Eling-eling*, for example, is a reminder for a human to always be aware of and remember Almighty God, that we must only be afraid of God, while we are equal among human.

Cakepan in Banyumasan songs comprises, among others, *wangsalan*, *parikan* and *isen-isen*. *Cakepan* usually employs the beauty element, mainly current songs which has free form. *Wangsalan* means a type of poem in the form of *cangkriman* (quiz) with answer available within the content. *Parikan* means a poem of which stanza consists of *sampiran* and content. *Parikan* is divided into two types, which are two lines and four lines. *Isen-isen* me-

ans certain phrases useful to fill a vacancy in parts unfilled with *wangsalan* or *parikan*. Similarly, this should apply to the work of Jalungmas dance moves.

Wangsalan. *Wangsalan* is a type of Javanese literary text, particularly western part of Central Java including Banyumas, Brebes and Cirebon. *Wangsalan* usually played in Banyumasan music and Cirebon *tarling* brings cheerful impression. Such songs have *sigrak* rhythm and contain amusing and funny lyrics because of their funny and beautiful puzzle content. *Wangsalan* is beautiful since it is a type of literature. The rhymes appearing in the phrases are beautiful and funny. This reflects the character of Banyumas people who love cheerful songs.

Wangsalan is a sentence of song consisting of two phrases which contain the puzzle of which answer is given in the sentence. Since it is a puzzle, the answer will be found by connecting words in the sentence (Budiarti, 2016). According to Budiarti, there are 4 *wangsalan*, which are *wangsalan lamba*, *wangsalan rangkep* (*cambo-ran*), *wangsalan memet* and *wangsalan padinten*.

In the lyric of song "Ricik-Ricik", for example, the phrase "Janur gunung, sakulon Banjar Patoman" is a question and the answer will be found in the next phrase. The phrase "Kadingaren, kadingaren wong bagus gasik tekane" is the answer of puzzle in the previous phrase. The word "janur gunung" in Banyumas language means "**aren**" (sugar palm) which is realized in the answer phrase 'kadeng**aren**' that has rhyme at the end of word 'aren' in the end of word 'kadengaren'. Banjar Patoman in Banyumas society is known as an area called **Tasik**, the name of an area in eastern part of West Java. Therefore, the phrase 'Banjar Patoman' is answered by the phrase 'wong bagus gasik tekane' in which the word '**gasik**' is a wordplay of the word '**tasik**'. Wordplay in Javanese society including Banyumas usually has rhyme at the end of phrase or word of a *parikan*.

"Janur gunung, sakulon Banjar Patoman/Kadingaren wong bagus gasik tekane" is

the most popular *wangsalan* in Banyumas society. This *wangsalan* is also used by *sindhen* to fill lyrics in similar songs other than "Ricik-ricik". It can even be used to replace any lyric, if *sindhen* forgets the lyric of a song she is singing and she may freely apply it. If there is more or less syllable, a *sindhen* may cut lyric or repeat certain word two or three times in adjustment to the song beats (interview with Yusmanto, 2017).

Parikan. *Parikan* is a sentence consisting of two phrases, in which the first phrase and the second phrase has rhyme. Most of *gendhing Banyumasan* uses *parikan* and *wangsalan*. In addition, some *gendhings* also use *pepantunan*, for example: *gendhing Rengong Manis*, *Bendrong Kulon*, *Ijo-ijo*, *Malang Dhoi* and *Dhober* (Budiarti, 2016).

Abon-abon. In *sindehenan*, *abon-abon* is often called *isen-isen* which serves to be intermezzo or complement. *Abon-abon* according to *Kamus Umum Basa Jawa* means *ubarampe*. *Ubarampe* means completeness or complement. *Abon-abon* is text in the form of word or words in which the meaning of sentence is not related to the text of main sentence (*sindhenan*), thus we may say it an intermezzo.

Abon-abon or *isen-isen* text (*cakepan*) usually used in *Banyumasan sindhenan* includes *rama*, *rama-rama*, *ramane*, *yo mas*, *kakang*, etc. *Abon-abon* text in *gendhing Banyumasan*, besides serving as independent decorator or adornment, is often put in *cakepan* or *wangsalan*, either at the start or in the end of *cakepan*. For example, in *gendhings Malang Dhoi* (*mas malange dhoi*) and *Renggong Manis* (*man-eman Renggong Manis*, *man-eman renggong manis ramane*).

Words appearing in *Abon-abon*, which are intermezzo and complement of sentence in *lengger calung* performance, include *rama-rama*, *ramane* and *kakang*. It is a reflection of Banyumas people's daily life. According to Gitosewojo (72 years old), the words *rama* or *ramane* is used more than *biyung* or *biyunge* in *isen-isen* since *pesinden* symbolizes that a daughter in Banyumas people's culture depends more on her father (*rama*) than on her mother (*biyung*),

since Banyumas people adopt patrilineal principle.

It cannot be denied that the work of songs in *calung* presentation is full of valuable esthetic elements. From the form of songs played to the work reflects Banyumas people who have high musical sense, thus it is the people's character.

Banyumas culture is known as the junction of two axes, which are Javanese cultural axis and Sundanese cultural axis (Interview with Yusmanto, October 2017). This junction of two cultures is caused by the geographical location meeting of Java (eastern part) and Sunda (western part). In addition, the origin of Banyumas people is believed to be from the meeting and movement of some Sundanese (from Pajajaran kingdom) with Javanese (from Pasir kingdom) because of a marriage of two individuals from different cultures, Banyak Catra from Pajajaran and Ciptarasa from Pasirluhur. This marriage causes movement of men of Sundanese culture to women of Javanese culture (Priyadi, 1996).

The influence of these two cultures is also reflected on the character of Banyumas people's traditional music as an expression of their cultures and arts, one of which is *Calung* play in *Banyumasan* style. "There are 3 very popular songs in Banyumas often played in *calung* performance, which are *Ricik-ricik*, *Eling-eling* and *Bendrong Kulon*. The songs *Ricik-Ricik* and *Eling-Eling* have thick Javanese nuance while *Bendrong Kulon* has Sundanese nuance. Therefore, the songs *Ricik-Ricik* and *Eling-Eling* when played in Surakarta style will convey a strong feeling of Javanese nuance, and, on the contrary, when played in Sundanese will convey the strong feeling of Sundanese nuance (Interview with Yusmanto, October 2018).

These two types of rhythm produce Banyumas specific color, particularly from the perspective of *kendangan* style. The song "*Bendrong Kulon*" will be suitably accompanied with *jaipong* rhythm". These two styles go hand in hand depending on the music players and the area. *Calung* played by a group in the border area

of West Java will tend to play Sundanese style, as reflected in *kendangan* style played (interview with Wendo, September 2017).

Banyumasan *gendings* have an equal form with Surakarta and Yogyakarta styled *karawitan*, which are in the form of *gangsaran*, *lancaran*, *ketawang*, *ladrang* and *gending*. According to form perspective, there is *gending Eling-eling* with *lancaran* form consisting of four *gongan*. This form is mostly found in Banyumasan songs. According to *garap* (work) perspective, there are two *garap irama siji* and *garap irama loro*.

Agricultural Society

Banyumas Regency is spread 1,327.60 km² in the area or equal to 132,759.56 ha. It has plains & mountains consisting of the Valley of Serayu River for agricultural land, highland partially for settlement, people's yard, and mountain partially for plantation and tropical forest located on the southern slope of Mount Slamet.

These various conditions of and wide nature cause New Javanese culture brought from the *Kraton* (Palace) is unevenly disseminated to all corners of Banyumas area. The people keep the culture they have hereditarily adopted with regard to faith, how to communicate, and agricultural technology (Priyadi, 2002, 2003, 2010; Tohari, 2011).

Characters like popular spirit, *cablaka* (transparency), exposure and society-life based culture are the pattern of traditional-agricultural life. This tendency is the result of the distance of Banyumas area location from the big kingdoms (Jogyakarta, Surakarta). This causes their cultures generally develop slower than *Negarigung* cultures.

Most of native Javanese ethnic group is located in rural areas, which are those collectively called *Kejawen* areas, comprising Jogyakarta, Surakarta, Banyumas, Kedu, Madiun, Malang and Kediri. (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Banyumas people are not really different from the condition of Javanese in general. However, as previously explained, the wide geographical condition causes Banyumas people's cultu-

res do not develop as fast as those of other Javanese areas, including the development of New Javanese language which does not reach rural areas. Most of the people in rural areas remain using original language until now. They who live in villages in rural areas distributed in Banyumas area use Banyumas dialect. They have used this language far before New Javanese language arises and is distributed to all areas. They are loyal to their language which is not interfered by any changes made by the *Kraton* (Palace) in its period until now. Only certain limited people are willing to use it, the *priyayi* (Priyadi, 2010; Gitosewojo, 2017).

Calung Instruments as the Character Agricultural Society's Music

Bamboo has become part of rural people's life in Banyumas, that it is used in many occasions such as house construction, chairs, beds, kitchen utensils, household appliances, esthetic expression media, means of transportation, etc. (Yusmanto, 2006). In-house construction, some parts of the house use bamboo as raw material, including: structure (*saka*, *blandar* or *penglari* and *pengeret*), wall, roof and accessories such as *glathak*, wall decoration, lamp, etc.). Bamboo for rural people in Banyumas is identical to simplicity. Items made of bamboo are considered simple items. Therefore, a bamboo house is considered as a simple house (Interview with Yusmanto, 2017).

Calung is a type of musical instrument made of bamboo of grassy type (*grassophone*) with a different character from music instrument made of metal, in which this *grassophone* music instrument does not have sustain. For longer sound, it must be played by *nritil* (repeatedly struck as necessary/necessary not value) thus it will not produce short sound since it has poor sustain (Wendo, 2017; Yusmanto, November 2017).

The sound heard from calung struck in a *nritil* basis seems to be straightforward and *ramé* (boisterous). This impression becomes the character of Banyumas folk art

in general. This straightforward and *ramé* impression is also identical to Banyumas people's character of straightforward or *cablaka* (Priyadi, 2007).

Lengger play accompanied with *calung* will give a very typical nuance. The songs, playing style, dance and *senggakan* will follow the rhythm of *calung* playing character. This musical instrument play tends to be *sigrak* and seems to be cheerful. Therefore, most of the songs played have cheerful rhythm.

Ramé as a Reflection of the People who Love Togetherness

Senggakan always appears in every song and almost throughout the performance. From the perspective of presentation, *senggakan* in *karawitan* has *ramé* (boisterous) impression. Therefore, *senggakan* may be interpreted as joint or sole vocal using *cakepan parikan* and or a series of words (sometimes without meaning), and even seems to be *saru* (less polite) which serves to support the realization of boisterous nuance in a *gendhing* presentation.

This *senggakan* is quite flexible, of which meaning may be interpreted by anyone in a logical and contextual sense. *Senggakan* in *gendhing Banyumasan* takes a position as vocal *gendhing*, thus they will be quiet without *senggak*.

Senggakan in Banyumasan music is Banyumas people's expression of freedom. *Senggakan* with its generation of *ramé* (boisterous), cheerful and sometimes seemingly vulgar nuances illustrates the expression of the art of Banyumas people who love freedom, equality and honesty (Murwaningrum, 2012b). *Senggakan* is an element of *gendhing Banyumasan*. *Lengger* performance uses *gendhing Banyumasan* as its accompanying music.

An indicator of successful performance for Banyumas people is *ramé* nuance, which will be seen in the expression of songs in *lengger*, *ebeg*, or *wayang* (puppet) performance. It may be created by *pesinden* or *nayaga*, including *dalang* (puppeteer) through this *senggakan*, and audiences may have themselves involved in this *ramé* nu-

ance by participating and getting onto stage while *mbancer* (tipping).

In the context of performance itself, performers intentionally create *ramé* nuance in performance since it is a symbol of the success of a *lengger calung* performance. That is why an individual is specifically assigned to be *penayaga* as well as to play *senggakan* in a *lengger calung* group. The individual who plays *senggakan* must have the high musical ability, particularly in mastering Banyumasan *gendhing* and songs.

This *ramé* nuance resulted from *senggakan* is the concept of Banyumas people intentionally formed to fill empty, quiet or meaningless spaces of life. This condition also becomes the symbol of Banyumas people who prefer living in group and considering all people as equal, thus any jokes in song lyrics and *senggakan* are merely intended to be entertainment and expression to create cheerful and *ramé* nuance. *Ramé* (boisterous) is not merely meaningless noisy as proposed by (Sutton, 1991) that *senggakan* is "noisy" or "busy" since there is indeed crowd which is seemingly busy and noisy. However, *ramé* has become a standard of success for art performance in Banyumas.

Ramé is also caused by interaction between music players, singers and audiences. The audience becomes an integral part of the art performance in Banyumas. The existence of conditioned *ramé* has never existed without meaning or action. On the contrary, it always exists in the relation of the event between a cause and its effect, or an action and its reaction.

The host will also feel his/her "obligation" to create this *ramé* nuance. A performance may be stated as successful if according to people's perspective, such performance is *ramé* (boisterous). Many audiences, many individuals tipping and existing interaction between players and audiences are the indicators. That interaction exists means that there is an expression of joy in the form of a smile, laughter, a movement following song rhythm and dancing while tipping. Tipping scene for local

people is not something pornographic, but communication between audiences and *lengger* dancers, thus all audiences, both they who tip or only watch become an integral part of it. As stated by Gay McAu-

ley, energy change occurs between players and audiences in a performance.

Some of Banyumas people's characteristics identified from *calung* performance may be summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Banyumas People's Characteristics in *Calung* Performance

| Character | Act | Type of Symbol | Media of Expression | Meaning |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Egalitarian Society | Bandhudan | glewehan clemodan | - Singing/song - Joke - <i>Geol</i> | Equality |
| | <i>Lenggeran</i> | - <i>mbancer/nyawer</i> | - Dance - Song lyrics | Intimacy |
| | <i>Baladewan</i> | Epic dance (<i>Baladewan</i>) - Offerings - Spreading yellow rice - Prays/spells - Burning frankincense | Dance moves - <i>Kembang telon</i> (three types of flower) - Yellow rice - Coin - Offerings - Frankincense | Respect to hero - Human is small in the eye of God - Respect to ancestors/ elders |
| Syncretic society | Opening of performance | - Blessing by senior <i>lengger</i> - <i>Lengger</i> kisses toddlers' forehead | | |
| Esthetic Society (in literature) | Pre-opening <i>Lenggeran</i> <i>Bandhudan</i> <i>Baladewan</i> | - Singing - <i>Wangsalan</i> - <i>Parikan</i> - <i>Candaan</i> | Singing/song | Banyumas people have highly esthetic sense of literature |
| | Esthetic Society (in music/work) | - <i>Senggakan</i> - <i>Wangsalan</i> - <i>Garap lagu</i> -Song composition | -Song composition - <i>Garap lagu</i> | Banyumas people have highly esthetic musical sense |
| Love joking / humor | - <i>Lenggeran</i> | - <i>Senggakan</i> - <i>Parikan</i> - <i>Wangsalan</i> - <i>Mbancer</i> - Smile | - Song lyrics - <i>Garap lagu</i> - Cash for <i>mbancer</i> - Vulgar language/ <i>clemod</i> | Banyumas people have high sense of humor |
| | | - Multi-direction communication | - Communication with audience | Vulgar dance means intimacy |
| | - <i>Bandhutan</i> | - <i>Glewehan</i> - <i>Wangsalan</i> - <i>Garap lagu</i> - Funny moves - Multi-direction communication | - Song lyrics - <i>Garap lagu</i> - <i>Geyol</i> - Communication with audience | Banyumas has a high sense of humor |
| | - <i>Baladewan</i> | - Imitating hero's moves | Dance moves | Respect to hero is an obligation |

CONCLUSION

Songs accompanied with these complete, classic *calung* instruments appear in every act in *calung* performance, comprising an opening, *Lenggeran*, *Bandhudan* and *Baladewan*. In the opening, and even pre-opening, songs played as opening *gendhing* serve to be the symbol to inform surrounding people that a *calung* performance has started. In *Lenggeran* act, *Banyumasan* songs are used to accompany *gambyongan* and *mbancer* (tipping). In *Bandhudan* act, songs played serve to be *guyonan* (jokes) to invite audiences and anyone involved in such performance including players. And finally, in *Baladewan* act, songs played serve to be closing.

The interaction between *calung* players and audiences occurs particularly in *Lenggeran* (*gambyongan*) and *Bandhudan* acts. This interaction is intentionally made by players to make the performance *ramé* (boisterous), since *ramé* nuance is the symbol of the success of a performance. *Ramé* nuance may be created by playing instruments with quick tempo (*nritil*), *senggakan*, and funny wordplay made by *Bandhudan* players. *Ramé* nuance is not something noisy, but is the character of Banyumas people in conversation to talk *clemod* which is seemingly *ramé*, which will be rude from the perspective of other culture, but it is a symbol of togetherness and equality for the people's perspective.

It is clear that some aspects of performance covering these four acts in fact symbolize Banyumas people's egalitarian, straightforward, syncretic, love-to-gather, and esthetic characters.

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