

THE TRADITION OF MANUSCRIPTS READING IN INDONESIA: MACA SYEKH, MANAQIB, AND MACAPAT

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ABSTRACT

In Indonesia there are traditions of reading manuscripts which in its development has three forms namely macapat, maca syekh, and managib. The macapat tradition as it is known is a tradition that developed by the saints to spread Islam. One type of macapat that is developed in Banten is Maca syekh. On the other hand, the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama developed what is known as managib. This study aims to determine the relationship between the three forms of text reading tradition. Are those still taking place in society? Do those have historical relationship with the spreading of Islam in Indonesia? The method used is a qualitative method. Data collection was done through interviews and recording. The results of the study show that the three oral traditions that are still alive today are an integral part of the da'wah process carried out by the scholars. The da'wah process carried out through the three oral traditions is a form of acculturation. Locality becomes very important in the process of da'wah using this method. The three traditions also have some differences. One of the most prominent is the use of guru lagu and guru wilangan. Macapat and Maca syekh are traditions of reading scripts using guru lagu and guru wilangan. Meanwhile, manaqib only knows how to read fast, medium, and slow. Differences also appear in the use of language. The language used in the texts used in the macapat tradition varies. Some speak Javanese Kawi as in several texts read in Madura. Some use the new Javanese language, as in the text read in Gresik. Meanwhile, the Maca syekh tradition script is in Banten Javanese. The script read in the manaqib tradition uses Arabic, Malay Arabic. Another difference is in the type of script or story read. In Bali, for example, the Negarakertagama script is used. In Madura, the texts that are read are often in the form of stories of the prophets found in the Koran, one of which is the Surah Yusuf. Meanwhile, the Maca syekh and managib used the manuscript of the life history of Syekh Abdul Qadir Jaelani.

Keywords: Maca syekh, Macapat, Manaqib, oral traditions, manuscripts

1. INTRODUCTION

Manuscript reading is a tradition in Indonesia. One of them that developed in Javanese culture is macapat. Macapatan is the reading of a text with a song followed by a workshop or discussion regarding the content of the text (Darusuparta, 1989). Macapat later not only developed in Javanese culture but spread to several other cultures, such as Madurese with the name *mamaca*; as well as Bali and Lombok under the name *papaosan*. In each region the development and form of macapat is different. In Madura, for example, macapat which is called *mamaca* is done by adding *paneghes* or translators because the text being read is a Javanese text, so it needs to be translated into Madurese. The rhythm is different too. Meanwhile, in West Java, there is also macapat which is called *wawacan*. In Banten, what is known as *maca syech* appears. Meanwhile, in the Nahdlatul Ulama community, there is still the *manaqib* tradition, which is also a tradition of manuscript reading. Thus, it can be said that the tradition of reading this manuscript seems to be quite an important part of Indonesian society. This is partly because people often associate this tradition with various ceremonies involving the human life cycle. In Java, for example, macapat in limited communities is carried out when a jagong bayen (the birth of a baby) (Udjang Pairin M. Basir, 2018). It is also mentioned that

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macapat is held to commemorate the birth of a baby (Darusuparta, 1989). In other areas, this tradition is associated with the tradition of circumcision and other traditions.

In this article, we will discuss three forms of manuscript reading that exist in society with different names, namely maca svekh, managib, and macapat. Maca syekh is a tradition of people in Banten. This oral tradition began to develop in the 17th century. At that time, maca svekh was a rite that was the result of acculturation or meetings and negotiations between local culture and Islamic religious teachings. Maca svekh involves local literature, music, and traditional songs (in this case macapat) as well as sacred concepts in Islamic religious rituals (Sukirno, 2022). The sheikh's macaque is carried out in the form of reading a manuscript that tells the story of a holy figure in the Islamic religion, namely Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jaelani who is the leader of the saints. This managib story aims to provide instructions for humans on how to live in the world (Sukirno, 2022).

The second form is manaqib. Manaqib is interpreted as a biography. The assembly that reads the biography is called manaqiban. Typically, the manaqib tradition that will be discussed is Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's manaqib (Sujati, 2021). In some areas, for example in Jakarta (read Betawi) the managib that is read is the biography of Sheikh Muhammad Samman (Setiawan, 2020). Furthermore, managib can also be interpreted as sacred stories of saints which can usually be heard by grave caretakers, their families and students, or read in the histories of their lives. Managib lexically almanaqib means 'goodness that is characteristic and something that contains blessings' (Sujati, 2021). In the Islamic world, managib became known in the 4th century H/625 AD. The tradition of writing it was carried out around the tomb by the tomb guards and their students (Sujati, 2021).

Meanwhile, macapat is a type of song used in New Javanese poetry compositions that use the Javanese song meter by adhering to the provisions of (1) the number of lines in each stanza (guru gatra), (2) the number of syllables in each line (guru wilangan), and (3) the final sound in each line (guru lagu) (Darusuparta, 1989). Macapat developed in New Javanese poetry with New Javanese language (Darusuparta, 1989). According to the primbon or old people's notes, macapat songs are said to be composed by the saints and high-ranking officials at the time of the saints, namely (1) Kanjeng Sunan Giri, (2) Kanjeng Sunan Bonang, (3) Kanjeng Sunan Geseng, (4) Kanjeng Sunan Gunungjati, (5) Kanjeng Sunan Kalijaga, (6) Kanjeng Sunan Muryapada, and (7) Kanjeng Sunan Majaagung. Meanwhile, the high-ranking officials were (1) Kanjeng Sultan Adiwijaya Pajang, and (2) Kanjeng Adipati Nata Praja. Macapat was present in the period between the late Majapahit era to the Pajang era, or the end of the XIV century to the beginning of the XVI century, namely when Islamic culture began to enter (Darusuparta, 1989).

From these three forms of manuscript reading traditions, the question arises, what is the relationship

between the three? Are these three forms of manuscript reading traditions related to da'wah in the Islamic religion? What are the conditions of these three forms of manuscript reading traditions? These three things will be discussed in this article.

2. METHOD

The research began by listing three forms of manuscript reading traditions. This data was taken from interviews and observations. Some are taken from various library sources, in the form of books, articles in scientific journals, news, and other writings in various media. This data is collected, verified, and classified according to the levels of differences and similarities. Next, three forms of manuscript reading were constructed and then compared based on similarities in form and method of delivery, as well as the context of the performance and its history. Next, the data was analyzed using a genealogy of knowledge. Genealogy is a method that uses discourse or discourse analysis, which in sociology is a collection of statements that form social reality as the focus (Anom, 2018).

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Maca syekh is a form of oral tradition in Banten Province. Maca syekh is performed both in Serang City and in several districts in Banten, such as in Pandeglang. As stated by one of the sources, the maca syekh tradition developed quite strongly during the time or era of Regent Achmad Djajadiningrat, namely around 1926. During that time the *maca syekh* was carried out during birthdays and Eid al-Adha, and there was also a routine reading once a week. During that time the maca syekh was developed very well. Achmad Djajadiningrat was a figure who was born in Pandeglang and was regent of Serang in 1901-1927, also regent of Batavia and member of the Volksraad. Achmad Djadiningrat was one of the most prominent native officials at the beginning of the 20th century. His initial education was carried out at an Islamic boarding school, which he was later forced to leave to continue his education in European circles. Ahmad Djajadiningrat then continued his education in Betawi (Jakarta), but when he returned home, his mother always advised him to use Javanese songs which contained lessons/pepeling from Babad Banten and Serat al-Anbiya (stories of the prophets). He also then wrote a poem that his mother used to sing: "Wedi asih ing wong toea, setia toehoe ing Sang Aji, Ratoe ingkang anggreh praja, noehoni sakersa neki, soemoedjoed lahir lan batin, ikoe sadjaning elmoe, dadasaring kasatrian" ('obedient and loving people old, remain loyal to serve The Majesty, the King who rules the country, continue to respect all his decrees physically and mentally, respect them, that is true knowledge, the basis of heroism' (Imadudin, 2015). It seems that education at the Islamic boarding school and the influence of his mother were the ones who Achmad Djajadiningrat paid special attention to the tradition of maca syekh tradition. It was later mentioned that Achmad Djajadiningrat was buried in the Karawang area (Imadudin, 2015). This

seems to have led to the emergence of the *maca syekh* tradition in that region.

Maca syekh, according to informant, was initially only carried out among sufis, but in subsequent developments it was also read among the community. The *maca syekh* is done when building a building, house, or school, and now when buying a new car. This *maca syekh* is done by the community not only when they are facing danger to ask for help, but it is also as a sign of gratitude for receiving certain gifts (Setiawan I., 2019). As stated by the informant, *Maca syekh* is carried out in the context of spreading Islam by utilizing local traditions (Setiawan I., 2019). In Pandeglang Regency, the *beluk* tradition (manuscript reading) has developed. When Islam came, this tradition was used to spread the religion of Islam by replacing the stories told with the stories of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani, the spreader of Islam (Setiawan I., 2019).

Maca syekh is carried out by *juru maos* and *tukan doe*. There are three stages of speech carried out in *maca syekh*, namely pre-performance, performance, and post-performance. There are 53 stories in the *maca syekh's* discourse, namely as follows.

- 1. The story about Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's lineage
- 2. The story about the birth of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 3. Stories about the study period
- 4. A story about the ethics of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 5. The story of Sheikh Abdul Jaelani's clothes and food when he was a student
- 6. The story about Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani meeting Prophet Khidir
- 7. Story about Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's worship
- 8. The story about the basics of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's actions
- 9. The story about the performance of Sheikh Andul Qadir Jaelani in giving a lecture to a man sitting in a chair
- 10. The story of the gathering of one hundred Baghdad clerics to replace Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani to discuss various issues
- The story of the sole of the Prophet Muhammad's foot stepping on the shoulder of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 12. Stories of testimonies from Sufi teachers and saints about the high dignity of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 13. The story of the despicable person who called Sayid Abdul Qadir without performing ablution
- 14. The story of the people who gave gifts (*tawasul*) to Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani will come true
- 15. Stories of the big names of Sayid Abdul Qadir
- 16. Sayid Abdul Qadir Jaelani's story brings the deceased back to life from the grave
- 17. The story of Sayid Abdul Qadir Jaelani taking the life of his servant from the angel of death
- The story of Sayid Abdul Qadir Jaelani's ability to turn girls into boys
- The story of salvation (going to heaven) from evil people because of his love for Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jaelani

- 20. The story of the death of a bird that flew past Sheikh Abdul Jaelani
- 21. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani bringing an eagle (*alap-alap*) to life
- 22. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani freed slaves and returned wealth
- 23. The story of food falling from the sky
- 24. The story of healing of people affected by tho'un disease thanks to eating grass and drinking water from Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's madrasah
- 25. Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's story brings chickens to life
- 26. The story of a dog waiting for a stable (sometimes a horse) after killing a cat
- 27. The story of purchasing 40 good horses based on the admission of unhealthy horses
- 28. The story of Jin Ifrit who was under the rule of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 29. The story of King Jin's forgiveness of the person who killed his son
- 30. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani treating people who were teased by jinns
- 31. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani kissing the hand of the Prophet Muhammad saw
- 32. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's ability to visit his students in 70 places at once
- 33. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani saving the wife of one of his students from the despicable actions of bad people
- 34. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani helping a man who was about to be released from his guardianship
- 35. The story of Sheikh Ahmad Kanji becoming Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani based on his teacher's instructions
- 36. The story of Sheikh Ahmad Kanji looking for firewood that flew when he was about to put it on his head
- 37. The story of one of the wives who was awarded thanks to the prayers of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 38. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani saving his student from Munkar Nakir's torture
- 39. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani congratulating someone on every new year and telling what will happen in the following year
- 40. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani was given book sheets to record his students who came on the date of the apocalypse
- 41. The story of a human who sucks his fingers, then his teeth without falling out are like eating (feeling full)
- 42. The story of Sheikh Shon'Ani who disobeyed Sayid Abdul Qadir Jaelani's advice
- 43. The story of the Dajlah River (Tigris) fish which tried to smell his plans
- 44. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's ability to change wali mardud (rejected) into wali maqbul
- 45. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani saving his student from the fire (torment) of the afterlife
- 46. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani appears in the form of an old man

- 47. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani was tired of being teased by Satan
- 48. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani being mocked by Satan
- 49. The story of giving a gift of money from a king which later became blood because it was not given directly by the king
- 50. The story of giving a gift directly from the king in the form of apples on another occasion
- 51. The story of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's will to his son
- 52. The story of the hajat prayer is accompanied by asking for help from Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani
- 53. The story of the death of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani (Setiawan I., 2019)

Of the 53 stories, if the maca syekh tradition is to be held, only one story will be chosen. For example, when a sheikh's macaque is held for a wedding event, those who have the desire can choose one of the stories, namely the story of a wife who was awarded thanks to the Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's pray (the thirty-seventh story). As already mentioned, the structure of the maca syekh performance is in the form of pre-performance, post-performance. performance. and The preperformance stage is the preparing of the place and the things needed for the performance by the host or person wishing to perform. One of them is preparing a meal in the form of a banquet for guests and offerings. As said by the informant, the host or person who wishes must prepare seven kinds of drinking water, namely (1) coffee with tamarind sugar, (2) coffee with honey, (3) coffee with lump sugar, (4) coffee with gula cetik (corn sugar), (5) black coffee, (6) coffee with granulated sugar (cane sugar), and (7) mineral water. This drink seems to be dominated by coffee because Banten has been a coffee producer since the 17th century when the Dutch East Indies government ordered the people in Banten to replace pepper plants with coffee plants. According to informant, Banten is a region that determines the price of coffee and its taste. This happened because Banten was an international port in the past. In contrast to Pandeglang, the offerings prepared include bitter coffee, sweet coffee, seven kinds of flowers, seven kinds of cake (known as *perwaten*), several cigarettes, incense, a small container filled with water, and coins (Setiawan I., 2019). The variations in offerings in each region differ.

At the beginning of the pre-performance stage, the host negotiates with the master of ceremonies about what story will be read according to the host's wishes. The next stage is the performance stage. *Maca syekh* is usually done at night, but it is also possible to do it during the day (Setiawan I., 2019). The structure of the performance in the Serang City area begins with an opening which is usually done by the host, after which it is continued by *tukang doe* who recites the salawat. After that the performance is continued by the *tukang maso* who read the story with the songs of *asmarandana*, *dandanggula*, and *sinom*. The text read is in Banten Javanese (Pahruji, 2022). The performance participants will follow the reading and sing together the final part or end of the story. Then the performance ends with a prayer that read by *tukang doe* (Setiawan I., 2019). In the Serang City area the *maca syekh* is sung with three songs as already mentioned, but in Pandeglang it is different. The tone of the *maca syekh* reading is done in a high tone adopting the *beluk* tradition (Setiawan I., 2019). Meanwhile, the languages used are Sundanese and Arabic. The text being read is written in Pegon Arabic script (Arabic script, Javanese) (Setiawan I., 2019). This language use is different from the language use in Serang City. *Maca syekh* in Serang City uses Banten Javanese.

The performance ends with the *tukang doe* who reciting the closing prayer and the recitation of al-Fatihah by all the audience (Pahruji, 2022). In the post-performance stage, the host invites the audience or invited guests to take home the food and offerings that have been prepared. Usually, the audience without hesitation will take the food that has been recited the prayer. After that the host went to the grave of his ancestors (Pahruji, 2022). In the Serang area, the book or manuscript that is read is the Kitab Wawacan Syeikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani that published by Ahmad Hoeruddin bin Muhammad Salwan which contains 100 stories. There is a simplified version of the manuscript which only contains 10 stories. The manuscript uses Arabic script in Banten Javanese. It is marked with a *pupuh*.

The inheritance of *juru maos* is usually carried out from generation to generation and is taught orally. However, there are also *juru maos* who study at Islamic boarding schools or other teachers. What must also be conveyed is that the manuscript of the *maca syekh* is only conveyed to those who already have a "qualification" or are already legal "heirs".

A similar thing can be seen in the manaqib tradition. This traditional storyteller must also obtain a "qualification" first before obtaining a manuscript and being able to read it. Manaqib is a tradition of reading the manuscripts of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani's history, as is the case with the maca syekh. Managib or managib is the plural form of the word mangaba which comes from the word naqaba which means 'a small hole in the wall where you can peek or see'. In the sufi tradition, managib is interpreted as 'looking specifically at someone's excellence, both in knowledge and deeds' or 'discussing the greatness of someone who can enter a world that is difficult to reach'. Furthermore, manaqib is interpreted as a kind of sirah or character biography which is used to explain various advantages or karomahs that occur in someone who has special values (Thohir, 2011).

In particular, the attention of the *maca syekh* and manaqib traditions is directed to Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani. The book of manaqib itself is in the middle of the Qadiriyah-Naqsbandiyah order. However, later this book was translated into various regional languages in Indonesia, for example Javanese and Sundanese. This tradition develops in society in general. This book is in Arabic, Urdu, Turkish, English, Dutch, Malay and Indonesian (Thohir, 2011). There are five manaqib books, namely (1) Bahjat al-Asrar wa Ma'dan al-Anwar by Ali bin Yusuf al-Shathnufy; (2) al-Rawdl al-Zahir fi Manaqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qodir, by Burhanuddin al-Qodiry; (3) Qolaid al-Jawahir fi Manaqib Taj al-Awliya Syaikh Muhyiddin Abd al-Qodir al-Jilany, by Muhammad bin Yahya al-Tadafi al-Hanbaly; (4) al-Lujain al-Danny Manaqib Shaykh 'Abd al Qodir al-Jilany, by Abdul Karim al-Barzany; (5) Tafrikh al-Khathir fi Manaqib Syaikh Abd al-Qodir, by Muhyidin al-Irbily (Thohir, 2011).

As already mentioned, this managib tradition initially only existed among the Qadiriyah-Naqsbandiyah congregation but later also developed in society in general. One of these traditions is carried out in the Bojonggede area, Bogor. This tradition is carried out regularly once a week. Currently it is held every Saturday night from 21.00-23.00. In Indonesia, manaqib has become a tradition that continues to develop among Islamic communities, especially in Java. In the early days of the spread of Islam, especially in Java, Islamic scholars led by Wali Songo taught the knowledge of tarekat, manaqib and other practices to the community. Manaqib is an effective means of Islamic da'wah (Sujati, 2021). On the island of Java, managib is a routine event held every 11th of the Islamic month, which coincides with the death of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani (Sujati, 2021). Manaqib is also related to certain desires, such as making your merchandise or business sell well, getting good fortune easily, rejecting or eliminating interference from spirits, magic, and the like (Sujati, 2021).

Like the *maca syekh*, in this manaqib there are pre-performances, performances and also postperformances. At the pre-performance stage, the manaqib organizers prepare the dishes and offerings. When holding manaqib in the Bojonggede area, six glasses of water are prepared in the form of plain water, milk, plain tea, sweet tea, bitter coffee, and sweet coffee. There is also incense, and degan ijo (green coconut). The food prepared must be sweet, such as green bean porridge or compote. There is also rice and satay. In other places what is prepared is kebuli rice with a side dish of whole chicken which cannot be cut into pieces. The chicken was placed in a large, new clay pot and covered with a clean white cloth. There are also those who prepare two vessels containing water mixed with flowers (Sujati, 2021). In the Pondok Terong area, Depok, there is also a managib in which the reader prepares bekakak ayam (whole chicken) and flowers. The flowers consist of roses, ylang ylang, and kantil. At this assembly the offerings are also covered by a shroud. It was also stated that this manaqib tradition is a typical Nahdlatul Ulama tradition. Another tradition is the tahlil remembrance assembly, which is carried out by ordinary people, then there is the rather special rawi or barzanji assembly. The managib assembly is an assembly attended by more specialized communities.

The performance stage begins with reading the al-Fatihah letter for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, saints, especially Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani, also for teachers, masayikh, especially for Sheikh Ahmadjauhari Umar who gave the diploma, and Muslims and believers. Then read his wish. After that, read *sholallhu'ala Muhammad 100* x, *Maula ya sholli wasalim da imanabada ala habibika khoiril kholqi kullihimi* 11 x. Then the stage continues with reading the manaqib which consists of 10 articles and in several parts that mention Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani al-Fatihah is read. The manaqib reading is carried out by those who have received a "qualification" and the audience follows.

The manaqib book that was read was the book Jawahirul Ma'ani written by Sheikh H. Ahmadjauhari Umar, founder of the Darusallam Tegalrejo Islamic boarding school in Tanggulangin, Kejayan, Pasuruan. It is said that K. H. Ahmadjauhari Umar, while on a pilgrimage to the grave of Sheikh Kholil in Bangkalan, Madura, consciously met the grandson of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani, namely Sayyid Syarifuddin. At that meeting, the Jawahirul Ma'ani "qualification" process took place from Sayyid Syarifuddin to K. H. Ahmadjauhari Umar to be practiced and distributed as widely as possible (Romadhoni, 2022).

Script reading is done in three ways, namely slow, medium, and fast. There is no rhythm to follow. The event ended with a closing prayer and conveying the wishes of everyone present. In different places, manaqib also begins with reading al-Fatihah then continues with reading the kasidah or song poetry (Sujati, 2021). Manaqib texts can be read in turns or read alone with a plain rhythm and regular voice. Every time the name of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani is mentioned in the reading, it is accompanied by the recitation of al-Fatihah once or three times. When the reading came to the story of chicken bones which was revived by Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jaelani the reader crowed while reading la ilaha illallah, muhammadur rasulullah, sheikh abdul qodir waliyullah and the audience followed suit. Finally, the istighotsah prayer is read in Arabic (Sujati, 2021).

Just like in the *maca syekh* tradition, the event ends with the recitation of a prayer. The postperformance stage consists of serving food and drinks, including those used as offerings. The dishes are eaten by participants or taken home. The event continued with a pilgrimage to the graves of the ulama. In other places, after finishing, the chicken is cut into pieces and distributed to the audience (Sujati, 2021). Women who cook food for the manaqib tradition must be pure from menstruation. Special cooking utensils for manaqib events are not used for other cooking purposes. Earthen pots must be new. Those attending the manaqib must be in a pure state of hadas.

The next one is Macapat. In the context of Javanese culture, typical Javanese songs are divided into three types, namely *tembang gedhe, tembang tengahan,* and *tembang alit* or more often referred to as macapat songs (Udjang Pairin M. Basir, 2018). Each song has different rules and characteristics. The song macapat or *sekar alit* comes from the words *panca* and *papat*. The analogical meaning is that there are nine macapat songs. Some also say that macapat is derived from the words *maca* and *papat*, which means that this form of song is

read *papat-papat* or that each *gatra* consists of 4 words (*tembung*) (Udjang Pairin M. Basir, 2018).

Macapat songs consist of 9 types, namely (1) pocung, (2) maskumambang, (3) kinanthi, (4) pangkur, (5) asmarandana, (6) mijil, (7) durma, (8) sinom, and (9) dhandhanggula. The nine types of songs are not only tied to the rules of creation and chanting with the rules of traditional Javanese poetry (guru lagu, guru gatra, and guru wilangan), but also have different characteristics in their mission or character (Udjang Pairin M. Basir, 2018). From this traditional Javanese poetry form, the macapatan tradition emerged. The macapatan tradition continues well in Javanese culture. Macapatan is carried out at night and is related to certain events, for example the birth of a baby, the anniversary of someone's birth, the founding of an institution, and the commemoration of certain days (Darusuparta, 1989). The audience for the Macapat tradition is also open. Anyone can attend the event. Those present may join in reading. Learning is done by listening. After completing one *pupuh*, continue by examining all aspects of the part of the text that was read. Macapatan has quite a lot of functions, such as processing taste and art, as well as absorbing meaning, both expressed and implied (Darusuparta, 1989).

In Javanese culture, macapatan is usually carried out routinely at certain times and is carried out by certain groups. This also exists in the macapatan tradition in Madura. In Larangan Luar Village, Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency, the macapat tradition or in Madura better known as mamaca is carried out every Wednesday night or Thursday night (Susanto, 2016). However, macapatan is also carried out in a series of certain events such as well ruwatan, womb ruwatan, or underground ruwatan. The structure of the macapat performance begins with the reading of surah al-Fatihah and can then be continued with the recitation of the Koran (if it is for a wedding). After that, just reading the *macapat*. Those who read are called readers or pamaos and interpreters of the meaning are called *paneghes*. What you read can vary. In the month of Maulid, what is read is the book Nurbuwat. At the 4-month ruwatan the story of the Prophet Yusuf was read. In the well and house ruwatan, the songs of Pandawa and Baratakala are read. At weddings it is Maljuna that is read. There is also a special *macapatan*. In the Sumenep area, for example, there is a reading of mamaca in Pinggirpapas in the form of Serat Jatiswara for the nyadar tradition.

Macapat is also developing in the East Java region, such as in the Gresik area. In this area, a macapat expert was found, namely Mat Kauli. Gresik is a region on the west coast of East Java that influences Islamic culture. Macapat in Gresik is known by the wider community as *cengkok gresikan*. Culture in Gresik is typically shaped by santri traditions so that the *macapatan* in Gresik also has characteristics that are close to this tradition. Mat Kauli said the same thing that *macapatan* was carried out at the Sindujoyo haul event. Sindujoyo is a student of Sunan Prapen. Sunan Prapen was the head of the Giri government of the fourth dynasty. Sindujoyo himself was a propagator of Islam who later built a village around the coast of Gresik which is now known as Kampung Sindujoyo. Reading macapat at this place is part of the *istighotsah* tradition. Apart from that, in Gresik there is the Sindujoyo Book written by Sindujoyo himself and how to read it is sung with the songs *megatruh*, *kinanti*, *and asmaradana*.

Apart from that, macapatan in Gresik is done by reading other texts, namely Menak texts, Egyptian stories and al-Ambiya letters. The texts use Arabic script in Old Javanese. Apart from that, *macapat* is also carried out by fishermen at their meeting places called *bale*. Macapat in Gresik is used for circumcisions, in-laws, and housewarming events. Macapat in Gresik is also used at earth charity events which are usually held in the month of Syakban, after Nisfu Sya'ban. Macapat was held on Sunday night and around 200 households donated food and put together a meal. This earth almsgiving was carried out in Gemantar Village, where Mat Kauli lives. Mat Kauli, as a macapat reader, got his skills from his father, Nitisastro Samadi, and his father got his skills from Mat Kauli's grandfather, Masram. According to information from Mat Kauli, the Gemantar Village where he lives is an old village that is older than the village which later developed into the Giri Islamic Boarding School.

From the explanation about macapat which developed in the Madura region and the Gresik region, it can be said that there are similarities with the maca syeikh tradition which developed in the Banten region, and manaqib as one of the traditions which is still developing quite well in the Nahdlatul Ulama tradition. These three traditions are related to the development of the Islamic religion which cannot be separated from the role of the saints or spreaders of the Islamic religion. Macapat, as mentioned by several sources, was created by the saints and this is proven by searches in the Gresik area. The managib tradition also exists in the Koran, such as Maryam's manaqib, Dzulqarnain's manaqib, and after the death of the Prophet Muhammad saw the emergence of Abu Bakar's manaqib, Umar bin Khatab's manaqib, and others (Sujati, 2021). Meanwhile, the maca syekh in Banten is a way of reading manaqib that is adapted to local culture. Banten, Gresik, and Madura are regions that have become centers of the development of Islam in Indonesia.

4. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is a region that has unique cultural richness. One of them is the tradition of manuscripts reading. This tradition has developed for a long time and is related to the process of spreading Islam. The tradition of manuscript reading is a tradition that combines orality and literacy. In this tradition there is orality which of course can change at any time and at each performance. On the other hand, in this manuscript reading tradition there is literacy contained in the manuscript being read. The struggle between establishment and change is clearly visible in the manuscript reading tradition. The show structure may change at any time in each region. However, people's belief in sacred things still seems to maintain the continuity of this tradition. In these three traditions, readers are chosen people, either by descent or by inheritance. People also still believe in the importance of the tradition of reading manuscripts because it is related to the "spirit" of the Islamic religion.

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