

Cultural Enculturization in the Art of Masks: A Case Study of the Industrial Enterprise of Batik Kayu, Bobung, Patuk, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the process of enculturation of mask art with a case study in the wooden batik (batik Kayu) enterprise of Bobung Village, Patuk, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. This study method uses a netnographic approach, which in principle is the same as classical ethnography, except that netnography uses the internet as a research media. The data were sourced from informants, places & events, and documents or archives. Data from informants were collected using in-depth online interviews. Place and event data were collected using online participatory observation techniques. In addition, the source documents or archives were collected using data analysis techniques or literature studies on relevant online data. The validity of the data was tested by using informant review techniques and source triangulation. Data were analyzed using flow techniques with data reduction, display, and verification procedures. The results of the study show that the process of enculturation or culture of mask art, both classic masks and creative masks (batik Kayu), is carried out informally (family environment), non-formal (community, UKM, and studio), and formal (learning in schools). This enculturation process is carried out from generation to generation, when the mask is still a classic mask (Panji mask) until the mask develops into a superior product with economic and tourism value as it is today (Creative Mask). The art of batik and classical masks has become the identity of the people of Bobung Village, Gunung Kidul, who have undergone changes in form, function and meaning during the enculturation process from previous generations to the next.

Keywords

enculturation; culture; classical masks; batik creation mask; Bobung Village



I. Introduction

Classical masks (Panji Masks) and batik Kayu masks (batik wooden masks) have become the identity of the people of Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. The batik mask of Bobung Village has become the flagship icon of Gunung Kidul Regency which is the hallmark of districts in DIY in particular and outside districts in general. Batik mask has become a regional superior product that has penetrated the international market. Batik Kayu mask has become a regional superior product that has penetrated the international market. Batik Kayu art products are actually not only masks, but other products such as sculptures, accessories, to household furniture, but masks remain the founders and superior products. The batik Kayu handicraft industry of the Bobung community has penetrated the export market in ASEAN member countries, namely Singapore and Malaysia, as well as other countries such as America, Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Canada, India, Japan and New Zealand (Pratiwi, et al. 2013: 133). Batik art

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In addition to batik masks, in Bobung Village there is also a classic mask, namely Topeng Panji. This mask still holds the standard structure of the mask, it's just that its behavior is not so sacred. This Panji Mask functions as a property in mask dance performances or Panji Mask Sendratari. According to Namtani (Hidajat, 2013: 231), the Panji play in written literature tells of four kingdoms led by four brothers, namely Koripan, or Kahuripan, Daha, Gegelang and Singhasari. The story of love and adventure between Panji Asmarabangun and Dewi Sekartaji is the main story in the Serat Panji. At certain events, this Panji Mask Sandratari is still performed by young people and also the older generation.

There are around 120 craftsmen in Bobung Village who are skilled in making batik Kayu art (Hermanu, 2012: 7). In addition to being the enterprise for the batik Kayu mask industry, Bobung Village has been named as a culture-based tourism village. Mask crafts combined with batik motifs, as well as the well-preserved classical mask art are the strength and excellence of this village. This is what attracts tourists to visit Bobung Village. Tourists can see firsthand the batik Kayu mask production process, from raw materials to finishing. Not only seeing, tourists are allowed to try themselves in making batik Kayu masks. In addition to making masks, tourists can watch the Panji Mask Sendratari played by residents and they can also practice the mask dancing.

The existence of mask art in Bobung Village, Patuk, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, which we can see today, cannot be separated from the enculturation process from generation to generation or from generation to generation. Enculturation can be said to be a cultural process, both formally and informally, accidentally and runs naturally (Widiarto, 2007: 53). This civilization process occurs gradually through environmental media. Enculturation occurs from an early age, through peers, family, community, workshops, schools, and others. Kuntraraningrat (2009: 189) states that by repeatedly doing the imitation, the actions become a steady pattern and norms that govern the "cultured" action. In the context of mask art, the enculturation process is very important for the survival and preservation of the art. Another opinion, according to Triyanto in Asriyani and Rachmad (2019: 81), is that enculturation is an attempt to inherit or traditionalize something (values, knowledge, beliefs, norms, attitudes, behaviors, skills) to become habits or customs (culture) to be owned and passed on. from one generation to the next in order to survive and be sustainable. The result of preservation from generation to generation is not the same, because the art that is passed down has undergone a process of transit and transition from time to time and from generation to generation. In relation to the topic of this study, the research questions are; 1) How is the process of enculturation of classical mask art and creations in Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta? 2) How has the mask art changed from the classical and modern times in Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta as a result of the enculturation process? This question will be answered and explained later in the discussion section of this paper.

Based on the background and study questions above, the purpose of this study is to explain in depth the process of enculturation of mask art, both classical and creative masks in Bobung Village, Kec. Patuk, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. The next objective is to explain the changes in mask art from the classical and modern times in Bobung Village, Patuk district,

Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta as a result of the enculturation process. This study is expected to be useful both practically and theoretically. Practically, this study is useful as a reference source related to the enculturation process in mask art in Bobung Village, whose existence is very promising. Theoretically, this study can add new insights to readers regarding enculturation studies using a multisite ethnographic approach. Theoretically, it is also useful as a growing sense of love for the nation's cultural arts for readers in particular and the wider community in general.

II. Research Methods

The study was conducted in Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region which was conducted online. The writer is an insider because he has been to Bobung Village many times (almost 2 years), so that he knows more or less the extent of the social and cultural conditions in the village. The village has been the center of the industry for classical batik mask art and batik creations, as well as a preserver of the Panji Mask Sandratasic culture since decades ago. This study uses a netnographic method with a single case strategy.

Netnography is a way to conduct anthropological research via the internet, using publicly available information that everyone is free to share via social media (Bakry, 2017: 21). In principle, this method is almost the same as classical ethnography, except that the data collection media is done online and the research subject is netizens. The research subjects were determined by the snoball sampling technique. This technique is used when the researcher does not yet know who the informants are relevant to the research topic. The research subjects were initially small in number and then reproduced and expanded. Sample data sources become bigger, like a rolling snowball, over time they become bigger (Sugiyono, 2015: 219).

Sources used in this study are informants, places & events, and documents or archives. The data collection techniques used were in-depth interviewing (online), participatory observation (online), and content analysis. Interviews were conducted with informants through online media (whatsapp) to extract data on the enculturation process from generation to generation from a time when masks were still a medium for ritual ceremonies, performing arts, creative products, and tourism. Observations were made online (Youtube and Google Earth) to explore data related to the conditions of the place and community activities in Bobung Village. Content analysis is carried out to explore document and archive data on the internet or documents sent by informants online to be sorted and selected then relevant to the topic of study.

The validity of the data was tested using 2 (two) techniques, namely triangulation of sources and review of informants. Source triangulation is used to test the validity of the data by checking the data that has been obtained through several sources (Sugiyono, 2013: 127). Sources of crosschecked data come from informant data, places & events, and documents / archives. Informant review is the process of checking data obtained by researchers from data providers / informants (Sugiyono, 2013: 129). This means that the data that has been obtained from the informant online, is processed, arranged, and returned to the informant as a form of confirmation whether the data that has been compiled is appropriate or not.

The data analysis technique used in this study is a flow model of analysis with procedures, namely data reduction, display, and verification. The collected data is certainly not small, so it needs to be reduced or simplified or selected which data is relevant which is not. Data is presented (display) in the form of tables or images for easy reading and understanding. The last procedure is data verification, if it is thought that the data is insufficient, the researcher can collect the data again, and if the data is thought to have fulfilled it can be concluded.

III. Discussion

As explained in the previous section, enculturation is a process of culture, a process of preservation, and a learning process related to values, norms, ethics, and traditional arts from the previous generation to the next. This is in line with Triyanto's opinion in Asriyani and Rachmad (2019: 81), enculturation is an attempt to inherit or traditionalize something (values, knowledge, beliefs, norms, attitudes, behaviors, skills) to become habits or customs (culture) to have and passed from one generation to the next in order to survive and be sustainable. By repeatedly doing the imitation, the actions become a steady pattern and norms governing "civilized" actions (Kuntraraningrat, 2009: 189). The connection with mask art is that the previous generation must cultivate this art to the next generation so that its existence will continue to exist and be sustainable into the future. The process of inheritance is certainly not the same between what is in the view of the older generation (inheritance) and what is in the view of the younger generation (inherited). This difference in views is influenced by the changing context of the times. This is what makes mask art experience changes in form, function and meaning from the past to the present.

Martozet and Nurwani (2019) stated that national cultural development means maintaining, preserving, protecting, spreading, utilizing and improving the quality of culture in a nation. This culture itself can be used as a source and reference in thinking of a nation to fit the norms and values that apply in the life of the nation and state. In relation to the notion of culture, cultural studies develop a cultural sense in a new meaning than in the past. A prominent feature is the view that culture is studied as an integral part of power and dominative relations in society, especially capitalist society which is the main study in the cultural studies (Srinawati, 2018). Culture According to Arif et al (2019) organizational culture is a pattern of beliefs and organizational values that are believed and imbued by all members in doing work as an appropriate way to understand, think, and feel about related problems, so that it will become a value or rule within the organization.

3.1 The Process of Enculturation of Mask Art (Classical Mask & Creative Mask) in Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta

Enculturation is a process of inheritance or learning informally or informally, even normally, which is carried out from generation to generation related to a form of culture. The batik Kayu mask crafts in Bobung Village, Patuk, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta has been around since several tens or even hundreds of years ago. Talk of enculturation, of course, cannot be separated from the theory of tradition. Tradition is defined as customs and beliefs that can be preserved from generation to generation (Soekanto, 1993: 459). There is an inheritance process which is characterized by something that is inherited, some are inherited, and some are inherited. This inheritance process is part of the enculturation study.

The art of classical masks and batik masks has been passed down by the people of Bobung Village from generation to generation. The enculturation process from ancient times until now did not happen the same because of the influence of the growing cultural context. Enculturation media also differ between the past and the present. The classic mask (Panji Mask) used to be a sacred art so not just anyone could make a mask and dance a mask. The Empu of the mask becomes a single player, so that the inheritance process is linear. This means that the classic mask at that time could only be inherited from the offspring of the mask Empu. Her descendants informally studied the principles of masks, the process of making masks, mantras / prayers, and how to dance masks from their parents (Empus). As a mask Empu, he usually had a higher degree than the general public at that time. The son of the Empu has absolute responsibility to continue the classical mask art.



(Source: Sujiman's Documentation, 2020)

Figure 1. *Classical Masks (Panji, Klana, Sekartaji, and Ragil Kuning)*

Over time, the classical masks seem to have begun to experience shifts in meaning, function and form. The mask inheritance process in Bobung Village has also undergone a shift, meaning that it is no longer passed down from generation to generation from certain lineages. Initially there was a conflict between the older and younger generations regarding the inheritance of this traditional art. According to Subiyantoro (2013: 169) there are 2 (two) views on the preservation of a tradition, the first group expects that traditional art is maintained as it is without any change, while the second group wants traditional art to be changed and developed according to the times, meaning form, meaning, and functions adapted to the current context. The first group is called the older generation who are already established with traditional customs, while the second group is the younger generation whose turmoil wants to always renew. Over time, the older generation lost their influence due to their decreasing number, from here the younger generation broke through the old order related to the preservation of mask art in Bobung Village.

Masks can be made by anyone and passed on to anyone, but some mask culture standards are still maintained. Their descendants from childhood were introduced to the Panji Mask starting from the story, character, and character or character of each character. Their descendants were also given instruction on how to dance the proper Panji Mask according to the prevailing cultural principles. The community established a training center to train Panji Mask Sendratari for kids and teens as well as adults who wanted to learn. Learning the Panji Mask ballet generally begins with an antagonist, only then is allowed to study the protagonist (Panji Asmarabangun and Dewi Sekartaji). The Panji and Sekartaji dances are the most difficult dances, not because of their simple movements, but because of the way of dancing that requires strength and patience (Yuhanda, 2017: 15). The dance style of the protagonist's mask is softer, smoother, and slower so that it is paradoxical with the antagonist's mask whose movements are fast and energetic. Not only in the studio, this mask dance lesson is sometimes taught by parents when they are at home. Panji Mask dance is also taught in schools through arts and culture subjects and skills.



(Source: Sujiman's Documentation, 2019)

Figure 2. Kids and Teen Practicing Dancing

Their descendants were also taught how to make masks. There are 2 (two) types of masks made in Bobung Village, namely classic masks and creative masks. Classic mask means a mask that is still guided by the characterizations in the Panji play. There are special rules in the making of each character in terms of the crown, eye shape, nose shape, mouth shape, to the color. Mask creations, means classic masks that have been modified in such a way that the cultural grip is completely lost. The masks created in Bobung Village are generally modified with batik motifs. The shape is changed in such a way according to the creativity of each craftsman. The generations of their descendants are taught techniques in making masks (classical and creative) both in the family environment, studio, and at school. They are taught how to make global, make details, refine, to batik and painting techniques. Initially they were only taught in theory, but gradually they were given the opportunity to make it directly. Making masks requires sharp equipment (sharp objects) so that the age criterion is sometimes a factor in whether a child can make a mask or not. In the family environment, children or their offspring are often asked for help from their parents to do certain things in mask making. They directly see the parents making masks, so that the child subconsciously records and processes them into experiences in making masks.

Learning mask making is not only done informally and informally. Making masks is often practiced in schools through arts and culture subjects and skills. On certain occasions, school students are also invited to Bobung Village to learn directly how to make masks. This step is the goal of pursuing schools to introduce local cultural and artistic heritage to children from an early age. Not only school students, students have also come to Bobung Village to see and learn firsthand how to make masks. These students come from various universities in Indonesia, for example, the Indonesian Institute of the Arts, Sebelas Maret University, Gadjah Mada University, and other universities both at home and abroad.



(Source: Sujiman's Documentation, 2019)

Figure 3. *Students and Students Learn Batik in Bobung*

The process of mask art enculturation in Bobung Village is not only aimed at preserving local cultural arts. There is another aspect behind this, namely the economic aspect. The people of Bobung Village created Panji Mask into a mask of batik creations that have economic value and are marketable. According to data from Maryono (2019: 90), the market share of Bobung Village craftsmen is 75% of the Yogyakarta area, 45% of the area outside Yogyakarta on the island of Java, and 25% of the market outside Java. Not only local, the batik Kayu handicrafts of Bobung Village have also penetrated the international market. The batik Kayu handicraft industry of the Bobung community has penetrated the export market to ASEAN member countries, namely Singapore and Malaysia as well as other countries such as America, Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Canada, India, Japan and New Zealand (Pratiwi, et al., 2013: 133).

This enculturation process will occur continuously from generation to generation, it's just that each generation has a different way of acceptance. This is what causes masks in Bobung Village to experience changes in both shapes, meanings and functions. Change is unavoidable because the context and dynamics of the times are constantly changing over time. The mask that was once sacred is now more profane.

3.2 Changes in Mask Art from the Classical Period to the Modern Period in Bobung Village, Patuk District, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta

It's just that the masks at that time were still sacred, while currently masks have been transformed into profane products that are more concerned with their economic value. This happens because during the enculturation process, mask art undergoes a transit process from generation to generation and from time to time, during which the value of mask art has changed. The influence of context and cultural acculturation makes masks undergo a transformation in both form, function and meaning. For more details, see the table below:

Table 1. Changes in Mask Art from Classical to Modern

	Pre-Modern (Classical)	Modern Age (Today)
Shape	Pakem (Grip)	Multi Forms / Creations (Batik)
Function	Sacred Performances	Economy & Tourism
Meaning / Value		
Creation	Made by Empu Mask	Made by anyone (craftsmen)
Inheritance	Bequeathed to the offspring of the Empu	Passed down to any generation

(Source: Data Analysis, 2020)

The table above illustrates that mask art in Bobung Village, Gunung Kidul has undergone changes in form, function, meaning / value, creation, and inheritance. In classical times, the form of the mask still had its own grip. The classic mask in Bobung Village is more representative of the Javanese legend, namely the Panji story. According to Hidajat in Wijaya (2018: 47) Panji is a story containing conflict (conflict between persons) between Panji and Klana Sewandana, or love story between Panji and Sekartaji. Panji Mask in Bobung Village also tells the story of the love and adventure between Dewi Sekartaji and Panji Asmarabangun, as well as the conflict between Klana Sawendana and Panji Asmarabangun. There are dozens of masks, and each mask has its own mana and characteristics. Today's modern era, Panji Mask has changed its shape so that its shape is no longer standard. Panji Masks have been developed into creative masks with different shapes and a batik motif added as a finishing.

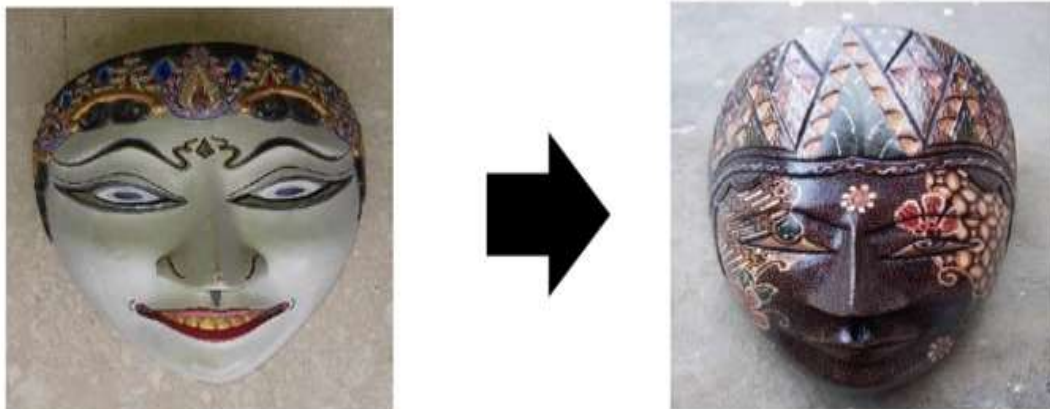


Figure 4. Past and Present Masks (Source: Sujiman's Documentation, 2019)

The function of masks in classical times and in modern times is very different today. The classical mask (Panji Mask) was used as a sacred performance art. Not everyone is allowed to play masks, especially the Panji and Sekartaji masks. Mask performances are only performed at certain times, for example, ruwatan, village cleanup, in-law, and so on. However, currently, Panji Mask in Bobung Village has changed its function as a handicraft and performance product that has economic value. This potential is then developed by the community into a culture-based tourism village. The classic Panji Mask currently still exists, but its sacred treatment is no longer what it used to be. This means that the classical mask has more value for religious beliefs, while the classical mask is more to fulfill the secular needs of humans.



(Source: Documentation of Sujiman, 2019)

Figure 5. Masks Making Crafts (Mr. Sujiman) & Creative Mask Works

The classic Panji mask in pre-modern times in Bobung Village can only be made by the owner. The making also uses sacred guidance. The Empu must fast firstly and make it done in a closed and quiet place so that other people cannot see. If someone else is forced to see it, the Empu must immediately stop the manufacturing process. The classical mask inheritance process may only be inherited by the offspring of the mask masters (Empu). Thus, no one else can master the science of making masks and dancing with masks. This is of course inversely proportional to modern masks. Modern masks can be made by anyone, anywhere. Other people can watch the making of masks when tourists visit Bobung Village. Everyone can make and learn to make masks and dance masks. Until the village of Bobung became the center for batik Kayu mask crafts, the number of craftsmen reached around 120 craftsmen (Hermanu, 2012: 7).

IV. Conclusion

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the process of enculturation of batik Kayu or wooden masks in Bobung Village, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta was carried out informally, non-formally, and formally. The inheritance of mask art has been carried out by the people of Bobung Village since masks were still classical (sacred) to creative (profane) masks. Their generation is taught knowledge about mask making and sandratari. Topeng Panji informally through the family environment. On a non-formal basis, their generation was taught to make masks and dance masks through the studio established by the Bobung community. The enculturation process of making masks and mask dance is also carried out formally, namely through the subjects of arts and crafts at school institutions. The process of enculturation of batik mask art in Bobung from generation to generation cannot be separated from the process of changing both the form, function and meaning of the mask. Initially, the form of masks in Bobung Village still held tightly to cultural standards, meaning that masks still represented characters in the Panji play and their behavior was still sacred. The shape of the mask is far different from the current mask which has been changed in shape and combined with batik motifs. Indeed, there is still Panji Mask as a mask dance media, but its behavior is no longer sacred. Changes in form are in line with changes in function and meaning. Initially, masks were meant as sacred objects for religious purposes, but nowadays masks have a more profane meaning and function as economic and tourism needs.

As a suggestion, other researchers can carry out this enculturation study using classical ethnography so that the participation of the researcher actually goes directly to the field and faces the community directly. This study only uses the netnographic method, so it is possible that data weaknesses appear compared to ethnography. Economic and tourism studies in Bobung Village also really need to be studied more deeply by other researchers out there.

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