

Sandur Bojonegoro Construction: A Sociocultural Representation of the Supporting Communities

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Abstract. The construction of *Sandur Bojonegoro*'s art is a representation of the sociocultural reality of the supporting community. The construction of the presentation of Sandur based on the sociocultural system is an aesthetic embodiment that is emotional, philosophical, spiritual, and intellectual, accumulated in the dimensions of taste, senses, the soul, and the mind of the supporting community. The research formulates problems and research objectives related to; (1) analysis of the sociocultural reality of Sandur's supporting communities and (2) analysis of sociocultural representations in Sandur's art. The analysis, involving descriptive qualitative methods with a process of observation, interviews, and literature, is then analyzed based on Clifford Geertz's interpretive anthropological concepts. The results showed that; (1) the sociocultural reality of the Sandur supporting community cannot be separated from historical identity and geographical conditions, as well as language, spiritual, knowledge, and eye characteristics livelihood (economic); (2) Sandur art as a sociocultural representation constructs the identity and character of the Sandur supporting community through symbols in scenes and stage settings. In conclusion, the construction of Sandur Bojonegoro art cannot be separated from the sociocultural reality of the supporting community. The lived reality is the source of the idea of the formation of a system of symbols as a way or method to represent identity, character, morality, rhythmic qualities, and a way of life that is reflected in the behavior of its people.

Keywords: Construction, Sandur, Representation, Sociocultural.

1 Introduction

The concept of Sandur Bojonegoro's performance art cannot be separated from sociocultural reality as a source of creation ideas that can be called a representation of the reality of the lives of the supporting communities. The sociocultural reality constructed in Sandur art departs from the reality that occurs in the lives of the supporting communities through various aesthetic symbols that store various interpretations of meaning. Aristotle [1.] referred to aesthetic symbols as mimetic which is the Manner or Method. This means that the construction of aesthetic symbols in Sandur art is a way or method of the Sandur supporting community to represent the sociocultural conditions of the community that are symbolic of the reality of life experienced (empiricism). This aesthetic symbol is a form of representation of the

thoughts and actions of the community supporting Sandur as agents of Sandur traditional art production.

The production of *Sandur Bojonegoro* is integrated with the cultural ethos of the *Bojonegoro* people as a unity of identity, character, morality, quality of rhythm, and way of life reflected in the behavior of its people. The cultural ethos comes from the environment, both physical and social, as well as the influence of the individual characteristics of supporting community members. This means that the community supporting *Sandur Bojonegoro* already has a social system that no longer lives solely in the physical universe, but lives through a symbolic universe, one of which is represented through *Sandur's* art as part of his living universe. The sociocultural system in *Sandur* art can be known through a network of meanings that are tied to the formation symbol system, ranging from language, dialogue, storytelling, acting, setting performances, and various supporting elements such as dance and music that contain logical-analytical qualities or associations of the real life of the supporting community.

The symbol system in *Sandur* art, which is integrated with sociocultural reality, is related to a traditional art formation that is not created as a result of individual artists' creativity but rather is created independently as well as the collective nature of its supporting societies [8.]. The collective nature of the community in the creation of *Sandur* became an integral part of the traditional art structure consisting of organizing, structuring, and connecting a collective towards the same goal [4.]. This means that the structure of the *Sandur* tradition art consists of various elements that are related to sociocultural conditions and community organizations that both have the awareness to be sovereign in a cultural ethos possessed in the form of aesthetic symbols. The events abstracted in the symbols of *Sandur* art are a reflection of the reality-based environment created as a means of interaction and communication of the Ledok Kulon community.

Sandur art as an aesthetic work cannot be separated from sociocultural reflection. The identity and character of the Sandur supporting community are linked to linguistic, religious and knowledge systems, their livelihoods and economies, as well as their social organization. The creation of Sandur tradition art based on the sociocultural system is an aesthetic form that is emotional, philosophical, spiritual, and intellectual that accumulates in the dimension of taste, senses, the soul, and mind of its supporting society. Sandur art is the accumulation of sociocultural identity and character discourses; (1) a performing art that cannot be fully enjoyed and understood regardless of the sociocultural environment in which it was created; (2) ideas in Sandur art are closely related to the construction of values, functions, and forms of anonymous creation based on the nature of the collectivity of the supporting community; (3) the resilience of the Sandur tradition to this day, cannot be separated from the normativity system of the supporting community, which is taught and passed down from across generations; (4) Sandur art approach can be done by looking at performance form factors (material) and sociocultural factors that are collective (values and functions).

The beginning of the appearance of *Sandur* which is allegedly a children's game is not known with certainty the structure of the game. It is possible that the texture of the shape is in the form of an expression of children's joy when the harvest arrives,

accompanied by drumming or sound from Nggebyok / Ngebluk to separate the rice grain from the stalk using a traditional bat. Another case is *Sandur*, which functions as a ritual and entertainment has a conventional form structure, as traditional arts in general are simple and sacred [27.]. The structure of the show is divided into three acts, namely the opening, storytelling, and closing acts. Before the performance, the *Setren* ritual was held placing the stage property on the *Cungkup* / tomb of *Ki Andong Sari*, as an ancestral figure (*dhanyang*) of *Ledok Kulon* Village (Nur Kosim, Interview September 2, 2010).

The opening act consists of the singing of the opening song and ornate, the song sung at the time of make-up process has a style according to the meaning of the make-up element, then continued with the dance scene *Jaranan* (Act 1) and *Nggundhisi* by *Germo* which tell the descent of 44 holy spirits (goddesses) to earth as the opening convention of the story. The storytelling round presents a drama show that conventionally has four main characters, namely *Cawik*, Balong, *Pethak*, and Tangsil. These characters are involved in a dialogue that tells the story of an agrarian society. The dramatic interaction of each character interspersed with musical instruments and songs played by *Panjak Ore* and *Jaranan* dance (Act II). The closing act presents the attraction *Kalongking* (*Ndadi*), believed to be the incarnation of the *kalong* (Bat) spirit in the body of the cast, presenting the attractive scene above. The rope is connected by two bamboo slats 5 to 10 meters above the ground.

The presentation of *Sandur* art is also inseparable from the stage setting on the *Blabar Janur Kuning* arena stage, including rituals, artistic properties, costumes and make-up. The staging setting in *Sandur* is very thick with Javanese sociocultural nuances; *Sedulur papat* rules *Qibla limo pancer* and *weton* concept. *Sandur* performance as a ritual has a duration of six to seven hours starting at 10 pm and ending before dawn (1950-1960s). The stage ritual is held on Thursday *Pahing* and ban for *Friday Legi* which the people of *Ledok Kulon* believe to be a wretched day. The presentation of *Sandur* tradition art that is integrated with the identity and sociocultural character of the supporting community can be conceptualized into; (1) Sociocultural in *Sandur* development is integrated with language, spiritual and knowledge wisdom, as well as social and economic wisdom, (2) sociocultural in stage settings integrated with spiritual wisdom and knowledge.

2 Method

Descriptive qualitative methods are used as the process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting qualitative data with the aim of understanding phenomena in depth. This approach emphasizes understanding the context, meaning, and complexities of the socio-cultural milieu in which community of *Sandur Bojonegoro* constructs *Sandur* art. This means that the construction of the symbol system in *Sandur Bojonegoro* art cannot be separated from the sociocultural reality of the supporting community. The continuity between reality and the symbolic can be analyzed through the concepts of Clifford Geertz's humanistic anthropology or interpretive anthropology. An effort to find the orientation of cultural products as a system of ideas, values and meanings through the interpretation of behavior and technology [28.].

Geertz [5] defines cultural products as patterns of meaning expressed through multiple symbols. Similarly, *Sandur* has a number of meanings that are expressed by presentation symbols. The meaning of cultural symbols can be analyzed by first determining the pattern of meaning, then organizing the data obtained related to the interpreted cultural object. Data related to the presentation of *Sandur* were obtained through observations of the *Sandur* performance and information from the supporting community. The results of the data are organized based on the meaning scheme, so that they can be projected on (Thick Description) as a process of describing the meaning scheme of cultural symbols based on dense facts.

The description of symbols related to sociocultural meaning in scenes and stage settings *Sandur* is possible in the face of the discourse of a set of teachings, plans, recipes, rules, and guidelines for regulating behavior society as the concept of a control mechanism (A Set of Control Mechanism) [6.]. This means that *Sandur* can be placed as a set of cultural products that have a series of normativity values as a guide and spectacle for the supporting community.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Identity of the Sandur Supporting Society

The supporting community of Sandur Bojonegoro can be identified (identity) based on the history, geography and demographics of the people of Ledok Kulon Village as the center of Sandur Bojonegoro art production. The birth of Ledok Kulon Bojonegoro Village cannot be separated from the figure of the Village's ancestor, Ki Andong Sari, as one of the noble figures who defected to the Mataram Kingdom because at that time the royal government made a compromise with the Dutch colonial government, which he considered not pro-people, so Ki Andong Sari fought against Mataram and the Netherlands. Agus Sigro Budiono as Secretary of the Bojonegoro Cultural Working Group (Pokja) confirmed that Ki Andong Sari had fought against the Mataram and Dutch governments. According to him, Ki Andong Sari, as a noble figure of the Mataram kingdom named Arya Menahun with the title Duke Ngraseh, strongly opposed the policies of the Mataram government which led by Sultan Amangkurat IV when conspiring diplomacy with the Dutch Colonial government whose policies had hurt and harmed the people (ledokkulon.web.id, 2023).

Adipati Ngraseh (Ki Andong Sari) is said to have fought against the Dutch-backed Duke of Cakraningrat. After the battle and defeat of the Duke of Cakraningrat, the Duke of Ngraseh was then hunted down by a joint Pro-Dutch force, so that the Duke of Ngraseh disguised himself as part of the common people and changed his name to Ki Andong Sari who worked as an itinerant Kentrung artist to spread Islam, and slowly galvanized the people's resistance movement against the Kingdom of Mataram and the Netherlands. The figure of Ki Andong Sari is known by the people of Bojonegoro as a warrior figure who has closeness to the people and does tripe pedestal to open the Ledok Kulon settlement. The story of Ki Andong Sari's heroism as the ancestor of the Ledok Kulon community is believed to be a figure who has supernatural powers both in martial arts and spiritual.

One of the spiritual sciences of *Ki Andong Sari* that is believed by the community is to control water through heirlooms in the form of sticks from Moringa trees which are used to trick patrols of *Mataram* and Dutch troops in the waters of the *Bengawan Solo River*. *Ki Andong Sari* can control the speed and direction of the boat from the pursuit of *Mataram* and Dutch troops using that stick. Besides, *Ki Andong Sari* has various heirlooms that are thought to have supernatural powers, such as *Pusaka Kotang Ontokusumo*, which is known to have immune power. The magic of *Ki Andong Sari* has been passed down through generations, until now the tomb of *Ki Andong Sari* in *Ledok Kulon* Village Bojonegoro has become one of the sacred places. The tomb is not only used as a resting place for the body of *Ki Andong Sari*, but also keeps various heirlooms that are preserved and sacred because they bear witness to his magic, as well as a symbol of the remnants of resistance to the arbitrariness of the *Mataram* government in cahoots with the Dutch government.

Respect for Ki Andong Sari as the ancestor of the Village is carried out by the Ledok Kulon community in various processions, traditions, rituals and ceremonies such as ringworm which is carried out every Tuesday Kliwon on the Suro Moon (Javanese calender) by parading replicas of 12 heirlooms left by Ki Andong Sari. The cultivation of the 12 heirlooms in the tradition of the Ledok Kulon community is carried out by taking the route of Ki Andong Sari's journey in spreading Islam in Bojonegoro. In addition, the Setren ritual procession before the conventional Sandur performance is also a form of respect, requirements, and requests for permission to perform Sandur against His ancestors are considered a symbol of strength, or a figure who is given the power by the Supreme Spirit (God) to rule, protect, and nurture. The Setren ritual is carried out by staying overnight at the tomb of Ki Andong Sari with various attributes used in the Sandur performance, so that conventionally follows the Setren ritual. In practice, the Sandur supporting community believes that Sandur performances have received support, protection, and blessings through the spiritual energy of ancestors who have been mediated through properties to be used in the stage.

Geographically *Ledok Kulon* Village is directly bounded by the *Bengawan Solo River* in the west, north, and east, while in the south it is directly adjacent to the city center of Bojonegoro. Based on this geography, the characteristics of *Ledok Kulon* Village are inherent with areas squeezed with urban land, experiencing various developments that have influenced socio-cultural development leading to modern lifestyles. The development that occurred resulted in the shrinkage of agricultural land as the center of livelihood of the community, which began as farmers but has since become more heterogeneous; business and commerce. Currently, *Ledok Kulon* Village is not only known as the origin of *Sandur* traditional art, but also known as a tofu, brick and sand mining location on *Bengawan Solo River*. Meanwhile demographically, *Ledok Kulon* Village is classified as a dense settlement with a population of 8298 people divided into 2389 families (ledokkulon.web.id, 2023).

Based on its geographical location, *Ledok Kulon* Village initially had the characteristics of an agrarian community that used the *Bengawan Solo River* as an agricultural system in the *Mataram* era and the Dutch East Indies which gradually changed into a modern society along with the times due to the incessant development of the city after independence and reform. The change in character from an agrarian

society to a modern society is also inseparable from the demographic growth of the increasingly dense *Ledok Kulon* community. Like rural areas in general, which are close to urban areas, it cannot be separated from conflicts over land and residence evictions in the name of development. The change of agricultural land into settlements has caused a shift in the livelihoods and lifestyles of the people who are more pragmatic and economical (non-agrarian). The cultural value and spirituality of the Javanese *Mataram*an community, which underpins the people of *Ledok Kulon* Village, cannot be separated from history.

3.2 Characteristics of the *Sandur* Supporting Society

Java *Mataram*an is part of the cultural subculture in the East Java region. According to Sutarto [28.], culturally, the East Java region is divided into 10 cultural areas, namely Javanese culture *Mataram*an, *Jawa Panaragan*, *Arek*, *Samin (Sedulur Sikep)*, *Tengger*, *Osing (Using)*, *Pandalungan* (often also called *Mendalungan*), *Madura* Island, *Madura Bawean*, and *Madura Kangean*. Based on this subculture, the supporting community of *Sandur Bojonegoro* is part of the Javanese *Mataram*an community, as well as the historical value of *Ledok Kulon* Bojonegoro Village brought by *Ki Andong Sari* as a nobleman defector of the *Mataram* kingdom due to her differing political views. *Ki Andong Sari's* escape to the *Ledok Kulon* area could not be separated from the mission of *Da'wah* which taught the normativity of Javanese Islamic teachings typical of *Matarama*n.

The culture of the *Mataram*an Javanese community is characterized by East Javanese people who have dialects of Central Javanese language. They spread in various regions of the western part of East Java, such as Pacitan, Magetan, Madiun, Bojonegoro, Tuban, Nganjuk, Kediri, Blitar, Tulungagung, Trenggalek and Ponorogo. The sociocultural character of *Mataram*an Java is more polite, patient, paternalistic, and aristocratic than other East Javanese subcultures due to the influence of Yogyakarta socio-culture. The culture of the Javanese *Mataram*an community in East Java has its own traits and privileges since it has historical and sociological ties to the Javanese culture of Yogyakarta under the scope of the Kingdom of *Mataram*'s rule. The sociocultural growth of Java *Mataram*an, centered in Yogyakarta, has had a significant influence on local culture in East Java, particularly the regions of Bojonegoro.

This influence is sophistication and intellect as the pinnacle of Javanese culture, both in the form of tangible and intangible heritage; statecraft, socio-political order, and socio-cultural order, as well as arts and knowledge; the value base and norms (mental) of Javanese culture, as well as the social and material base of Javanese culture; spirituality and philosophy, as well as morality (ethics) and Javanese aesthetics (Sastra-Indonesia.com, May 6, 2021). Moedjanto [12.] examined Javanese *Mataraman* culture specialities, stating that in the past, *Matarama*n culture was able to develop socio-cultural manners that relied on language expressions, which had not yet been formed at the time of Demak. Umar Kayam [8.] has also mentioned that Javanese *Matarama*n culture has succeeded in developing an ideology of harmony and togetherness that can maintain the integrity of the Java community's social life.

Comprehensively Koentjaraningrat [9.] and Clifford Geertz [6.] found that

Javanese *Mataram*an culture was proven to have been able to develop spiritual, philosophical, ethical, and aesthetic knowledge that was so sophisticated that various parties put forward the spirituality, philosophy, ethics, and aesthetics of Java *Mataram*an. Evidence of the sophistication of spirituality, philosophy, ethics, and aesthetics, one of which is abstracted through the art of the *Sandur* tradition which cannot be separated from various spiritual elements, philosophical, normativity and aesthetics. The sociocultural system of Javanese *Mataram*an society can be divided into several elements based on the sophistication and intellectuality of Javanese *Mataraman* culture, namely the language system, knowledge, religion, livelihood, economy, community organization, technological system and art [9.].

Linguistic Characteristics. The supporting community of *Sandur Bojonegoro* is linguistically speakers of the Javanese dialect of *Mataram*an, a language spoken by the people of the former Madiun, Kediri, and Bojonegoro residency areas [23.]. The term *Mataram*an refers to the East Java sub-culture area that was once controlled by the *Mataram* kingdom as it has been explained that the cultural value of Java *Mataram*an has spread in various East Java region is included in terms of linguistic dialects. The Javanese dialect of *Mataram*an is widespread from the western part of East Java to Kediri regency, including Bojonegoro. The spread of linguistic dialects cannot be separated from the strong influence of the culture of the *Mataram* Kingdom from the Hindu-Buddhist period to the era of the Islamic *Mataram* sultanate which was centered in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Specifically, Javanese *Mataram*an speakers in East Java can be divided by region, namely west *Mataram*an, east *Mataram*an and north coastal *Mataram*an and south.

The West *Mataram*an Javanese subculture area (Madiun Residency) has a thicker dialect of Javanese *Mataram*an; a more refined language than the East *Mataram*an region (Kediri Residency) because the western region has a close proximity to Central Java. While the East *Mataram*an region is closer to the *Arek* subculture of rough *ngoko* Javanese dialect speakers, so the dialect of the language used has been mixed between *Arek* speakers and *Mataram*an. The northern coastal *Mataram*an region still mostly uses the thick and smooth Javanese *Mataram*an dialect, such as Bojonegoro Regency, southern Tuban (border), and west (Central Java border). The difference between the Javanese dialect of *Mataram*an and East Javanese (*Arek*) in general can be recognized by the intonation, that often emphasizes the first syllable and sound differences, for instance the word "*moleh*" (*Arek* dialect) becomes "*Mulih*" (*Mataram*an dialect).

More deeply, Javanese *Mataram*an is dense with the value of wisdom related to the structure of language levels in daily interactions as a form of politeness of speech made depending on context and the degree of interlocutor [20.]. The structure is adjusted to age, status, position, relationships, social constraints, and gender that form the level of language, namely Javanese *Ngoko* (to more young people), *Krama Madya* (peers), and Javanese *Krama Inggil* (older people). The structure of the language shows a hierarchy of social relations between speakers and listeners in terms of status and familiarity as a wisdom of social behavior, respect, and sensitivity towards others [24.]. The wisdom of the Javanese language of *Matarama*n shows the identity of its people who uphold the value of courtesy, morality, and the context of respect and

sensitivity of social structure.

Spiritual Characteristics and Knowledge. The spiritual of the *Sandur* supporting community is identical to the culture of the *Mataram* kingdom which has distinctive and unique characteristics in the development of Islam in Java. The rise of Islam in Java cannot be isolated from a series of disputes that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century between Islamic teachings and *Kejawen* rooted in Hindu-Buddhist traditions. This tension arose during the socio-religious dialog between Javanese culture and Islamic teachings, giving birth to a new spiritual and cultural normativity (syncretism), namely Javanese Islam. Javanese Islam can be conceptualized as a manifestation of faith, doctrine, rituals and others practices by the community according to local traditions or places and times, along with its development and spread [7.]. The presence of Javanese Islam can then be defined as a type of accommodation, integration, absorption and dialogue with non-Islamic roots and cultures, especially animism and Hinduism.

Historically, Javanese Islam *Mataram*an originated from the development of Islam during the era of the *Mataram* Sultanate. The paradigm of how religion, culture, and politics are integrated in its community's sociocultural framework distinguishes Islam *Mataraman*. The integration describes the typology of *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*, according to Geertz [7.], where the typology of *abangan* and *santri* refers to religious affiliation and commitment, while *priyayi* represents social and political categorization. *Abangan* became a term for people who did not devoutly carry out their commitment to religious rules. While *santri* is a phrase to describe persons who have religious commitment and obedience to carry out a series of Islamic religious rules. *Priyayi* is persons who are socially and economically considered to have a higher degree and stratification than the majority societies in Java.

The teachings of Javanese Islam Mataraman are deeply rooted in the Santri tradition, which is centered on Islamic boarding schools as the basis of Islamic teaching education, which is basically Sunni political madzhab characteristic of the teachings of "Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah". Javanese Islam Mataraman, adopted by Sandur supporters, refers to Javanese mysticism rooted in Sufi teachings as an integration of Hindu-Buddhist and Makrifat cosmologies in Islam teachings. The concept of Javanese mystical teachings cannot be separated from the tension of the interpretation of Islamic sharia teachings in the context of Islamic teaching schools, but it cannot be denied that Javanese Islam Mataraman, which contains mystical and sufistic elements, has been integrated with social and political interactions in the life of the Javanese Mataraman community, including in the Ledok Kulon Bojonegoro area. This integration cannot be separated from the view that Islamization in Java carried out by Sunan Kalijaga is a sort of syncretism of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic teachings [7.]. A philosophical knowledge is formed through these teachings; the view and behavior of life is based on the values of Javanese wisdom and Islamic Sufism, a vertical and horizontal relationship that prioritizes kinship, mutual cooperation and harmony.

Livelihood Characteristics (Economic). The livelihood and economic

characteristics of the community that supports *Sandur Bojonegoro* were initially (pretransformed) integrated with the historical, socioeconomic values of the former *Mataram* kingdom and geographical location of *Ledok Kulon* Bojonegoro area. Geographically, *Ledok Kulon* Village is surrounded by a stretch of the *Bengawan Solo* River; the existence of the river certainly has an important role in the circulation of people's livelihoods and economy of *Ledok Kulon* Bojonegoro, especially during the *Mataram* Kingdom. The existence of the *Bengawan Solo* River benefits the community not only for irrigation purposes, but also for the circulation of livelihoods and economies such as agriculture, shipping, and trade. As in its history, the *Bengawan Solo* River has many ports as a center for agricultural commodities that are transported by river to the center of trade. History records that major rivers in East Java, such as the *Brantas* and *Bengawan Solo*, plays a role in political power, since if a kingdom can control the flow of rivers from upstream to estuaries, then a geopolitically kingdom will grow into the most ideal agrarian and maritime nation [3.].

Based on the geographical location of *Ledok Kulon* Village as an area surrounded by the *Bengawan Solo* River and its history as the territory of the Kingdom of *Mataram*, the livelihood and economy of the Ledok people Pre-transformed Kulon Bojonegoro cannot be separated from the agricultural and trade sectors. The reading of the agricultural sector of the *Ledok Kulon* Bojonegoro community is integrated with the history of the power of Ancient *Mataram-Mataram* Sultanate to the Dutch East Indies era which was very dependent on the agricultural sector. It was even the backbone for its people's life at that time. For example, during the Ancient *Mataram* era, there existed a *Canggal* inscription that illustrated Java as a rice-producing island; in the inscription, it was explained how agricultural activities (*huler* and *hulu wras*) as well as agricultural equipment (irrigation system) were used by the people of *Mataram*. Agriculture also became an urgent economic problem during the *Mataram* Sultanate and the Dutch East Indies, as there was agrarian reform through the Apanage system, namely the obligation to pay tribute to the ruler by local official [25.].

The reading of the trade sector of the *Ledok Kulon* Bojonegoro community is also influenced by geographical and historical factors of the *Mataram* Kingdom. Geographically, the *Bengawan Solo* River has played an important role in the domestic trade sector which relies on river shipping [19.]. While trade in the watershed of the Bengawan Solo River in the era of the *Mataram* Kingdom was dominated by agricultural commodities such as rice, coconut, coconut sugar, onions, corn, fruits, originating from the hinterland (surrounding area) tributaries such as Madiun, Ngawi, and Bojonegoro [14.].

Furthermore, the current development of livelihood and economy of the people of *Ledok Kulon* Village no longer prioritizes the agricultural sector, but prioritizes the production sector goods and trade. This development is influenced by modern urban culture, so that the circulation of livelihoods and economics that occur adjusts to the needs of urban people, such as the production of stone, brick, and tofu. This means that the people of *Ledok Kulon's* livelihood and economy are no longer centered on the *Bengawan Solo* River, but rather in the Bojonegoro City area.

3.3 Sociocultural in Sandur Scene

Sandur Bojonegoro is one of the traditional arts offered in the form of performing arts with various elements such as theater, dance, and music. The Sandur show has a composition divided into three acts, namely the first act as the opening act, the second act is the core of the story, and the third act is the act cover. The opening act offers scenes of Panjak Ore (song singer), Panjak Kendhang (kendang player), Panjak Gong (gong player) involved in the act of presenting music and songs. Followed by the inclusion of the Jaranan (ndadi) dancing sequence to fill the void of Blabar Janur Kuning when the actors were getting make-up. The actors were then led into Blabar Janur Kuning and handed over to Germo, the mastermind of Sandur's stage. Pimps perform nggundhisi scenes offering the act of telling the story of the holy spirits of 44 women (goddesses) descending to earth.

The second half offers the core scene, the story play in the *Sandur* stage depicts the dynamics of an agrarian community's life. *Sandur*'s storyline features typical aspects such as *Pethak*, *Balong*, *Tangsil*, and *Cawik* characters interacting in dialogue acts. The plot is broken into numerous scenes, which are interrupted by song singing and *Jaranan* dance. The third act as a closing offers a scene of *Kalongking*, an acrobatic action performed by *Tukang Ngalong* on a rope connected between two bamboo poles on the stage of *Blabar Janur Kuning*. *Sandur's* performance is formed of various theatrical elements that are presented on the *Blabar Janur Kuning* arena stage, offering elements of stories played by actors with presents action, expression, and movement through dialogue.

The various elements of *Sandur* are the result of aesthetic symbols construction, a method of supporting *Sandur* communities to represent the sociocultural conditions they experience. The scenes in *Sandur* cannot be separated from the thoughts and actions of the community as agents of production; therefore, the sociocultural system in *Sandur* art is attached to a network of deep meanings symbol system of aesthetic formation. The various aesthetic symbols in *Sandur*'s performance are constructed through language, dialogue, storytelling, singing and music that convey analytical-logical qualities or associations of sociocultural reality and its supporting society. The following is the integration of *Sandur Bojonegoro* with the sociocultural reality of the supporting community.

Language Wisdom in Sandur Scenes. Sandur's performance language reflects the language of daily interaction of the people of Ledok Kulon Village Bojonegoro. The language used refers to the Javanese dialect of Mataraman, which is identical to the Javanese Ngoko narrative and has smoother intonation of pronunciation than the Javanese Arek Ngoko dialect (the language in Ludruk art). The use of Javanese Mataraman language in the presentation of Sandur cannot be separated from historical elements, the strong influence of the culture of the Mataram Kingdom from the Hindu-Buddhist period to the era of the Mataram sultanate Islam, because the Ledok Kulon Bojonegoro region is the former territory of the Mataram Kingdom. The Javanese dialect of Mataraman is also considered as the standard Javanese language, as is the Javanese dialects of the palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, differs from other East Javanese dialects.

This characteristic lies in the difference in vowel phonemes, namely the phoneme (i) is often used as the vowel of the last syllable, for instance, Suw(i) (old), but Javanese dialect Arek has the vowel (e) for Suw(e), and the phoneme (e) is often used as the initial and middle vowels of syllables such as Enek (ada), while Javanese ngoko Arek has the vowel (o) for Onok. The characteristic of the Mataraman Javanese dialect is used in several Sandur's art, including the song verse which is identical to the Javanese Mataraman dialect in Javanese Ngoko which is used in accordance with the context of social equality between the performer and the audience of Sandur. Due to the influence of Islamic teachings, there are excerpts of song sentences that use Arabic and include elements of Tawhid and dhikr sentences.

The Javanese dialect of *Mataram*an is also used in the scene of *Nggundhisi* by *Germo* offering a speech action (*mendalang*) telling the descent of the holy spirit of women (goddesses) numbering 44 down to earth with Javanese *Kromo Inggil* in accordance with the context of respect for the holy spirit narrated. Similarly, the storytelling scenes cannot be separated from the use of the Javanese *Mataram*an dialect through the interaction of *Pethak, Balong, Tangsil, Cawi* character dialogues. The language of interaction between *Pethak* and *Balong* characters is Javanese *Ngoko*, which is used in setting of the story to portray social equality; the friendship between the characters. While there are several lines using Javanese *Kromo* to express respect for *Cawik* female characters and *Tangsil* characters as older characters (parental figures).

Spiritual Wisdom and Knowledge in *Sandur* **Scene.** The scenes in *Sandur's* art are inextricably linked to spirituality and knowledge embraced by the supporting community as it refers to the teachings of Javanese Islam *Mataram*an. It combines mysticism and Javanese wisdom with Islamic Sufism and Sufistic traditions. The spiritual teachings of Javanese Islam form a philosophical knowledge system as a way of thinking and behavior based on vertical relations of human connection with God (error) and horizontal relations between fellow human beings, which in Islamic teachings is called "*Habluminallah wa Hablumminannas*". These spiritual values and knowledge are represented through several elements of *Sandur* decoupling as the foundation of big ideas and themes in three acts of theatre, dance, and music.

The opening act begins with a scene of *Panjak Ore* singing a series of songs lead by *Germo* as the mastermind of the *Sandur* stage. The introductory theme begins with the phrase "*Bismillah*," presenting a series of gratitude offerings based on the intention of mentioning the name of its creator, which means asking for blessings and blessings to The Supreme Spirit (God). Similarly, in the song *Aja Haru Biru* calls for an appeal to Adam's son not to cause mischief and chaos, because the creator oversees human actions and should Man call for goodness according to the direction and guidance of his messenger. *Tembang Bismillah*, *Aja Haru Biru* and *Mendung Sepayung* are also sacred lines embedded in Islamic religious teachings as a reminder, such as "*Lahaula Wala Kuata Kersaning Allah*," which means the power and greatness of the Creator, that all affairs proceed at his will.

While the song *Mendung Sepayung* was intended as a request to the power not to rain on that night, followed by the song *Udeng Gadhung* as a song celebrating the game *Sandur* as a medium of entertainment for players and spectators (*Penglipuran*).

After the songs are sung, the dancers begin to present dances that function as accompaniment to the role players to go to the makeup place which is usually done at the responder's house. Players playing the roles of *Cawik, Balong, Pethak*, and *Tangsil* will be picked up by make-up artists followed by dancers out of the *Blabar Janur Kuning* arena to the make-up place accompanied by the song "*Cheer Hurrah Budal Paras*". When the *jaranan* dance scene begins, a series of songs are chanted, which are believed to be a sort of mediation with spirit energy (*ndadi*). As in the *jaranan* dance scene (*Mbesa*) accompanied by the song *Kembang Le Li Le Lo Gempol, jaranan* began to circle the arena outside the stage (*Mubeng Blabar*) accompanied by the song *Kembang Johar* as a limit to the crowd's insistence from the sacred stage arena. Then comes the *Njaluk Ngombe* scene, which is accompanied by the *Kambang Jambe* song, and the *Njalok Leren* scene along with the *Kembang Duren* song. The song *Kembang Jambu*, which meaning *jaranan* requests for sleep, is played while the *jaranan* players are releasing energy (awareness).

Not stopping there, various series of songs are recited to accompany the make-up procession of the players, who likewise believe in the synergy of the material realm and the spirit worlds. Such as *Kembang Gambas*, which represents the cast starting to make-up, *Pitik Lancur* song representing the powder use, *Kembang Kawis*, which represents eyebrow make-up, *Kembang Laso*, which represents mustache make-up, *Pitik Lurik*, which represents the use of jarik cloth, *Jaran Dawuk*, which represents the use of belt, *Kembang Semboja*, which represents when wearing *Konca/*crown, and the song *Kembang Terong*, which represents the players wearing *Irah-irahan*. The cast prepares to return to the performance venue after the songs have been sung. The cast the left *Blabar Janur Kuning* to pick up the newly cast cast.

All role players entered the arena accompanied by the song *Kambang Otok*, with his head covered wearing cloth and makeup holding a torch as a guide. The torch was then handed over to the pimp, who circled *Blabar Janur Kuning* once clockwise till it reached the north side facing east, depicting the process of man's creation and birth. *Germo* then begins *Nggundhisi* or *mendalang* /puppeteering, a story about the descent of the holy spirits of 44 women (goddesses) to Earth. Some of them are believed to have played in shaping the character of *Sandur*, becoming a kind of incarnation or possessing the body of the *Sandur* role player. Among them are the incarnation of a goddess named *Wilutomo* possessing *Pethak's* body, *Drestonolo* penetrating the body of *Balong's* figure, *Mayang* Reserve penetrating *Tangsil's* body, *Suprobo* penetrated the body of the *Cawik* figure and the incarnation figure of *Irim-irim* penetrated the pimp, *Panjak Ore, Panjak Kendhang, Panjak Gong, Kalongking, Jarming,* and so on. Characters of the goddesses who are believed to incarnate in the bodies of these role players are related to characters in the Ramayana and Mahabarata which are often performed in the story of Puppetry.

The scene of *Nggundhisi*, the holy spirit summoner of the goddesses, is done by pimps by facing southwest, and every narration told will be greeted with the answer "*Nggih*" by the *Panjak Hore* as the vocalist of the song. *Germo* began to remove the head covering of the role player after the *Nggundhisi* scene, accompanied by the song *Kembang Jagung*, representing the sacred spirit of the goddesses incarnated in the role player began to reveal his face. The pimp then takes the leads and places of the role player in every corner of *Blabar Janur Kuning*. *Tangsil* figures are in the

southeast, *Balong* is in the southwest, *Pethak* is in the northwest, and *Cawik* figures are in the northeast. Then the song *Bismillah Golek Gawe* began to be chanted as a sign of the beginning of the core scene presenting a story play with a big theme of agriculture, working on rice fields, livestock and social interaction of agrarian communities. The song sung at the beginning of the story carries the testimony of the community that all forms of work are a form of grace and will from the creator. It is incumbent upon man to mention the name of the Creator before doing all activities in gratitude for the blessings he has given.

In each scene, Jaranan offerings are accompanied by Salur Pandan songs as a mantra to summon spirits that inhabit the four cardinal directions. The scene of Jaranan (ndadi) performing dances and attractions represents the normativity of controlling human passions based on the Mutmainah rule of Alumiah as a consumptive human manifestation, Supiyah's lust as a manifestation of man's desire to rule and reign, and the lust of anger as a manifestation of greedy, voracity, envy and spite without the control of the Mutmainah nature. Furthermore, the story will be closed with the song Sampun finish with all players facing east. The song symbolizes social normativity of society to create peace on behalf of fellow created beings as brothers who need to remind each other in kindness, and man should honor his ancestors as his predecessors who began and opened life to the life felt today.

After the storytelling scene, the closing scene presents the attraction of *Kalongking (Ndadi)*, believed to be the incarnation of the *kalong* (Bat) spirit in the body of the cast, presenting an attractive scene on top of a rope connected by two bamboo slats 5 to 10 meters above the ground. Acrobatic attractions are performed with closed eyes climbing the east bamboo pole and dancing in *kalong*-style movements which then hang hooking his legs on a rope with hands. The position of the head is below and will descend on the west pole. All scenes shown depicted in *Kalongking* portray the human self as the center (*Pancer*) of life, with dimensions of vertical *pancer* and horizontal *pencer*.

Overall, Sandur art presents normativity, or how humans might realize themselves by seeking authority outside of themselves (Beyond) will over altruism and spirituality [22.]. Maslow called this ability transcendence, a higher level of holistic human awareness. Such consciousness has always existed as a purpose, for oneself, others, fellow humans, other species, nature, and the cosmos [10.]. In terms of spirituality's actualization in Sandur's storytelling scenes, the human side is still presented as an illustration that humans cannot be separated from the hierarchy of human needs. As Maslow argues in Cloninger [2.], that humans cannot exist apart from physical needs such as eating, drinking, air, sleep, sex (Physiological Needs). The need for security, protection, and fearlessness (Safety Needs), as well as the need for relationships with family, friend, lovers, or social relationships in society (Belongingness and Love Needs). The highest needs related to potential, talents and abilities (Need for Self- actualization) and the need to be respected by others (Esteem Needs). The balance between spirituality and the hierarchy of human needs is a knowledge system of the supporting community born from the acculturation of Javanese culture and Islam.

Economic Wisdom of Sandur in Supporting the Community. The scenes of

Sandur Bojonegoro's art cannot be separated from the reflection of the supporting community's social and economic wisdom. Social wisdom refers to the sophistication of manners, harmony, and togetherness that can maintain the integrity of the Javanese Mataraman community's social life. Meanwhile, economic wisdom conceptualizes the fulfillment of the Javanese Mataraman people's livelihood in everyday life based on manners that prioritize harmony and togetherness. This social and economic wisdom is represented through several elements of Sandur's development, namely song lyrics, storytelling, and characters of Germo, Pethak, Balong, Tangsil, Cawik. The song lyrics in Sandur Bojonegoro, besides having integration with spiritual values, are also closely tied to social and economic wisdom carried out by the supporting community. The integration of song lyrics with the value of social and economic wisdom, as demonstrated by the following songs:

Table 1. Economic Wisdom in Tembang Sandur

Song	Tembang Function	The Value of Socio-Economic Wisdom
Udhêng Gadhung Udheng gadhung nggo samiran Kanca-kanca ya padha dolanan Ayo sesanduran, Kanggo lelipuran, dêdolanan dolanan sesanduran.	Opening Song	Bringing representation <i>Sandur</i> is solace (entertainment); through <i>Sandur</i> people can entertain themselves to relieve exhaustion at work, relieve stress, refresh the soul, and a means of relaxation, providing a short break from daily problems.
Bismillah Budhal Golek Gawe Bismillah ayo budhal 'golek gawe', Lolalelalo lelo lo lalelalo. Ayo budal 'golek gawe' Mugo-mugo 'enek hasile'.	The opening theme of the storytelling scene	The song becomes a series of narratives of the opening story, how the character <i>Pethak</i> departs to find arable rice fields, the song has a number of meanings related to the hope that the intention will be work " <i>Budal Golek Gawe</i> " can reap the rewards of " <i>Enek Hasile</i> ".
Sêkar Lêmpang Ayo, padha nyanyi Seng, sugeng nyambut gawé. Yo mas titènana galêngané, Aja mblandhang mêlakune. Sawah jêmbar-jêmbar, pariné lêmu-lêmu.	Songs in the scene in search of rice fields	Representing the fact that every human being must work hard "Ayo, padha nyanyi Seng, sugeng nyambut gawé". The song is linked to the livelihood of the farming community "titènana galêngané". Aja mblandhang mêlakuné". Focus on the livelihood of a farmer who needs a paddy field to grow (rice), because rice fields provide a living

		through what is cultivated and what will be harvested "Sawah jêmbar-jêmbar, pariné lêmu-lêmu".
Sampun Jangkep Sanadyan wis rampung karo pembangunan Sandur. Suwuk sêmbur / urun wicara. Lumintu tansah sêmpulur. Nadyan kaganggu bawur, guyub rukun dhisik. Pintêr nata racikan para leluhur Bilih wontên lêpat atur, pangapuntên kang lumuntur.	Closing theme of the storytelling scene	People are expected to maintain harmony between humans as brothers despite their varied differences, as represented by Sandur's scene through narrative and dialogue. "Nadyan kaganggu bawur, guyub rukun dhisik", according to the teachings of the ancestors "Pintêr nata racikan para leluhur".

Based on the song, the value of social and economic wisdom of the *Sandur* supporting community can be defined and then included as part of *Sandur* planning. Socially, *Sandur* song represents (1) communication systems and interactions between communities, speech implicitly as a dialogical method, (2) fulfillment of escapism vehicles, society who needs entertainment as a means of relaxation from life's problems, (3) work integrity; a reflection of a society that has the spirit and power to work hard, and (4) the integrity of community harmony; a reflection of collective life that prioritizes concern among fellow communities. While economic wisdom, the song in *Sandur* represents the responsibility of the community in fulfilling their daily lives as a farmer who needs rice fields to Planting, rice fields are the center of people's livelihoods, living and surviving those planted and those to be harvested.

In addition to songs, the sociological and economic wisdom of the people support Sandur is also represented through the storytelling of Sandur, which is identical to the theme of the story of the agrarian community. The structure of storytelling in Sandur was generally divided into some scenes; (1) Pethak looks for work, (2) Pethak goes to pimp to find work, (3) Pethak meets Balong and asks for work, (4) Balong invites Pethak to work on some land, the rice fields owned, (5) Cawik Ledek (Tayub) dancers loved by Pethak, (6) Pethak and Balong worked on the rice fields together, (7) there was a conflict between Pethak and Balong is often depicted in land disputes or romance with Cawik, and (8) Tangsil became a deterrent in Pethak and Balong conflicts.

The essence in *Sandur* storytelling conventionally reflects the social and economic wisdom of the collective community that prioritizes; (1) "struggle and hard work" represented by the characters of *Pethak* and *Balong* in finding work and working on agricultural land, (2) "mutual assistance" represented by the characters of *Pethak* and *Balong* in working on the fields, (3) "please help" represented through the character of *Balong* who allows *Pethak* to work his field with a profit-sharing system and *Tangsil* figures who are willing to help both in conflict resolution, (4) "wisdom" represented by *Tangsil* characters as parent characters (elders in the Village) who can solve various problems that occur, and (5) "love and affection" represented by the character *Pethak* who loves *Cawik* and vice versa. Apart from this wisdom, the

storytelling in *Sandur* also reflects social and economic conditions, namely (1) unemployment as a result of lack of factors employment, told by *Pethak's* character who struggles to find work to meet his daily needs, and (2) poverty as a result of unemployment, like the character *Pethak* who is only busy looking for work.

The social wisdom in *Sandur*'s storytelling cannot be separated from the reflection of the characters of the *Sandur* supporting community, which is constructed through the character symbols of *Sandur*'s play. The *Cawik* character is a construction of the *Cagak Wingit* symbol, which means important or main pillar, as a woman becomes a mother, the birthplace, and core of human life. *Pethak* character is symbolic of *Mepet Pathak* means close to the head, putting thoughts first before acting, whereas *Balong* is a symbol of *Bolong*, which implies human life cannot be detached from actions to fulfill lust. *Tangsil* is a construction of the symbol *Kabatang Khasil*, which means the answer to success that can be achieved through wisdom in thought and action. While the *Germo* character is a symbolic construction of *Blegering Sukma*, the body where the soul resides as the fundamental mechanism of human life, the body. It is bound to the material needs of human life, while the spirit is related to the inner and spiritual needs of man.

3.4 Sociocultural in Sandur Stage Setting

Sandur Bojonegoro's performance takes place in an arena stage called Blabar Janur Kuning and includes Setren rituals, artistic arrangements, make-up and costumes. A series of stage settings are integrated with the sociocultural community of Javanese Mataraman in forming art symbols based on values and norms (mental) as well as social and material cultural bases Java; both in the form of spirituality and philosophy as well as morality (ethics) and Javanese aesthetics. The Sandur Bojonegoro stage setting is a symbolic aesthetic based on the values of spiritual wisdom and knowledge possessed by the supporting community. The spirituality and knowledge embraced by the Sandur supporting community refers to Mataraman's Javanese Islamic teachings, which result from the syncretism of Javanese wisdom (Hinduism and Buddhism) with Sufism and Sufistic traditions Islam. The spiritual teachings of Javanese Islam form a philosophical knowledge system in the form of vertical interaction as the connection of man with God (reciprocation) and the horizontal relationship between fellow human beings.

These spiritual values and knowledge are symbolized through the *Setren* ritual, held before the performance, as an effort to represent the recognition of human dependency on more powerful spiritual energy outside himself, and the understanding of human weakness. The *Setren* ritual procession is carried out by projecting the properties used in *Sandur* performances as a mediating tool for connecting energy from material and non-material dimensions. The property takes the shape of braid horses, discordant ropes and *cemiti*, as well as the names of *Jaranan* and *Kalongking* players, with offerings of *Ulu Wetu*, *Kembang Setaman*, and incense lodged at the tomb of *Ki Andong Sari*. The *Setren* rite procession becomes the normativity of respect, requirements and requests for permission to perform *Sandur* performances against his ancestors which are considered as symbols of strength, or a person who is given power by the Supreme Spirit (God) to rule, protect and nurture. So, once the

Setren rite is completed, the Sandur supporting community believes that the Sandur performance has received support, protection and blessings through Ancestral spiritual energy conveyed via attributes to be used in the performance. This belief conceptualizes community's knowledge of Sandur to the power of the ancestors as the representative manifestation of the Supreme Spirit (God) owner absolute power and authority. Putting an understanding that man is not the center and measure of all things, because outside of man there is a greater and absolute power and authority.

In addition to the *Setren* ritual procession, spiritual wisdom can be found in the *Blabar Janur Kuning* performance arena as a symbol of Javanese philosophy and spirituality, notably *sedulur papat limo pancer*. *Sedulur* is referred to as an inner brother who accompanies and helps man from the time of birth to death. *Papat* is a phrase that refers to the number of relatives who have various terms and are often associated with the four cardinal qiblas, the four elements of nature and the *weton* of the calculation of the day of birth human beings who exhibit certain traits and destinies (Macrocosm). Whereas *limo pancer* is intended as the center point of life (Microcosm), namely the body and the human soul itself [16.]. The philosophy of *sedulur papat limo pancer* is also integrated as a psychological perspective of Javanese society, relating to human emotional intelligence as the ability to control emotions in dealing with daily problems [11.].

The concept of *sedulur papat limo pancer* for Javanese people applies as a rule of emotional management, interpreted as a combination of several cognitive abilities to feel, integrate, understand, and managing emotions [13.]. The concept is symbolized through the performance venue which is bounded by a square rope fence with a length of 8x8 meters called *Blabar Janur kuning*. The rope is decorated with yellow *janur* arches, and decorated with various market snacks. There are *ketupat* and *lontong*/sticky rice cakes or *lepet* hung on the rope dividing the performance arena. There is an offering complete with incense or frankincense at the meeting angle between north and east (northeast). While in the middle of the right and left sides of the performance arena put bamboo sticks with a height of approximately 10-12 meters, between the bamboo stuck on the sides right and left are attached with discordant ropes connecting the two bamboos, resulting in a square performance arena with an upper middle corner that will be a cone when used for *Kalongking* scene attractions.

The presentation of the performance venue is square and the upper middle corner, oriented to the rules of *Qibla* and *Weton papat*, namely east (*pasar Legi*), south (*Pahing*), West (*Pon*), and North (*Wage*), whereas the center of *Limo Pancer* is the middle (*Kliwon*). The cardinal directions and the time of birth are believed to be the reason humans are born into a world that brings their own nature and destiny [15.]. Human destiny has been determined by the Supreme Spirit (God) with four pillars of strength since the fetus form, namely *Watman* as the mother of human strength, a depiction of mother's affection who has conceived and given birth to him. *Watman* as a blanket and guardian of the fetus (amniotic fluid) since humans are in the womb. *Rahman* as the incarnation of blood, representing human life, energy and spirit. *Ariman* as the incarnation of the fetal brother (placenta) since in the womb that channels and maintains human life. While *Pancer* as the spirit and body of man represents human consciousness and behavior of life that is centered from a will

outside himself [21.].

Human consciousness and behavior are controlled by emotional and spiritual intelligence, which is how humans can put forward the lust of *Mutmainah* as a representation of the creation of the Supreme Spirit (God), which carries the qualities of *Khauf* (Fear), *Raja* (Hope), *Tawakkal* (Resignation), and *Qanaah* (Receive). In order to suppress the desire of *Alumiah* lust as a manifestation of human consumptive nature, *Supiyah* lust as a manifestation of human desire to rule and reign (social status), and suppress the lust of anger as a manifestation of human greed, voracity, envy and spite if only prioritizing the lust of *Alumiah* and *Supiah* without any balance from nature of *Mutmainah* [18.].

While the various forms of ritual offerings in *Sandur* become a symbol of communication from the gratitude and blessings of the community to the highest power that gives life and is the center of hope for the positive desires of the community [17.]. *Sandur*'s interpretation seeks offerings as a form of normativity of the supporting community that life in the world does not only involve human bodies and spirits, but there are other energies that participate celebrating life, such as the spirituality of *Sedulur Papat* who has been the uncle's brother and guardian of man since birth, as well as spiritual energy in the rules of supernatural beings he believes in. Belief in the existence of the Supreme Spirit (God) as the creator places the belief in supernatural life as the value of the greatness of the Supreme Spirit the mind, who is also occult. Man endowed with reason and mind, and he must be able to connect and maintain harmony between his fellow creatures.

In addition, the make-up and costumes used in the stage are not just polishing the characters to look beautiful and attractive, but also storing various spiritual wisdom and knowledge. Makeup and costumes are integrated with *Nyusupke Widadari*; Likeness or adjustment of puppet characters based on the embodiment of angels. *Cawik*'s makeup and costume characters represent the embodiment of *Dewi Supraba* as the leader of the charismatic and authoritative goddess Kayangan, *Pethak*'s character represents *Wilutomo's* many manifestations talk and ask, the character of *Balong* represents the embodiment of *Drustonolo* who prioritizes action over speaking, while the character of *Tangsil* represents the wise incarnation of *Gagar Mayang* and wise. The likeness of characters based on the embodiment of these gods and goddesses is symbolized in various forms of costume colors used, such as green, black, red, and golden yellow with puppet costume design.

4 Conclusion

The construction of *Sandur Bojonegoro* art cannot be divorced from the sociocultural reality of the supporting community. The lived reality is the source of the idea forming a system of symbols as a way or method to represent identity, character, morality, quality of rhythm, and way of life, which is reflected in the behavior of its people.

The symbol system in *Sandur* art that represents sociocultural realities related to a traditional art formation, is created independently rather than as a result of individual artists' creativity, along with the collectivity nature of its supporting society. The

collective nature of the community in the creation of *Sandur* became an integral part of the traditional art structure consisting of organizing, structuring, and connecting a collective towards the same goal. This means that overall *Sandur* art as an aesthetic work cannot be separated from sociocultural representation; a reflection of the identity and character of the *Sandur* supporting community related to linguistic, religious and knowledge systems, as well as livelihood (economy).

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