

History, Stigma, and Adiluhung Values Reyog Obyog (Cultural Studies in Indonesia)

Rido Kurnianto^{1*}, Nurul Iman², Sigit Dwi Laksana³

¹Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo

^{2,3} Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo

*kurnianto.mama@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe Reyog Ponorogo from the historical aspect, the negative stigma that has accompanied its development, and local wisdom that spreads to all its components. This problem is studied using a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques using in-depth interviews with data collection tools is the researcher himself as a key instrument. The data analysis technique used in this research is descriptive analytical with the process of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The findings of this study are as follows; (1) Reyog Obyog is an important and inseparable part of Reyog Ponorogo. In fact, it is very possible that Reyog Obyog is the origin of the Reyog Ponorogo which has developed and is known to the public today; (2) Reyog Obyog performance model which tends to be free, not bound by standards, is performed in the audience and is predominantly filled with entertainment, in its development various negative stigmas have emerged in the community, namely eroticism, drunkenness, and mystical performance rituals; (3) The Reyog Obyog has a great value in the form of a noble life guidance which is strategic enough to be used as a medium for building civilization.

Keywords

Reyog Obyog, Stigma, History, Adiluhung Value (Great Value)

Introduction

The cultural wealth is a manifestation created and implemented by the ancestors. The form of cultural wealth according to UNESCO is divided into the tangible culture and intangible culture. (Bernardi, 2016) UNESCO further said that the consideration in determining cultural heritage is viewed from various aspects such as national identity, tradition, tourism, and also the economy, which of course this approach is in the broadest definition of "culture" following the concept of UNESCO's true cultural heritage. (Bernardi, 2016) UNESCO calls world cultural heritage as Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) which means something extraordinary and great and is the pride of the country. (Gullino & Larcher, 2013) Reyog Ponorogo art is one of the world legacies of the city of Ponorogo, which until now has been recognized and is still awaiting recognition from UNESCO. It is estimated that in 2021 it will be re-registered as an intangible cultural heritage to UNESCO.

Reyog Ponorogo art in the Bantarangin version of Reyog's performance tells of the struggle of Raja Kelana Sewandana in overthrowing the cunning King Singa Barong to get his ideal wife, Dewi

Sanggalangit. (Wardani et al., 2019) Meanwhile, Suryongalam's version of Reyog's performance tells of the satire that Suryongalam (Ki Ageng Kutu) made to the king of Brawijaya V. This art has always attracted the interest of researchers and developers to introduce it, to increase knowledge and experience, and improve interpretation. (Alkhafaji et al., 2020) The emergence of appreciation for Reyog Ponorogo art from various circles is truly unexpected. His speed far exceeds the development of Reyog's art itself. Until the early 90s, people only knew the obyog or obyogan version of Reyog Ponorogo, even though at that time this art was not yet called Reyog Obyog. This popular Reyog art was only officially recognized after 2005, the term Reyog Obyog became popular only after 2005 along with a suggestion from Suyud and his friends who were worried that Reyog Obyog would become extinct due to the popularity of Reyog Festival/Stage. (H. Ahmad Tobroni Torejo, n.d.)

Reyog's general characteristic is its populist nature and populist nuances that emphasize the entertainment side. This populist and entertainment side is the main characteristic of this Reyog, so that performances or performances

anywhere and for any purpose have the same characteristics, both in terms of instruments, types of dance, and forms of performance. The “free” nature of the performances in the developments in the field has given birth to several actions that later create a negative stigma in society. (R. Kurnianto, 2017) Some of the things that can be seen are (1) jatil dance creations modified from dangdut, jaipong, and gambyong dance to give off a sexy nuance which then portrays behavior that is considered eroticism; (2) the edrek dance, which was originally used as a visualization of non-verbal language – satire, turned into a dance that gave an impression of “perverted” behavior because it was not uncommon for pamarong and ganongan to receive edrek prizes to touch the body parts of jatil dancers. (Nugroho, 2016)

Oki Cahyono further explained that the edrek dance that was given to the audience was intended as a gift for their appreciation of the Reyog Ponorogo art, especially the Reyog stage that was taking place; the audience’s “indecent” sentences that point to sexuality; (4) the ideology of “alcohol” (liquor) which is believed by some of *Konco Reyog Obyog* to be used as a belief to beautify the show, has an impact on stage behavior which is considered “unethical” because *Konco Reyog*’s condition is not 100 percent healthy due to the influence of the alcohol. and several other performing behaviors that reap negative impressions from the public. (R. Kurnianto, 2017)

Meanwhile, on the other hand, Reyog Obyog keeps rich local wisdom, both those contained in the main instruments of this art, namely the barongan (peacock dadak), (Wijayanto et al., 2018) the art tools/instruments, and the dance. In the philosophical aspect, for example, barongan has a noble life value, that life and life of the most perfect gift of Allah SWT should be treated perfectly as well; Physical strength in the form of the body or body must be maintained so that it is strong in carrying out its obligations as a servant of Allah, just like the physical strength of a tiger in living a wilderness life filled with physical competition. (R. Kurnianto, 2017)

However, for humans, physical strength is insufficient and meaningless without the ornament of beauty. The combination of a tiger as a symbol

of strength and a peacock as a symbol of beauty cannot be separated. (Wijayanto et al., 2018) Physical strength must be decorated with beauty so that physical strength will not be used freely and wildly like what happened to the tiger. So there must be boundaries of appropriateness and beauty, so there is a peacock as an illustration of that beauty. Strong and beautiful become a combination of life that is lived as a noble creature created by the Almighty. This noble value is reflected in the main components of Reyog Ponorogo art, which is in the form of barongan, and so on, all Reyog Obyog components have very beautiful local wisdom. Based on this context, it is very rational if at the beginning of its birth the barongan tool was used as a medium for rejecting logs, with a deep philosophical value that disaster, life difficulties, epidemics, and the like would not be able to afflict or endemic when in humans. there is a blend of strength and beauty. This research is important to do, considering the following considerations: (1) Reyog Obyog is suspected to be the initial form of Reyog Ponorogo art in its current form. In other words, Reyog Obyog has strong historical roots as the origin of Reyog Ponorogo art, even though the term obyog was not born to accompany the birth of this noble art in Ponorogo; (2) Cultural arts that have a historical basis will have a high survival rate, which is difficult to eliminate because there will be a natural inheritance from generation to generation; (3) In the inheritance process, changes can occur through various modifications in aspects of the physical apparatus and the variety of dances as a bias against the demands of change or the era; (4) Within the dynamics of change, it is also possible to produce better and worse results depending on the context; (5) In the context of Reyog Obyog, the results of these dynamics, for example, the emergence of a response from the community to some changes or modifications that give rise to negative stigma, as described above. Based on the facts above, this research is important to provide an academic record of what is happening to this great art, as well as alternative solutions that can be given to oversee the preservation and development of Reyog Ponorogo art, especially Reyog Obyog.

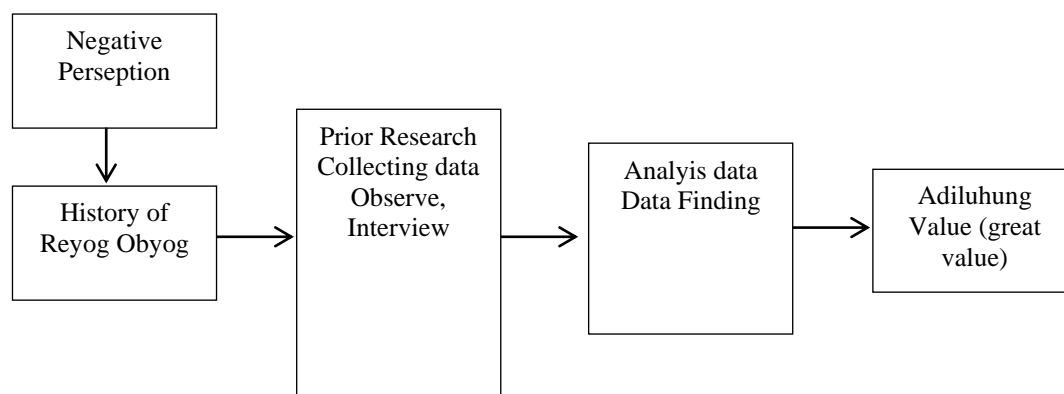


Figure 2.1 Research Framework

Material and methods

Area Study

This research was conducted in Ponorogo Regency, East Java, Indonesia, which is the original city of the birth of the Reyog Ponorogo culture which has been displayed magnificently (Ambarwangi, 2014), by determining its location based on the Reyog Ponorogo art unit or group using *purposive sampling* technique, namely the Reyog Ponorogo art group or located in several areas in Ponorogo Regency.

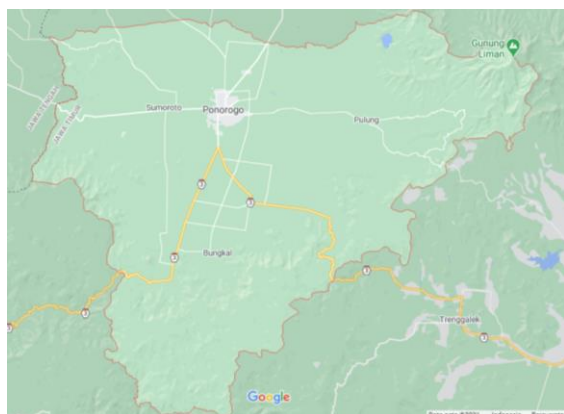


Figure 3.1 Map of Ponorogo Regency, East Java, Indonesia

Data Collecting

The data collection technique used in this study is a combination of observation, documentation, and in-depth interviews. Data collection using observational techniques is carried out so that the phenomena that occur in the Reyog groups can be understood in depth. This observation was carried

out to uncover questions about the formulation of cultural values (local wisdom) that exist potentially or actually in Reyog Ponorogo art. The interview was conducted to absorb data concerning Konco Reyog's understanding of the history, stigma, and noble values contained in Reyog Ponorogo art. In practice in the field, several parties are considered representative to provide valid information related to the required data, including the Tourism Office, the head of the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation, and the leader of the Reyog Ponorogo group (Konco Reyog). Interviews were conducted intensively and in-depth (in deep interviewing) by referring to the draft interview guide (interview guide). Interview activities are recorded in as much detail as possible so that the authenticity of the messages can be stored properly and then the results are transcribed to make it easier to study.

The documentation method is needed to complement additional data to support the validity of existing data by tracing written data that has relevance to the research theme. The activity is intended as an effort to extract data related to the values of Islamic education in Konco Reyog 12 schools and Islamic boarding schools which are documented in a book or note.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the data in this study using descriptive-analytical techniques. The data obtained in the field are processed in such a way before entering the analysis stage. At the processing stage, the data undergoes a process of editing and systematization. Editing is intended to

complement, explain, and find the relevance of the data with the research focus. Systematization is carried out as a follow-up to the editing process so that the data is arranged systematically within the framework of data exposure.(Huberman, 1987)

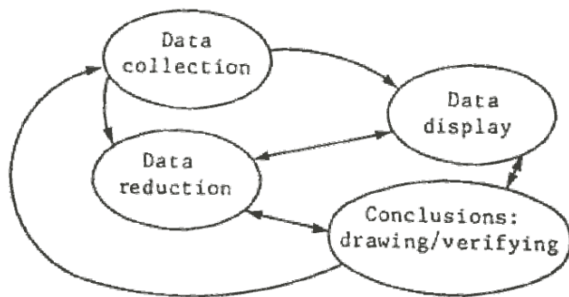


Figure 3.2 Data Analysis

Results

Based on the results of collecting data through observation, interviews, and documentation, data on history, and important values in the art of Reyog Obyog were obtained, including:

The Nature of Togetherness and the Value of cooperation.

The main thing that stands out by Reyog Obyog is the togetherness and cooperation shown at the time the show is performed. This reyog is performed without sticking to the official schedule, at any time it can be performed. The show initiative can come from anyone, does not require complicated and wordy discussion. Stage initiation can be anywhere; in a coffee shop, during a break working in the fields/fields, in the middle of patrolling activities or village chat, and so on. Once the performance was agreed upon, all Konco Reyog took part in the preparation for the show without a planned division of labor.(R. dan N. L. Kurnianto, 2016) The venue for the performance is also decided simply, the important thing is that it is comfortable according to the time measurement of the performance; It can be at the Reyog Obyog's practice site which is also a storage area for Reyog equipment, at the fork or intersection of the nearest village road, the yard of the local village hall, or the yard of residents which has a large area. Funding is also not well coordinated, usually, they share in the context of the ownership they can during the stage. So various forms of contribution are given

voluntarily; some give it in the form of cash contributions, cakes, drinks, cigarettes, to banquets. All the needs of the show are shared. No complaining, no burdening each other, but everything is done happily together - *saiyeg sak eko proyo*. This is what Kumorohadi calls when describing an obyog or obyogan in the Javanese dictionary "bebarengan nyambut gawe" with the same meaning in Indonesian "doing work together".(Kumarahadi, 2004)

Marker Music

In a guidebook published by the Ponorogo Regency Government,(Pemkab Daerah Tingkat II, 1993) obyog is the name of a type of Reyog accompaniment music. Two types of accompaniment music fall into the obyog category. First, obyog is music sounded as a sign of Reyog Obyog's performance or as a sign that Reyog's show is about to start; and Second, obyog is a type of Reyog accompaniment that is played to accompany the preliminary jatil dance performance. In the stage, obyog is also used as the name of the type of musical accompaniment during the peacock or barongan dadak stage. In the performance, the Ganongan and Kelono dances often use the accompaniment of kebo giro music, while the peacock or barongan dadak often uses the accompaniment of sampak and obyog music.(Soemarto, 2014)

Freedom of Expression

As explained above, Reyog Obyog is a traditional art with entertainment value, is very populist in nature, and is not bound by strict standards. The open and even "free" character of expression, on one hand, makes Reyog art survive quite strong, never subside by circumstances, even becoming the most reliable model of Reyog Ponorogo preservation, because it was initiated, supported, preserved, and developed by the community. However, on the other hand, the gap in freedom also creates a negative stigma that can be counter-productive with the preservation and development program itself.

Based on the characteristics of Reyog Obyog, it is assumed that Reyog was born together with the Ponorogo community. The reason is that the basic characteristics of the obyogan characterize the character of the people of Ponorogo with the spirit

of togetherness, kinship under the principle of cooperation. These values are thought to be inherited from the ancestors of Ponorogo, that culture is a blueprint that has become a compass in the journey of human life, serves as a guideline in behavior, and subsequently, the inheritance of values from generation to generation occurs.(Irwan Abdullah, 2010) Culture is formed in the process of interaction between human activities and the original environment, meanwhile, it has an impact on the environment and human society.(Zhang et al., 2017) High values as ideas that are included in the Reyog Obyog are transmitted continuously through symbols. Culture is a pattern of meanings or meanings that are thoroughly interwoven in symbols and transmitted historically.(Geertz, 1973) Naturally, the process of transmitting value will continue to occur, even going to a higher stage - becoming knowledge about life. It is further explained that culture is a system of conceptions that are inherited in symbolic form, by which humans can communicate, preserve, and develop their knowledge and attitudes towards life.(Geertz, 1973)

Based on the explanations from various research sources, it is not certain when Reyog Ponorogo was born, but several tracing of writings related to historical facts, it is suspected that Reyog Ponorogo appeared around 1235 AD,(Soedjidjono, 2009) which was popular with Reyog Tempo Dulu, consisting of; gendruwon, tiger head, jaranan braid, penthul and chubby accompanied by gong gumbeng (gamelan made of bamboo). The peacock or barongan dadak dancer consists of 2 (two) people; one person acts like a tiger mask dancer covered in a long cloth and one person behind him in the same cloth. [6] Reyog shows like this lasted until the 1940s, because after that only one player was played. The presumption of the emergence of Reyog Obyog is in line with the early existence of the Ponorogo community,(Wijayanto et al., 2018)

In connection with the negative stigma, the researcher conducted an interview with the General Chairperson of the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation, The results of the researcher's interview with the Chairperson of the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation-Mr. Budi Warsito obtained an explanation that eliminating Reyog Obyog's

negative image was related to the tradition of alcohol and mystical behavior of pembarong, a certification program was held. for pembarong who started in August 2020 for the basic level and will be continued at the intermediate and advanced levels. Meanwhile, negative images related to eroticism and others aimed at Jatil Obyog dancers have been discussed on the facilitation of the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation in the Srawung Ponorogan forum which is held once a month, involving all Reyog Obyog and especially the Jatil Obyog dancers. This program, as stated by the Chairman of the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation, has started in October 2020 and will be held regularly every month.

The problems described above, once again, have formed Reyog Obyog's image to become a "minir" in his community. However, the interesting thing is that even though this negative stigma continues to grow, the public is still very enthusiastic about Reyog Obyog's show. Every time the Obyog performance is held, it will certainly be visited by the public. The "Simultaneous Performance of Reyog on the 11th of Every Month" program launched by the Regional Government under the leadership of Regent Ipong Muchlissoni in 2019 proves the high appreciation of Ponorogo people for Reyog Obyog.

Discussions

The Context for Reyog Obyog's Negative Stigma to Develop

The negative stigma against Reyog was triggered by several things; **First**, the habit of drinking alcohol by "unscrupulous" barongan and ganongan dancers before performing on the pretext of beautifying the show, is generalized by the community as a tradition inherent in the art of Reyog Ponorogo. **Second**, mystical beliefs related to enhancing physical strength in the form of "implants" (inserting certain objects into the body through mystical rituals) which are believed and practiced by "unscrupulous" pamarong to be able to dance barongan easily and lightly, has given rise to the public's assessment, that Reyog Ponorogo is an art that is full of mystical practices.(Soemarto, 2014)

Third, the individual dance of Jatil Obyog dancers when they enter the free dance with

gamelan accompaniment which is modified from other music genres, such as gambyong, jaipong, dangdut, campursari, and others, bringing the atmosphere of the show even more festivity. Dancers are free to perform dances following the musical repertoire or songs sung by gamelan players. The highlight of this section is the atmosphere that encourages all the audience to dance together. At this dance session, the audience is often used to be able to dance with Jatil in a close position so that at the same time the audience who managed to get close and dance with Jatil used this opportunity to give saweran (giving some money to be able to touch the jatil's body part). It is in this context that the stigma of eroticism, indecency, cheap women, and so on is born.

Fourth, the edrek dance that was presented by jatil dancers for pamarong, ganongan, and the audience tended to have an erotic odor and was far from the edrek dance that it should be, which depicts an allusion to the policies of King Brawijaya V which are more concerned with the family and ignore the people. The change in the edrek dance stage from carrying out a satirical mission to an erotically memorable dance then created a stigma against the Jatil Obyog dancers. Besides, individual attitudes are also related to the clothes chosen, among which dancers tend to choose clothes that add a stronger negative image, for example, shorts (above the knee).



Figure 5.1. Jathil's teased dancer

The facts in the field, Reyog Obyog's performance practice has undergone significant changes over time. The ideology of drinking, which was practiced by "unscrupulous" players of Reyog, has been well understood by *Konco Reyog*, (R. Kurnianto, 2017) that to be able to perform well, sports and training are needed. To oversee the preservation and development of Reyog Obyog,

the Reyog Ponorogo Foundation has organized a certification program for pamarong which began in August 2020 for the basic level and will be continued at intermediate and advanced levels.

Local Wisdom from Reyog Obyog

Reyog Obyog, who was thought to have been born and grew up under the creations of the Ponorogo ancestors, is not original and meaningless. Judging from the main instrument of this art in the form of two wild animals that both have advantages, it gives a pretty clear picture that the choice of the standard components of Reyog Ponorogo is not only based on the art instincts of their ancestors, but also in the context of their beliefs ("religion").

The ceremonial tradition of rejecting logs to ward off dangers caused by disasters, disease epidemics, and other life difficulties characterizes the context of the belief of the ancestors of the Ponorogo community as dynamism animists. The use of tigers and peacocks as ritual media demonstrates this allegation. The two beasts in animist beliefs are considered to be superior animals; tigers with their power to be called the king of the jungle and peacocks with their beauty are used as ritual media to invite the "spirit" or "yoni", both of which become a force that can protect and repel all logs.

Reyog Ponorogo art with the main component of dadak peacock or barongan is strongly suspected to be the creation of artists at that time on the ritual tradition that has become the belief of the ancestors of the Ponorogo people who have superior values and strategic values to be used as a medium for civilization development. The main instrument of Reyog Ponorogo (the head of a tiger and peacock) becomes the center of the character that the whole art performance of Reyog Ponorogo is aimed at. (R. Kurnianto, 2017) Strong and beautiful are the two main pillars of personality, and this message is expected to be conveyed in the whole art performance of Reyog Ponorogo and at the same time underlies the entire artistic philosophy of Reyog Ponorogo. The barongan device, namely the head of a tiger and a peacock, has a great meaning, namely the attitude of courtesy and virtue in the unity of the power of the meaning of the tiger and the beautiful meaning of the peacock. [8] Being brave and virtuous is a

combination of superior personalities that Ponorogo people must have, either as individuals, family members, or part of the wider community. Meanwhile, the other side of the contradiction in the character of the two beasts. He wrote, that the value of the character is also contained in the dance of dadak peacock, which is derived from the "barongan" (tiger and peacock); the head depicts the nature of arrogance and arrogance, while the peacock as a symbol of modesty and gentleness, contains an educational message that arrogance and arrogance will be destroyed and melted by politeness and gentleness as a form of noble morals.(Nursilah, 2001) When viewed carefully, the edrek dance is aimed at the three components of Reyog Object (pemborong, Ganongan, and the audience), so the movement of the Jatil dance is always to the right. This shows the moral demands of the Javanese people, namely the culture of *angguh-ungguh* (positive behavior based on courtesy) which in Javanese culture or tradition is indicated by movement or the right direction.(R. Kurnianto, 2017) Thus, in Reyog Obyog art, it turns out that it is also full of noble messages that are important to be raised so that not only messages of "entertainment" emerge as most people have understood so far.

Conclusion

The origins of Reyog Ponorogo, especially the version of Obyog, are thought to have been born at the same time as the Ponorogo community. The standard instruments of Reyog Ponorogo (tiger and peacock) - two superior animals in the wilderness are thought to underlie Ponorogo's great art, with the consideration that the religious context of the Ponorogo community at that time was the original religion of the dynamism animism family. The ritual of rejecting balak as a way of life-based on belief or "religion" with the media of two wild animals, is possible to strongly underlie the basic character or identity of the Ponorogo community that Ponorogo ancestors or ancestors want to convey to their children and grandchildren to this day. Regardless of whether the data-based allegations of the Ponorogo figures are scientifically correct or only fictional, it is clear that deeper research is needed regarding the history of Reyog Ponorogo and in particular Reyog Obyog.

The performance context with Reyog Obyog's dynamic development which is quite rapid has given birth to the performing attitude of the players with various colors. Various performance contexts have also given rise to demands on the players to make changes and adjustments so that without realizing the various performance modifications created, especially in the Jatil Obyog dance, give birth to a negative stigma in the community which turns out to still give very high appreciation to the Reyog Obyog show anytime and anywhere. held. Of course, various public criticisms formulated in a negative stigma need to be addressed so that Reyog Obyog players are also able to reward their appreciation with increasingly beautiful performances.

On the other hand, Reyog Obyog's local wisdom, which has been preserved as a great potential, is time to be actualized in the form of positive activities through various media or channels, including the world of education, Islamic boarding schools, as well as the community or group of Reyog Obyog so that Reyog Obyog is getting more advanced and empowered.

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