



Urban Legend and Cultural Identity of the Indramayu Community in the Indramayu Traditional Play

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Abstract

Narratives about urban legends in an area can be traced to a collective mindset about the presence of supernatural beings and powers. People believe in the existence of invisible creatures as a representation of the existence of the supernatural world that is parallel to human life. On the other hand, the existence of urban legends is always raised in artistic expressions in a local community. This shows that there is a process of preserving urban legend narratives in works of art, such as in literary works and in traditional plays in the Indramayu area. Thus, the urban legend becomes an inseparable part in the context of collective memory in the culture of a society so that it becomes one of the cultural identities in terms of urban legend in theatrical performances in Indramayu. This research on urban legends and cultural identity in traditional plays in Indramayu is discussed with a structural approach to understand story patterns, characteristics of urban legends; and a cultural studies approach to discuss the ideological aspects depicted through the traditional Indramayu theatrical performance, which marks the formation of cultural identity. The method used in this study is a field research method and observation through digital recordings from the YouTube channel as a data source for Indramayu traditional plays. The research resulted in the findings. First, the urban legend that is commonly narrated in every show is a creature with a giant or *denawa* named Wiralodra who is the guardian of the forest, a demon, a *kuntilanak* (*kelong wewe*), *tuyul*, and a snake demon. These supernatural beings mark a community belief that is internalized along with the religious appreciation adopted by the community. This appreciation of religion is shown through the existence of clerics or *kyai* who master religious knowledge as figures who carry out solutions to the problems that arise due to human conflict with supernatural powers as illustrated by traditional Indramayu theatrical performances. The presence of legendary creatures and figures of priest or *kyai* is one of the cultural identities that is constructed through performances. In addition, the cultural identity of the Indramayu community is also built through artistic discourse in the form of traditional plays that show their uniqueness when compared to similar arts in the surrounding cultural area.

Keywords: urban legend, cultural identity, religion, theatre, traditional.

Introduction

The existence of a performing arts in the midst of the life of a society will show a solid artistic ecosystem. The ecosystem consists of art performers, their supporting communities as patrons, and local culture which is a vehicle for the continued existence of the arts from time to time. On the other hand, performing arts serve to maintain the cultural identity that supports it. In that case, performing arts are correlated with the geoculture in which the art is located, which characterizes the unique culture of the supporting community. Therefore, the presence of performing arts in the midst of people's lives also contributes to the creativity and production of community culture. In that case, the work of art becomes a cultural production in various forms according to the creativity of the artist and the needs of the supporting community (Crane, 1992). The various types of art produced are also sourced from the social class and the supporting cultural arena. Each social class and cultural environment also shows a vehicle for arts and stories that are popular and favored by the community. Thus, artistic activity in a particular cultural community, especially traditional performing arts, always bears a cultural identity that is attached to its ethnicity and geocultural location. In the context of Indonesia, which is multicultural, every artistic expression can be referred to a cultural background which is also correlated as a marker of that cultural identity.

Among the many traditional arts, which are the cultural wealth of the people in Indonesia, the attention in this article is directed to artistic activities in the Indramayu community, West Java, namely the Indramayu traditional plays. The choice of the focus of attention on performing arts is for several reasons, namely first, the existence of plays in Indramayu has a long cultural history so it is worth exploring the features of this art; secondly, in terms of story content, there is a uniqueness that is not found in similar traditional performing arts in West Java, namely the presence of supernatural figures originating from local legends; third, behind the stories and artistic traditions in the traditional plays, there is a cultural discourse that describes the way of thinking of the people who support it. These three reasons lead to interesting issues to be discussed, namely how this traditional theatrical performance art stores local wisdom which is manifested through stories that are always shown; showing the dynamic course of history; and this art represents the cultural identity and thought of the people of Indramayu as its supporters.

Therefore, Indramayu's traditional plays, which are still popular and still present in the community, show an endurance that is not experienced by arts of its kind, such as the performing arts of kethoprak, ludruk, or lenong. Taking these things into account, the Indramayu traditional drama performances that can survive during the dynamics of a society that is constantly changing deserve to be disclosed the factors that make them present and popular.

Research Approaches and Methods

The discussion about the traditional Indramayu plays used in this article is sourced from the performance data uploaded on the YouTube channel. This was due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation which made it impossible to conduct field research using the ethnographic method to the location of the traditional plays in Indramayu. The data is processed, studied according to the problem, namely a discussion of the structure of the show, stories, and cultural aspects, especially those related to the formation of cultural identity through traditional Indramayu theatrical performances. The data for Indramayu traditional plays are taken from shows on the YouTube channel with population data from groups, including Aneka Tunggal, Bina Remaja Indah, Chandra Asri, Darma Saputra, Dwi Warna, Indra Putra, and Linga Buana. From the corpus, the discussion focuses on the story and the structure of the story, the presence of characters related to urban legends, the structure of the performance, and the various elements that exist in the artistic activity in Indramayu.

Literature review

Research on traditional Indramayu plays is found in various types of writing, such as articles, theses, and theses written by observers of traditional arts, including Hesti Haryani (2013) at the Indonesian Education University (Bandung) who wrote about the Srimpi dance choreography in traditional Indramayu plays. Darma Saputra (in Plumbon, Indramayu), Galuh Wulandari Sasongko (2014) who discussed the tarling play in Cirebon, Neneng Taryuah (2014) discussed the Indramayu play as a medium to socialize government programs, especially during the New Order era, Munfajin (2019) studied the performance Masres in Cirebon, then Kiky Nur Indahsari (2020) from ISBI Bandung

researched the survival of the Dwi Warna play group in Losarang Village, Indramayu. Nalan (2010) and Taryuah (2014) discuss a bit of the history of Indramayu's traditional plays. The writers' attention covers the fields of dance, group development, and traditional Indramayu plays as a vehicle for socialization.

To complete the discussion about the traditional Indramayu plays that already existed, this article positions itself on the discussion of elements of legend (urban) through story elements that mark the presence of Indramayu's cultural identity which is represented through traditional Indramayu theatrical performances during the dynamics of the supporting community.

Indramayu Traditional Drama Cultural Base

Indramayu Regency is in the West Java Province, with the capital city being Indramayu. The name Indramayu refers to the beauty of Raden Arya Wiralodra's daughter named Nyi Endang Darma Ayu (1527 AD). From the term 'darma ayu', the community pronounces it as 'dermayu' or 'in darmayu' so that it is later confirmed as 'indramayu'. The community in Indramayu, West Java, as a coastal cultural entity in the North Coast of Java shows growth as an open society. This openness because of the Indramayu Regency area is a human traffic route from the West to the East Java Island and vice versa. Thus, the culture that has developed and developed in the Indramayu area is a fluid egalitarian culture that shows cultural hybridity.

The people of Indramayu are geoculturally influenced by the cultures of Cirebon, Sundanese, and Javanese because of their geographical location which borders the three cultural areas. The immediate effect of the three cultures is on the language used for daily communication by the people of Indramayu. In the linguistic construction of a conversation, for example, linguists freely bring up vocabularies from the three cultures. The realization of the language then gave birth to the Dermayon dialect (Javanese Indramayu) which is one of the dialects of the Cirebon language. In the Cirebon language itself, apart from the Dermayon dialect, there is the Plered dialect (used in the western region of Cirebon Regency) and the Jawareh dialect ('*sawareh* Javanese' or partly Javanese used by the people of Cirebon Regency which borders Brebes Regency). This expression of language was also realized by the performers on the stage of traditional Indramayu theatrical performances. Indramayu Regency in the north and east is bordered by the Java Sea, in the south by Cirebon Regency, Majalengka Regency, and Sumedang Regency, in the west it borders Subang Regency. Indramayu Regency consists of 17 sub-districts as illustrated in table 1 which describes the distribution of Indramayu traditional theater groups.

Table 1 Distribution of theatrical groups in Indramayu District

Number	Districts	Groups Name
1	Karangampel	Indra Sakti (Pringacala) Jaya Darma (Karangampel)
2	Kedokan Bunder	Indra Putra (Cangkingan)
3	Balongan	Sriwijaya (Sukaurip)
4	Sliyeng	Bina Remaja (Majasih) Sinar Kober (Longok) Gelora Buana (Tambi) Kencana Mulya (Gadingan)
5	Jatibarang	Aneka Tunggal (Pawidean) Arsa Kencana (Kebulen)
6	Widasari	Chandra Wulan (Bangkaloa)
7	Lohbener	Chandra Sari (Kedung Legok) Yudha Putra (Rambatan Kulon) Galu Ajeng (Celeng) Wira Dharma (Larangan)
8	Indramayu	Darma Saputra (Plumbon) Darma Tunggal (Plumbon)
9	Sindang	Sang Putra Darma (Kenanga)
10	Arahan	Wira Jaya (Pranggong)
11	Losarang	Dwi Warna (santing) Lingga Buana (Muntur) Panca Indra (Losarang) Dhewi Chandra (Jumbleng) Panca Warna (Pegagan)

		Tri Tunggal (Puntang) Cipta Nawang Wulan (Cilogog)
12	Patrol	Bintang Pantura (Patrol)
13	Gabus Wetan	Panca Tunggal (Kamplong) Sang Adi Jaya (Drunten)
14	Terisi	Jaya Laksana (Jati Munggul)
15	Lelea	Purnama Sari (Tunggul Payung)
16	Kroya	Perunggu Kembar (Kroya)
17	Bongas	Sura Pringga (Tundangan) Maha Brata (Kedung Mulya) Nawang Wulan (Bongas) Dewi Ayu (Kacep)

Source: https://youtu.be/_UELiHBa5E

In the areas surrounding Indramayu Regency, they are domiciled and operate artistic activities, especially the traditional Indramayu drama group. The growth of traditional plays supported by communication media through the Dermayon dialect is an important marker of its popularity in the cultural community. Until now, tradition considers Indramayu traditional theater groups to come from one village to another, especially to celebrate weddings, circumcision, and village clean-ups after harvest. The artistic activities at these parties are direct evidence that shows the level of community appreciation for this local art. Apart from plays, the cultural products of the Indramayu people are the performing arts of tarling and sintren. In the field of fine arts, it is known as glass and stained painting. The development of each of these arts in principle shows its own dynamics.

Considering the appreciation of the community, it means that they as patrons have functioned to participate in growing, developing, and maintaining the traditional Indramayu theatrical arts in line with the increasing public need for entertainment at every party held. Therefore, it is not surprising that every traditional Indramayu play group always follows and pays attention to the needs of responders and continues to innovate according to the times. Thus, the dynamics of the preservation of this art can be seen during the development of entertainment media from time to time. The main challenge for this art is several contemporary arts that are its competitors, such as single organ, dangdut orchestra, dangdut koplo, and campursari. On the other hand, this contemporary art has also destroyed the sustainability of tarling or sintren art in the cultural areas of Indramayu and Cirebon. However, this traditional Indramayu theatrical art can survive strongly in the community because it is supported by Indramayu cultural factors as its main basis. This shows that Indramayu's traditional plays can strengthen their identity as cultural icons and Indramayu's cultural identity. The cultural identity of Indramayu cannot be separated from the cultural ideology which is always internalized through the structure of the Indramayu traditional theatrical performing arts.

The interesting thing about the popularity of the traditional drama group Indramayu apart from being a vehicle for entertainment in circumcision parties, weddings, birthdays, and thanksgiving is the distribution of the show through the digital platform YouTube. Through this platform, the Indramayu culture-based community in various places, including the Indramayu people abroad, can enjoy the show and appreciate it interactively. Live streaming technology allows traditional Indramayu theatrical performances to be watched on time by fans wherever they are. The recording of performances and broadcast by live streaming and delayed broadcasts has created job opportunities and built multimedia competencies for the workers. With the presence of the recording format, it is possible to spread traditional arts through the YouTube platform so that they can reach a wider and more diverse audience outside the Indramayu community. Indicators to see the appreciation of a group can be identified through the number of viewers who saw it. Viewers' appreciation can also be observed through the chat feature on the YouTube platform. The achievements of the Indramayu traditional plays as stated above cannot be separated from the long history of this traditional art from time to time. One thing that should be noted is that this art is still present during society because it is needed, and the most important thing is the support of a solid cultural base so that it can survive and change in line with the changing dynamics of the supporting community.

Indramayu Traditional Drama

The growth and development of traditional Indramayu plays were rooted in the dynamics of the Indramayu community in the colonial period which was closely related to the presence of a theater group at that time called the *toneel* or "masres" (Nalan, 2010; Taryuah, 2014). Traditionally, theatrical groups in Indramayu also interact with the *kethoprak* art that developed in the Central Java region. Supali Kasim, an Indramayu cultural expert, said that the play in his area was influenced by Central Javanese folk art, and the people of Indramayu pronounce the *kethoprak* as 'setoprak'. Supali Kasim further said, "The mention of *setoprak* is the Wong Dermayu accent for the mention of the art of *kethoprak*." Meanwhile, the name 'masres' comes from the name of a theater group in the Bedulan area, Suranenggala, Cirebon Regency. The group name was then used to refer to other theater groups in the Indramayu area.

Indramayu traditional theatrical arts have been able to survive and compete with contemporary art because they contain historical aspects that are closely related to the cultural identity of the Indramayu people. This can be traced to the stories that are performed. Therefore, in terms of the stories presented, each group has its own superior story and becomes a selling point for the responders. The present-day treasures of stories in each of Indramayu's traditional drama groups can be categorized into historical stories (*babad*), folk tales that developed around Indramayu, but also take historical stories (*babad*) which are always performed in the performing arts of *kethoprak*. The stories include *da'wah* and moral, social, and cultural messages that are important for the public to know or live up to. The historical stories that are relevant to the people of Indramayu and Cirebon are that Sunan Gunung Jati occupies the main story in each play group; also, legend stories related to the establishment of a settlement or village in the Indramayu area.

One of the traditional Indramayu play groups that were used as observations in this study was the Aneka Tunggal Drama group. The following is a brief description of the group. The Aneka Tunggal Sandiwara Group led by Dedi Supriadi is an art group inherited by his parents. His father and mother have been traditional playwrights in Indramayu since 1976. In 1979, both left the theater group that supported them and founded their own play group called "Manunggal." In 1981, the Sandiwara Manunggal Group changed its name to Aneka Tunggal (Cablek Group). There is an additional word *Cablek* behind the group's name as a sign that this group belongs to his mother who on stage is known for her *cablek* character roles (obscenity, a lot of talk).

The total number of members of the "Aneka Tunggal" group is 88 people, with the main players (including dancers, singers, and gamelan musicians). In each performance, the members involved are not less than 35 people. The occupational backgrounds of the members of this group vary, ranging from the profession of farmers, traders, motorcycle taxi drivers, midwives, civil servants, to members of the TNI (provost).

Within a year, the "Aneka Tunggal" theatrical group can hold about 200 to 220 performances. In fact, during the current pandemic, the demand for gigs is still crowded. Prices are set for one performance depending on the region. For the Indramayu area it costs Rp. 21 million, while for the Cirebon area it costs Rp.23 to Rp.24 million. During the Pandemic, the price for one performance dropped to Rp.20 million. The popularity of the "Aneka Tunggal" group causes this group to be often considered outside the Indramayu and Cirebon areas, such as in Subang, Tangerang, Bekasi, and Bogor Regencies. If outside the Indramayu and Cirebon areas, the price for one performance is Rp. 25 million. "Aneka Tunggal" was once called upon to perform for four days in Bogor Regency with a total income of around Rp. 150 million.

Player honors are based on the size of the involvement in the performance, ranging from an honorarium of Rp.80 thousand to 1 million rupiah for each performance. The profit obtained by this theatrical group from each performance is Rp.6 million. However, for the group's operational and sustainability costs, it is acknowledged that all this time there has been "digging a hole and closing the hole". This is due to the high demand for cash from members. This means that members borrow (take first) a certain amount of funds, and it is calculated as taking the honorarium at the beginning of the show. The thing that should be noted from every playgroup is that it has a mainstay star. A player named Joni is a mainstay star as a comedian owned by Aneka Tunggal. To make Joni a star in this group, the leadership of "Aneka Tunggal" bought Joni for Rp180 million. By joining Joni in the group, Joni is prohibited from being a guest star in other theatrical groups.

The “Aneka Tunggal” performance was directed by Dedi Supriadi himself. The plays that are performed are various, not only about the origin of Dermayu. The stories of Roro Jonggrang, Sangkuriang, Gajah Mada, and Ali Patok are some examples of stories that are liked by the audience. In preparing the story there is no script written specifically. The story plan just came while getting together and drinking coffee. On stage, dialogue often occurs spontaneously. The difficult thing in the show is to create the “sweetener”. This sweetener will be the allure for the audience. Apart from having a single organ, funny ghost characters are the hallmark of Indramayu's plays. The presence of a funny ghost was awaited and liked by the audience. Like cooking, the presence of a ghost character on stage is one of the attractions and seasonings for the show. In terms of fostering and regenerating the performers of the arts in this play group, this goes by itself. From parents who work as show performers, “Aneka Tunggal” is led and managed by their four children, all of whom are involved in managing the group's activities. There are those who focus on group management, while others are really involved as players on stage. Meanwhile, some of the players have their descendants joining in, continuing the profession of their parents. To expand networks and exchange knowledge, the “Aneka Tunggal” group often participates in artist activities in various places, such as in Solo, Yogya, and Brebes

Indramayu Traditional Drama Performance

The Indramayu traditional performing arts tradition is basically no different from its source, namely the traditional performing arts of kethoprak. The elements of this artistic performance consist of elements of players, musicians, singers (sinden), stories, and this art event is performed in a proscenium stage formation. The position of each element is patterned as follows, the players will be at the back or on the edge of the stage and will appear to play the story characters according to the order of the story. Musicians and musical instruments, in the form of gamelan, are placed in front of the stage and they face the stage. Among the musicians also sat a singer (sinden). In addition to sinden, the players on the stage can sing according to the scene in the story. Performing activities are adjusted to the wishes of the responders and generally there are two performance schedules, namely 11.00 am - 16.30 pm in the afternoon: evening at 20.00--02.30 pm.

The discussion about the traditional Indramayu theatrical performance includes the main aspects of performing arts, namely the structure of the performance and story, the stage, and the performers including musicians as an integral part of the performance.

Show Structure and Story

The traditional Indramayu theatrical performance shows a standard pattern in terms of the sequence of performances from beginning to end, which is opened with tetalu or opening music which serves to call the audience and signal the players backstage to get ready in their respective positions. Then, the host will deliver the opening remarks and guide to enter three stages, namely the first stage presenting a dance which marks the start of the show. The dance that was performed was the Cirebon mask dance. The second stage is a welcoming ceremony from three parties, namely representatives from those who have intentions (respondents), representatives from the local government (lurah), and representatives from the muspika (officials at the sub-district level and security forces). The time between (pause) from one speech to another will be filled with instrumental music. After that, we enter the third stage, namely the story which is the main menu of the performance in the form of a play. In this section the music illustration plays different compositions as the music opens the stage and enters the scene. The opening narration is carried out in two ways, namely through narration by the host or through singing by the sinden who leads to the initial scene of the story.

From the results of observations of the story elements performed by several theater groups, it is shown that a mice en scene throughout the show is filled with various compositions as follows: dramatic scenes, singing scenes (as an interlude) which gives the audience the opportunity to dance (dance) and give money as a substitute. appreciation (nyawer), then comedy scenes which are also often interspersed with singing and singing. In this section, the singer in between singing songs, he will say hello as a form of appreciation to several people who are considered important, people who are fans of the group and need to be appreciated through singing on stage. By looking at the arrangement of the scenes, it can be ascertained that the structure of traditional Indramayu theatrical performances is very fluid and open to modification as needed. Meanwhile, observing several traditional Indramayu plays from various groups that became the data for this research, the stories that were performed were

announced in the third stage. The following are the titles of stories performed by several groups, namely "Babad Alas Cimanuk", "The Demon of Mount Srandil" (Lingga Buana group), "The Demon of Alas Sinang" (the Yudha Putra group), "Buyut Boar", "The Birth of Jaka Bandung" (Single Assorted group). These titles are only a small part of the treasure trove of stories owned by each playgroup. Each group has a large repertoire of stories to serve to responders and is able to entertain the invited audience and the community around the party venue (celebration).

The structure of the story that is shown shows a conventional pattern that applies to almost all traditional drama groups of Indramayu. The dramatic convention can be seen in terms of characters, plot, setting, and thematic. The characters who always appear are giant (*denawa*), youth or knights, clerics or *kyai*, daughters, parents. In terms of setting, the story moves in the palace environment, the forest, on a trip, in one of the rooms in the house or in the palace ward. The stories that are performed from the thematic point of view present conflicts between humans and between humans and supernatural beings; adventures and journeys of characters that give birth to a heroic attitude that can face challenges from various circles. What is commonly told in stories is to reveal the story of the origin of an area or settlement; stories about supernatural beings or imitations (*satoan*) who are believed to exist in a forest or cave; historical stories related to Mataraman history; and a story about a charismatic figure who is closely related to the spread of Islam in the Cirebon area, namely Sunan Gunung Jati. Although the stories shown refer to historical figures, the stories can be far different in plot. This is because each group has the freedom to create a story without having to strictly follow the usual storyline. For example, a legend tells of a young man named Jaka Bandung who has magic and has an ugly face in a traditional Indramayu theatrical performance that does not have a bad face. In the legend the young man wanted to marry the princess of the Pengging kingdom, in the Indramayu play, Jaka Bandung was the son of the king of Pengging. Therefore, what seems to be preserved from the legend of Jaka Bandung is his supernatural power that can defeat anyone who opposes him, including Prabu Baka, the ruler of Prambanan in the traditional Indramayu theatrical story. The reproduction of historical stories related to the sultanate of Cirebon and Sunan Gunung Jati is inserted by the presence of supernatural beings who control an area (forest, sea, or river) and function as inhibiting figures.

Stage Structure

The proscenium stage was built at a higher position than the musicians so that the audience could see it freely. The stage equipment consists of a large screen that is placed at the back and serves as a backdrop for events in the story. The screen that serves as the background is in the form of a painting depicting the inside of the house/pavilion, forest, sea, paths, yard, rice fields, and functions as traffic for players to enter and leave the game arena.

The background of the stage is one of the important elements that can be an attraction for the responders and the audience. The composition of the paintings and the paintings on each screen background scene are designed with an artistic perspective. Characteristics of images can be categorized outside the room (the natural nuances of the Indramayu region are dominant: rice fields, sea, forest, paths, and the village environment) and indoors (palace hall, living room, bedroom). It is also customary to support the appearance on stage, the responder also decorates it with symbolic ornaments that refer to the profession or social status of the responder. The symbolic expression related to the responder was mentioned by Syamsul, a playgroup coach, "Since this is the one who thinks it's his son's birthday, why hang a doll, because his father is a puppeteer. So, the hanger is a doll. Farmers usually use earthenware hangers," said Syamsul. The things mentioned by Syamsul can be seen on the hangers of a number of items at the top of the stage.

The style of painting that becomes the background screen for each scene shows a style of realism, which is visually correlated with the occurrence of events in the story. The play of lights and the composition of the colors of the lights are matched to the scenes to add to the dramatic effect. In terms of sound system, almost all traditional drama groups from Indramayu show a similar model. The players who are in dialogue with their co-stars, they use a loudspeaker (wireless mike condenser). To create sound effects that can support the character's character, generally the sound is stylized by adjusting the volume or with the echo feature. Dramatic supporting tools in the performances in each play group can be the attraction and popularity of the group among the people of Indramayu.

Player Structure

A traditional Indramayu playgroup is known through the performers or the stage names of the performers who are then known as their prima donna. It fosters a system of players and statuses that will determine the selection of roles in a story that will be played. There are players who specifically play certain characters permanently. This is related to the abilities and skills of the players in the group. Players who get a share as a comedian, for example, cannot be replaced by other players. The popularity of a group can come from these comedians. Other players will also occupy stagnant positions as commanders, officers, soldiers, princesses, and kings. Regarding that level, it was stated "Actually, theatrical has a certain level, depending on the theme. But we never rehearse or read the script, everything just flows. The play runs using improvisation usually," said Rendy Radea (43), an officer actor in the "Dwi Warna" group.

In traditional plays, Indramayu not only presents stories as the main menu of the show, but there are several groups that give comedians a large portion to entertain the audience. In that case, several comedian names (*bodor*) have become icons of a group, such as Wa Dolop, Wa Goes, and Joni in the Aneka Tunggal group, Wa Kancil and Wa Koslet in the Lingga Buana group, and Wa Tiru and Wa Gandul in the "Bina Remaja" group. In addition to the fighters who become icons in each group, comedic skills are also performed by the players who play the characters in the story, for example, supernatural characters who are masked and dressed in scary costumes.

The system of players in each traditional drama group Indramayu can be said to be patterned, namely the players who will play an important role (protagonist and antagonist), players who function as supporting roles and usually consist of five people, comedians who function to reduce dramatic tension in the story. There are male and female players who occupy dual roles, namely as actors and singers.

The popularity of the comedians and traditional theater performers of Indramayu can be seen through the data on the performance schedule for one month in a drama group (see data in the attachment). This shows how high the interest of the community who responds to this art is.

This art occupies the highest position of choice, socially, in terms of people choosing the type of entertainment to celebrate weddings, circumcisions, or other celebrations that are commonly practiced by the Indramayu people. The highest choice also provides an illustration of the social status of the responder, because to consider performing arts with an all-night duration (from 19.00 pm to 05.00 am) requires a minimum cost of not less than Rp15-20 million. With such a price, it turns out that the performance schedule for a traditional drama group Indramayu shows a relatively tight schedule. In a month a playgroup can get a response for 20--28 days. That is, in a week no less than 5 to 7 times performing in various places. Therefore, from the data, the popularity of a play group is supported by several factors, including the players who are excellent and favored by the public; stories that are featured and become the hallmark of a group; staging techniques and attractive stage background compositions are factors that can also attract the group.

Urban Legend in Indramayu Traditional Drama

The term urban legend is a story about the existence of supernatural beings that is told from generation to generation and is believed to have really happened, but the story never existed and is not true at all (Allan, 2007). Nevertheless, stories about urban legends are still interesting to listen to or read. A person's or society's fondness for horror stories is a psychological phenomenon as well as an interesting cultural phenomenon to explore. In a society that is still thick with mystical thoughts, there will be a belief in supernatural powers outside of humans. The existence of supernatural powers is then linked to the surrounding natural conditions, such as forests, rivers, caves, or the environment where certain trees are planted, such as banyan trees. Urban legends are also built by people's perceptions of the area of cemeteries, old houses, uninhabited houses, and haunted places because there may have been a scary or tragic event, such as an accident or a place where people commit suicide.

The existence of an element of legend (urban) in theatrical performances at Indramayu refers to the notion of a story about, firstly, a place that is associated with the existence of certain supernatural beings; second, narratives about myths or legends that are believed to be true by the surrounding community. Generally, these stories are told orally and spread within the community itself, even spreading beyond the area. The popularity of urban legends is very dependent on the background of the story itself. One of the famous urban legends from the past in the Ancol area is the story of *Si Manis Jembatan Ancol*. The geographical conditions of rivers, roads, and bridges in that area became the main

factor in the birth of this urban legend. Regarding the character of Si Manis itself, it may be a narrative attached to the situation in the place above. Therefore, the narrative factor attached to a certain object, location, and geography becomes an important element in the spread of urban legend stories. The supernatural creatures, in traditional Indramayu plays, such as the blind Wilalodra, become one of the attractions that bind the audience to the narrative of urban legends known in the culture of the Indramayu people. The character of Wilalodra is placed in the context of being the ruler of a forest that has not been touched by humans. He has power over the forest area and will be disturbed if a human enters his territory. The tension that occurs between forest lords and intruders (humans), who are passing through the area are considered as foreigners who should not be in the area. The situation will escalate from an argument to a physical fight. In its realization, the physical contact that occurs is an excitement with the appearance of the attraction of self-defense skills. However, that situation can turn into a humorous event that builds interest for the audience as the most entertaining part. Regarding the urban legend that is performed by one play group and another group always presents the same character, namely Wilalodra. However, a play group may also feature other urban legend figures with different forms, such as tuyul, kuntilanak (kelong wewe), or demon snake. The territory controlled by each of the legendary figures, apart from the forest, is the sea, lake, or a large tree. The presence of these creatures is also associated with environmental problems, as in the story "Babad Alas Cimanuk" performed by the Lingga Buana group).

Cultural Identity in Indramayu Traditional Drama

Cultural identity can be interpreted as a communal identity that shows a behavior that is based on the same cultural values in its social interactions in social, cultural, and artistic life. Hastanto (2008: 145) states that cultural identity in human life is multi-layered, namely belief in values in the form of agreed-upon concepts in a cultural community (community) as layers of communal identity; other identities are individual identities related to the existence of individuals, which are marked through their physical characteristics. In terms of communal expression, especially in the context of art, the traditional theatrical performance of Indramayu represents the communal identity of the Indramayu people as a hybrid cultural entity on the north coast of Java.

Cultural identity that can be studied from this performance art is the dominant expression that appears in every performance, firstly related to the religious aspect of the community; second on the language used in the conversations of the characters in a story, the songs sung by the singers, and the musical aspect that accompanies the performance. These aspects together build an identity that characterizes this art with other arts in the Indramayu area.

Indramayu traditional plays for the people of Indramayu and its surroundings are a vehicle for entertainment that can be classified as the most popular arts in addition to tarling and single organ. The show contains moral and cultural messages that are always needed to educate the audience. Moral teachings that are generally conveyed through traditional theater stages are related to Islamic teachings as well as through dramatic stories that feature evil characters or supernatural beings who are used by humans to gain wealth or other specific purposes. The community gains cognitive benefits from the theatrical performance in addition to entertainment. This shows that the stories that are presented are rooted in their daily lives and lives, both culturally, historically, and morally.

Conclusion

The position of this traditional Indramayu drama in the life of the Indramayu people has become a popular vehicle and used as a means of entertainment in wedding parties, circumcisions, or birthdays. Each group has its own superior points as an attraction for the responders to enliven the party.

The community's appreciation of Indramayu's traditional plays in its cultural area, namely in Indramayu Regency has been going on from time to time which shows the existence of this art persists. This resilience is supported by the strong cultural base of the Indramayu community and imaged this art as a manifestation of their cultural identity. The expression of the cultural identity of the Indramayu community is clearly illustrated through the structure of the performance, the stories that are performed, musical accompaniment, and distinctive stage attributes so that they can be distinguished from similar performing arts in other cultural areas. In addition, what really stands out in terms of the story is the presence of supernatural beings who represent the mystical mindset that lives in society. These supernatural beings correlate with the perspective of people's collective thinking about places

that seem mysterious, haunted, and scary and all of that refers to one concept, namely urban legends. In that context, the existence of supernatural beings may be one of the cultural identities of the Indramayu people which is expressed through the performance of traditional Indramayu theatrical performances.

In recent developments, the popularity of this traditional drama has gained a vehicle that brings this art to the world through the YouTube platform so that it can be watched and appreciated by the people of Indramayu who live in various cities, including abroad. The appreciation of the fans of this play can be seen from the comments through the chat feature on YouTube. Thus, the traditional wealth of the Indramayu people is also affected to create innovations in each of their performances.

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- Drama Indramayu/2020, Merdeka.com
- Senisandiwaraindramayu.blogspot.com/2020, Merdeka.com
- Screenshots of some videos of Indramayu's traditional plays on the YouTube platform.