



REVEALING JAVANESE TRADITIONAL ORCHESTRA SONGS MEANING DURING THE VILLAGE PURIFYING RITUAL 'NYADRAN'

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia, as a multicultural country, has many indigenous cultures; one of those cultures is the village purifying ritual usually held by Javanese society. This study investigates the relationship between the Javanese traditional orchestra songs meaning and the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village, Nganjuk Regency. This study employs the descriptive qualitative method with a narratological approach. The results show a relationship between the implicit meaning of analyzed gendhing and the village purifying ritual.

INTRODUCTION

Javanese indigenous society has many traditional rituals representing gratitude to the God Almighty. This Javanese society, therefore, still preserves some sort of traditional rituals in accordance with their beliefs and religions. According to Hasan (2023), in the context of the relationship between religion and culture in Indonesia there are symptoms of acculturation and syncretization which are reflected in the diversity of religious realities which have developed into various ideologies, groups and sects. In today's modern and global era, paying attention to local culture is very important so that national identity and local wisdom remain inherent as characteristics of Indonesian society (Parji, 2016). Javanese traditional rituals are rich in cultural heritage, reflecting the values, beliefs, and practices of Javanese society. This cultural heritage is only one example among other

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cultural heritage from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Due to the many indigenous cultures that spread alongside this country, Indonesia, consequently, is called a multicultural country (Asfina & Ovilia, 2016).

One of the famous traditional rituals from Java Island is called the village purifying ritual or nyadran. The term nyadran or village purifying ritual can be described as a ritual for the predecessor and welfare (Fatanti & Tuti, 2020), which has symbolic patterns during the implementation of the ritual itself (Putra et al., 2022) and mostly be held by Javanese society after the harvest for their gratitude to the God Almighty (Asiyah & Alimni, 2019). Indigenous society in Java Island describes the village purifying ritual as a ceremony for expressing gratitude in which they can live in harmony, balance, and being avoided from dangers or bad influences.

Village purifying rituals or nyadran can be found in some places alongside Java Island since Javanese society is very respectful to their ancestors. Nyadran is not just a matter of prayer, recitation and ritual, but there are Sufism values that must be strengthened as a form of very Islamic cultural aesthetics (Aisyah, 2024). Even though many Javanese communities alongside Java Island widely perform this ritual, there are some differences in practices and the implementation time of nyadran itself in one place and another. For instance, in Tawun Village, Ngawi Regency, the village purifying ritual is held by performing kedhuk beji and keketan dance performances. Kedhuk beji is cleaning the natural lake or sendhang, which is assumed to be a sacred place by the Tawun people. At the same time, the keketan dance performance is a dancing art motivated by people's body movements when cleaning the natural lake or sendhang (Cathrin, 2017). The village purifying ritual in Tawun Village differs from the purifying ritual in Batu City, East Java. The ritual of village purification in Batu City is a tradition of serving 'offering' or sesajen to the ancestors of the village, who are believed to have supernatural powers beyond humans (Sundawa & Wadu, 2021).

Another village purifying ritual in Javanese society is the one that is held by the indigenous society of Sonoageng Village in Nganjuk Regency. Sonoageng Village purifying ritual is conducted on Legi Thursday evening before Pahing Friday after the second harvest, or usually in June or July (Fatanti & Tuti, 2020). According to Putra et al. (2022), the village purifying ritual (nyadran) in Sonoageng Village has individual and social symbols, such as willingness to sacrifice, responsibility, obedience, cooperation, and respect. Those symbols are apt to be applied in building the characters of individuals.

Besides, there are some traditional art performances during Sonoageng Village's purifying ritual, for instance, pentol tembem dance performance, krucil puppet show, and kentrung. Those traditional art performances must be expressed as an expression of gratitude since the village founder loved those performances (Lourens & Juwariyah, 2021).

The main ceremony of nyadran in Sonoageng Village is a type of selamatan – salvation feast ritual – held in the burial site of Eyang Sahid, the village founder. Society believes this person is the one who found or established (babad alas) Sonoageng Village; therefore, his spirit is manifested as the source of blessing for Sonoageng villagers. Many people from Sonoageng Village and surrounding villages come to this place to watch the procession. During the selamatan ritual, a Javanese traditional orchestra, known as karawitan, will be performed. The term karawitan is defined as a part of Javanese culture that reflects the values, history, and identity of Javanese society. This is because the meaning of karawitan is not about musical performance only, but it also has a cultural expression of harmonizing oneself with others – tepa selira. The concept of tepa selira is expressed in karawitan since this is a musical ensemble led by the role of kendang (drum) that guides and coordinates other instruments with subtle cues and signals. From this concept, karawitan is seen as a subtle, complex, and beautiful musical art proven in its repertoire and other accessories (Sukinah, 2020).

Karawitan is performed as a musical ensemble and performance of instruments consisting of gongs, drums (kendang), metallophones, flutes, and stringed instruments, mostly gamelan. The term gamelan refers to a set of metal, wood, or bamboo percussion instruments. In performing karawitan, there are two classifications on how karawitan itself is being performed. Those classifications are klenengan – purely instrumental and gendhing – music with vocal elements. Klenengan and gendhing have different meanings in Javanese traditional orchestra (karawitan). Klenengan is an independent karawitan's performance unrelated to other art performances, such as dance, puppetry, or theater. It focuses only on the expressive and aesthetic aspects of karawitan itself, not the ceremonial or functional aspects (Daryanto, 2019).

Meanwhile, the term gendhing can be defined as a musical composition played in karawitan and expressing the creativity and identity of karawitan itself. Musical composition in gendhing is decoded as a unified system including the musical elements (Sunarto, 2020) that comprise instrumental and vocal melodies, rhythm, laya (tempo),

tuning, pathet (tone setting), instrument selection, dynamics, and form (Daryanto et al., 2021). Some factors, such as historical events, cultural interactions, religions and beliefs, conditions of the society, and personal experience, can influence gendhing. As a result, those factors create various meanings inside gendhing performances that can convey Javanese culture and identity to the world.

Unlike klenengan, gendhing is mainly used in many Javanese ceremonies and rituals because of its influence in conveying the message to others. Because of its functional aspect, gendhing is also used during the village purifying ritual (nyadran) in Sonoageng Village, Nganjuk Regency. There are some previous studies related to the procession of the Sonoageng Village purifying ritual. Nevertheless, no previous study has been conducted to analyze the use of gendhing in karawitan performed during the Sonoageng Village ritual. The researcher found three previous studies related to gendhing analysis that had been conducted in other places. The first one is about reconstructing and interpreting gendhing seblang, performed during the seblang ritual in Banyuwangi Regency, and this study was conducted by Wessing (2013). Romadhoni et al. (2021) conducted the second study, which analyzed the discourse of glory in karawitan songs performed in Pesarean Gunung Kawi. The last was conducted by Bhattacharya and Damayanti (2022), who analyzed the representation of Balinese cultural identity through Gending Rare.

Since there have been limited studies on analyzing gendhing meanings, this study focuses on analyzing the implicit and explicit meanings of gendhing performed during village purifying rituals, especially in Sonoageng Village, Nganjuk Regency. Besides, this study also aims to examine the relation between the meaning and the ritual of village purification in Sonoageng Village itself. Thus, the findings of this research are theoretically expected to be a beneficial reference for the next researchers who are interested in conducting related studies. Moreover, the findings are also practically expected to be published as a document that can acquaint the readers with one of local wisdom in Java Island.

METHOD

This study employed descriptive qualitative research with a narratological approach to analyze the meaning of gendhing performed during the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village, Nganjuk Regency. The narratological approach helps to

systematize the knowledge from gendhing in the evolutionary context. It is a source of definitions that allows us to see gendhing as broader and more complex song lyrics that should not be understood only based on human intuitions (Sibierska, 2017). Narratology is seen as a particular role in the story inside the song lyrics. The story inside the song lyrics is identified by reading that can be implemented as a way to understand the meaning of a narrative text (Bal, 2017).

The researcher conducted data analysis using intensive reading methods to reveal the meaning of those song lyrics. The song lyrics that are purely in Javanese and Sanskrit languages are then translated into Indonesian and English so that the lyrics can be easily understood by the researcher and the readers later. After the translation process, the researcher analyzed the relation of those song lyrics with the purpose of the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village using qualitative analysis to seek and understand the meanings, concepts, and definitions (Angrosino, 2019) of Javanese traditional orchestra songs and the village purifying ritual.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The research findings focus on the translation results of gendhing lyrics and the interview with the caretaker of the burial. Meanwhile, the discussion is the part in which the researcher reveals the explicit and implicit meaning of gendhing lyrics and the relations with the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village.

Findings

According to the interview with some sindhen – the female singers in Sonoageng Village, some kinds of gendhing are performed during the village purifying ritual nyadran. In this study, three of the most performed gendhing are selected to be analyzed. Based on the structure, rhythm, and functions of gendhing, those three selected gendhing can be classified into two categories: ladrang and langgam. Ladrang is a form of gendhing consisting of four lines with four beats in each line. It is played with a medium rhythm and is appropriate to accompany dance or puppet performances. Meanwhile, langgam is another form of gendhing influenced by Western music, especially keroncong songs. The structure is more straightforward than ladrang; it consists of only two lines with four beats in each line. It is played with a fast rhythm that is apt to accompany sindhen singing. The reason for choosing those three gendhing is because they are the most frequently played gendhing during the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village.

The first gendhing belongs to ladrang, and it is called ladrang Eling-eling. Ladrang Eling-eling is one of the Surakarta-style gendhing repertoire and the legacy of Sri Susuhunan Pakubuwana IV (1768-1820). In the 70s-80s, Ki Nartosabdo, a famous shadow puppet artist from Central Java, rearranged this ladrang Eling-eling. As a result, some new titles of ladrang Eling-eling were created. One of them is ladrang Eling-eling Pandhawa Papa Sl. Myr. which is frequently performed during the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village.

The second selected gendhing belongs to the langgam type. The title is Sri Huning Sl. Myr. This gendhing is a folk song from Tuban, East Java. Langgam Sri Huning Sl. Myr. is a campursari (mixed-up) song influenced by the keroncong style, which was introduced on Java Island in the 19th century during Dutch colonialism. The author of this song is unknown, but some well-known karawitan artists from Java, such as Ki Nartosabdo, Ki Sukron Suwondo, and Sunyahni, popularized this gendhing to Javanese society.

The third gendhing analyzed in this paper belongs to the langgam type. Familiar with langgam Sri Huning Sl. Myr., this gendhing is also influenced by the keroncong style and is known as a campursari song. The title of this gendhing is langgam Podang Kuning Sl. Myr. Similar to langgam Sri Huning Sl. Myr., the author of this langgam Podang Kuning Sl. Myr. is also unknown, but some artists have popularized this gendhing.

Below are the transcripts of those three gendhing lyrics translated into Indonesian and English from the Javanese and Sanskrit languages. The Javanese lyric is bold, the Indonesian translation is italicized, and the English translation is in normal typewriting.

I. *Eling-eling Pandhawa Papa. Sl. Myr.*

Nenggih

Di sana lah mereka

There they are

Satriya gung

Kesatria yang Agung

The great warriors

Para pandhawa

Para pandawa [lima saudara dalam kisah Mahabharata]

The pandavas [five legendary brothers in the Mahabharata story]

Oncat saking

Yang terusir dari

Who were expelled from

Praja Astina

Kerajaan Astina

The Kingdom of Astina

Keh pra janma

Banyak manusia
Lots of human beings
Bela sungkawa
Dipenuhi kesengsaraan
Full of miseries
Adhuh Dewa
Wahai Dewa
Oh Lord
Ayomana pra pandhawa
Lindungilah para pandawa
Please protect the pandavas

II. *Sri Huning Sl. Myr.*

Sri huning mustiko tuban
Sri huning putri kerajaan tuban
Sri huning, the princess of tuban kingdom
Labuh tresno lan saboyo pati
Jatuh cinta sehidup semati
Falling in love for life and death
Marang raden wiratmoyo
Terhadap pangeran wiratmoyo
With prince wiratmoyo
Kang wis prasojo hanambut branti
Yang sudah berterus terang mengungkapkan perasaannya
Who has truthfully confessed his feeling

Sri huning daton ngrahito
Sri huning tidak mengerti
Sri huning doesn't understand
Kang rinipto kadange pribadi
Yang dicintai kakaknya sendiri
Whom she loves is her own brother
Wiratmoyo putra niro
Wiratmoyo merupakan putra
Wiratmoyo is the son of
Ronggolawe adipati tuban
Ronggolawe, bupati tuban
Ronggolawe, the duke of tuban

Sri huning putrane abdi
Sri huning anak yang berbakti
Sri huning is a faithful daughter
Wongso pati nalikane uni
Rela mati demi keluarga
Willing to die for the family sake
Kapupuk ing madyo logo
Semakin yakin di pertengahan perang
More assured in the middle of a war
Duk prang tandhing lawan minakjinggo
Ketika perang tanding melawan minakjinggo
During the war against minakjinggo

Katresnane wiratmoyo

Cintanya wiratmoyo
Wiratmoyo's love
Tinampi dene roro sri huning
Diterima oleh sri huning
Being accepted by sri huning
Senadyan wekasan niro
Walaupun pada akhirnya
Even though in the end
Prapteng lampus alabuh negoro
Tiba ajal mereka, bersatu di alam baka
Their death comes, unite in the holy hereafter

III. *Podang Kuning Sl. Myr.*

Nadyan wujud mung peksi
Meskipun wujudnya hanya berupa burung
Although only in the form of a bird
Agawe talining bronto
Membuat jatuh cinta
Make me fall in love
Alus manis tumprap ati
Halus dan manis di hati
Soft and sweet in my heart
Wus suwe nggonku lelono
Sudah lama aku mengembara
Been a long time, I'm wondering around
Nggoleki si podang kuning
Mencari si podang kuning
Looking for the yellow *podang* [a kind of bird]
Ibo bungah ing atiku
Alangkah senangnya hatiku
What a pleasure inside my heart is
Nyandhing biso dadi tombo
Bersama bisa menjadi obat
Being together can be a cure

Esuk awan ning omah wis ora krasan
Pagi-siang di rumah sudah tidak tahan
Morning till noon at home, can't bear it
Kluyuran anggoleki seng tak sayang
Berkeliaran mencari yang aku sayang
Wondering around, looking for what I love
Mubeng mubeng mider anggonku mideri
Berputar-putar aku mengelilingi
Spinning around, I'm wondering around
Ora kroso esuk awan nganti bengi
Tidak terasa pagi siang hingga malam
Doesn't feel it's morning, noon, till evening

Eman eman yen nganti liyo kang nyayang
Sungguh disayangkan jika sampai disayangi yang lain
How unfortunate if it's being loved by others
Kleyang kleyang tak sawang mencok ning epang
Terbang tak stabil, ku lihat dia hinggap di epang [jenis pohon]

Unsteadily flying, I see her perching on *epang* [a kind of tree]
Gegancangan tak rindik soko kadoan
Dengan cepat aku bidik dari kejauhan
Quickly I shoot from a distance
Sarwi ngocek deweke ngalih pencokan
Dengan mengoceh dia pindah hinggapan
With babbling she moves to another perch

Ee-la kae tak suwun mbok ojo ngece
Oh itu dia! Aku pinta jangan mengejek
Here she is! I ask please stop mocking
Podang kuning agawe pikirku koming
Podang kuning membuat pikiranku pusing
Yellow *podang* makes me feel spinning
Seret ireng tak sawang tambah manis
Loreng hitam, aku lihat tambah manis
Black stripes, I see it sweeter
Ibo bungah yen klakon nyandhing slirane
Alangkah senangnya jika bisa mendapatkan cintanya
How happy it is if I'm loved by her

Ora bakal atiku kegiwang liyan
Tak akan hatiku goyah dengan yang lain
Never will my heart love others
Yen si podang andudut ati kepranan
Jika si podang sudah memikat, jatuh hati aku dibuatnya
If the *podang* has seduced, falling in love I am
Ora mendho atiku sansoyo ndodro
Hatiku semakin menjadi-jadi
My heart's going to be crazy
Tak sranani sun pikat pulute bendho
Tak usahakan terpikat getah kluwih [sejenis tanaman]
I'll try to hook her with *kluwih*'s [a kind of plant] latex

Not only analyzing the lyrics of the three gendhing, but the researcher also interviewed the caretaker of the burial site. The purpose of conducting this interview is to understand deeply the village purifying ritual itself. Based on the answers to some questions asked by the researcher, some critical points about the village purifying ritual are known. The village purifying ritual is always held in Sonoageng Village on Legi Thursday evening before Pahing Friday after the second harvest (*panen walikan*) as the symbol of gratitude for having a great harvest in a year. Besides, the society also prays to the God Almighty and the ancestors to live peacefully and prosperously by conducting this ritual. They hope next year's harvest will improve and society will be protected from negative influences. The salvation feast ritual or *selamatan*, thus, is conducted as the main procession in the village purifying ritual.

There are also other implicit meanings about this village purifying ritual. These implicit meanings are about the characteristics represented in the ritual. The first one is

individual characterization. It is about how the village purifying ritual or 'nyadran' represents the characteristics of Sonoageng villagers. There are three characteristics represented in this ritual. Willing to sacrifice, the first characteristic, is represented in the ritual by their willingness to spend their money, time, energy, and thought in order to succeed in this ritual. The second one is being responsible since everyone has their responsibility to be done during the ritual. Last, it is about being obedient. This characteristic is represented because the society in Sonoageng Village must follow the regulations during the ritual, and those regulations cannot be violated.

Besides the individual characterization, the ritual also represents social characteristics. The first social characteristic is cooperation. This characteristic is represented before, during, and after the ritual. The society helped each other to prepare the ritual in order to make this ritual successful and better than the previous year. Besides, this ritual also represents being respectful to each other. Different social levels were together to celebrate this ritual. There was no difference between one individual and others. They only showed solidarity and respect for each other.

Discussion

Analysis of ladrang Eling-eling Pandhawa Papa Sl. Myr.

The term eling-eling is from the Javanese language and means to remember or to be aware. Javanese society uses this term as a cultural keyword to reflect how they see life from their perspective. Many use this term as a reminder of mortality in which there is no eternal life; as human beings, we must live this life virtuously. Besides, eling-eling can also be a piece of advice or consolation. As human beings, we must remember who is our creator. We can ask for His help in difficult situations, and we must be grateful when we have the good things in our lives. Pandhawa refers to the Pandavas or the main characters in the Mahabharata story – an ancient Indian story that enormously influences Javanese culture. They are the five most well-known brothers in this story and are considered the symbol of virtue and truth. Meanwhile, the term papa means sorrow, difficulty, or suffering. If the whole terms are compiled, it can be interpreted that we, as human beings, must remember that people considered nobles still can face difficulty or sorrow in their lives.

Moving to the lyrics of this gendhing, we can see that it is about the story of the Pandavas who are expelled from their kingdom. They were expelled from their kingdom

because of the mistakes or sins that they committed. Thus, they must continue their lives in the world and face all wilderness. The purpose of telling these miseries is to remind people that living in the world is full of sorrow. They must ask for protection from the Gods and Goddesses to be saved from living in the world's wilderness. From this story, a moral value can be learned. Living in this world is not always about happiness and joy; miseries and sorrow can accompany our life journey. We must ask for the protection of our God in order to live safely in the world we are living in now. Besides, another perception related to the lyrics is that we must be careful to live in life since life is constantly spinning around. Sometimes, we are on top of our lives, but sometimes, we can be under in this life. Even nobles seen as role models can be dropped down quickly when they make mistakes or commit sins.

If the analyzed meanings of *ladrang Eling-Eling Pandhawa Papa. Sl. Myr.* lyrics and the philosophy of the village purifying ritual are interconnected, and some similarities can be discovered. The lyrics of this song mostly talk about God's creatures being punished and asking for protection from God. Meanwhile, the village purifying ritual is held as gratitude for the harvest and a prayer to God for protection from negative influences. The relation, therefore, can be inferred that both the lyrics and the ritual are about asking for God's help and protection when living in this world.

Analysis of *langgam Sri Huning Sl. Myr.*

The title of this *gendhing*, *Sri Huning*, was taken from the name of the stepdaughter of the Duke of Tuban. From the first stanza or the first four lines, we know that *Sri Huning* fell in love with a prince named *Wiratmoyo*. It was not unrequited love since *Wiratmoyo* also fell in love with her. The second stanza tells us that *Sri Huning* and *Wiratmoyo* were siblings. However, their relationship was stepsister and stepbrother. *Sri Huning* was the stepdaughter of the Duke of Tuban, while *Wiratmoyo* was the son of the Duke of Tuban, *Ronggolawe*. In the third stanza, *Sri Huning* must accept the truth that *Wiratmoyo* would marry the daughter of the Duke of *Bojonegoro*. However, during the wedding ceremony, *Tuban Dukedom* was attacked by the Duke of *Lamongan*, *Minakjinggo*. *Sri Huning* sacrificed herself in this war because she did not want any disturbance at her lover's wedding, and she died in this war. Then, the last stanza tells us that after *Wiratmoyo* found the truth that his lover died in that war, he was angry and joined the war. He, however, died too in this war. Therefore, both of them died together. This story implicitly means that,

as humans, we must be willing to sacrifice what we have for the sake of the essential one in our lives. In other words, we should make sacrifices in order to get what we hope in this life.

The implicit meaning inside the lyrics of langgam Sri Huning Sl. Myr. correlates with the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village. Society in Sonoageng Village is willing to sacrifice their money, time, energy, and thought in order to make the nyadran ritual successful. They hope their next harvest will improve so that sacrifices are made in this ritual. It is similar to what Sri Huning did in her life. She and her lover sacrificed themselves as proof of their love. Besides, being obedient is also taught in these gendhing lyrics. Sri Huning and Wiratmoyo were obedient to their father. It is the same with the implicit meaning of the village purifying ritual which is the society's obedience during the ritual by following all regulations that cannot be violated. Therefore, an excellent moral value can be taken from this relationship. We must be willing to sacrifice what we have to reach our dreams, and we should follow the rules and carry out our obligations as human beings in this world.

Analysis of langgam Podang Kuning Sl. Myr.

Podang Kuning, the title of this gendhing, means a kind of bird from the oriole family and has the binomial name "Oriolus chinensis." Podang Kuning are Passeriformes (chirping birds) with beautiful furs that always look neat and clean. There are some myths related to this bird in Javanese society. They believe Podang Kuning, generally called golden kepodang, symbolizes glory, prosperity, harmony, solidarity, and excellent attitude. Because of this paradigm, many Javanese people hunt these birds and keep them in their houses. Humans' desire to have all these bird symbols is written in the gendhing lyrics. The first stanza tells how happy someone is if they can have this bird, or in other words, they will be happy if they have glory, prosperity, harmony, solidarity, and an excellent attitude. The second stanza is about how difficult to get those things is until they must wander around no matter what. Various ways will be done to get them, and how amazing those things look is clearly written in the third to fifth stanzas.

The relationship between this gendhing and the village purifying ritual is that both expect to get something good. The lyrics of langgam Podang Kuning Sl. Myr. describe something ideally obtained by human beings, such as glory, prosperity, harmony, solidarity, and an excellent attitude. Meanwhile, the society holds the village purifying

ritual to ask God for success and prosperity. Besides, during the ritual, Sonoageng villagers and all visitors gather and show solidarity regardless of their social status. Solidarity is also one of the implicit meanings symbolized by Podang Kuning, so it is strong enough that the lyrics of langgam Podang Kuning Sl. Myr. has a relationship with the village purifying ritual. This gendhing, therefore, is performed as one of the karawitan songs during the ritual.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results and discussion, the karawitan songs or gendhing analyzed in this study strongly relate to the village purifying rituals. The relationship appeared after the implicit meanings were analyzed. If we rely only on the explicit meanings of the gendhing, it is hard to find out the relationship since those gendhing mostly use figurative meanings. Therefore, in order to know what the deep meaning of a gendhing is, we should understand the whole lyrics and investigate the background of the gendhing, such as what it is about and the philosophical reason for choosing those words in the lyrics. In conclusion, gendhing performed during the village purifying ritual in Sonoageng Village are selected considering the relationship between the meanings and the purpose of the ritual itself.

This study only observed three gendhing from the village purifying ritual held by Sonoageng society. Since there are still limited studies related to gendhing analysis, it would be better if the following researchers explore more gendhing to be analyzed in different cultural events or rituals to expand knowledge about Indonesian wisdom. The following researchers can observe not only the implicit meaning of gendhing but also other aspects related to gendhing, such as the representation of gender, religion, or social status of gendhing. They can use this study and some previous studies as references for their studies.

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