



The Meaning of Political Conflict in the Ketoprak “Satru Ing Ngepal”

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the meaning of signs related to political conflict between characters in *sineprak* “Satru Ing Ngepal” (SIN). The political conflicts between these figures will be analyzed for their meaning by relating them to the social-historical context of Indonesia in the New Order and Reformation Eras. The research uses a theatrical semiotic theory approach, dividing theatrical performances into 13 sign systems. Signs related to political conflict between figures will be analyzed denotatively and connotatively. The content analysis method from Krippendorff was used to analyze the data. The results of this study indicate that Senopati’s political conflict with Mangir semiotically refers to the meaning of the political conflict between the New Order and Reform rulers and the opposition. The enmity between Senopati, Juru Mertani, and Mangir refers to the meaning of the conflict between Wiranto and Prabowo Subianto. Pembayun’s marriage to Mangir means Prabowo Subianto joining President Jokowi’s government for 2019-2024. Pembayun’s courage to fight for Mataram peace with Mangir’s fief land refers to RA Kartini’s emancipation.

Keywords: political conflict, theater semiotics, denotative meaning, connotative meaning, content analysis

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INTRODUCTION

Ketoprak is a traditional Javanese theater that initially came from Surakarta and then developed rapidly in Yogyakarta until now. *Ketoprak* is one of the Javanese folk theater arts besides *ludruk*, *srandul*, *wayang wong*, *sandur*, etc (Hidajad et al., 2022). A performance of *ketoprak* involves elements of dance, and drama (dialogue) is conducted by the gamelan (Bandem and Murgiyanto, 1996), with the dialogue in Javanese, both *kromo inggil* and *ngoko*. *Ketoprak* usually adapts stories from Javanese historical legends since the reign

of kings in East Java (Majapahit to Islamic Mataram) to Persia, India, China, etc. The *ketoprak* expansion includes all Javanese-speaking communities, such as Lampung, Central Java, the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), and East Java. When stage *ketoprak* such as *Sapta Mandala Kodam Tujuh Diponegoro* from Yogyakarta, *Siswo Budoyo dan Wahyu Budoyo* from Tulungagung, and others began to recede in the 80s, they tried to adapt to changing times to maintain existence. Technology in the entertainment industry is increasingly intensive, making *ketoprak* managers respond with a willingness to adapt (Sahid, 2000; Purno-

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mo, 2013). This aims to satisfy the audience, such as when watching a visual stage performance (Dipoyono, 2018). Until now, the only remaining stage *ketoprak* exists in the Pati district of Central Java province (Purnomo, 2013).

According to its development, there are two types of *ketoprak*: the conventional and the *garapan* (Nusantara, 1997). Nusantara states that the conventional *ketoprak* has these characteristics: (1) not using drama text/script, (2) dramatics referring to *wayang purwa*, (3) improvised dialogue, (4) intuitive acting and blocking, (5) realistic dress and make-up, (6) conducted by gamelan *slendro* and *pelog*, (7) can be more than six hours of show duration, and (8) flexible themes and storylines (plots). In contrast, the *ketoprak garapan* has the following characteristics: (1) using drama text/script, (2) dramatic structure referring to Western theater dramaturgy, (3) ordered and patterned acting and blocking, (4) settings do not necessarily use *kelir* (picture screens), (5) lighting and sound systems with modern technology, (6) conducted by instruments played in either diatonic or pentatonic scale or even both, (7) show duration not exceeding 2.5 hours, and (8) it is not mandatory to use *keprak* and *tembang*. Based on the explanation above, the SIN performance is a *ketoprak garapan*.

In today's digital and internet era, it turns out that *ketoprak* can still exist on YouTube. During the outbreak of COVID-19, Mr. Bondan Nusantara, one of the *ketoprak* reformers of Yogyakarta (Hatley, 2008), has initiated several *ketoprak* artists in Yogyakarta to produce many *ketoprak* performances, recorded using television production standards and uploaded on YouTube. *Ketoprak* shows on YouTube have many viewers who like them, subscribe, and do not miss the ads. The *ketoprak* creators of Yogyakarta name those *ketoprak* shows on YouTube the *sineprak*, which stands for *sinematografi ketoprak* or *ketoprak cinematography*. Some *sineprak* on YouTube are such as *Korban*, *Megatruh*, *Ngandut Wohing Katresnan*, *Gelo*, *Uger-uger Lawang*, *Emprit Buntut Bedhug*, *Satru Ing Ngepal*,

Pangeran Samber Nyowo, and many others. Most of these *sineprak* are produced and funded by the Dinas Kebudayaan DIY (the Department of Culture of Yogyakarta) for 2021-2022 (Dyah, 2021). The *sineprak* entitled *Satru Ing Ngepal* ("The Enemy at the Border ~Eng.) is interesting to observe. *Satru Ing Ngepal* (abbr. SIN) is a version of the Mangir Wonoboyo story set during Panembahan Senopati; he became the first Islamic Mataram King and ruled during 1586-1601 (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008).

Even though SIN is a type of *ketoprak* performance based on Javanese folk theater, it worked on the concept of modern theater dramaturgy. The formal involvement can see this of directors, scriptwriters, lighting directors, setting managers, etc., as is the case in modern theater. Herry Suryono as the scriptwriter for SIN, Joanna Diyah as the director, Sahrul Yulianto as the gamelan accompaniment director, Beni SW as the artistic director, Lintang Raditya as the lighting director, and Bambang Jati *et al.* as the actors. SIN is a new interpretation of the legend of Mangir Wonoboyo, which has been quite well-known to the people of Yogyakarta since hundreds of years ago. SIN tells the story of the political conflict between Panembahan Senopati as the king of Mataram, and Mangir Wonoboyo, who controlled the *Perdikan* Land of Mangir (*Perdikan* = tax-free). Mangir Wonoboyo and his followers lived in *Perdikan* Land of Mangir, which was privileged to be tax-free by Panembahan Senopati (Hatley, 2008). This was because Mangir Wonoboyo's father, Ki Wonoboyo, had an excellent service in establishing the Mataram Sultanate.

Thematically, SIN play is interesting because of the problem of political conflict, which factually means that it can refer to political conflicts in Indonesia since the New Order to the Reformation Era. The conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo is a symbol of the conflict between the authorities and the opposition outside power. The conflict between Pemanahan and Juru Mertani is a symbol of internal

conflict among the power holders. The conflict between Mangir Wonoboyo and Pembayun symbolizes the dishonesty of the political elite in holding power. Apart from containing elements of conflict, SIN also includes the problem of the struggle for emancipation, especially that which was carried out by Pembayun in the context of fighting for the unity of Mataram and Mangir. From a semiotic perspective, political conflicts in SIP are signs that must be given a different meaning. Pembayun's struggle for emancipation is also a sign that needs to be interpreted. The political conflict does have meaning not only denotatively but also connotatively. Socio-historically, the connotative meaning of conflict in SIN has a context with the conditions of Indonesia in the New Order and Reformation era. Therefore, the meaning of signs in SIN is relevant to today's socio-historical conditions. In this regard, the author examines SIN with a theater semiotics approach since the signs in the SIN's performance are pretty significant. Before studying semiotics, an aesthetic analysis will be carried out using the morphological aesthetic theory of Thomas Munro.

SIN has not been researched until now, both from the aspect of the script and the performance. Thus, this study can be continued because the originality can be accounted for. Based on the above analysis, an important issue that needs to be explored in SIN performances is the presence of signs whose meanings are relevant to Indonesian society today. So, it is necessary to examine them with the theory of theater semiotics. This study aims to analyze the meaning of signs related to political conflicts between figures in SIN. The political conflict between these figures will be analyzed for its meaning by relating it to the socio-historical context of Indonesia in the New Order and Reformation Era. Meanwhile, Pembayun's struggle for emancipation will be linked to the historical context of the pre-independence era.

In the following, we will briefly describe the theory of theater semiotics used to study SIN. In the beginning, semiotics

was a theory of approach originating from language. Then, semiotics developed into various disciplines such as theater, film, dance, design, photography, music, mathematics, etc. Semiotics can be seen explicitly or implicitly (Cobley, 2016). This is related to the definition of semiotics, which means marking, also because semiotics is a science that studies the system or structure of signs, sign processes, and sign functions (Hénault, 2016). The semiotics in this study focuses on theater semiotics. In the perspective of theater semiotics, the signifier is the work itself as an "object." At the same time, the signified is an aesthetic object that resides in the collective consciousness of society (Elam, 2005). The performance text can be considered a macro sign, and its meaning is determined based on the total effect. Before the analysis phase begins, this macro signal must be subdivided into smaller units.

Thus, theatrical performance is not a single sign but a network of semiotic units in which systems work together. Tadeusz Kowzan (Aston & Savona, 1999:105) classifies there are 13 sign systems in theater: words, expression, tone, gesture, motion, make-up, hairstyle, costume, prop, setting, lighting, music, and effects sound or sound. These thirteen sign systems are macro sub-signs that work interrelated with each other in building meaning (Sahid, 2019:32). Semiotics is related to the meaning of an object. In this study, the analysis of meaning is focused on signs related to the political conflict between the characters in the story. The relationship between theatrical signs associated with the character's power conflicts will be analyzed simultaneously. The aim is to obtain a complete meaning of the sign (Sahid & Junaidi, 2022). In the story characters, most signs are attached: words, expressions, tone, gestures, movements, make-up, hairstyles, and costumes.

METHOD

The study of SIN is a type of qualitative research. The selection of this research sample used a purposive sampling

technique, namely sampling adjusted to the research objectives. At the same time, the method used was the content analysis method from Klaus Krippendorff. The content analysis method aims to create replicable and valid formulations by interpreting and coding textual material (Krippendorff, 2004). The content analysis method can determine the presence of certain words or concepts in a text or set of texts. The researcher measured and analyzed the existence, meaning, and relationships of such words and concepts, then made conclusions about messages in texts, writers, audiences, and even the culture and time of which they were part (Maria, 2018). Based on the text, it can cover a wide range of units such as books, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and articles, document histories, speeches, conversations, advertisements, theater, films, performing arts, literature, informal conversations, etc.

The content analysis method is a research technique for making replicable and valid data inferences considering the context (Arafat, 2018). As a research technique, content analysis includes specific procedures for processing scientific data, including the stages of inventory, identification, and interpretation of data. The explanation is as follows: (1) the inventory stage, which is an inventory of the dialogues of the SIN story characters related to political conflicts, both those stated explicitly and implicitly; (2) stages of identification, namely identifying dialogues that can be considered as signs; (3) stage of interpretation, namely interpreting signs related to political conflict related to the socio-historical context of the New Order and the Reformation Era to obtain relevant meanings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Aesthetic Analysis

This SIN aesthetic study uses the theory of morphological aesthetics from Thomas Munro (1967), who said that morphological aesthetics examines elements, details, ideas, composition, structure, and

the interweaving of elements. Munro's theory is strengthened by the theory of paradox aesthetics in which Jakob Sumardjo (2006) states that the two-patterned paradox aesthetic emphasizes twin oppositions in the character of opposites, not complementarity. Paradox contains unity and refers to contradictions that cannot be reconciled (Napier, 1986). Napier's opinion reinforces the opinion of Jakob Sumardjo.

The aesthetic elements by Munro and Sumardjo are explored simultaneously when analyzing the structure and texture of SIN for a more systematic and directed aesthetic analysis. Kernodle & Kernodle (1978) said that the dramatic values of theater works such as SIN include structure (plot, character, theme) and texture (dialogue, mood, music, and spectacle).

Structure and texture of SIN

The aesthetic elements of SIN used by Munro and Sumardjo are explored when analyzed. SIN's structure and texture are explored simultaneously for systematic and directed aesthetic analysis. Dramatic values of theater work such as SIN are included structure (plot, character, theme) and texture (dialogue, mood, music, and spectacle).

Structure

The structure of the drama text consists of plot, characterization, and theme. These three elements form a unified relationship and determine one another. Here's the study:

Plot

The plot consists of the story's opening, rising tension, complications, climax, and resolution. The opinions about the plot above appear to complement each other (Kernodle & Kernodle, 1978; Waluyo, 2007, Soemanto, 2001). The SIN plot tells of the conflicts between Panembahan Senopati, the king of Mataram, and Mangir Wonoboyo due to Mangir's unwillingness to hand over the *perdikan* land shared with the community to Senopati. The SIN plot uses a straight plot type, from the open-

ing (the time when Panembahan Senopati held a meeting with the officials, discussing the defiance of Mangir Wonoboyo), rising tension of the story (the Panembahan Senopati's anger to defeat Mangir Wonoboyo), complication (Retno Pembayun offered to be the leader in annihilating Mangir Wonoboyo), climax (Retno Pambayun managed to win over Mangir Wonoboyo's heart, so she did not go to war, but instead married him and pregnant), to the resolution (Retno Pembayun managed to invite Mangir back to Senopati, but on the way, Purboyo stabbed him to death using the spear of Kyai Plered). The SIN plot is arranged chronologically based on clear cause and effect from the beginning to the end.

Characterization

Characterization is the character appearance process as the character role carrier in a play, with physiological, sociological, and psychological dimensions (Sato, 1993). Characterization presents and can be imaged through dialogue because, in drama, a conversation is an event. The SIN story develops due to the great conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo. Based on the depiction, Mangir was a brave man with high self-esteem and empathy for his people. He did not give up on Senopati, who tried to seize his ancestral land, proven by defending his homeland from the evil intentions of Senopati, who would seize it.

King Senopati was greedy, stubborn, and always used his war power to subdue other kings or rulers, including Mangir. Pembayun was a woman with a cunning character who used her beauty to defeat Mangir. On the other hand, Pembayun also loved Mangir; when Purboyo killed Mangir, she cried as if feeling lost. Pemanahan, the adviser, with his wise character, refused the Senopati's plan to exterminate Mangir since his parents had contributed to Mataram. Juru Mertani, a Senopati's adviser, believed that Mangir should be killed since Mangir's parents served the Mataram. Purboyo was Pembayun's older

brother, who killed Mangir on Senopati's orders using the spear of Kyai Plered.

The aesthetic perspective of Sumardjo (2006) and Napier (1986) says that characters have contradictory traits. Mangir's character (defending the birthplace) contradicts Senopati (willing to seize Mangir's land), Pemanahan (rejecting killing Mangir) contradicts Juru Mertani (approving of killing Mangir), Pembayun (loving Mangir) contradicts Purbaya (killing Mangir). In addition to mutual contradictions, the characterization among characters also forms a balance with each other, which makes the story dramatically more harmonious.

Theme

Artwork creators use themes as the basic idea for story development. The theme is the main idea contained in the drama (Waluyo, 2007). In drama, the theme will be developed through a dramatic plot. Authors can convey the theme directly or implicitly. Authors bring themes together with events since they have to combine facts and themes into a coherent experience. Theme functions as a unifying element of other story elements, such as characters, plot, and dialogue (Kernodle & Kernodle, 1978). All events above lead to the problem of Mangir, who was unwilling to hand over the *perdikan* land to the king of Mataram; for Mangir himself, the land was an inheritance that must have been maintained. However, Mangir's persistence and courage failed since he was captivated by Pembayun's beauty, which led him to marry her and agree to surrender to Senopati. Based on various events and problems, it can be formulated that the theme of SIN is that *being unable to resist negative temptations will fail the struggle to reach noble goals*.

In Munro's perspective, the structure is the unity of plot, characterization, and theme. Element is one of the structures, so there are plot, characterization, and theme. The details are the elements in the plot, characterizations, and themes. Also, the theme is synonymous with the idea. Mun-

ro (1967) said that the relationship between elements in a work of art determines its aesthetics. In SIN's structure, the theme of *being unable to resist negative temptations will fail the struggle to reach noble goals* becomes the source of plot development and characterization. The relationship between elements, such as themes, characterizations, and plots, is significant in forming unity.

Texture

Texture in theatrical performance is created by sounds and language images that are subtle yet powerful enough to control moods with materials, colors, and movement from settings and costumes (Kernodle & Kernodle, 1978). Texture makes the dialogue become a written text heard, character traits appear, and the form of problems is palpable by actively enjoying the performance (Soemanto, 2000). In theatrical performances, mood and tempo can determine the mixing of several elements, including spectacle and language (dialogue).

SIN's show did not use screens and *keprak*. An atmosphere full of anger and tension existed here. For example, the scene where Senopati asks palace officials to suppress Mangir's disobedience is always spoken in a loud voice, fast tempo, firm, serious, high-pitched, and with an expression full of anger; his hand gestures move forward (scene 1). Another tense atmosphere was seen when Mangir discovered Pembayun's dishonesty about his status as Senopati's son. Mangir's anger could be seen from his loud voice, fast tempo, firm, serious, high-pitched, and angry expression (scene 7).

The relaxed and fun atmosphere is shown in the scene where Mangir's soldiers are practicing war (scene 3), the scene where Mangir calls *ledhek tayup* Meisaroh to dance (scene 4), the scene where Singoranu is facing Senopati to announce that Pembayun had married Mangir (scene 8). Their dialogue was moderate when the atmosphere was relaxed, the facial expressions were not tense, and the tempo was

moderate. A pleasant atmosphere was characterized by a moderate and gentle tone of voice, with dialogue at slow intervals

The costumes worn by the actors, such as Senopati, Pemanahan, Juru Mertani, Pembayun, Mangir, and the soldiers, were of the *Kejawen* type consisting of *beskap*, batik cloth, and *blangkon*. This clothing is commonly used to present Javanese stories from the Kingdom of Demak to the *Babad Mataram* (Hastuti, 2013). From a paradoxical aesthetic perspective, the clothing of Senopati and court officials contrasts with Mangir and the soldiers. However, ordinary people do not wear cloth, *beskap*, and *blangkon*, yet only clothes without buttons, headbands, and *komprang* trousers.

The dialogue between officials (Pemanahan, et al.) and children (Pembayun and Purbaya) with Senopati used the *kromo inggil* Javanese, which followed their high social status as royal aristocrats. Meanwhile, Mangir's dialogue with the soldiers used the *ngoko* Javanese, which showed a paradox in the language between the royal aristocrats (towns) and ordinary people (villages). SIN is accompanied by Javanese gamelan as a musical illustration. The majority of music illustrations serve as fillers in the pauses at each turn of the scene. Music illustrations as mood builders stand out in the 9th scene when Mangir expresses his love for Pembayun. This is a heartbreaking scene.

SIN performances use Javanese gamelan music illustrations. Gamelan accompaniment serves as a marker of pauses or changes between scenes. It creates a serene, gentle atmosphere when Mangir expresses his love for Pembayun through songs. The lyrics are melancholic, and the rhythm is moderate; the tone is also moderate. When Purbaya stabs Mangir in the back with a spear, Kyai Plered's music is fast-paced and high-pitched, helping to create an eerie atmosphere.

Elements of Political Conflict

The conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo

At first, the status of *perdikan* land

was given to Ki Wonoboyo (Mangir Wonoboyo's father), who had significantly contributed to Senopati when he helped clear the Mentaok forest during the founding of the Mataram kingdom. However, after Ki Wonoboyo died and the *perdikan* land was replaced by Mangir Wonoboyo, Senopati planned to revoke the *perdikan* region status. Mangir, as the ruler of the *perdikan* land, had to obey the King of Mataram. Their conflict is a realistic type of conflict because one party is dominant (Senopati) compared to the antagonist (Mangir Wonoboyo) (Coser in Ramly, 2020). Senopati's open conflict with Mangir Wonoboyo was a political power dispute (stronghold) fighting for power so that outsiders could see it (Jumadin & Wibisono, 2019). The war between the people of Mataram and the *perdikan* land of Mangir lasted for a long time and claimed many lives. It all happened because Mangir Wonoboyo and his friend, Baru Klinting, had magic that was hard to match.

Conflict over the influence of fellow Senopati assistants

Pemanahan and Juru Merani are people who always accompany Panembahan Senopati. However, they often differ in views on solving the political conflict between Mangir Wonoboyo and Senopati. For example, in dealing with the problem of conflict with Mangir Wonoboyo, Pemanahan considers that Mangir Wonoboyo should not be harmed, considering that his parents, Ki Wonoboyo, had previously contributed greatly to the Mataram Kingdom. Meanwhile, according to Juru Mertani, Ki Wonoboyo made an enormous contribution, not Mangir. Therefore, the political conflict between Pemanahan and Juru Mertani is non-realistic since the conflict actually aims to relieve the tension of either party (Coser in Tualeka, 2017).

Political Conflict Due to Deception

Factors causing political conflict are distrust, disappointment, lack of mutual respect between figures, and differences in views on political interests (Zainul & Wibi-

sono, 2019). This applies to the conflict that occurred between Mataram and Perdikan Mangir. To defeat Mangir Wonoboyo, Pembayun, as the daughter of Panembahan Senopati, disguised herself as a troupe of *tayub* dancers named Maisaroh. Seeing the beauty of the *tayub* dancer Maisaroh, Mangir fell in love and married her. Gradually, Mangir and Baru Klinting became suspicious of Pembayun since the way she dressed and spoke differed from ordinary people. Pembayun argued that his purpose of deception was to unite Mangir with Mataram. He did not want the people of the two regions to continue being war victims.

Political conflict in uniting Mangir with Mataram

The political conflict between Pembayun and Mangir Wonoboyo was also based on her desire to unite the two regions. During this time, there were wars in these two areas. In the end, Pembayun, as the daughter of Panembahan Senopati, went her own way by disguising herself as a *tayub* dancer to win Mangir Wonoboyo's love. Mangir succeeded in uniting the people of Mataram and Perdikan Mangir. It can be said that the two warring parties find a better idea about their strengths and increase the possibility of getting closer or making peace with each other (Tualeka, 2017). This opinion was proven in the peace efforts between Pembayun and Mangir Wonoboyo

Political conflict in the midst of peace between Mangir and Senopati

After the dispute over Pembayun's dishonesty subsided, she invited Mangir to go to Mataram to meet Panembahan Senopati. Pembayun already missed her parents. Besides that, she asked Mangir to ask for her father's blessing. Then, Mangir Wonoboyo left for Mataram with Pembayun. This incident occurred due to Pembayun trying to be cooperative but not assertive, letting the other party's wishes stand out, and uniting differences to maintain harmony by following the other

party's will (Peg Pickering in Ramly, 2020). The way that she took was to make Mangir Wonoboyo her husband.

Meaning of Denotative and Connotative Signs

The Meaning of Senopati's Struggle for Power with Mangir

According to Roland Barthes, a text contains two layers of meaning: denotative and connotative (Al-Shraideh & El-Sharif, 2019; Sahid et al., 2016). Denotative is the meaning of a word as it is used in everyday life. Meanwhile, connotative is the second, third, and other level Meaning of a word; often referred to as a figurative meaning. Denotative is the first-level meaning related to the interpreter's culture and ideology, while connotative as the second-level meaning is formed by the interpreter's ideological culture (Khafaga, 2022). Meaning can be extracted from communication relations between humans (Aart van Zoest in Maulina et al., 2021). From a semiotic perspective, the political conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo can be called a signifier. The signifier means that Panembahan Senopati is power-hungry. The political conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo (signifier) connotatively refers to the political conflict between Indonesia's president and government opposition in the New Order and Reform Era (signifie). Mangir became Senopati's opponent or opposition because the King of Mataram's policies harmed the people of *Perdikan* Mangir. The events of the conflict between Senopati and Mangir with the conflict between Soeharto and his political opponents, are the fighters for democracy. In 1997-1998, before the collapse of the New Order regime, some student movements and democracy activists opposed the Suharto government, where Collusion of Corruption and Nepotism (KKN) flourished. In addition to students, based on historical records, Amin Rais, a lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences UGM who is also the Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Leadership Center, dared to be critical of the New Order rulers (Sutoro,

2003). The collapse of the New Order regime has brought back opposition to the political reality in Indonesia. This is thought to have originated from the remnants of the old forces which aimed to formally institutionalize the opposition within the Indonesian political system (Munadi, 2019). During the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) for two years during the Reformation Era (2004-2014), Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) played a significant role as a political opposition. The opposition controls, corrects, and evaluates government policies (Munadi, 2019). There are many other examples. One of them is the 2019-2024 government of President Jokowi; the political parties that are clearly positioned as the opposition are Partai Keadilan Sejahtera and Partai Demokrat.

The Meaning of Pemanahan Conflict with Juru Mertani

The political conflict between Pemanahan and Juru Mertani (significant) denotatively means that there has been a difference of opinion in dealing with the Mangir rebellion (signifie). The political conflict between Pemanahan and Juru Mertani in finding a solution regarding Mangir Wonoboyo (signifier). Connotatively refers to the political conflict that once occurred between Wiranto, as the Armed Forces Commander, and Prabowo Subianto, as the Commander General of the Special Forces Command at the end of the New Order regime 1997- 1998. At that time, the TNI (Indonesian National Army) was split into two groups supporting Wiranto and Prabowo. The two Suharto-era military officials had sharp differences in how to deal with the 1998 Indonesian political crisis. Wiranto was moderate towards the student movement and democracy activists who opposed Suharto, while Prabowo disliked the student and activist movement (Sutoro, 2003). The conflict between the two resulted in accusations against Major General Prabowo and the Special Forces Command for kidnapping several activists who opposed the New

Order (Sutoro, 2003). The conflict between Wiranto and Prabowo was successfully reconciled on 17 May 1998. The reconciliation aimed to find a replacement for the TNI Commander who could satisfy both Wiranto and Prabowo. Ultimately, Wiranto remained in office as Armed Forces Commander (ABRI), and Prabowo accepted this. At Habibie's inauguration as president, Wiranto and Prabowo declared their loyalty to the State Palace (Welle, 2018). In SIN, the conflict between Pemanahan and Juru Mertani was caused by differences of opinion in resolving the Mangir rebellion. Meanwhile, the conflict between Wiranto and Prabowo Subianto was caused by a difference in attitudes towards students and democracy activists. The two conflicts are almost the same.

The meaning of the conflict between Mangir and Pembayun

That Pembayun disguised himself as a *tayub* dancer named Maisaroh (signifiant) was intended to approach Mangir Wonoboyo (signifier). Dishonesty Pembayun as a royal family (signifier) connotatively refers to the meaning of the dishonest behavior of power holders and political elites in the New Order and Reform Era (signifie). The lie of a state official can be interpreted that he does not adhere to political ethics. Political ethics aims for every official and political elite to be honest, and their policies are contrary to the law and society's sense of justice (Hantoro, 2014). In fact, many public officials and political elites are dishonest in this country. Many commit Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism (KKN), including violating political ethics. In 1998, President Suharto was overthrown by students and democracy activists due to his regime, which was full of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Even though the regime has changed in the Reformation Era, starting from BJ Habibie (transition period), Gus Dur, Megawati, SBY, and now Jokowi (2014-2024), corruption still exists

(Djamil & Djafar, 2016). Corruption has become an acute disease in many

countries (Prabowo & Cooper, 2016). Corruption has been systemic, affecting many individuals. Corruption in Indonesia has reached a systemic stage (Pertivi, 2018) and has also hit the academic world (Qudsyi et al., 2018).

The meaning of peace between Mangir with Pembayun and Senopati

That Mangir is willing to fulfill Pembayun's wish to face Senopati in Mataram (signifier) denotatively means that he is no longer against Senopati as his enemy (signifie). Peace between Mangir Wonoboyo and Pembayun is shown by the willingness to face Senopati to Mataram (signifier) connotatively refers to the meaning of peace between President Jokowi and Prabowo who have been in opposition to the government for years (signifie). In the 2014 Indonesian presidential election, Prabowo Subianto competed with Joko Widodo. Their competition tends to be tough and contains ethnicity, religion, race, and class issues (SARA). A black campaign was also in the 2014 Presidential Election (Herdiansah in Ikasari & Arifina, 2020). When Jokowi was elected as the presidential election winner, the political conflict between the two supporters was not solved. Prabowo and his supporters were the opposition to Jokowi's government. In the 2019 presidential election, Jokowi's relationship with Prabowo, both presidential candidates, was still on fire. Finally, Jokowi was re-elected as president along with Maruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election. When assembling the cabinet, Jokowi invited Prabowo to be willing to become one of his ministers (Sukarno & Amurwani, 2019). Prabowo's decision to join the Jokowi government disappointed his supporters. Thus, Mangir Wonoboyo's decision to make peace with Pembayun and agree to meet with Senopati connotatively refers to the Meaning of the unity of the political opposition figure Prabowo Subianto into Jokowi's government cabinet (signifie).

The meaning of emancipation in the unification of Perdikan Mangir with Mata-

Table 1. denotative and connotative meanings

Types of Conflict	Description	Denotative and Connotative Meanings
The conflict between Senopati and Mangir Wonoboyo	The conflict was caused by Senopati wanting to seize Mangir's Perdikan Mangir land	Denotatively, it means Senopati is a greedy king. Connotatively it means the resistance of the opposition and fighters for democracy against the New Order and Reform rulers
Conflict over the influence of fellow Senopati assistants	The conflict was caused by differences of opinion about how to overcome Mangir's resistance to Senopati	Denotatively, fellow palace maids were fighting over each other for influence in front of Senopati. Connotatively, it refers to the different attitudes of Wiranto and Prabowo Subianto towards students and democracy fighters during the Soeharto regime.
Political Conflict Due to Deception	The conflict was caused by Pembayun's dishonesty or deceit towards Mangir	Denotatively, Pembayun's attitude that from the beginning did not claim to be Senopati's son meant dishonesty. Connotatively, this action refers to the corrupt behavior that has plagued Indonesia.
Political conflict in uniting Mangir with Mataram	The emancipation of Pembayun's struggle united Mangir with Mataram	Denotatively Pembayun's action of uniting Mataram and Mangir is meaningful as an emancipator. Connotatively, this refers to the struggle of RA Kartini in fighting for emancipation in Indonesia, whose impact is being felt today.
Peace between Perdikan Mangir with Mataram	Mangir ends the conflict and agrees to face Senopati.	Denotatively the peace between Mangir and Senopati shows Pembayun's husband's humility. Connotatively, this undermines the Meaning of Prabowo Subianto's unity in Jokowi's government.

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A woman, Pembayun, dared to approach her father's enemy by disguising herself as a *tayub* dancer to approach Mangir Wonoboyo (signifier). Denotatively, the act of disguise shows that she is a brave and hardworking woman (signifie). Pembayun's struggle as a woman who managed to unite Mataram and Perdikan Mangir connotatively refers to the symbolic meaning of Raden Ajeng Kartini's success for emancipation in the early 20th century. Pembayun dared to go forward and fight to reconcile Mataram with Perdikan Mangir. The social system of society that adheres to the concept of patriarchy as an ideology often forms patterns of gender relations. This pattern is performed systematically with other social institutions (Mustikawati, 2015). As a result, this relationship pattern leads to gender differences.

In this context, at the beginning of the 20th century, RA Kartini, a pioneer of emancipation, tried to pursue equal rights and roles for women to be equal to men in various aspects of life. In the last decade, there has been a new awareness of the importance of women's emancipation. Even

in the government cabinet, some ministers specifically deal with the role of women, which can be seen since the New Order government. This indicates the important role of women in various aspects during social, political, economic, and educational struggles (Abidin, 2015). Thus, it can be concluded that Pembayun's action to reconcile Mataram with Bumi Mangir was emancipation. Therefore, Pembayun can be interpreted as a symbol of the emancipator RA Kartini.

The Table 1 briefly describes SIN's types of conflicts, descriptions, and denotative and connotative meanings. From the table, it can be seen the dominance of political conflict in SIN and its meaning.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of structure and texture, it can be concluded that all elements in structure and texture have a relationship that mutually determines Meaning. The structure of the relationship between elements is relatively coherent, and so is the relationship between elements in the texture. The relationship between

structure and texture also shows integration. The interwoven elements form a unity. Despite the paradox in certain elements, such as character traits, social status, and dialogue language, they still contain unity. It is what makes SIN quite aesthetic.

Connotatively, the Meaning of political conflicts in SIN is related to various social and political events in Indonesia since the New Order to the Reformation. For example, the meaning related to the resistance of the opposition to President Soeharto, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono and Jokowi. The meaning is related to the conflict between Suharto's fellow aides, namely Wiranto and Prabowo Subianto, in dealing with the opposition fighters for democracy. The Meaning of the unity of the opposition figure Prabowo Subianto in the 2019-2024 Jokowi government. The meaning is related to the corrupt behavior of the power elite. The Meaning of the success of women's emancipation in Indonesia.

SIN originates from the legend of Mangir Wonobojo in the reign of Panembahan Senopati in the 16th century. Still, its meaning remains contextual and can be applied to the 21st century. Thus, Indonesian folklore needs to be actualized in modern performances, such as cinema, contemporary theater, animation, and films, to be easily enjoyed by the current generation.

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