

CONTESTATION OF GLOBAL-LOCAL CULTURE IN ISLAMIC ART OF *PONDOK PESANTREN WALISANGA SITUBONDO*

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Abstract

This article is the result of anthropology research using ethnographic methods. Discusses global and local culture contestation in the performing arts in the Walisanga Islamic Boarding School Situbondo. The findings of this study indicate that this Islamic values spread (*dakwah*) is a method of Islamic education by means of traditional culture in the form of art. *Wali Sanga* Islamic boarding Schoolin Situbondo has kinds of arts which are *hadrah*, *tabbhuwân*, and *syi'ir Islam*. These Islamic traditional arts contest with cultural industry in globalization era. These kinds of arts become cultural power for Madurese people in Situbondo, and identity of Situbondo city as *santri* city and earth of *Shalawat Nariyah*. In globalization era, Situbondo identity with its traditional Islam shows its commitment to Indonesian national value, openness to social reform and global-national cultural values interact to local culture.

Keywords: *Pondok Pesantren Walisanga*, Traditional Islam, Situbondo, Local Art, Globalization

Introduction

Islamic boarding school (*pondok peantren*) is a religious educational institution which has characteristics of Nusantara. Substantially, it is a religious institution inevitable to social context in society (Najib, 2014: 1). Islamic boarding school has strategic position as educational center for society, especially for rural people. It also encourages social transformation for society around. Culturally, Islamic boarding school is identical to central leadership of *Kyai* (Islam priest) figure. In a context of Madurese society, *Kyai* figure is viewed as central figure who becomes example/figured in social relation (Hidayatullah, 2017: 139). This view is represented by cultural terms *Bhuppa*; *Bhâbu*; *Ghuru*, *Rato* (father, mother, teacher in this case refer to *Kyai/Ulama*, and king or government and formal leader). It means that Madurese society upholds respect for parents, *Kyai* and leader figures. This view grows to be a tied cultural attitude and regards as social disorder when breaking it (Hidayatullah, 2017: 140). In Situbondo regency, with Madurese ethnic people as majority, Islamic boarding schools grow to be people's life support, source of knowledge and solution for social and cultural problems.

One of the oldest and the most famous Islamic boarding school in Situbondo is Salafiyah Safi'iyah Islamic boarding school (for next mentioned SSIBS). SSIBS was established in 1914 by K.H.Raden Syamsul Arifin in an area far from downtown in Sukorejo (Asmuki, 2014: 5). Choosing location far from crowd inevitable to political situation at that time, which is a kind of cultural resistance by *Ulama/Kyai* to politic of Dutch East Indies government that completely erodes political Islam in Nusantara (Najib, 2014: 9). At that time, Dutch colonial government applies a policy of „*Islam Politiek*“ which is „*Inlandsch politiek*“ policy for indigenous Dutch East Indies to reduce political resistance mobilized by Islamic people. Since the beginning, SSIBS has been showing its role in building and developing national identity (*nation-building*), in colonial era, towards Independence and post-Independence until now. In colonial era, Islamic boarding schools firmly resist to free people and land from colonialism. Here is SSIBS's role in colonial era, according to Najib (2014: 1)

“traditional leadership in rural society, especially for *santri* (Islamic boarding school students), is in *Kyai*'s hand, who traditionally has a position as people protector and spreader of Islam religion (*dakwah Islamiyah*). These *Kyai* lead *santri* and rural people to rebel colonial power in 19th century.”

In post-Independence era, Islamic boarding schools also actively fill the independence by positing as „moral fortress“ of the nation. In education and spreading Islam to society, SSIBS still applies traditional and cultural ways. Since his first leadership who is KHR. Syamsul Arifin, SSIBS applies educational system

based on local culture. It is done considered Situbondo people at that time easier to learn and understand Islam religion by means of their cultural symbols.

After KHR Syamsul Arifin, SSIBS is then led by KH As'ad. He is a son of KHR Syamsul Arifin. KH As'ad is a *Ulama/Kyai* figure who becomes mediator, messenger of spiritual values and symbols, as an answer of *Kyai* Kholil Bangkalan for *Kyai* Hasyim Asy'ari's worry. *Kyai* Hasyim Asy'ari later becomes a pioneer of Nahdlatul Ulama's (NU-Islamic Organization) birth in 1926 (Najib, 2014: 12-15). In 2016, based on Presidential decree of Republic of Indonesia Number 90/TK/year 2016, KH As'ad is awarded as a National Hero for his dedication in struggling to seize Independence of Republic of Indonesia. In KH As'ad leadership, SSIBS still continues tradition of spreading Islam by using cultural method. It can be seen from some of KH As'ad works which are some books of *tauhid* (Islam monotheism), *tasawuf* (Islam moral), history and *fiqh* (Islam law) by using *pegon* letters, Arabic alphabet to write Madurese language (Hasan, 2011: 34-35). Besides writing book in Madurese language, KH. As'ad also creates works of Madurese *syi'ir* (rhythmic poem). These works are methods and approaches used by KH As'ad in spreading Islam in Situbondo. He does not only convey religious values formally and rigidly but also aesthetically and related to local culture in society.

After KH. As'ad, SSIBS then is led by his son KHR Ach. Fawaid As'ad. *Kyai* Fawaid is known by society as *Kyai* figure who has artistic, imaginative soul and a creative and innovative humanist (Arifin, 2018: 35-41). Since childhood, he loves any arts, like *samroh* and *dangdut* music. Even according to Rhoma Irama, this *Kyai* As'ad's son is *The Best Collector Soneta In the World*. According to Roma, William Frederick and Mr. Tanaka are collectors of his songs. Frederick's collections are fewer than Mr. Tanaka's, but these foreign collectors' still fewer than *Kyai* Fawaid's collection (Arifin, 2018: 35). His love to music arts actualizes in his mission of spreading Islam by establishing music group "Al Badar". He recruits some *santri* in SSIBS who are good in playing music to spread Islam through music. He takes a way of spreading Islam by means of music, by creating songs for Al Badar.

In a chance, *Kyai* Fawaid ever conveys his ideas about music. According to him, we have to look back to history of music among NU and Islamic boarding schools. NU has made a breakthrough to challenge globalization stream of music, incompatible to *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* values, by performing some singers from *fatayat* and *muslimat* (Islam women) (Arifin, 2018: 40). Mission of spreading Islam by means of art and cultural approach among Islamic boarding schools in Situbondo is not only centralized in SSIBS, but recently it starts to be used by other Islamic boarding schools. It is because SSIBS is considered to be a center and axis of Islamic culture in Situbondo. This phenomenon is supported with an event of *muktamar* NU in 1983 in Situbondo, also known as, „restoration of khittah 1926“, or press and some politicians often call it „back to khittah“. Politically, „back to khittah“ is NU intellectual's and *Ulama's* decision agreed to „resign from practical politic“ and leave the only Islamic party they have (Feillard, 2017: 237). At that time, SSIBS is trusted to be a host for that historical event. NU tries to re-develop their gait in religious field by means of two ways simultaneously. First is approaching to political authority to get a new validity for religious-social activities and two is reforming mindset of traditional group, an effort to answer demands of modernity (Feillard, 2017: 255). *Kiai* Achmad Shiddiq (Feillard, 2017: 239) in an interview said that.

It is better to not doing political activity directly but „working“ well. According to him, social activities and spreading Islam are more important. Therefore NU people are better to work for „advance of society“, and not try to get power. However, a fact that this state is Pancasila state makes these *Kyai* to influence people to work among society.”

Muktamar NU in Situbondo strengthens again NU and Islamic boarding schools attitude in order to build nation and strengthens nationalism through community service. Since the beginning, NU and Islamic boarding schools commit to conserve traditional and cultural values, so realization of „back to khittah“ is reviving spirit of spreading Islam by means of cultural ways. *Muktamar* Situbondo gives big impact to cultural movement in Situbondo, especially in Islamic boarding school environment to always do and develop activities of spreading Islam culturally.

One of Islamic boarding schools in Situbondo which also continues using method of spreading Islam culturally is Wali Sanga Islamic boarding school (for next mentioned WSIBS) led by KHR Khalil As'Ad Syamsul Arifin who is also son of KH. As'ad Syamsul Arifin in SSIBS. WSIBS was established in 1993 and located in the center of Situbondo city, precisely in Mimbaan village, Panji district. WSIBS has the same character to SSIBS which is using cultural and traditional approach in spreading Islam to people. Presence of *Kyai* figure and WSIBS in center of the city gives a big influence Situbondo people. *Kyai* does not only have duty to teach Islam in Islamic boarding school but also he is required to spread Islam and serve people around. Using media of art in spreading Islam is an effort to do the duty. By means of art, *Kyai* can give education, criticism to government, encourage social transformation and also brand cultural identity in Situbondo. There are also some kinds of traditional arts conserved and developed by WSIBS which are

Madurese *tabbhuwân* (*ketoprak*/play), Madurese *syi'ir* and *Hadrah*. In a wider contestation, NU consistently keeps promoting their kinds of traditional arts. Even though it is called tradition, but NU is not reluctantly doing innovation and development in their arts (see Ricklefs, 2013: 634-635).

This writing focusses on contestation of global and local culture in Islamic performing arts in WSIBS in Situbondo. Generally, it also discusses characteristic of performing arts presented in activity of spreading Islam, how the traditional Islamic arts articulate certain identity and how Islamic boarding school arts construct identity of Situbondo as *Santri* city.

Method

This is an anthropology of art research by using ethnography method. Field research had been done for two years by observing directly some art performances of Islamic boarding schools around Situbondo Regency. The primary data were collected through deep interview with some informants (cultural subjects) who were art performers (*tabbhuwân* director and *panjhâk*/player), *santri* and committee, Kiyai, audience and society; performance documentation; performance in VCD; and ethnographic notes. The secondary data were obtained from literature in form of books, research reports, articles and newspapers.

This research used multidisciplinary approach, using interdisciplinary theory to sharpen data analysis, like theory of identity and *sense*. Identity theory is used to understand how system of sign in Islam-tradition arts constructs cultural identity in society. Thomas Turino, in his article *Sign of Imagination Identity and Experience : A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music* (1999) said that “*music is a key resource for realizing personal and collective identities which, in turn , are crucial for social, political and economic participation*”. Turino builds his theory of music related to identity and emotion based on C.S. Pierce’s semiotic. There are three types of sign based on Pierce’s theory of semiotic. Music is sign in level of *Firstness* and *Secondness*. *Firstness* sign is a sign of emotion and identity. *Secondness* sign is sign of reality, social relation and experience. While *thirdness* is the most mediated sign like language. Music (art) is a set of sign involved sign of emotion and experience rather than meditational sign referred to something else.

Those three types of sign are related to its interpretant (effect). Signs in low level (*firstness* dan *secondness*) tends to create emotional interpretant (emotional effect) and energetic (physical response) because of its directness or not-mediated. While *thirdness* sign tends to present response and motivation based on its linguistic and effect usually described as rational and conscious response.

According to Turino (1999: 221-255), music (art) also has potential in constructing and reflecting social identity of people by means of formation system of semiotic signs. By using Turino’s theory of identity, this writing will classify what kinds of sign in Islamic performance arts by Islamic boarding school and how those signs are interpreted by people, then finally construct identity of society.

Art is an activity involving people, and so is performing arts in Islamic boarding schools. It is a manifestation of quality and characteristics of society. People understand and interpret reality by means of cultural motion (art). In theory of sense, Retsikas (2007: 193-194), in his research on mixed Javanese-Madurese people in Probolinggo, says that ethnicity is something performative and embodied. For example, Javanese people articulate their characteristic of soft by means of graceful dance, slow music, sweet taste preference and soft color dress. Meanwhile Madurese people articulate their characteristic of rough by means of hard music, fast tempo, full of accent, energetic dance, salty taste preference and striking color dress. In this context, art is considered as manifestation of cultural expression of people implicitly describing character/quality of the people.

Hadrah, Madurese Syi'ir and Tabbhuwân Arts As Identity Expression of Islam- Tradition

As activities done by other NU Islamic boarding schools, WSIBS also organizes the same system of education based on cultural and traditional values. Students are not only provided by religious knowledge but also other activities such as organization, sport, entrepreneurship and art. In context of art, WSIBS organizes various kinds of activities mainly closely related to Madurese tradition which are *hadrah*, Madurese *syi'ir* (rhythmic poem) and *tabbhuwân* (play).

Hadrah is the most popular art for *santri* and Situbondo people. This art grows rapidly in Situbondo. Almost all NU Islamic boarding schools in Situbondo have *hadrah* music group, even every *RT/RW* group of recitation, school and Islamic school has this music instruments (Munir, personal communication, July 14, 2018). Popularity of *hadrah* music in Situbondo is influenced by people’s need. In Situbondo, *hadrah* music is related to almost all religious, cultural rites and profane entertainment. Generally, *hadrah* music is played in an event of wedding, circumcision, *maulid nabi*, *isra' mi'raj*, *toron tana*, (celebration for baby’s first steps), celebration for village, *arisan*, Independence Day of August 17th, recitation and *shalawatan*, and so is *Hadrah* art in WSIBS. It is always performed in every ceremonial event, in Islamic boarding school as well as government environment. Players are students of WSIBS and are led directly by KH. Khalil. *Hadrah* music

group of WSIBS is known as Al Mahabbah *hadrah*. Different from other common *hadrah* groups, this group tends to have Madurese traditional nuance. The music instruments used are *rebana*, tambourine, *tumbuk*, bass drum and collaborated with electric and Madurese ethnic instruments like *Klenengan* (*saron*), *bonang*, *gong*, flute, *kendhâng* malang, *kendangdangdut*, electric bass, and keyboard. Even in some works, it also uses non-conventional instruments like glass bottle, glass and other used goods.

WSIBS's *hadrah* music is always related to Madurese *syi'ir*. Madurese *syi'ir* is a set of poems in Madurese language sung by using music and in solo play (without music accompaniment). Usually Madurese *syi'iris* sung after *adzan* (call for prayer) in every mosque and *mushollah* (small mosque). In WSIBS, *syi'iris* still maintained and conserved. KH. Khalil has created many Madurese *syi'ir* productively. KH. Khalil has continued what KH. As'ad had done in SSIBS. All poems created are then sung together with Al Mahabbah *hadrah* group. According to some informants, Al Mahabbah *hadrah* always brings songs with poems created by KH. Khalil (Munir and Waris, personal communication, July 14, 2018). When KH. Khalil sermons in Situbondo city or outside, Al Mahabbah *hadrah* always accompanies him as a part of his method of spreading Islam. Here is quotation of Madurese *syi'ir* created by KH. Khalil entitled *Syari'at* (quoted from transcription of poems in VCD product),

“*Syariat nèka paraona, tarèkat nèka laotanna,
Hakikat nèka mutiarana, ma'rifat onéng sanyatana,
Sèra sè terro onènga panèka kodhu bâdâ ghuruna,
Orèngnga Allah nèka ghuruna, orèngnga nabi nèka ghuruna.*”

“*Syariat is a ship, tarekat is a sea
Hakikat (essence) is a pearl, ma'rifat knows the truth,
Who wants to know, must have a teacher
Allah's chosen person is the teacher, prophet's chosen person is the teacher*”

The text above is written in Madurese language. Something interesting from the text is using language that is easily understood by analogy that is close to the Madurese society, especially in Situbondo. For example, the analogy of ship and the sea is because most Situbondo people live in coast and work as fishermen. Works of Al Mahabbah *hadrah* music group were not only played directly (live), but also mass-produced through the local recording industry in Situbondo. Some works are recorded professionally and sold to local market in form of VCD. Here is an example of VCD cover from works of Al Mahabbah *hadrah* in album vol.3,

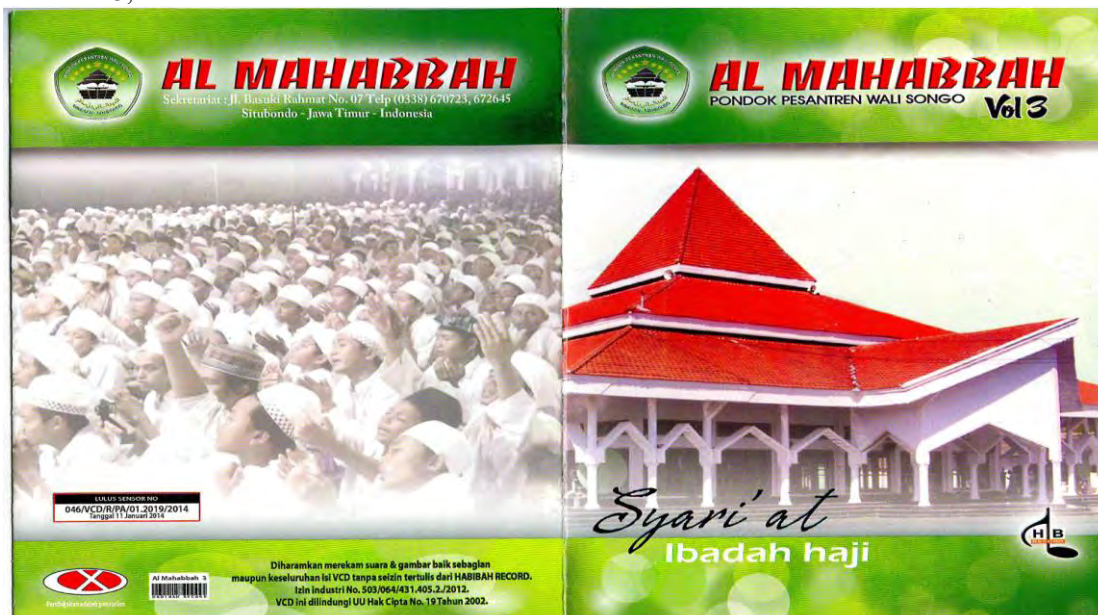


Figure 1. VCD Cover of *Hadrah* Al Mahabbah
Source: Personal Documentation

In addition to *hadrah* and Madurese *syi'ir*, WSIBS also has another group of performance art, i.e. Madurese *tabbhuwân* (Islamic play). *Tabbhuwân* in Madurese language means „beat“, but in context of Madurese society in Situbondo, this word means *ketoprak*, *ludruk* and play performance with certain

characteristics. Bouvier (2002: 62) explains that *tabbhuwân* is a term used by Madurese people to call *gamelan* music, set of *gamelan* instruments or *gamelan* performance. Generally, *tabbhuwân* is interpreted by people as performance genre which tells and is accompanied by Madurese *gamelan* music. In Situbondo, *tabbhuwân* is identical to art performance of Madurese *katoprak/layang – layang* (*ketoprak*), *loddrok* (*ludruk*), and *Kertepuppet* mask (see Hidayatullah, 2017: 141-142).

Tabbhuwân is actually popular art which does not come from Islamic environment (Islamic boarding school). Geertz (2013: 375) gives classification of non-Islamic student art groups in East Java society in Mojokuto based on social and cultural structure to be three kinds which are soft art, rough art and national art. Based on those classifications, Madurese *tabbhuwân* is close to characteristic of *ketoprak* and *ludruk* art classified to rough art. In Madurese people discourse, *tabbhuwân* certainly has set of negative stereotypes like what happens to *abangan* group in Mojokuto. It is attached to stereotype of performance full of lust which shows dancers' sensuality and dirty jokes (porn), dissidents to government and power authority (in this case Islamic boarding school and Kiyai domination) by means of criticism wrapped with humor nuance and homosexual hot issues among performers. Use of media *tabbhuwân* by WSIBS is actually controversial in people's view but according to Kiyai, spreading Islam by means of *tabbhuwân* is strategy to *ngobâi èber* (change taste) of society, from negative to positive performance. Kiyai does not forbid the existence of *tabbhuwân* art, it actually gives attention to tradition and local culture, to keep surviving and giving benefits for society (Ra Malung and Waris, personal communication, August 20, 2018). Islamic boarding school in this case does not posit as exclusive group by only using media „soft art“ and „Islamic art“ (Islamic arts of Islamic boarding school) but it actually legitimates themselves as inclusive group and represents people around by using popular art and Madurese tradition media.

Tabbhuwân group of WSIBS is different from some genres of *tabbhuwân* above. This group is named “Islamic play, Wali Sanga *Tabbhuwân*”. This name is displayed above *pajhângan* (ornament) of stage. The difference between *tabbhuwân* WSIBS and common *tabbhuwân* is in its form of performance. *Tabbhuwân* WSIBS brings Islamic stories (stories of Muhammad prophet friends and Wali Sanga), dressed modestly (sometimes using Muslim and Middle-East clothes, music played in Islamic theme *shalawatan* and Madurese *syi'ir*), and there is no segment of dance. While common *tabbhuwân* brings Mahabarata story, legend, babad and kingdom, dressed with Madurese and Javanese traditional fashion (sometimes soldier and kingdom clothes), playing Madurese songs, and using segment of dance.

Local term *tabbhuwân* is used to make it closer to society rather than common term like play. Even if the performance has been adapted to Islamic idiom, *tabbhuwân* WSIBS does not lose Madurese taste. This can be seen from style and motif of *pajhângannya* (stage's ornaments), use of Madurese language, performer clothes and Madurese musical idioms. Here some documentations of WSIBS *tabbhuwân* performance.



Figure2. Decoration with characteristics of Madurese tradition and Indonesian fashion.

The picture in Figure 1 is a capture of a performance entitled “The Most Beautiful Pearl from God”, the story of Syeikh Abu Bakar Al Basshar held at 25th July 2018, in Palangan village, Jangkar, Situbondo during a wedding event. The real story indeed happens in Middle East (Mekkah), but in context of *tabbhuwân* performance, the story has local Indonesian (Madurese) nuance by using *batik* clothes, *kopyah* (skullcap), *Hansip* uniform and characters using Indonesian names. A kind of music played also has local

characteristics by using local musical idioms, Madurese ethnic instruments and sometimes collaborated with Al Mahabbah *hadrah* by singing Madurese *syi'ir* created by KH. Khalil. Here is a documentation of *tabbhuwân* WSIBS instruments.



Figure3. Use of Madurese music and Hadraah instruments
Source: Personal Documentation

Hadrah, *Syi'ir* and *tabbhuwân* art of WSIBS does not only function as expression means of *santri* in Islamic boarding school environment, but it is also used for spreading Islam activities in society (Ra Malung and Waris, personal communication, August 20, 2018). According to Waris, those arts are actually created by *Kyai* to serve society. Besides for positive entertainment, it also gives education and embed Islamic values to society (Waris, personal communication, July 14, 2018). Spreading Islam by using arts considered to be easier to absorb by people rather than formal ways. Madurese people have their own symbolic language intimate to them. They tend to accept Islamic value easier by means of aesthetic experience rather than classical ways like sermon. This is related to cultural history and custom of Madurese people. Based on the writer's observation, almost all Madurese people in Situbondo (especially in village) are fanatic to *tabbhuwân* art, shown from the number of audience that is always overcapacity in event place. Even some audience come from outside of event place. They willingly rent a car to watch *tabbhuwân* performance along with their village friends (Based on ethnography observation and interview in 14th and 25th October 2017 with *tabbhuwân* audience from Panji Lor village named Kaji and Wawan who regularly watch every *tabbhuwân* performance around Situbondo).

Although art group often holds stage performance outside Islamic boarding school, some art groups of WSIBS are not commercial and professional group. It means in every performance, they do not have standard price for performance. Even they do not hope honorarium from host, as *Kyai* said to Waris (personal communication, July 25, 2018):

"Tabbhuwân nèka niyatta a dakwah, ngajhâk orèng asholawat, bân ngobâi èberrâ masyarakat. Alayani masyarakat, jhâ" sampè mènta ongkos. Ma" ongguna mènta, ngarep dâri tuan rumah ta" ollè, jhâ" sampè" maberrâ" tuan rumah."

(This play intends to spread Islam, invite people to do *sholawat*, change people taste (from negative to positive entertainment). Serving people, without asking for compensation. Do not ask for prices,, hoping that rewards are also not allowed, do not burden the host).

If it is analyzed through system of signs for some WSIBS arts, it can be seen representation of identity that will be actualized. As Turino's opinion of semiotic frame, music (art) can reflect and construct social identity of society. *Hadrah* art, at first, is an art coming from outside Indonesia (Middle East) which then comes to Indonesia in line with coming of Islam. Instead of presenting *hadrah* like Middle-East form, Al Mahabbah *hadrah* is formed in accordance with taste and sensibility of people around (Madurese). Use of ethnic instruments (Madurese gamelan) is index of identity of Madurese society. Use of the instruments can

give psychological effect for listeners. Effect from music (art) is empirical consequences from interpretant of its signs. Society will be invited to understand Islam as well as having experience of their Madurese. They are invited to enjoy Islamic art by means of local Madurese taste and aesthetic. In icon, it can give understanding of Madurese cultural identity. While by indexical, it can awaken intimacy and personal experience for Madurese people.

This can happen in narrative story in *tabbhuwân* and Madurese *syi'ir*, which both use language, idea and cultural discourse of Madura. Even in Madurese *tabbhuwân*, the system of signs is melted and contested to other system of signs like Islam and Arab. Islamic system of sign is presented by means of context of story taken from Islamic story (most coming from Arabian culture), sometimes using Arabian clothes and inserting text of Al-Quran and *hadist* in Arab language. Even so, overall performance still have much Madurese taste, because Madurese system of sign still dominates overall performance. In *tabbhuwân*, Madurese system of signs is presented by means of music, use of Madurese ethnic instruments, Madurese language, discourse, jokes expression, gesture, decoration motifs and clothes.

In theoretical frame of sense from Retsikas, it can be seen how those arts performatively can present identity sign of Madurese ethnic. If it is observed by musicology, Madurese *tabbhuwân* music is different from gamelan music played for *wayang* (Javanese puppet) performance and Javanese *ketoprak* (play). In composition, *tabbhuwân* music is composed with „full“ (dense) composition by melody fill and *interlocking* between instruments. From the beginning to the end of music performance, it always plays with fast tempo, and beats with high volume (loud). Even almost there is no significant dynamic of hard-soft music like Javanese gamelan. We are brought to feel climax points many times. The music feels out loud and rough if it is analyzed by Western music aesthetic. Besides its loud music, they also still use big loudspeaker, about 2x3 metre size, using 2 *andang* (foundation made in iron to put sound standing). It is put in right and left side of the stage with specification *subwofer* 18“, *low-mid* 15“, *middle* 10“, each has 2 boxes.

Loudspeakers are also added in front of the performance gate (wedding event) using TOA speaker (as often used for *adzan* in mosque). They put TOA speaker on bamboo pole of 5 meters length to four wind directions. Aesthetically, the sound produced is indeed very disappointing, but for Madurese people, using TOA speaker is very important and intended as a kind of communication to people around, that there is a celebration event and performance art. They never consider quantity and quality of sound used with condition of performance room (situation and location of event). Form of sound system like this has been common basic reference used by every organizer of celebration event in Madurese society in Situbondo (Misjo, personal communication, July 20, 2018). Expression presented through loud music and out loud sounds of speakers are manifestations of articulating identity of Madurese characteristics which are firm, loud and full of spirit. The expressions can also be described in stage lighting. Different to *wayang* stage lighting which only uses one color lighting, *tabbhuwân* is presented by using glittering lights, with many striking and contrast colors like red, blue, green, purple and yellow. The lightings are also played alternately like discotheque lights. Through WSIBS's arts, Madurese identity can be actualized with local aesthetic. Madurese ethnic identity is manifested through *sense* presented in artsy expression of the people.

It can be said that *hadrah*, *syi'ir* and Madurese *tabbhuwân* are kinds of articulations (expression) of Islam-tradition identity. Identity of Islam-tradition, in this case, is constructed by means of collaboration Islam and local Madurese culture system of signs through aesthetic mechanism. Even though Islam-tradition carries on many stereotypes of its traditional characteristic, but in fact Islam-tradition can show deep commitment to national values, openness of social and education reformation and deep interaction to local culture as shown by WSIBS.

Traditional art of WSIBS also opens itself to current development. Basically, *Kyai* actually does not deny modernity, they just deny free sex. Acceptance of modernity in context of WSIBS arts can be seen through their products of Al Mahabbah *hadrah* in VCD form, competitive in regional market pop industry. In facing modern era, *Kyai* also uses technology of record as strategy of spreading Islam like collaboration with local record industry in Situbondo. *Hadrah* Al Mahabbah packs its works industrially and distributed widely to the whole area of Situbondo and East Java. Through mechanism of massive pop industry, it hopes that message of spreading Islam can be conveyed to society effectively and efficiently. Openness to modernity can also be seen from the use of technology in live performance. Different from other conventional *tabbhuwân* groups, WSIBS *tabbhuwân* group is much more modern. They use mic *clip on* for every performer, variative *digital audio mixer*, *sound effect*, *lighting* and advanced technology of documentation. Some of the documentations are uploaded to online video player platform like youtube. In this case, it can be said that today traditional art in Islamic boarding school is actually adaptable to development. They try to open dialogue with globalization era and compete in market of global industry. The relationship between local and global art is constructed in Islam-tradition art.

Islamic Boarding Schools Construct Identity of Situbondo as Santri City and Earth of Shalawat Nariyah

Situbondo regency is known with its *SANTRI* slogan, that is actually abbreviation of *Sehat* (healthy), *Aman* (secure), *Nyaman* (comfortable), *Tertib* (order), *Rapi* (neat) and *Indah* (beautiful). The word *SANTRI* is often interpreted by people as Islamic city, city for *santri*, where many Islamic boarding schools exist in almost all areas of Situbondo Regency. In the era of regent Dadang Wigiarto in the first period in 2010, he rebranded Situbondo to be earth of *ShalawatNariyah* (Munir, personal communication, August 19, 2018). Branding Situbondo as the earth of *ShalawatNariyah* is also followed by implementing some policies like requiring all government institutions to always recite *Shalawat Nariyah* when starting every event.

Construction of Situbondo branding as Santri city and earth of Shalawat Nariyah is actually encouraged by background of local people's culture who are mostly Madurese people. Speaking about life view of Madurese people cannot be separated from Islamic values, because almost all Madurese people are Muslim (see Wiyata, 2013: 3). Obedience of Madurese people to Islam is embodied-identity important to them. It is manifested in a way of how they dress daily, that cannot be separated to Islamic clothes like *samper* (long cloth), *burqo* (veil), *sarong* and *sonko* (skullcap) (Rifai, 2007: 446). Besides, existence of Islamic boarding schools in Situbondo regency also encourage people's culture to be cultural Islam. For example, a cultural event in Situbondo traditionally held to welcome Muhammad prophet's birthday is *Ancak Agung* tradition. It is a kind of celebration tradition by decorating various food in cone form. It consists of fat rice (yellow) with side dishes and yellow *janur* attributes with various vegetables and fruits. These kinds of foods arranged and ordered in such a way to form beautiful big cone (*tumpeng*) in 1-3 meter size.



Figure4. Ancak Agung in Situbondo city
Source: Situbondokab.go.id

The Ancak Agung event then has been an annual agenda of Dadang Wigiarto regime since 2011 until today (2008). This event with glorious concept indeed is encouraged to realize Situbondo identity as Earth of *Shalawat Nariyah*. This event is actually encouraged by tourism interest. It needs to know that Situbondo proclaims in 2019 as year of tourism visit. Awakening traditional rite like *Ancak Agung* is an effort to welcome needs of tourism visit year in 2019. It is also like what happen in Kediri and Bantul (Ricklefs, 2012:601 & 627), how the governments do not awaken old traditional rites but also create new traditional rite for tourism interest. This event is held simultaneously and followed by all *SKPD* (Unit of government executives) of Situbondo regency, *santri* from WSIBS, SSIBS and other Islamic boarding schools in Sintubondo. It is packed with concept of cultural festival event. The event starts from procession hand in hand with circling the city area with *hadrah* and patrol music accompaniment with religious theme until it ends and gathers in the city square. The peak event takes place in the square containing sermon event,

reciting *Shalawat* and *hadrah* music performance. In 2018, this event is then named *Kirab Budaya Ancak Agung* as listed in tourism event calendar of Situbondo regency.



Figure5. Tourism event calendar of Situbondo regency in 2018

Source: situbondokab.go.id

One interesting icon of this event is *hadrah* music performance, besides traditional and local culture events. *Hadrah* music becomes a symbol which represents cultural interaction between Islam and Madurese local culture. *Hadrah* symbolically represents existence, role and contribution of Islamic boarding schools in developing Islamic values, national and local culture by means of arts. It is not only found in *Kirab Budaya Ancak Agung* event, but regency government always presents *hadrah* performance in almost all ceremonial formal or non-formal events related to religious rites (like *selamatan*, *shalawatan*, recitation, *isra' mi'raj*, etc.),

Existence of Islamic boarding schools is not sufficient to attach it with government events only, but their existence can be analyzed through cultural events held by people in district and village level, because actually a space of their art movement is much done in cultural field as the writer's observation in the field (Observation to *Wali Sanga tabbhuwân* in a wedding event of Husnul Khotimah and Abdullah located in Palangan village, Jangkar district in 25th July 2018). Art performance like *hadrah* and *tabbhuwân* are also branding Situbondo identity as earth of *Shalawat Nariyah* by inserting it by means of symbolic message explicitly and implicitly in the performance. In this context, contribution of Islamic boarding school arts in spreading Islam do not only mean as education media and transmission process of Islamic values, but also as political strategy in branding the city identity as „Santri” and „Earth of *Shalawat Nariyah*”. These brandings assert cultural position of Situbondo people and government as a regency which have special tie and attention to discourse of Islam-tradition and local culture conservation. This effort is in line with spirit to conserve diversity, develop national values or nationalism.

Conclusions

Madurese arts which are *hadrah*, *syi'ir* and *tabbhuwân* in WSIBS are phenomena of cultural syncretism where Islamic symbols interact with local cultural (Madura) symbol in Situbondo, so they construct a new art entity with aesthetic values. Those arts are manifestation of cultural identity of Madura manifested in sense (musical and form) of people. On the other side, cultural appropriation manifested in the hybrid art also describes expression of Islam-tradition identity. The arts show a complexity of Islam art in Islamic boarding schools. They were considered to be old-fashioned, exclusive, undeveloped and obsolete (traditional). Creativity of WSIBS's students by means of Madurese arts of *hadrah*, *syi'ir* and *tabbhuwân* shows that views of Islamic boarding school which are outdated, old-fashioned and denying modernity need to be re-questioned.

In the context of WSIBS arts, we can see that Islam, especially Islam-tradition, actually does not deny modernity and its technologies. In fact, it uses and develops nationalism values by means of Islam Nusantara. Recently, traditional arts condition, especially, in Islamic boarding schools in Situbondo, are actually tidal. On the other hand they actually play very important and crucial role in caring for Indonesian nationalism values, conserving local culture and they are adaptable to recent times (modernity and globalization).

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