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***Tandha'* Dance in Sumenep: Dynamics and Shifting Islamic Values in Local Cultural Representation**

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Abstract

Tandha' is a local art in Madura, not least in the Sumenep district, which was once used as a medium for da'wah, so there are many Islamic values in it. However, over time, the Islamic value is replaced by the materialistic value in the practice of *tandha'* itself, so much so that its existence even causes controversy in the community. This shift has also changed the characteristics of *tandha'* as a local art in

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Sumenep. This study aims to look at *tandha'* in its original form, which is full of Islamic values and is very distinctive, and how the shift occurred and what aspects have changed in *tandha'*. Looking at all of this, we may find a middle ground for the controversy over *tandha'* itself in the community. As a local art form, it must be preserved and kept pure. This research attempts to answer this question using a descriptive qualitative method with data from field studies and previous research literature studies. The results of this research find a shift in *tandha'* occurred since the space for *tandha'* began to expand from the palace to the lives of the general public and also cannot be separated from the dark history of *tandha'*, which later became an economic support so that the underlying Islamic value changed to materialistic values and it also slowly changed the composition in *tandha'* itself to threaten Islamic values and threaten Madurese art in it. Therefore, instead of arguing pros and cons, the government, artists, and religionists should start working together to restore *tandha'* to its authenticity.

[*Tandha'* merupakan kesenian lokal di Madura tak terkecuali di Kabupaten Sumenep yang pernah dijadikan media dakwah sehingga ada banyak nilai Islam di dalamnya. Namun, seiring berjalannya waktu, nilai Islam tersebut tergeser oleh nilai materialistik dalam praktik *tandha'* itu sendiri sehingga eksistensinya malah menimbulkan kontroversi di masyarakat. Bahkan, pergeseran tersebut juga menggeser ciri khas *tandha'* sebagai kesenian lokal di Sumenep. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk melihat *tandha'* dalam wujud asalnya yang penuh dengan nilai Islam dan sangat khas serta bagaimana pergeseran itu terjadi serta aspek-aspek apa saja yang kemudian berubah dalam *tandha'*. Dengan melihat itu semua, kita dapat memungkinkan menemukan jalan tengah bagi kontroversi *tandha'* itu sendiri di tengah masyarakat. Sebagai sebuah kesenian lokal, ia perlu dijaga kelestarian dan kemurniannya. Penelitian ini mencoba menjawab hal tersebut dengan metode kualitatif deskriptif baik dengan data yang didapat dari studi lapangan ataupun studi terhadap literatur penelitian terdahulu. Hasil dari penelitian ini untuk menemukan pergeseran pada *tandha'* terjadi sejak ruang bagi *tandha'* mulai meluas dari keraton ke kehidupan masyarakat umum dan juga tidak lepas dari sejarah kelam *tandha'* yang kemudian menjadi sandaran ekonomi sehingga nilai keislaman yang mendasari berubah pada nilai materialistik dan hal itu juga perlahan mengubah komposisi dalam *tandha'* itu sendiri hingga mengancam nilai-nilai Islam dan mengancam seni Madura di dalamnya. Oleh karenanya, daripada melakukan pro dan kontra semestinya pemerintah, seniman, dan agamawan mulai berkolaborasi mengembalikan *tandha'* pada keasliannya.]

Kata Kunci: shift; Islamic values; seni; local; *tandha'*

Introduction

Tandha', as one of the local arts in Sumenep, still exists today, but it has generated controversy in the community. The controversy is closely related to the issue of Islam and art. The people who are against *tandha'* reason are because in the practice of *tandha'*, many are not in accordance with Islamic values. One example is the practice of *saweran* which is a space for interaction between dancers and *sawer* giver that has crossed reasonable boundaries in Islam, such as the practice of hugging dancers and even the most vulgar practice of *sawer* gives slipping money into the dancer's *kemban* (bra). However, people who favor *tandha'* do so because *tandha'* is an expression of their joy or because *tandha'* is a local art that should be preserved. Thus, the *tandha'* finally exists amidst controversy in the Sumenep community. It is even mentioned that the *tandha'* dancer is a figure who is missed and hated simultaneously.¹ The controversy over the existence of *tandha'* eventually became a controversy between religionists and artists and became a dilemma between removal and preservation.

Behind the controversy, Al Humaidy and Ariwidodo, in their research, found a symbolic interaction of da'wah communication towards *tandha'* in Sumenep.² Larasati also found certain symbolic meanings in the practice of *tandha'* in the *rokat tase'* ritual.³ Both studies found Islamic symbols in *tandha.'* In another study, It is even reinforced that *tandha'* is actually a form of the moderate attitude of the community toward religion, because in it there is a portrait of the community's courage to combine religious events with *tandha.'*⁴ Prastiwi mentioned in her research that *tandha'* has indirectly

¹ Farida Nurul Rahmawati, Emy Susanti, and Pinky Saptandari, "Resistensi Perempuan Tandhak Madura: Berjuang dari Dalam," *Jurnal Komunikasi* 15, no. 1 (2021): 17–28. <https://journal.trunojoyo.ac.id/komunikasi/article/view/10046>.

² Mohammad Ali Al-Humaidy and Eko Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe' in Sumenep Madurese," *KARSA* 28, no. 1 (2020): 172–91. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v28i1.1584>.

³ Evi Dwi Larasati, "Bentuk dan Makna Simbolik Tayub Rukun Karya dalam Rangkaian Ritual Rokot Tase' Masyarakat Desa Tanjung Selatan Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep," *APRON Jurnal Pemikiran Seni Pertunjukan* 2, no. 8 (2016): 1-16, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/230659171.pdf>.

⁴ Zaitur Rahem, "Pendidikan Agama dan Budaya: Tradisi Ngunjung Tandhe' dan Nilai Moderasi Beragama (Studi di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura)," *AHSANA MEDIA: Jurnal Pemikiran, Pendidikan dan Penelitian ke-Islaman* 9, no. 2 (2023): 62–72. <https://journal.uim.ac.id/index.php/ahsana/article/view/1353/1046>.

overturned the power of men when women who do *tandha'* are able to generate high economic income from the results of *tandha'* and become a source of livelihood for their families.⁵ However, from some of these studies we can see that the current composition of *tandha'* as a local art has undergone many changes that have damage the Islamic values that are actually symbolized in *tandha'* and even damaged its own local characteristics.

This research aims to look further into the past and present of *tandha'* and examine its changes as an art or a medium of da'wah. In fact, *tandha'* used to be not only an art in the tradition of the community but also a medium of communication in which there are good values such as elements of da'wah either explicitly or implicitly. There are transcendental values that are carried in *tandha'* to remind people to continue to remember God and do good.⁶ This means that there is a unity of artistic and Islamic aspects in *tandha'* that has been eroded today and instead makes religionists and artists into two camps that are not the same in their view of *tandha'*.

By studying the past and present *tandha'* and the changes that have occurred in it, this research may be one of the answers to the controversy so that *tandha'* can continue to exist as a local art while carrying Islamic values. This way, *tandha'* will represent the unity of artists and religionists. The current problems of *tandha'* need the attention of artists and religionists simultaneously because the shift in *tandha'* undermines Islamic values and threatens the distinctive characteristics of *tandha'* as a local art itself.

Methods

This research used a descriptive qualitative approach.⁷ The data in this study were collected through interviews with 6 Sumenep people, two people are arts activists, two cultural workers, one is an academic in the field of Islam, and 1 is a member of the general public. All

⁵ Merlia Indah Prastiwi, "Perempuan dan Kekerasan," *DIMENSI-Journal of Sociology* 9, no. 1 (2016), <https://journal.trunojoyo.ac.id/dimensi/article/view/3740>.

⁶ Al-Humaidy dan Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe'in Sumenep Madurese."

⁷ Muhammad Rijal Fadli, "Memahami Desain Metode Penelitian Kualitatif," *HUMANIKA* 21, no. 1 (April 2021): 33–54, <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v21i1.38075>; Husaini & Purnomo Setiady Usman & Akbar, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2017).

respondents have had direct contact with *tandha'*. The interviews conducted were in-depth interviews⁸ with open-ended questions about *tandha'* in its past and present practices. In addition, data was also collected through observation and documentation in order to triangulate the data.⁹ This field data will also be augmented by a review of existing research literature related to *tandha'* in Sumenep district over the past 7 years since 2016 to strengthen the data.

Results

The History of *Tandha'* and Its Shifting Values

Tandha' or in terms in other areas known as "tayub" or "sinden" is one of the local arts of Madura, especially in Sumenep in the form of dance and accompanied by music. Basically, *tandha'* is not purely produced by the Sumenep community but by Javanese culture or art that has been adopted. Therefore, *tandha'* is the same as tayub and sinden. Thus, with the adoption process, the Sumenep community has incorporated its creative touch in *tandha'* to become a culture and art there with its characteristics. There is a distinctive style of youthfulness in *tandha'*. One example is the song, which uses Madurese language and Madurese accent, which is then called *kejhung*.¹⁰

Historically, *tandha'* began in Dasuk sub-district because it developed during the reign of Setiadinigrat whose palace was located in the southwest, Bukabu. Setiadinigrat was famous for bringing much Javanese culture and art because he had served in Majapahit. Therefore, a lot of Majapahit culture developed in the Sumenep Palace.¹¹

It is also mentioned that the *tandha'* in the Sumenep palace was developed by a king who was also a scholar together with his kiai Muhammad Saud "*Bindara Saud*" and Kiai Pekkeh. Kiai Pekkeh himself is famous not only for developing Islam in Sumenep but also for Islamizing many arts. In the past, besides being used as entertainment at events in the palace, *tandha'* was also used as a tool to trick enemies. In addition, there is a separate sacred aspect to *tandha'* in ancient times as a medium for proselytizing. *Tandha'* used to be not

⁸ Ramdhan Muhammad, *Metode Penelitian* (Surabaya: Cipta Media Nusantara, 2021).

⁹ H Zuchri Abdussamad, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Makassar: CV. syakir Media Press, 2021).

¹⁰ Rahem, "Pendidikan Agama dan Budaya."

¹¹ Al-Humaidy dan Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe'in Sumenep Madurese."

only an art in the tradition of the community but also a medium of communication in which there are good values and elements of da'wah either explicitly or implicitly. There are transcendental values carried in *tandha'* to remind people to continue to remember God and do good.¹²

Reflecting back to the Walisongo era in a wider area beyond Sumenep itself, *tandha'* used to be such a meaningful art that actors in it needed to take a teacher to be able to perform *tandha'* after understanding the meanings of its parts. Understanding the meaning itself is an important part of becoming a performer of *tandha'*. It is even mentioned that during the Walisongo era, when people wanted to learn Stendhal, they had to fast for a week and master the hijaiyah letters from alif to ya.¹³

However, the once sacred and religious *tandha'* has become materialistic-secular profane and mere entertainment today. The change has occurred since the 90s. It is said that *tandha'* used to be *atolong* "to assist" and *tandha'* now is *alako* "to do". It departs from the dark history of *tandha'*, which people use to meet economic needs. They make *tandha'* as a field for livelihood. Some people view the profession of *tandha'* as less dignified, however, some people make it a place to depend on to make a living.¹⁴

In addition, the history of *tandha'*'s shift from being enjoyed only in the palace to being enjoyed by the public at large must also be highlighted. In 1965, when *tandha'* clothing was changed to long sleeves and high collars for modesty, there was a decline in interest in *tandha'*. Eventually, the *tandha'* performers tried to find other audiences in the community, and from there, they began to expand in the community. From there, *tandha'* became vulnerable to changes in function, as mentioned earlier.¹⁵

The change in the function of *tandha'* to a source of income earning can be seen clearly in the Tanah Merah sub-district, where the majority of women work as *tandha'* even though the profession is quite stigmatized, but economic pressure leaves them with no other choice. Today, *tandha'* has become a professional occupation rather than a

¹² Al-Humaidy dan Ariwidodo.

¹³ Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo.

¹⁴ Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo.

¹⁵ Rahmawati, Susanti, dan Saptandari, "Resistensi Perempuan Tandhak Madura."

mere art form.¹⁶ Indirectly, *tandha'* has overturned male power when women who perform *tandha'* are able to generate a high enough economic income from the results of *tandha'* and become a source of livelihood.

Finally, there have been shifts in the *tandha'* itself as its function has shifted to an economic function or source of livelihood. If *tandha'* used to be an art full of meaning so that the actors in it needed to take a teacher to be able to become a *tandha'* after understanding the meanings of its parts, the current *tandha'* has no meaning requirements.¹⁷ In fact, if we go back even further to the time before Islam was introduced, the shift is still visible, namely the shift of *tandha'* to entertainment from its original value as a ritual dance closely related to the myth of the Goddess of Fertility / Goddess of Rice in Javanese society.¹⁸

There are three patterns of *tandha'* shift in Sumenep that are summarized in one of the studies. 1) *Tandha'*, which was originally an art that was only performed in the palace, became an art that could be enjoyed by the wider community with the emergence of *tandha'* groups; 2) shifting the function of *tandha'* from preaching media and enemy harboring media so that it contains sacred and religious elements to art that only functions as entertainment so that it has profane-secular value. The most pronounced change occurred in the 90s. Although the waning value of religiosity in *tandha'* started in the 50s to 80s, at least the *tandha'* actors at that time still had a high appreciation for *tandha'*. They also still use manners in *tandha'*. At that time, *tandha'* still existed in the homes of *tandha'* artists only with the aim of appreciation and exploration without any materialistic elements at all; 3) another shift occurred among the audience or audience of *tandha'*. If in the past the audience who were chosen as *pengibing* still enjoyed *tandha'* through the value of the dance movements so that they had certain dance

¹⁶ Lia Putri Nur Indah Sari, "Perawatan Diri Perempuan Tandhak Madura Dimasa Pandemi Covid 19 (Studi Kasus Komunikasi Kesehatan Perempuan Tandhak Madura di Desa Tanah Merah, Kabupaten Sumenep)," *DIALEKTIKA KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi dan Pembangunan Daerah* 10, no. 1 (2022): 39–43. <https://ejournal.unis.ac.id/index.php/DK/article/view/2303>.

¹⁷ Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe' in Sumenep Madurese."

¹⁸ Guruh Prasetyo, "Akulturasi Masyarakat Pandhalungan : Aktualisasi Pendidikan Multikultural dalam Pembelajaran Sejarah," *Education & Learning* 1, no. 1 (March 2021): 20–25, <https://doi.org/10.57251/el.v1i1.16>.

movements even though they were only as *pengibing* and understood the meaning of the dance movements, now *pengibing* only dances spontaneously and only prioritizes *saweran* as a prestigious event.¹⁹

Tandha’, which has shifted to become a source of livelihood, has evolved to adapt to the market’s needs without caring that its fundamental values are being eroded and lost. In fact, many compositions have been changed in *tandha*’ itself, such as musical instruments mixed with modern musical instruments; even the musicians are dominated by women. In addition, the verses in the *tandha*’ tembang (*kejhung*) are now mixed with Indonesian because of the inclusion of popular song lyrics such as dangdut and so on.²⁰ The inclusion of popular song lyrics such as dangdut in tembang (*kejhung*) *tandha*’ is due to market demands that were promoted by Wara in the 90s. In addition, modern musical instruments that are also used are guitars, keyboards, ketipung, and drums.²¹

Tandha’, which began to spread in the community and changed its function so that it changed the composition, was even vulnerable and close to prostitution. From here, negative stigmas began to be attached to *tandha*’ performers and even developed to the prohibition by religious leaders because *tandha*’ was no longer considered an art. Even at its most extreme, sometimes some religious leaders do not want to attend a celebration either as an invitation or a lecturer if the celebration invites *tandha*’ in a series of events.²²

Women dancers as the center of the *tandha*’ are often negatively stigmatized by society when from another perspective, they are also artists.²³ However, due to economic pressure, sometimes they still do it.²⁴ Finally, the economic drive leaves them with no other choice, making *tandha*’ today a professional occupation rather than a mere art

¹⁹ Al-Humaidy, “Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe’ di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura.”

²⁰ Respondents 2 and 3, 2023.

²¹ Al-Humaidy, “Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe’ di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura.”

²² Rahmawati, Susanti, and Saptandari, “Resistensi Perempuan Tandhak Madura.”

²³ S. Wasono, S. R. Rusdiarti, and F. S. Nariswari, “Madura Cultural Identity Construction in Contemporary Indonesian Literature,” in *Proceedings of the 4th BASA: International Seminar on Recent Language* (Literature and Local Culture Studies, BASA, Solok, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.4-11-2020.2314218>.

²⁴ Rahmawati, Susanti, and Saptandari, “Resistensi Perempuan Tandhak Madura.”

form.²⁵ However, such a negative stigma certainly does not just appear out of nowhere but because there are indeed negative things that the community feels from the *tandha'* itself. In some cases there have been household breakdowns that led to divorce due to *tandha'*. In addition, while *tandha'* is an economic source for the perpetrators, it is also a source of squandering money for the audience,²⁶ because it cannot be separated from the fact that *saweran* is a prestigious event for the community or audience.²⁷

Ultimately, *tandha'* is supposed to be a local wisdom that becomes an effective communication medium for community building when packaged well, especially with the fact that it is an art adopted from Java with a rendition that has been customized according to the Sumenep community, as well as the reality of transcendental values in it. However, so far, some people still see it as mere entertainment art, so it loses these values when it is only seen as entertainment. Some even forbid it because they see it as mere entertainment, and in practice, it violates various values in Islam, such as the interaction of dancers with *pengibing*.²⁸

Past and Present Composition of *Tandha'*

Main Play (Lakon Utama)

Before discussing the differences between past and present main plays in *tandha'*, the name *tandha'* itself has a different meaning between then and now. In the past, *tandha'* meant “*setanna bada e ada*” (the devil is in front). This means that the devil will always be in front of us and, therefore, must be faced with methods in all the values contained in each part of the *tandha'* itself.²⁹ However, the current

²⁵ Sari, “Perawatan Diri Perempuan Tandhak Madura Dimasa Pandemi Covid 19 (Studi Kasus Komunikasi Kesehatan Perempuan Tandhak Madura di Desa Tanah Merah, Kabupaten Sumenep).”

²⁶ Respondents 3 and 4, 2023.

²⁷ Al-Humaidy, “Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe' di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura.”

²⁸ Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo, “The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe' in Sumenep Madurese.”

²⁹ Respondent 1, 2023.

meaning of *tandha* ' is "*mun ta' kontan ta' enda*" (if it is not cash, it is not willing), which is closely related to *saweran*.³⁰

Tandha ' in the past was a play for men, meaning that the center of the play was male,³¹ unlike now which is always synonymous with women because it is dominated by female dancers. *Tandha* ' today will usually be performed by several female dancers who are termed *tandha* ' *bine* ' (female *tandha* '). However, it does not deny that sometimes there are also *tandha* ' *lake* ' (male *tandha* '). Still, the dominant one remains *tandha* ' *bini* ', even this continues with the dominance of women in the music (*karawitan*), which is usually done by men, currently dominated by women because the female element is what attracts the audience. It is even mentioned that the beautiful female body and voice will fascinate and characterize *tandha* '.³²

Song (*Kejhung*)

Tembang (*kejhung*) in *tandha* ' in the past were poems containing religious messages, although there is no example of a script today because there was no special script in the past, and it was spontaneous according to the situation and conditions.³³ The current songs are also still adapted to the event and contain religious elements such as some of the songs that contain prayers of hope.³⁴ These prayers or wishes are usually specific to the *pengibing* (audience members who dance with the *tandha* ' dancers while giving money). In the rokat tase' event, it is usually in the form of prayers for smooth sailing and blessed fishing results for *pengibing*.³⁵ In the event of a wedding (*ghabai*), it is usually in the form of prayers for the host and even advice for the bride and groom in navigating household life; the advice session is called *temangan*.³⁶

³⁰ Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe'in Sumenep Madurese."

³¹ Respondent 1, 2023.

³² Al-Humaidy and Ariwidodo, "The Symbolic Interaction of Tandhe'in Sumenep Madurese."

³³ Respondent 1, 2023.

³⁴ Respondent 6, 2023.

³⁵ Larasati, "Bentuk dan Makna Simbolik Tayub Rukun Karya dalam Rangkaian Ritual Rokot Tase' Masyarakat Desa Tanjung Selatan Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep."

³⁶ Respondent 3, 2023.

However, in addition to these prayers and advice, the *tembang* (*kejhung*) in *tandha'* is now also mixed with other common phrases that still fit the theme of the event but are no longer in the form of prayers or advice and are even in the form of popular song lyrics so that they are in Indonesian.³⁷ Sentences in *tembang* (*kejhung*) *tandha'* that are not prayers and advice can be taken from traditional songs as well as from popular songs such as pop that have been modified into music that is adapted to the gamelan according to the request of the *pengibing*.³⁸ Such modifications are intended to make the *tandha'* sell in the market and make a lot of money.³⁹ This is unfortunate because the *tembang* (*kejhung*) of *tandha'* is no longer pure poetry and literature of Madura.⁴⁰

Dance

If in every dance movement of the *tandha'* dancers in the past there were philosophies containing Islamic values,⁴¹ which the *tandha'* dancers needed to understand before performing the *tandha'* itself then the current *tandha'* dance is only patterned, while the meaning it carries is only to show their expertise in entertaining their audience. Even if *pengibing* “entertainer” used to have its own dance pattern that cannot be separated from the philosophy that contains Islamic values, then *pengibing* today only performs dances with spontaneous and free movements.⁴²

³⁷ Respondents 2, 3, and 5, 2023.

³⁸ Larasati, “Bentuk dan Makna Simbolik Tayub Rukun Karya dalam Rangkaian Ritual Rokot Tase’ Masyarakat Desa Tanjung Selatan Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep.”

³⁹ Al-Humaidy, “Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe’ di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura.”

⁴⁰ Respondent 3, 2023

⁴¹ Respondent 1, 2023

⁴² Larasati, “Bentuk dan Makna Simbolik Tayub Rukun Karya dalam Rangkaian Ritual Rokot Tase’ Masyarakat Desa Tanjung Selatan Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep.”



Figure 2. *Tandha'* Dancers are Performing

Figure 2 above shows a dancer performing *the tandha'* dance; the *tandha'* dancer is captured mid-performance, their movements fluid and precise as they entertain the audience. The dancers, dressed in traditional attire, exhibit a clear display of skill and expertise, but the deep philosophical meaning that once accompanied their every gesture has faded.

In ancient dances, the distance between the dancer and the audience or *pengibing* is according to the dancer's *penjung* (shawl). There is an implied meaning of the *penjung* that has been mutually understood as the distance between dancers and gibbers so that men and women will not be mixed because of the distance limit.⁴³ However, this distance has disappeared, the interaction between dancers and *pengibing* is no longer limited by distance and some even touch, such as hugging.⁴⁴ The interaction is closely related to the practice of *saweran* where *saweran* is given in various ways, from being given

⁴³ Al-Humaidy, "Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe' di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura."

⁴⁴ Respondent 5, 2023

directly, draped, to embracing the dancer.⁴⁵ Some of the *saweran* practices are even a little vulgar by being tucked into the dancer's *kemban*.⁴⁶



Figure 2. Where Tradition Meets Generosity: *Tandha'* Dancers and the Heartfelt Wishes of *Pengibing*

Figure 2 captures the interaction between the dancer and the *pengibing* during a traditional dance performance. Close to the dancer, a *pengibing*, a participant from the audience, extends a gesture of generosity, offering a *saweran* in a respectful yet intimate manner, reflecting the shift in tradition where physical boundaries are no longer rigidly observed. The image symbolizes mutual respect, shared experience, and the continuity of cultural practices in a modern context.

Islamic Philosophical Values of *Tandha'* in the Past

Based on an interview with one of the cultural experts in Sumenep,⁴⁷ it was found that there are many Islamic values in the *tandha'* philosophy. First, from the name *tandha'* itself, which means “*setanna bada e ada*” (the devil is in front). This means that the devil will always be in front of us and, therefore, must be faced with methods in all the values contained in each part of the *tandha'* itself.

⁴⁵ Larasati, “Bentuk dan Makna Simbolik Tayub Rukun Karya dalam Rangkaian Ritual Roket Tase’ Masyarakat Desa Tanjung Selatan Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep.”

⁴⁶ Respondent 3 and 6, 2023.

⁴⁷ Respondent 1, 2023.

The first method lies in the *karawitan* philosophy called *tabbhuwan*, which means *ketab se ongguan* (the right book or handbook) for daily life in order to be safe from the devil who is always in front of us (*setanna bada e ada' - tandha*). These guidelines are then detailed in the philosophy of the musical instruments used as follows:

Bhunang (Bonang) which means “marobbhu ka se Maha Bennang” or surrender to the Maha Benang (Allah) because Allah is in charge of everything. Humans are only able to plan, and Allah is the one who determines (الانسان بالتفكير والله بالتدبير). Therefore, to describe Allah with his obligatory nature of 20 *Bhunang* consists of 20 seeds. In a further meaning, we are required to surrender or surrender to Allah by knowing Allah and recognizing the 20 attributes. This concept of surrender is in accordance with the Qur'anic verse Surah Yusuf verse 67.

Ghaghambhang which means rule. Because this *ghaghambhang* consists of 17 seeds, and the rules in prayer are 17 rak'ats. Besides that, there are *ghaghambhang* musicians who beat 2 seeds, 3 seeds, and 4 seeds as the rules of prayer. This concept is as in the verse of the Qur'an surah Al-Jatsiyah verse 18. In addition, this *ghaghambhang* is usually placed in front of the characteristics of its grave-like shape, so our real future is death (afterlife), by surrendering to Allah and holding the rules of prayer, our future in the afterlife will be bright.

Pekkeng is a pun on jurist. This *pekkeng* is usually located behind the *ghaghambhang*. The meaning of the *pekkeng* and its layout is that in addition to surrendering to Allah and adhering to the rules of prayer, we must also know (expert) in the science of fiqh because to know and be able to carry out worship such as prayer we must know the knowledge and that can be obtained through the science of fiqh. Therefore, the melody of the *pekkeng* is clear to signify that the science of fiqh is to clarify.

Kendhir. The meaning of the word *kendhir* is “*pasekken jha' dhi-salendhir*” meaning that after we surrender to Allah, adhere to the rules and perform prayers, and know how to do it through fiqh, all of that must be accompanied by the firmness of the self in carrying it out so that it is not playful. In this *kendhir* musical instrument there is an element of meaning to strengthen faith as in the verse of the Qur'an surah Ali 'imran verse 193.

The last instrument is *ghendhang*, which means “pategghen ka'angguy paddhang,” meaning that we must be firm and sturdy in order to be shown on a straight path towards Allah's Mercy and paradise as in the Qur'an verse Surah Ali 'Imran verse 101.

In addition to the philosophical meaning found in the musical instruments in the *karawitan (tabbhuwan)*, another philosophical meaning is found in one of the dance movements as another method of dealing with the devil who is always in front of us (*tandha'*). In this method, the *tandha'* is attributed to the *sinden* or female dancer, which means “*setanna bada e ada*” or the devil who will always be in front of us and tempt us, which is then faced by the *penayub (gelandang)* by standing in front of the *tandha'* as the letter alif and then using a shawl (*penjhung*) tied around his body to form the letter lam-alif. After that, he moves his hands in the dance by forming a memorization of Allahu on his fingers. Three fingers from the pinky to the middle finger form two lam, and the index finger and thumb are curved, touching to form the letter ha', so that from all these movements formed the memorization of “*الآالله*” meaning that the memorization of “*الآالله*” will be a fortress for us from the *tandha'* (*Setanna Bada e Ada'*) (Satan who is always in front of us) as in the verse of the Qur'an surah Fussilat verse 36.

In addition, the *gendhing (cengkok)* used in the past was *gending puspowarno*. The meaning of the *gending puspowarno* is *puspo*=flower and *warno*=color, which means the color that gives fragrance. In this context, it means that after we apply the Islamic values from the philosophy above, our lives will be colorful and full of fragrance.

Discussion

In another version, the philosophy of *tandha'* was also found in one of the previous studies. Still, in line with the interview results, the entire philosophy is inseparable from Islamic values. This can be seen in the musical instruments, dances, and songs.⁴⁸ From this, we can see that historically, *tandha'* was brought to Sumenep with a touch of Islamic values, which are very high in meaning. If these Islamic values were still maintained and used as the basis for the practice of *tandha'*, then perhaps a shift in its practice might not occur, and the vulnerability

⁴⁸ Al-Humaidy, “Interaksi Simbolik Komunikasi Dakwah Terhadap Seni Tandhe' di Kabupaten Sumenep Madura.”

of *tandha'* to negative stigmas would not occur. However, it cannot be blamed when the practice shifts due to the economic demands of the community because, in fact, as BPS data shows, Sumenep is in the top three with poor people in East Java.⁴⁹ Finally, the risk is that when *tandha'* is used as a source of livelihood, the development of *tandha'* is based on market needs rather than the basic values in the body of *tandha'* itself, which are qualified by Islamic values. The source of the shift caused by the shift of *tandha'* art from sacred to profane has also occurred in several other arts such as the art of *jaranan*. This kind of thing has become a common challenge for traditional arts in the era of cultural commodification.⁵⁰ Changes and shifts in art or culture are inevitable, and sometimes, the causal factors come from non-art factors such as politics, social change, and economics.⁵¹ Specifically in Sumenep the change factor is one of them is the inheritance factor of imperfect traditions.⁵²

If seen further, the changes in the *tandha'* caused by the entry of materialistic aspects in addition to eroding the Islamic values in it. He also eroded its purity as a local art in Madura, especially in Sumenep. Therefore, this becomes an unfortunate point for religionists and artists at once. If the art group, in some cases, tries to maintain local welfare in Sumenep, as in the case of dance art in Sumenep, which is sought to be preserved by art actors in the *Potre Koneng* dance studio with a communication model between art actors and the community⁵³ then

⁴⁹ Zaid Raya Argantara, "Pesantren and Community Economy: (Study of the Effectiveness of Micro Waqf Bank (BWM) Pesantren in Sumenep)," *MUAMALATUNA* 15, no. 1 (2023): 45–59. <https://jurnal.uinbanten.ac.id/index.php/mua/article/view/7909>

⁵⁰ M. Syahrul Ulum, "Kesenian Tradisional di Era Komodifikasi Budaya: Pergeseran Makna Magis-Religius dalam Kesenian Jaranan," *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Kebudayaan Islam* 29, no. 2 (July 2020): 87–102, <https://doi.org/10.30762/empirisma.v29i2.169>.

⁵¹ Dinni Nurfajrin, "Tradisi Lisan Ngabeluk pada Masyarakat Sunda: Hegemoni dan Representasi Identitas," *Arif: Jurnal Sastra dan Kearifan Lokal* 3, no. 1 (2023): 24–42. <https://doi.org/10.21009/Arif.031.02>.

⁵² Shidqi Ahyani, "Kajian Fenomenologi terhadap Perubahan Budaya Akulturatif di Sumenep," *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman dan Humaniora* 7, no. 1 (2021): 44–78. <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v7i1.145>

⁵³ Hafidlatul Fauzuna, "Manajemen Komunikasi Pelestarian Budaya Seni Tari pada Sanggar 'Potre Koneng' Kabupaten Sumenep," *Jurnal Komunikasi Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2021): 56–67. <https://doi.org/10.33366/jkn.v3i1.71>.

why do art activists not pay attention and make efforts also to the art of *tandha'* which in its existence has clearly begun to lose its local art values.

In addition, the government should take part in its preservation as the Sumenep government is able to preserve other traditional arts such as *tong-tong* music by maintaining its local values and traditional values⁵⁴ instead of offering religious guidance solutions to *tandha'* activists as suggested by the Sumenep Tourism and Culture Office in the form of neutralizing suggestions such as changing clothing modes, using headscarves, and replacing songs with *shalawatan*.⁵⁵ Isn't there another solution that will not change the local and traditional value of *tandha'* such as restoring the Islamic value that was originally contained in the art of *tandha'* and restoring the purity of local art elements in it. Because in the art of *tandha'*, there are elements of distinctive Madura culture that should be preserved which is a representation of the diversity of the Sumenep community, which is indeed famous for its diverse culture⁵⁶ and even a representation of diversity in Indonesia in general, which does have a considerable level of diversity⁵⁷ and of course, it is a challenge for the community to preserve it because, on the other hand, such diversity is a blessing.⁵⁸

If we look at the pattern of shifting Islamic values even to shifting the value of local artistry in the art of *tandha'*, it cannot be separated from the transformation of people's lives which ultimately

⁵⁴ Bagus Ananda Kurniawan and Chusnul Abady, "Implementasi Kebijakan Pemerintah Kabupaten Sumenep dalam Rangka Pengembangan dan Pelestarian Kesenian Musik Tradisional Tong-Tong," *Kanal: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 1 (2019): 36–41. <https://doi.org/10.21070/kanal.v8i1.151>.

⁵⁵ Rahmawati, Susanti, dan Saptandari, "Resistensi Perempuan Tandhak Madura."

⁵⁶ Febryansah Gilang Aris Pradana et al., "Strategi Pengembangan Wisata Tradisi Ojhung Berbasis Sport Tourism di Kabupaten Sumenep," *JOSSAE (Journal of Sport Science and Education)* 5, no. 2 (2020): 83–93. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jossae.v5n2.p83-93>.

⁵⁷ Tri Sindi Amelia, "Analisis Dinamika Kehidupan Ekonomi Pengrajin Keris di Desa Aengtongtong Kecamatan Saronggi Kabupaten Sumenep," *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Ekonomi Pembangunan* 1, no. 5 (2021): 443–52. <http://conference.um.ac.id/index.php/esp/article/view/2141>.

⁵⁸ Unggul Sudrajat and Khairul Umam, "Asal-Usul Nama Kampung Battangan Sumenep Madura dalam Tinjauan Strukturalisme Levistrauss: Its Toponym Seen from Lev-Strauss Structuralism," *Jantra* 13, no. 1 (2018): 55–70. <http://jantra.kemdikbud.go.id/index.php/jantra/article/download/63/40>.

forced them to carry *tandha'* in the profession of economic fulfillment. Here, religionists should also be smarter in using transformative da'wah so that it can have an impact on society,⁵⁹ rather than immediately being harsh like some religionists who even refuse to be at events where there is *tandha'* in it, because in fact, Islam has a general purpose as *rahmatan lil alamin* Islam⁶⁰ and an overly harsh attitude like the case of these religionists actually distances the image of Islam from the image of *rahmatan lil alamin*. In addition, such an attitude actually made the religionist lose a great opportunity when he was invited to the event in order to give a lecture, it should have been a great opportunity for him to straighten out what he thought was not good in the art of *tandha'* because in fact *tabligh* or da'wah is a very strategic world to convey ideas to many layers of society.⁶¹

If in one of the social phenomena in Sumenep, namely arranged marriage (*perjodohan*), religionists such as *da'i* in Sumenep are able to see objectively,⁶² Then, they should also be able to see objectively the case of *tandha'* art because there are Islamic values in the *tandha*. After all, art and culture, in essence, used to be one of the channels for spreading Islam in Indonesia such as Sunan Kalijaga in spreading Islam⁶³ old traditions and values in society have actually become things that are used by seeing the gaps in them to spread Islam⁶⁴ this is another factual reason that people, especially religionists, need to respond wisely to problems such as *tandha'* even if it is not in the course of

⁵⁹ Ahmad Shofi Muhyiddin, "Dakwah Transformatif Kiai (Studi terhadap Gerakan Transformasi Sosial KH. Abdurrahman Wahid)," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 39, no. 1 (October 2019): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v39.1.3934>.

⁶⁰ Muhammad Khairan Arif, "Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin from Social and Cultural Perspective," *Al-Risalah: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (2021): 169–86. <https://uia.e-journal.id/alrisalah/article/view/1376>.

⁶¹ Agus Ahmad Safei, *Seniman Dakwah Potret Da'i Berwawasan Sosio-Antropologi* (Deepublish, 2020),

⁶² Umar Faruqi, "Konstruksi Sosial dalam Budaya Tarian *Tandha'* di Banuaju Barat Batang-Batang Sumenep" (Phd Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2017), <https://digilib.Uin-Suka.Ac.Id/Id/Eprint/28647/>.

⁶³ Yayuk Indrawati, "Literature Review Pengaruh Prenatal Yoga Terhadap Ansietas Ibu Hamil Primigravida" (PhD Thesis, ITS Kes Insan Cendekia Medika, 2022), <http://repo.stikesicme-jbg.ac.id/id/eprint/6304>.

⁶⁴ Amelia Febriyanti dan Lutfiah Ayundasari, "Strategi Sunan Bonang Melalui Media Seni dalam Penyebaran Dakwah Islam," *Jurnal Integrasi dan Harmoni Inovatif Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 1, no. 6 (2021): 688–94. <http://journal3.um.ac.id/index.php/fis/article/view/396/401>.

Islamic law it is still based on the benefit of man, which in the context of this art the sharia still refers to the benefit even though it is important to be careful.⁶⁵ In fact in the context of the original *tandha'* art it contains many benefit (*maslahat*) as the original purpose it was brought and introduced Sumenep.

In addition, seeing that the level of social piety of the Sumenep community itself is still at a high level of 82, 30,⁶⁶ it is unfortunate that the pros and cons of *tandha'* art even damage the social piety such as the destruction of moderation for example. Then, as is known, the nature of *tandha'*, which was once full of Islamic values and thick with the value of local art, should be taken into consideration to address the controversy that exists, of course, with the cooperation of all parties ranging from religionists, government, to artists.

Conclusion

This study found that the value of Islam in the body of the old *tandha'* was very high, and the value of its art as a local art of Sumenep was very good. Unfortunately, this was shifted by the development of the *tandha'* itself. The important point that caused the shift in the development of *tandha'* was the change in the functional value of *tandha'* from a medium of da'wah to a field of livelihood. Ultimately, the sacred value and the value of local art in the body of the *tandha'* changed when it was superimposed with profane and materialistic elements. These changes eventually led to controversy in the community over the existence of *tandha'* itself because *tandha'*, which used to contain elements of art and religion at the same time, has been eroded and even more impressed to lose its religious elements. What needs to be realized is that the element of local art in *tandha'* is also slowly eroding. So this is worth noting and striving to return to its authenticity with elements of art and religion that coexist and are strong.

⁶⁵ Darmiko Suhendra, "Perspektif Hukum Islam Tentang Seni," *Asy Syar'iyah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'Ah dan Perbankan Islam* 2, no. 1 (2017): 47–59. <https://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/islamfutura/article/download/3049/2176>.

⁶⁶ Sri Rizqi Wahyuningrum, Reza Mubarak, dan Mohammad Ali Alhumaidy, "Analisis Indeks Kesalehan Sosial Kabupaten Sumenep Tahun 2022," *Karaton: Jurnal Pembangunan Sumenep* 2, no. 1 (2022): 21–30. <http://bappeda.sumenepkab.go.id/jurnal/index.php/karaton/article/view/33/30>.

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