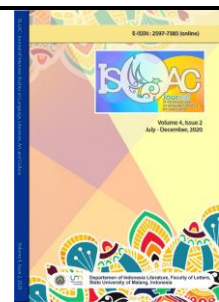


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### GANDRUNG EXISTENCE REALITY IN BANYUWANGI OSING COMMUNITIES

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#### ABSTRACT

Gandrung is a distinctive art that has become the mascot of Banyuwangi tourism. Behind the fame of Gandrung's art today, there is a debate concerning the existence of Gandrung. The debate occurred between two groups who had different views about Gandrung. This study aims to dissect the reality of the existence of Gandrung based on these different views. The focus of this research is the reality of Gandrung in the Osing community in Banyuwangi. This research uses a qualitative approach. The data of this research are in the form of utterances sourced from the results of interviews with Gandrung art activist informants. Based on data analysis, it was found that Gandrung's reality in Banyuwangi included: (1) Gandrung and art for struggle, (2) Gandrung differences then and now, (3) Gandrung art is not a ritual, (4) Gandrung dancers are not highly educated, (5) Gandrung is considered far from religion, and (6) Gandrung is a good user of witchcraft.

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### INTRODUCTION

Gandrung is a typical art that comes from Blambangan (Banyuwangi). Behind the festive performances of Gandrung today, there is a story of struggle. During the colonial period in Indonesia, Gandrung art could be categorized in one of the strategies of the people's struggle against the invaders Blambangan. At that time, in the Blambangan land, there had been a major war between the natives and the colonizers. The war was named the Puputan Bayu war. The war resulted in thousands of Blambangan lost their lives and survivors were scattered. They saved themselves during the war by entering remote areas or remote villages.

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Seeing Blambangan people living divorced, there is a group of people who want the people of Blambangan to be reunited. The group devised a strategy to regain the remnants of the Blambangan people's strength. The group uses the Gandrung art as a strategy to raise people's power.

The group held a Gandrung art performance by going from one village to another. The results of the performance were distributed to Blambangan people who were still displaced in the interior. The group wants people who are still living in the interior to be willing to return to their hometowns to fight together. In addition to distributing the results of the performance, the group also inserted an implied message in the Gandrung song. The message contained a call against the invaders.

After the colonial period in Indonesia ended, Gandrung art changed its function from a strategy of struggle against the invaders to change into folk art. Gandrung's art is held as an accompaniment to folk events such as marriages, Petik Laut, circumcisions, and official events of the Banyuwangi Regency Government.

Gandrung's art performance is being held from dusk to dawn. Gandrung dancers who danced were called Gandrung Terop. However, as the times evolved the Gandrung dance art was modified. This dance is called the Gandrung Festival. This dance is only held when there is a festival in Banyuwangi. Unlike the Gandrung Terop, the Gandrung Festival is only danced during the day. The excitement of the Gandrung Festival can be seen in the Gandrung Sewu festival.

Behind the development of the Gandrung art performance from struggle to performance art, there is the story of life experienced by Gandrung Terop artists. This story concerns the existence of Gandrung Terop artists. In the real world outside the stage, Gandrung art performers experience identity problems. The problem stems from differences in the views of those who look at Gandrung's identity.

Two groups have different views when looking at Gandrung's identity. Among these, there are pros and cons to Gandrung's identity. A positive view views the existence of Gandrung is a beautiful art and the perpetrators of Gandrung art are ordinary people. Conversely, a negative view views the existence of Gandrung completely limited and rejects the existence of Gandrung living in his social environment. According to Sungkowati (2007), Gandrung's identity is often limited in view. Gandrung dancers are considered as immoral women, household destroyers, and do not have manners.

The debate between people who have different views on Gandrung's identity causes problems related to the existence of Gandrung in the social world. Existence is closely related to freedom. According to Yunus (2011), humans are the most freely existent beings. Humans are free to create their own lives in planning or doing things according to their own will. However, freedom is hampered if other people have different views about the inherent identity of a Gandrung dancer. Gandrung art performers are ordinary people who want recognition of existence in their social environment. Artists want the freedom of creation without obstacles from those who disagree with their identities.

Existence refers to the theory of human existence that it no longer 'exists' but has actualization (there is). Bagus (2005) states that existence is a thought centered on the way the human view is located. Therefore, the study of existence refers to the perspective of human existence in their social environment.

Human existence forms itself consciously and plays an active role in determining the nature of itself in the world. This existence can be obtained by acting by the decision to take the consequences of living in the world. Humans can find the meaning

of their existence through all their activities, busy events, viewpoints, and activities in the world.

In connection with the reality of the existence of Gandrung in Banyuwangi, it is necessary to conduct field research to reveal the existence of Gandrung art performers. Gandrung reality data exploration in Banyuwangi is done by interviewing people who are related to Gandrung art.

## **METHOD**

This research is qualitative. This research data is in the form of utterances taken from Gandrung art activist informants. data collected by interview techniques. The data analysis technique is a method used to analyze or describe the data that has been obtained. Activities in the analysis of this model include (1) data selection, (2) data categorization, (4) data interpretation, (5) concluding.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The previous Gandrung Terop dancers can be used as Gandrung recording devices from two dimensions, namely the past and present dimensions. They are important archives that record the social documents of each of the characteristics of Gandrung social life in the two eras that have taken place. They can represent social reality in a story.

To get Gandrung reality data in Osing people's lives, it is necessary to replay the story of the past experienced by Gandrung Terop dancers. Struggles about differences in views between groups are believed to have social realities that have occurred. Informants can position themselves as a subject whose identity is being debated. This happens because the two groups are having different views. One side was found by a group that supported the identity of the dancer Gandrung, but on the other hand, there was also a group that refused its existence. This difference in outlook raises the social problems experienced by Gandrung dancers. Therefore, the informants can be used as a miniature of the real problems experienced by Gandrung dancers in Banyuwangi.

The revelation of the reality of Gandrung's existence involved a series of data collection from artists in Banyuwangi. Data collection was carried out by interviewing a senior cultural scientist in Banyuwangi named Hasnan Singodimayan. Also, informants came from two Gandrung Terop dancers named Supinah and Temu Misti. Based on the findings of the data, the reality of Gandrung dancers' life is described in 6 subs, namely: (1) Gandrung and art for struggle, (2) Gandrung differences then and now, (3) Gandrung art is not a ritual, (4) Gandrung dancers are not highly educated, (5) Gandrung is considered far from religion, and (6) Gandrung is a good user of witchcraft.

### **Gandrung and the Art of Struggle**

During the colonial period, Gandrung was instrumental in Indonesia's independence efforts. The role of Gandrung was seen when there was a struggle for territory from the Dutch in Blambangan. This movement triggered the anger of Blambangan residents so that the famous war in Banyuwangi, named Puputan Bayu, was split.

The Puputan Bayu War that occurred in 1771 was motivated by the Mataram ruler's agreement with the Dutch government without the knowledge of the Blambangan community. At that time, the Mataram ruler named Pakubuwana (PB II) wanted to establish a Surakarta Hadiningrat Sunanate. To achieve his desire, mastering Mataram agreed with the Dutch colonial. Marihandono and Juwono (2008) explained

that the agreement contained the surrender of Mataram's power starting from Pasuruan to Blambangan and in part. As a cooperation fee, the Netherlands will give 20 rials to Mataram as rent.

The Blambangan people were angry over the arrival of the Dutch and their allies. The arrival of the invaders made the people of Blambangan very oppressed. The invaders were rude and sadistic towards the natives. This triggers physical contact and clashes in several places in Blambangan. Ahmad (2008) explained that in 1778 Agung Wilis became the leader of the Blambangan people's war, but was captured by the Dutch and exiled to the Banda, Maluku area. This event occurred because Blambangan war troops were unable to surpass opponents who had the latest weapons.

After the death of Agung Wilis, the Dutch oppression of the people of Blambangan was increasingly arbitrary. The number of Blambangan people killed, captured, and missing is very large. At that time, there was an outbreak of Cholera due to dead bodies lying in various places. Also, Blambangan people who are still alive and living are forced to work to process the produce without pay. The product must be handed over to the Dutch. These alarming conditions made the people of Blambangan save themselves. The people of Blambangan live very poorly, are scattered, scattered, scattered in villages, in remote villages, and the forests.

When the people of Blambangan fled to the Bayu area, prince Mas Rempeg Jogopati was also in that location. Mas Rempeg intends to continue the leadership of Agung Wilis to carry out resistance back to the Dutch colonialists. However, at that time the people of Blambangan were scattered in the interior and remote areas of the village. Thus, the strength of the army is still lacking. Finally, Mas Rempeg used a strategy to mobilize the power of the people of Blambangan.

(1) *Kan nantang londo belo Indonesia, paran arane tentara jowo, iku ngamen, heng kari ketoro lanang, yo lagune yo sindiran hang podo nonton hang ngerti, kode, wong biyen wong ampuh-ampuh.* (Temu Misti)

One effort to garner the strength of the people of Blambangan is to use regional dances. Mas Rempeg agreed to a strange proposal in the form of men dressing up as women. Then this dance became the forerunner of the Banyuwangi Gandrung dance. Relin (2017) explained that the Blambangan troops brought Gandrung as people's entertainment which was a tool of struggle. In data (1), Temu said that the male dancer was assigned to go from village to village for busking. According to Scholte (1927), each time busking dancers get a reward in the form of crops from the population. The reward was distributed to the people of Blambangan who sought refuge in Bayu.

Besides dancing, the dancers were assigned to gather the remaining people of Blambangan to join the war forces later. This was revealed by one informant.

(2) *Ketika zaman dulu ketika perang Puputan, Gandrung banyak berperan dalam usaha perjuangan, para Gandrung akan menyusup ke Belanda dan dihibur oleh Gandrung. Cara menyerangnya dengan bahasa wangsalan sebagai kode yang tidak diketahui oleh penari penjajah.* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

Singodimayan in citation data (2) states that when interacting with the villagers visited, the dancers use coded regional languages. The password is inserted in the singing. They use regional codes in the form of *wangsalan* or certain codes. The cipher language contained stories of the cruelty of the invaders and the call to attack the invaders. The use of this cipher language is used so that the intentions of the dancers are unknown to the enemy. The effort turned out to attract the attention of the people to join the struggle. People flocked to Bayu.

According to the two informants above, it is clear that Gandrung's art was first born for struggle. At that time, Gandrung was used as a strategy to gather strength to fight the invaders again. Also, Nurmaria (2017) stated that Mas Rempeg's mission was to save the remaining Blambangan people from the torture of the invaders. The main motive of this activity was motivated by the desire of Rempeg mas to free the people of Blambangan from Dutch colonial shackles.

After the people of Blambangan were gathered, in 1771-1772 Mas Rempeg launched an attack on the Netherlands again. This war is called the Puputan Bayu war. Ali (1993) stated that this war was a war so large that it devastated Blambangan. As a result of the war, many casualties fell and leaving only 8,000 survivors. Even so, the war caused enormous damage and casualties. This did not dampen the spirit of the struggle of the people of Blambangan. Small wars after that incident, continued to occur until decades later.

### **The Difference between Gandrung Then and Now**

Banyuwangi is a regency located at the eastern end of the island of Java. Its geographical location which is close to Balinese culture makes Banyuwangi thick with its cultural and artistic blend. One of Banyuwangi's famous arts and has become the mascot of Banyuwangi tourism is Gandrung. Therefore, Banyuwangi is also known as the city of Gandrung.

The coronation of Gandrung's art as the mascot of Banyuwangi tourism provides proof of the popularity of the art. As in the previous discussion, the beginning of the existence of Gandrung is very closely related to the theme of the struggle of the Indonesian people. Starting from Infatuated as a strategy of war, tricking enemies, and collecting power of the people during the war Puputan Bayu Blambangan Blambangan.

Usually, Gandrung dance performances are held all night from evening to dawn. Rini (2016) mentions that in Gandrung's art performance there are three stages, namely, *jejer*, *paju*, and *seblang subuh*. Each round has rules, at the stage, it *jejer* can be said as the opening dance. The Gandrung dancer dances the opening dance by performing typical Gandrung music. In the second half called *paju*. In this round, there is an interaction between Gandrung dancers and the audience and there is a saweran session given by the audience to Gandrung dancers. When it was near dawn, the Gandrung dancer closed the Gandrung show with Gandrung dance and music, which was named *seblang dawn*.

Along with the times, Gandrung dance art has changed the editorial. If initially there were three stages in the Gandrung show, then the Gandrung art performance is different now. This was stated by the informant in the following interview data excerpt.

(3) *Gandrung dulu yang ditonjolkan paju Gandrungnya karena untuk menarik orang. Pak Sumitro punya sanggar tari dia mengubah jejer menjadi tari remaja, karena koreografinya tidak terlalu sulit, diubah menjadi tari remaja. Sekarang ada salah persepsi, seribu Gandrung itu salah, yang benar seribu jejer, itu bukan Gandrung. Mereka disuruh maju gak kira bisa, kadung salah kaprah jadi seribu Gandrung. Tarian Gandrung sekarang banyak jejernya, banyak tambahannya. Kita salah kaprah tentang Gandrung dan jejer, itu sebenarnya jejer bukan Gandrung, iya luar biasa tapi saya ketawa. Gandrung yang asli ya Gandrung yang ditarikan Gandrung tua. Saya suruh Supinah maju kata nya emoh... Paling jejer tok gak indah baginya.* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

Gandrung Sewu is an annual festival held by the Banyuwangi district government. This festival is a magnetic attraction for tourism in the Banyuwangi district. High interest is obtained from local and foreign communities. This festival is a performance of

Gandrung art, which is danced by a thousand Gandrung dancers who dance in unison at one time. Most of the Gandrung Sewu festival dancers come from students from junior high, high school, and vocational school levels. However, according to Singodimayan in data (3), the dancers in the Gandrung Sewu festival are not the original dancers of Gandrung.

Because there are differences in editorial Gandrung, the current Gandrung art performance is divided into two, namely the Gandrung Festival and Gandrung Terop. The two forms of Gandrung dance are different. This was revealed by two informants who shared the same opinion about Gandrung in Banyuwangi. Both of the information stated that two forms of Gandrung dancers developed in Banyuwangi, namely Gandrung Terop and Gandrung Festival.

- (4) *Gandrung sekarang dibagi menjadi dua, ada Gandrung umum dan Gandrung Terop, Gandrung umum itu untuk anak-anak sekolah kalau Gandrung Terop ya seperti saya* (Supinah)
- (5) *Gandrung Sewu ya cuman itu untuk tarian, tarinya ada itungan, kreasi, kalau Gandrung semalam suntu iku sekarepe dewe wes, duwe filing dewe, gak atek itungan, ndilalah ya pas.* (Supinah)
- (6) *Gandrung Sewu gur nari, mbuh iku lapokan Gandrung Terop. arane Gandrung Terop kan isun iki, pentase semalam suntuk kan. Gandrung Sewu sekedar Gandrung nari* (Temu Misti)

From the three quotations from the interview above, it is known that Gandrung art is not only danced by certain circles. At present, the Gandrung dance is also studied by students from elementary to tertiary levels. However, the Gandrung art danced by the students is not the original Gandrung. The students danced Gandrung only as an extracurricular activity of body art at school. Also, students are introduced to Gandrung art as a strategy to internalize the love of local wisdom typical of Banyuwangi.

The Gandrung dancers at the festival cannot be said to be the original Gandrung dancers. The dancers only dance based on the beats and rhythms of the music behind the dance movements. No half *Paju* and *Seblangdawn*. They only danced the *tissue*. So, by Singodimayan in data (3) it is said that the name of the Gandrung Sewu festival is mistaken, it should be a thousand *jejer* festival. It is said so because Gandrung's began to become *ceilings littered, paju, and before dawn* was not filled with Gandrung Sewu dancers. Only the *tissues* were featured by dancers at the Gandrung Sewu festival. Also, the dancers in the Gandrung Sewu festival do not hold a Gandrung Meras ceremony. The ceremony can be said as graduation for Gandrung dancers. After performing the ceremony, the Gandrung dancers can be recognized as professional dancers and are ready to dance on the stage.

Unlike the original Gandrung dancers, the Gandrung Terop dancers are not just body art. But also as a cultural preserver typical Banyuwangi. Besides being demanded to be good at dancing, it must also be good at singing regional music when on stage. This cannot be done by Gandrung Festival dancers. Even though the dancers of Gandrung are skilled at dancing, they cannot become a Sinden who bring local languages.

### **Gandrung Art Is Not A Ritual**

When someone is out of town, someone asks where that person came from. If the person answered came from Banyuwangi, the person who asked would immediately identify Banyuwangi as a city of witchcraft. Also, in 1998 there was an incident of the slaying of a black magician shaman in Banyuwangi, which until now has not been

resolved. Therefore, the term witchcraft makes the image of the name Banyuwangi the most realistic district on the island of Java.

Not only stop there, but the image of Banyuwangi's mysticism also comes from the name of one of the famous sacred forests in Indonesia, namely Alas Purwo. Many people deliberately visit Alas Purwo because of its natural beauty. The beaches and protected biodiversity of protected forests attract many local and international tourists. However, there are also visitors to Alas Purwo who are not just traveling. There are also visitors of Alas Purwo who perform magical rituals with specific intentions and goals.

The mystical image depicted a story of the past that has happened as well as a famous haunted location in Banyuwangi, which also influences the image of the arts that developed in Banyuwangi, especially the Gandrung art. Gandrung art performances are often held at village cleansing events, harvest harvests, sea picks, or official government events. By a layman, the Gandrung performance is believed to have a mystical element behind it. Behind the performance, Gandrung is considered a mystical ritual. However, the statement that Gandrung is a mystical ritual is disputed by the informants in the following data excerpt.

(7) *Gandrung itu bukan ritual, yang ritual itu seblang, tapi Gandrung itu slametan, diperas gitu dek. kalau diperas itu di selameti untuk menjalani pentas pertama semalam suntuk, biar selamat, akhirnya selamatan. Diwisuda.* (Supinah)

In data (7), an informant named Supinah states that Gandrung has nothing to do with mystical rituals or aims beyond logical reasoning. The Gandrung performance is an imaginary folk art performance in Banyuwangi. Gandrung performances both Gandrung Festival or Terop performances all aim for entertainment. If anyone considers Gandrung to be a mystical dance it is inappropriate.

If examined further, Gandrung first emerged as a strategy to mobilize the power of the people of Blambangan to face the invaders in the Puputan Bayu war. Here men deliberately dress up like women and wander from village to village dancing while conveying secret messages to attack invaders through regional languages. After the Puputan Bayu war, the existence of the last male Gandrung was danced by Marsan and replaced by the first real female Gandrung named Semi. Slowly until now, the Gandrung Sewu festival appears. From the description of the development of Gandrung's art, it is very clear that Gandrung is only an art, not a mystical ritual for a specific purpose. Indeed Gandrung is often held to accompany traditional ceremonies. However, Gandrung's position here is not as part of another ritual but merely a performance of folk art to enliven the event. For example, sea picking rituals in Muncar, Banyuwangi.

In Banyuwangi there is indeed a mystical dance but not the Gandrung dance. This dance is called Seblang. This dance is usually associated with a ritual. Bustanuddin (2007) states that ritual in art is an activity that aims for safety, blessing, and smooth living. The implementation of this ritual is usually in the context of village clean rituals.

A village cleansing ritual that is still often performed by the Osing Banyuwangi community. This ritual is called the Seblang ritual. This Seblang ritual still exists in the Bakungan and Olehsari villages. Yashi (2016) stated that the Osing community in Bakungan and Olehsari villages held a Seblang ritual in the hope that the two villages would be given peace, security, and avoid all disasters. Therefore, the dance in the Seblang ritual is highly sacred because it is believed to have magical values.

Although the Seblang ritual is performed in two different villages, there are different provisions between the two. This provision becomes a condition that must be fulfilled by villagers who will do it. Singodimayan in the quotation below explains the differences of Seblang in the villages of Olehsari and Bakungan.

- (8) *kalau jaman dulu apakah ada Gandrung harus perawan? tidak ada ketentuan, cuma ada ketentuan adat Seblang itu harus anak yang belum baligh di seblang Ulean. kalau di Bakungan seblang itu yang sudah tua yang sudah menopause. Jadi penari itu suci. (Hasnan Singodimayan)*

In data (8), it is known that there are differences in Seblang in the village of Olehsari and Bakungan. Seblang in the village of Olehsari was danced by young people who had not yet reached the community. Implementation of Seblang Olehsari was held in Shawwal. Unlike the village of Olehsari, Seblang in Bakungan village is danced by middle-aged dancers who are menopausal. Besides, the Bakungan seblang was held after the Eid al-Adha holiday.

Although between Gandrung and Seblang is a typical dance art from Banyuwangi, but the two have different functions. If Gandrung is only used as a folk entertainment, Seblang is not only a folk entertainment but also a magical ritual for the people in the village of Olehsari and Bakungan. This can be seen in the provisions that must be met before holding the Seblang ritual.

Terms and conditions ranging from dancers, clothing worn, time, to offerings presented. The procedure for the Seblang ritual is not arbitrary. The implementation also takes a long time, starting from the beginning until the dance ends can not be done haphazardly. Because, before the Seblang ritual begins, there is a sacred ceremony that is a pilgrimage to the tombs of ancestors, salvation, and Ider Bumi.

### **Gandrung is not highly educated**

To further explore the real life of Gandrung art performers, it was found that a description of Gandrung dancers with low education was indeed found. This was revealed by two informants named Temu and Supinah in the following interview excerpts.

- (9) *saya itu gak lulus SD, saya kelas 6 mau dikawinkan sama orangtua saya, jadi saya takut punya anak gak bisa merawat menyenangkan anak saya, akhirnya saya lari ke guru Gandrung, akhirnya mau jadi Gandrung karena takut di kawinkan, saya lari ke Bakungan, ke bu Khatijah suaminya juga pengendang Gandrung. (Supinah)*

Supinah's account in the quote (9) shows the reality that the previous Gandrung Terop dancer was not from a highly educated circle. His career as a dancer Gandrung began with the story of his fear of being married when he was still in 6th grade by his parents. At that time, Supinah was not ready to marry young because she thought that she would not be able to care for the children of the marriage. Finally, Supinah went to Gandrung Khatijah to study Gandrung art there. It turned out that Supinah had a hidden talent, only for a short time Supinah was able to dance well. Supinah was offered to dance to Gandrung at a wedding.

The next story is also experienced by Gandrung Banyuwangi maestro named Temu Misti. He is a dancer Gandrung Terop who is famous today. His work as a dancer Gandrung has been passed since he was a child. Nowadays, Temu is known as Gandrung Temu. As in the Supinah story, Temu is also not among the highly educated.

- (10) *saya sekolah mboten lulus kelas 5 sekolahe ujung barat kulo ujung timur dados mlampah. Guru kulo diparani wong baju hitem-hitem kan takut mggeh niku kendel. wes isun seng sekolah wes pak taun 65, ngunu wes sampek aman mboten sekolah maleh pun. sampek mbrundul saking wedi niku, loro teros. (Temu Misti)*

Gathering Misti is one of the Gandrung dancer maestros in Banyuwangi. His work in the Gandrung art field has been around 50 years. Temu is a Gandrung dancer whose career was when he was young. Temu is a dancer Gandrung Terop who is not highly



educated. In the data quote (10) it is mentioned that Temu began to be a Gandrung dancer when he was in grade 5 and said that Temu did not graduate from elementary school.

A short story about his work in the Gandrung world began when Temu was raised by her aunt who had no children. Initially, his name was not Misti, but only Misti. When she was raised by her aunt, Misti suffered from illness and brought it to a healer. After returning from the shaman, they stopped by the skipper Gandrung named Mak Tiah. The Skipper Gandrung advised his mother Misti that if later he was cured his name should be added to Gathering and made a Gandrung dancer.

Eventually, Misti recovered from his illness and his name was added to be a Misti Gathering. When Temu Misti was in grade 5, the Gandrung skipper came to Mak Tiah's house and asked Temu Misti to come with him to be trained as a Gandrung dancer. Because he was very young, the request was refused. However, with the enticement of Tjih makeup artist Gandrung, Temu Misti agreed.

The two figures of the dancer Gandrung Terop Supinah and Temu that have been told above show is real. Supinah and Temu are described as a village woman who has never received tertiary education. This is reflected in the figure of Supinah, Temu Misti, and most other Gandrung Terop dancers.

The educational strata of the Gandrung Terop dancers were reiterated by an informant named Hasnan Singodimayan. In his explanation, Singodimayan said that, (11) *apakah ada penari Gandrung yang pendidikannya tinggi? tidak ada, ya sekarang ini penari jejer.* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

In this interview session, Hasnan said that Gandrung had previously not had a high level of education. Seen in Supinah who only graduated from elementary school, even Temu who did not graduate elementary school. If there is an assumption that Gandrung is now different from the previous Gandrung. This assumption is indeed true because Gandrung is currently danced by students. Therefore, in the previous discussion, it was mentioned that at present Gandrung has been divided into two forms, namely Gandrung Terop and Gandrung Festival.

Gandrung Terop is danced by previous Gandrung dancers such as Supinah, Temu, and Semi. On average, the Gandrung Terop dancers have no higher education. In contrast to Gandrung Terop, the Gandrung Festival is danced by students who are highly educated. Gandrung Festival is usually danced by students in certain festivals, for example, the Gandrung Sewu festival and Gandrung's performances in the presidential palace. They only dance according to the counts of simultaneous and uniform movements, there is no *network*, *paju* and *dawn activity* like the Gandrung Terop dancers do.

Hasnan Singodimayan did not blame and worry if the current Gandrung was different from the previous Gandrung. Hasnan Singodimayan stated that, (12) *jangan anak terpelajar jadi Gandrung, tapi Gandrung harus terpelajar* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

Hasnan Singodimayan in the quote above hopes that the students will not become Gandrung dancers. However, Gandrung dancers must be educated. This message was delivered by Hasnan Singodimayan because previous Gandrung dancers were often demeaned because they did not have a high educational experience. Gandrung dancers are often marginalized in the social world because of the notion that Gandrung dancers are uneducated humans. Therefore, Gandrung dancers are often portrayed as the lowest social strata in their environment. The appearance of the Gandrung Festival is seen as a way to lift the image of Gandrung dancers from such negative assumptions.

## **Gandrung Is Considered Far From Religion**

In the previous discussion, it was known that Gandrung dancers were identified as women who were far from religion. On one side some consider Gandrung to be folk art, but on the other hand, are marginalized by the negative views of people who reject the existence of Gandrung dancers in their environment. Gandrung Banyuwangi dancers must deal with the opponents of their existence in a way and must be able to play two roles of identity in themselves, namely the role in the stage world and the real social world.

The marginalization felt by Gandrung dancers is based on the view that Gandrung dancers do not have good morals and are far from religious values. Those who reject the existence of Gandrung because they see every time the Gandrung performance is synonymous with alcohol, erotic dances, and sex. Therefore, some consider that Gandrung will bring disaster in the land of Banyuwangi.

(13) *ada kelompok kecil yang menghubungkan dengan malapetaka, tapi sekian kali festival gak ada. emang ada yang menolak. ada seorang tokoh dia termasuk kiai dia mengatakan bahwa seribu Gandrung dosanya sebesar watu dodol dosanya. Gandrung satu sebesar watu dodol. untung dihadapan saya dan disaksikan kepada saya. saya jawab ganjarannya seluas selat bali.* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

In the data quote (13), Hasnan Singodimayan explains that there are two views when looking at the existence of Gandrung. These two views are contradictory when one will discuss the existence of Gandrung. The first view looks at the existence of Gandrung in terms of folk art and secondly in terms of religion.

At first, glance, if you look at the existence of Gandrung from the side of folk art there is nothing wrong. If there are people who consider Gandrung immoral, then the group has the reason that the nature of the perpetrators of art is to pursue beauty. Also, art is a natural intuitive performer of the art. These reasons are all based also on ahadith valid narrated by Bukhari and Muslim. The essence of the argument is that Allah is beautiful and loves beauty. It is on this basis that Gandrung art performers continue to carry out their activities without being influenced by the negative views of groups who view their existence negatively.

However, the view will be different if you look at Gandrung's art from the religious side. This view can be seen in the group rejecting the existence of Gandrung in the environment, seeing that Gandrung's art is certainly not allowed in religion because it is believed to be immoral. For example, this group views from the side of clothing. The appearance or dress is worn by Gandrung dancers clearly shows genitalia. Starting from not wearing the hijab, shoulders and open arms, and tight clothes showing the curves of the Gandrung dancers. Therefore, this group considers that if all this is returned to the view of religion is included in the cause of God's anger towards his servant.

Discussions on regional religion and art often cannot be combined because they are considered different worlds. According to Bauto (2014), some groups consider religion and culture not to be equalized or even contradictory. Discussion about religion usually contains rules and moral norms. Meanwhile, it is different from the discussion about art, discussion about art is more directed and explores the creativity and freedom of the performers of the art. If the discussion on art and religion is combined, it is not uncommon that there will be two conflicting understandings.

This was also responded by Gandrung dancers. The real world of the Gandrung dancers also met with opposition from those who refused to exist. The response of Gandrung dancers can be seen in the following quotation.

(14) *pernah tidak dapat perkataan bahwa Gandrung adalah wanita penggoda? Iya, kemarin ada Gandrung Sewu juga di bully, itulo maksiat-maksiat, kenapa kok baru ngomong gitu, ini sudah 8 kali kok baru ngomong, sempet rame sih. saya lo Gandrung bisa ngaji, saya ya Gandrung ya ngaji dan sholat, memasak Gandrung gak boleh sholat dan ngaji, ada yang ngomong Gandrung gak sholat, cuma pas tanggapan gak sholat (Supinah)*

In the quote data (14), it shows that there is still a practice of marginalization of Gandrung dancers at this time. Marginalization is more directed at the identities of the Gandrung Terop dancers. Even today, the Gandrung Sewu festival performance is not spared from protests from those who reject the existence of Gandrung.

(15) *ya kita kalau dikatakan gitu ya kita cuek aja, yang penting kita menyenangkan orang, akhirnya sekarang menilai Gandrung banyak yang sadar sekarang jadi maskot Gandrung (Supinah)*

However, although they often get negative views from those who reject the existence of Gandrung, they persist in a 'nonchalant' way and ignore these groups. In this way, the Gandrung dancers will be able to be sincere and stay patient in living their lives as dancers or ordinary people outside the stage. They think that if a Gandrung dancer is no longer on the stage, then he has become another figure. A Gandrung dancer must be able to play a dual role when on stage and in the real social world. However, this fact cannot be accepted by those who reject the existence of Gandrung. They thought that the stage world would carry over even though a Gandrung dancer was not on the stage.

### **Gandrung Witchcraft Is Not for Pain**

For ordinary people, when they hear the name Banyuwangi, the mysticism of the area will surely cross their minds. The phenomenon of haunted forests, shamans, and witchcraft is believed by ordinary people to lead to mystical things. The mystical image carried by Banyuwangi also influences Gandrung's image which is also considered to use mystical art. The truth about the use of witchcraft on Gandrung dancers is explained by Hasnan Singodimayan in the following quote.

(16) *apakah Gandrung sebelum tampil akan memakai sengsreng? sampai sekarang unsur mistis itu masih ada, kadang berupa benda, materi, atau ucapan untuk menambah rupa. santet yang digunakan Gandrung ditanam di tubuhnya atau pakai mantra? ada yang di kembennya, ada yang disini, tujuannya untuk membuat daya tarik saja. (Hasnan Singodimayan)*

In the data quote (16), Hasnan Singodimayan confirmed that Gandrung dancers wore witchcraft on him. However, the witchcraft used by Gandrung dancers is not witchcraft aimed at hurting someone. Witchcraft in question is witchcraft to add to the allure of a Gandrung dancer. The witchcraft used by Gandrung dancers can be a spell or an object used by Gandrung dancers. Therefore, if there is an assumption that Gandrung uses witchcraft and is used to hurt someone, this is not quite right, because its use is only limited as a *simple* addition to the appeal of Gandrung dancers.

Many laypeople identify Banyuwangi witchcraft with mystical and unreasonable things. Herniti (2012) explains the magic of witchcraft makes ordinary people associate with bad luck because the event is invisible which cannot be explained by the logic of ordinary human reason. Also, some consider either the user of witchcraft or whatever form has been allied by the devil. Even worse, some have the notion that the witchcraft used by Gandrung dancers is used to hurt and make others suffer to death. Therefore, users of witchcraft are identical to cruelty.

However, some ordinary people understand that witchcraft is only one type, that is only to hurt it, so Banyuwangi is dubbed as a city of witchcraft. Mystical and creepy images of the city of Banyuwangi emerged from the nickname. When in fact, witchcraft for the Banyuwangi community is common and commonplace and has become a culture. For example, someone becomes ill with chronic illness and has tried medically, but has not recovered either. Finally, the person comes to a shaman to help him get well. The witch doctor gave him water and prayed that the disease would gradually disappear. This is also called witchcraft, although not to hurt even to cure.

Like Gandrung, Gandrung dancers use witchcraft from the help of a shaman. The purpose of using this witchcraft is to increase the attractiveness of Gandrung dancers so that the response becomes more in demand. The witchcraft used by Gandrung is called witchcraft *sengsreng*. Gandrung did not immediately use witchcraft, this was revealed by Supinah in the following quote.

(17) *kalau dulu itu semuanya pakai sengsreng buat senengnya, yang pakai bukan Gandrungnya, tapi periasnya, dulu Gandrung gak tau menau soal itu, yang cari itu periasnya, jadi selendang, ya pakai yang nyari-nyari kalau untuk melet-melet ya enggak. ya itu untuk kasih sayang, kayak jaran goyang.* (Supinah)

Supinah in the quote (17) above said that the witchcraft used by Gandrung dancers was not witchcraft to hurt. This witchcraft is used by Gandrung dancers as *sengsreng* to add to the allure of Gandrung dancers while on stage. *Sengsreng* This Can be a scarf, spell, or other objects. witchcraft *sengsreng* This was not installed by the Gandrung dancer himself but was sought by Gandrung's makeup to the shamans who could help him.

The story of the use of witchcraft on Gandrung himself also has a unique story. At that time, Gandrung dancers were invited to dance Gandrung at the presidential palace. This was told by Hasnan Singodimayan in the following quote.

(18) *Pernah ada kasus, menampilkan Gandrung cuma 5 orang ke Jakarta untuk menari di istana, protokol istana melihat kok kaos putuhnya mblawuk, gak ada lagi? masak di istana kari kotor, diberi kaos nilon putih mahal. Sebelum nari anak itu bolak balik kencing. dukunnya ngomong kaos kok pakai yang baru ya kencing terus seharusnya pakai kaos aslinya yang dibawa dari Banyuwangi yang sudah di kasih mantranya. makanya dari dulu Gandrung menari sampai subuh gak ada yang kencing.* (Hasnan Singodimayan)

This unique event occurred when Gandrung was invited to the presidential palace to dance. The Gandrung dancers were reprimanded by the palace protocol because they saw the socks worn by the dancers in *blawuk* (not pure white). Therefore, the protocol gave new socks and had Gandrung dancers wear them. However, an unexpected incident occurred, Gandrung dancers before appearing before the president had gone back and forth to go to the toilet to urinate. After being traced and asked by a shaman in Banyuwangi, his mistake was to wear the new socks. Actually, the *blawuk socks* had been spell cast by the shaman. The mantra keeps the Gandrung dancers from refraining from urinating. After wearing the socks again *blawuk*, the incident did not happen again.

From the explanation above, it is known that although Gandrung is only a Banyuwangi folk art, it turns out that there is a magical power behind protecting Gandrung dancers. This magical power includes witchcraft *sengsreng* to increase the allure of the Gandrung dancers. Therefore, if there is an assumption that Gandrung uses witchcraft to hurt someone is not quite right. Indeed there is witchcraft that is used to hurt, but witchcraft is not used by Gandrung dancers.

## CONCLUSIONS

Gandrung art is a folk art that has become the mascot of the Banyuwangi district. The development of Gandrung starting from Gandrung which was used as a strategy of struggle against the invaders to Gandrung was made as a clearly illustrated folk art. Supporting groups come from cultural circles, artists, and Gandrung artists. They support the presence of Gandrung dancers in their social environment. Proponents of the existence of Gandrung have the view that the real world stage of the dancer Gandrung should not be confused with the world of the stage. However, the views of groups who reject the existence of Gandrung differ, they see the stage world of a Gandrung dancer influences the real world. The reality of the lives of Gandrung dancers in the real world. Found 7 things in the study, namely: (1) Gandrung and art for struggle, (2) Gandrung differences then and now, (3) Gandrung art is not a ritual, (4) Gandrung dancers are not highly educated, (5) Gandrung is considered far from religion, and (6) Gandrung, a good user of witchcraft.

Suggestions for further researchers is that this research can be used as material for study of literary education. Suggestions for further research that discusses the existence of Gandrung in a novel should connect the existence of Gandrung with the study of literary education in schools. The form of research can be in the form of the development of Indonesian Language and Literature education teaching materials based on Banyuwangi local wisdom.

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