

# History of Inheritance of Wayang Topeng Malangan (Malang Traditional Mask Puppet) in Pakisaji and Tumpang

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#### Abstract

This study aims to explain the history and process of inheriting mask puppet art in two representative hermitages (padepokan) (in Malang, namely Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji sub-district and Mangun Dharma in Tumpang sub-district). This research uses a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques are done through interviews, observation, and study documents. The process of inheritance includes art practices such as dancing, puppeteering, playing musical instruments, and making masks and transferring knowledge about Wayang Topeng Malangan. Inheritance is generally done since offsprings (children/grandchildren) are still at an early age. The history of the inheritance of the traditional mask puppet art in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun has occurred for six generations of this family since before 1930 starting from the Serun period. The sixth Padepokan Asmoro Bangun Heirs are two daughters named Winnie Padnecwara (15 years old) and Dita Andhika Raja Padmi (12 years old) who learned this art since the age of four. Padepokan Mangun Dharma is the home of mask puppet art, as well as music, traditional dance, and theatre, macapat, puppetry, and shadow puppets. The history of the inheritance of this hermitage began with the great-grandfather of the puppeteer Soleh namely Kek Sainten (Grandpa Sainten). The current heir of Padepokan Mangun Dharma is the son of the puppeteer Soleh, Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo, who also learned puppetry both autodidact and formally through college. Although inheritance occurs vertically, which is hereditary in each hermitage, horizontal inheritance also occurs between the two. This indicates that the inheritance process of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Mangun Dharma are related to each other.

Keywords: Inheritance; Mask Puppet; Malang; Mangun Dharma; Padepokan Asmoro Bangun

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#### INTRODUCTION

Inheritance (transmitting cultural values) is a hereditary tradition that considers values, beliefs as a matter of necessity and completeness from certain communities (Cahyono, 2006). The art of Wayang Topeng Malangan has developed for hun-

dreds of years in the life of the people of Malang through the process of inheritance carried out by artists and hermitages. This traditional art has become its own identity and contains local teaching about moral, philosophical, and historical values. Nevertheless, the preservation of mask puppet art in the city of Malang deserves

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attention because the number of active hermitages is no longer found. Furthermore, the art of Malang mask puppet is no longer widely known by the younger generation in the city of Malang. The younger generation considers traditional art as an ancient thing, some do not even know and have access to mask puppet art (Nirwana & Setiyati, 2018). Art practices and appreciation activities are limited to only a few groups such as artists, art students, researchers, and cultural observers, without the support of the community who is the owner. If it relates to the process and model of inheritance of the Malang mask puppet art, Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Padepokan Mangun Dharma are two good examples. Both these hermitages are still intensively carrying out art practices to aim at bequeathing knowledge and maintaining the preservation of the Malang mask puppet art.

John W Berry divides the inheritance system into two, namely vertical transmission and horizontal transmission (Rochmat, 2013). Vertical transmission is a hereditary inheritance system, according to Jazuli (2011) that inheritance is a genetic process. Horizontal transmission is a system of inheritance through educational institutions, including the hermitage and art studio. Educational institutions can be a medium of inheritance because another meaning of inheritance is the process of transferring the competencies of teachers to students (Jazuli, 2011). Inheritance is the process of transmitting values, beliefs, cultural motives, and especially skills. According to Rochmat (2013), the process of inheritance is not only done through learning, but also daily experiences, observations, folk tales, and so on. Inheritance in the Malang mask puppet art of refers to the transmission of skills in the fields of dance, puppetry, mask craft/creation, as well as traditional music. The process of inheritance also transmits knowledge, history, puppet characters, philosophical values, and symbolization. According to Hidayah et al. (2012), cultural inheritance is not only about recording the material aspects, but also understanding the meaning [art] for members and their communities, the relationship between members, and the relationship between the arts and their supporting communities. The inheritance of art in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Mangun Dharma is carried out to transmit the Malang mask puppet art to the family, from one artist to another, and the general public.

Suprihatin and Pratamawati (2019) in their research explained that the success of inheritance of Malang shadow puppets occurred through routine padepokan activities such as dance training and mask making, compiling promotional media, and expanding relations with relevant stakeholders. According to Suprihatin and Pratamawati (2019), these activities made Padepokan Asmoro Bangun one of the four successful hermitages in preserving the art of Malang mask puppet to date. In contrast to what has been reviewed by Suprihatin and Pratamawati, this study focuses on the process and practice of inheritance (vertically) and between artists (horizontally) that occur in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Padepokan Mangun Dharma. This research aims to explain the role and interests of the heirs of the arts in realizing the success of the preservation of the art of Malang mask puppet. The inheritance model between offspring and between artists carried out by these two padepokan can be an example for padepokan, the arts community, as well as artists to preserve traditional and local arts so that they can last for generations, from generation to generation of artists' families. The inheritance model carried out by Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Mangun Dharma also shows that collaboration between padepokan and artists is a vital factor in the preservation of traditional arts.

#### **METHOD**

This research is a type of qualitative research using data collection techniques through interviews, observations, and document studies. The object of research in this paper is two *padepokan*, namely Pa-

depokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji subdistrict and Padepokan Mangun Dharma in Tumpang sub-district. Interviews were conducted with two padepokan leaders namely Tri Handoyo and Soleh Adi Pramono, along with several family members from the two padepokan. The process of interviewing, observing, and studying documents periodically had been conducted from September 2017-May 2020. Data collection techniques through observation are carried out through participation in art activities in both schools such as performances, exhibitions, seminars, workshops, or discussions. The document study was carried out by searching for written sources both through the personal library of the interviewees and the public library, to complete the research data and become a secondary data source in this study.

#### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Two representative padepokan in the development and preservation of traditional arts, including Wayang Topeng Malangan, namely Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji and Padepokan Mangun Dharma in Tumpang. In 1930-1960, there were more than 220 art groups in the city of Malang, but only a few have survived to this day. Through the presentation of inheritance and history from Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Padepokan Mangun Dharma, it can be assumed that the success of the process has an impact on the sustainability of the arts. Two patterns of inheritance, namely vertical (in descendants/ family) and horizontal (between artists), carried out by Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Padepokan Mangun Dharma over the past few decades have made these two padepokan still standing and actively contributing to the development and preservation of traditional art in Malang, especially the mask puppet.

Padepokan Asmoro Bangun is located in the Kedungmonggo hamlet in the Karangpandan village of Pakisaji subdistrict, Malang. The name of the hermitage is taken from the name of the most central figure of mask puppet, Panji Asmorobangun. The Padepokan Asmoro Bangun arts group started from the generation of Serun with the name Pandawa Lima in 1880-1917. In Hidayat's writings (2008), it is explained that Serun learned the Malang mask puppet art from his uncle named Gurawan when he was in Bangeran plantation area in the Wijiombo region, Gunung Kawi. Whereas Gurawan studied Malang mask puppet directly from Mbah Reni in Polowijen village, known as Malang mask maestro. Kusdewanti et al. (2014) mentioned in her writings that Serun who came from Kedungmonggo was a student of Gurawan's. Serun was the one who brought the Mlangan mask puppet art to the Kedungmonggo hamlet in Karangpandan village, Pakisaji sub-district, Malang. This family has an important role in making mask puppets a part of folk art and for generations to maintain the continuity of the Malngan mask puppet art in Pakisaji sub-district.

Serun's leadership was bequeathed to his son named Kiman after Serun passed away in 1930. Kiman was better known as Pak Pario (Mr. Pario) and during his leadership, his cousin named Rasimen until 1980 was known as a puppeteer whose abilities were recognized with clear, loud, and unique vocal characteristics, so that the Malang mask puppet performance in the era of Kiman and Rasimen was always lively (Hidayat, 2008). During Kiman's leadership, this art group was known as 'Garuda Ngarep' and had many followers even from other cities such as Pasuruan, Probolinggo, and Lumajang. Kiman's son, Parijo (known as Karimun) was known to be very serious in learning Malang mask puppet and began to learn to dance since 1933 (Safarudin, 2013).

Afterward, the leadership of the arts group was then led by Karimun, Taslan Harsono, and Tri Handoyo as the third, fourth, and fifth family heirs. This family art group is known by the name Padepokan Seni Asmoro Bangun since the third leadership period, Karimun, also changed not only to the art group that performed

the Malang mask puppet show, but also craftsmen or mask artists since that time. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun has been passed down for five generations concerning the Malang mask puppet show and three generations concerning mask crafts. Presented by Balok Safarudin (interview on 22 April 2018), Karimun was known for his seriousness in learning Malang mask puppet. Karimun has never missed the mask puppet learning from Malang since he was a child, although the other students were adults. Karimun studied not only dancing but also masterminding and carving masks. During Karimun's leadership, this art group began to be known as Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and managed to hold performances even outside the city such as Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Situbondo, and generally in villages in Malang. Despite many obstacles, Karimun and his son, Taslan Harsono diligently maintained the existence of the Malang mask puppet. Both of them did a lot of fixing dance material and carving art (sculpture).

In this era, not only artists were active in learning the Malang mask puppet, but each art group was interrelated and related to one another (Hidayat, 2005). Artists in this era learned the Malang mask puppet directly from the teachers they wanted, for example, Kangsen from Jabung studied the Malang mask puppet from Tirtowinoto (Supriyanto & Pramono, 1997), Chattam AR, known as the mask puppet artist learned from Karimun and Kangsen (Hidayat, 2005), Sujopo (interview 7 April 2018) explained the learning process from Karimun in Kedungmonggo and also in Glagahdowo. In that era, according to him, artists were interconnected with each other and generally, students came to the hermitage and the place where their teacher lived to learn the Malang mask puppet. Inheritance of the Malang mask puppet through a good family system refers to two things, namely the family in terms of heredity and family in the sense of being part of a large community that lives in one area and the owner of the Malang mask puppet art. The inheritance of the Malang mask puppet through descent occurs in every art group such as that in the Padepokan Asmoro Bangun family in Kedungmonggo or Padepokan Mangundharma in Glagahdowo, and other hermitages in Malang.

As the fourth heir of this family, Taslan Harsono died first in 1992 due to illness while Karimun as the third heir died in 2010. The leadership of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun which was officially established in 1982 was later taken over by Tri Handoyo and his brother named Suroso although, at the time, only Tri Handoyo was directly and officially held. In both the leadership of padepokan and other activities, family members such as wife, children, nieces, sisters, and brother-in-law of Tri Handoyo actively participated in dancing, teaching dance, becoming *pengrawit*, and as a craftsman in masks. Inheritance through generations in the family has become a habit and is considered to have its privileges. Based on the story that is commonly known by this family, explained by Bayu (interview on 29 September 2017) that at first, Tri Handoyo did not have the desire to inherit the leadership of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun. However, in the end, Tri Handoyo felt that the inheritance of the Malang mask puppet and mask craft had become an obligation for the descendants of this family. Tri Handoyo leads Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and participates in many events both at home and abroad to preserve and develop Malang mask puppet.

The inheritance of Malang mask puppet and the family mask crafts was done on not to the eldest son or daughter but to offspring who were considered to have the dedication and desire to maintain Padepokan Asmoro Bangun. Tri Handoyo himself is the second son of Taslan Harsono. In his childhood, Handoyo often ran away from the learning of his grandfather Karimun but in the current era chose to quit his permanent job and dedicate his life to Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Malang mask puppet. While Suroso chose to become a civil servant and was not

directly involved in the leadership of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun. As having been done from generation to generation, the inheritance of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun, Malang mask puppet, and the family mask crafts will also be done on to the two daughters of Tri Handoyo. Tri Handoyo and Saini have two daughters who are actively involved in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun's activities. Tri Handoyo's two daughters are named Winnie Padnecwara (15 years) and Dita Andhika Raja Padmi (12 years). Dita, especially as the youngest daughter is considered to have a strong desire to inherit the leadership of Tri Handoyo. Saini said (interview on 30 September 2017) that her youngest daughter from childhood until now has a desire to inherit what her parents have done and is even considered to have excellent dancing skills.

The two daughters of Tri Handovo and Saini actively participated in the mask puppet performance in Malang on a regional, national, and international scale and also participated in dance training conducted at Padepokan Asmoro Bangun on children in the neighbourhood of padepokan and tourists or visitors who came. It was stated by Winnie Padnecwara (interview on 29 May 2018) that the learning of dancing and Malang mask puppet was carried out from 3.5 years old while Dita Andhika Raja Padmi started at the age of 5 years. Winnie said that the interest in the shadow puppet mask was due to seeing what was done by parents especially Tri Handoyo, while according to Dita (interview on May 29, 2018), many friends learned Malang mask puppet, or more precisely dancing mask in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun also motivate him to study Malang mask puppet more diligently. Besides, the factor that almost all family members are dancers and performers of Malang mask puppet art also motivated the learning process of Tri Handoyo's two daughters. In addition to Tri Handoyo and Saini, other family members such as their uncles and aunts or children also actively become mask puppet performers in Padepokan Asmoro

Bangun. Yati and Edi Wibowo, for example, are the younger siblings of Tri Handoyo who work in making masks or Bayu who are the nephews of Tri Handoyo who are active as *pengrawit* in Malang mask puppet performances in Malang. Winnie Padnecwara and Dita Andhika Raja Padmi are the sixth heirs of this family who are also the first female heirs to lead Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in the future. Mask puppets are known as traditional arts which in the past were exclusively occupied only by men so that the inheritance of Winnie Padnecwara and Dita Andika Raja Padmi who are women is a crucial step and challenges the tradition of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun.

Although it has been passed down from generation to generation and can be said to be successful until the sixth generation, the inheritance of the Malang mask puppet art in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun to Winnie Padnecwara and Dita Andika Raja Padmi has not been finished. The learning and inheritance process runs throughout the lives of these young artists, especially when it comes to Malang mask puppet which requires mastery not only in dance, but also puppetry, the ability to make masks and play music. The puppeteer is considered as the central figure of the show leader and the arts community, the musical accompaniment is a representation of prayer, while the mask is the spiritual and most sacred point in Malang mask puppet. So, the heirs of this art should master each of these fields as being done by generations before them. However, both Winnie (15) and Dita (12) are still at a relatively young age to master the entire field of the Malang mask puppet, so the process of inheritance to the two from the dance field. Moreover, in Malang mask puppet, it is required for artists in sharpness and mental processing called waskito (Melany & Nirwana, 2016). So that the inheritance of the Malang mask puppet art in Padepokan Asmoro Bangun is a lifelong process.

The inheritance of the Malang mask puppet performed by Padepokan Asmoro Bangun towards their family or descen-

dants not only emphasizes the ability as an artist but also the attitudes that must be inherited by the heirs of the Malang mask puppet. Based on the results of an interview with Dita (June 29, 2018) that the desire to teach and maintain the continuity of the Malang mask puppet is done with no strings attached and without even benefiting materially. The Malang puppet heirs are considered to be ready to provide learning wherever they are asked whether with or without financial benefits. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun has experienced six times of hereditary inheritance. The heirs of the Malang mask puppet art from Padepokan Mangun Dharma from time to time dedicated themselves to the development of these traditional arts. So, when talking about mask puppet, Padepokan Asmoro Bangun is one of the representative art communities from Malang who has succeeded in carrying out the process of inheritance to date. In addition to the hermitage named and built by Karimun in 1982, another hermitage in Tumpang named Padepokan Mangun Dharma is also another representative of the Malang mask puppet

Padepokan Mangun Dharma is located on the slope of Mount Bromo in Tulus Besar village, Tumpang District, established under the name 'Mangun Dharma', taken from the name of the street where the *padepokan* was built in 1989. Padepokan Mangun Dharma is home to a variety of Malang traditional arts, but Malang mask puppet is an icon and the main material of this hermitage (Jannah & Yanuarti, 2019). Padepokan Mangun Dharma is known for providing non-formal arts education to prospective artists who come from families, surrounding communities, students from outside Malang, to foreign countries. The Panji Festival annual event was held at Padepokan Mangun Dharma in 2001 (interview on 8 February 2019), which was an initiation in maintaining the continuity of the Panji culture and its arts. Padepokan Mangun Dharma then from year to year represents the city of Malang as a participant of the Panji Festival which is also

followed by several regions such as Pasuruan, Kediri, Blitar, Tulungagung, Yogjakarta, Jakarta, as well as from representatives of other countries such as Thailand and Myanmar.

Based on the results of an interview with Soleh Adi Pramono (May 10, 2020), the era of the art community of the Padepokan Mangun Dharma family began in 1800 by the great-grandfather of the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono named Kek Sainten (Grandpa Sainten). Kek Sainten established a padepokan named Padepokan Mangir because it was located in the Mangir gorge in Kemulan hamlet of Tulusbesar village, Tumpang sub-district. The return of the puppeteer Soleh to the Tumpang area and establishing Padepokan Mangun Dharma can be considered as returning to the place where his ancestors devoted themselves to the arts in the Tumpang area. Kek Sainten has been involved in traditional arts since the leadership of RAA Surya Adiningrat who is known for his support of the Malang mask puppet art and Mbah Reni (Grandma Reni), a prominent and respected mask artist in the Polowijen area. Kek Sainten learned the art from Ki Abunawas in Bunder village.

The son of Kek Sainten named Gartam had a community of Mask Puppet continuing the dedication of his parents. Gartam then became the regent of Malang and obliged each village to foster the Malang mask puppet activities. Gartam's efforts paid off within 1820 there were approximately 220 art groups throughout The Greater Malang. The district employees also received mask dance training. In 1911, Kek Sainten's son, Kik Roesman, continued the leadership of Padepokan Tuluayu. Through the dedication of Kik Roesman, Malang mask puppet art began to spread in the area of East Malang to the Tengger mountains. In the Tengger area, Malang mask puppet plays a substitute for the Mahabarata and Ramayana stories. According to Pramono (2014: 99-100), the mountainous area must not perform wayang kulit (shadow puppet) because shadow puppet actors are taken from Rama-

yana and Mahabaratha which will feature figures of Pandavas gods and ancestors who must be worshiped, then the role of ruwatan media of shadow puppet is replaced with media of shadow puppets with Panji actors. Malang maks puppet with the background of the Panji story was held in Upacara Sedekah Bumi, Ujar Kaul, and Ruwatan Lakon Jagad Gumelar. The spread of the Panji story took place in the Tengger area such as Wanakersa, Ledhok Amba Kedhampul, Dhuwet, and Gubuk Klakah which contained the Pabanyola Inscription issued by Kadewangurwan in Madhalan, Pajar village. Malang Mask Puppets are also scattered in the Ngarai Valley such as Nggedhok Codho, Jambesari, Karanganyar, Kidhal, Glagahdowo, Tamiajeng, Jabung, and other areas.

In 1928-1935, Kik Roesman's son Tirtowinoto took over the leadership of Padepokan Tuluayu. Tirtowinoto played a major role in the dissemination and preservation of the Malang mask puppet in East Malang and was later called by the Konsevatori Karawitan Indonesia (Indonesian Karawitan Conservatory) in Surabaya and provided dance, Karawitan, Iringangan, and Pedhalangan Wayang Topeng Malangan (Malang mask puppet performance). Surabaya then has the Malang Mask Puppet Competency Standards, which is one of the contributions of Tirtowinoto, the uncle of the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono. Precisely, in 1935, Padepokan Tuluayu was replaced by Padepokan Pencak Silat and Mocopat Malangan, led by Tirtowinoto's younger brother, Sapari. In 1984, Sapari's son, the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono, built a new hermitage. The padepokan built by the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono is the third hermitage of this family. The puppeteer Soleh also owns the Malang Mask Puppet Association named Wiruncana Mocopat Ndarumulya in Glagahdowo. This Padepokan named Padepokan Mangun Dharma which is located on Jln. Raya Mangun Darmo No.8 Rt/Rw 28/03 Kemulan hamlet, Tulusbesar village, Tumpang sub-district, Malang. Padepokan Mangun Dharma consists of several

units, namely: (1) Malang Dance Unit; (2) Wiruncana WTM Unit; (3) Parijati Pedaling Unit; (4) Ndarumulya Mocopat Unit; (5) Kerawitan Unit; (6) Turonggokusumo Jaran Kepang Unit; (7) Banthengan Handhokomulyo Art Unit; (8) Mask Craft Unit; (9) Shadow Puppet Craft; (10) Fashion and Makeup Unit (interview on 10 May 2020). Until now, Padepokan Mangun Dharma is led by the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono with the help of his son and the heir named Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo.

Looking at the pedigree of the puppeteer family, Soleh Adi Pramono shows that the heirs of this family spread the arts to several regions in The Greater Malang. The puppeteer Soleh decided to return to Tumpang and established Padepokan Mangun Dharma because it coincided with the Tumpang area which was planning the formation of the Semeru Bromo Tengger National Park Tourism Working Group. Kemulan hamlet is right between Jago Temple and Gunung Tabor Tumpang Tourism lodging as SBT National Park Transit Tourism. Mask puppet was held as an art performance that was presented. Until the year 2000, Tulusbesar village received the Cultural Arts Tourism Village Award. This has encouraged many mask dance students to come both from within and outside the country. Besides, another personal reason that the Kemulan hamlet is the origin of the puppeteer Soleh's father, Sapari.

The puppeteer Soleh said that the construction of Padepokan Mangun Dharma was a calling of the soul and continued the mandate in continuing the socialization of Wayang Topeng Malangan, Wayang Kulit, and Mocopat Malangan. As a descendant of the puppeteer, Soleh Adi Pramono holds the status of a true puppeteer and has an honorable status in the community and the local artist community of Malang. The puppeteer Soleh (interview on 8 February 2019) explained that status as a true puppeteer gives the right to hold ruwatan (ceremony to reject disaster). This was inherited by the puppeteer Soleh from his uncle Tirtowinoto who was known and believed to be the puppeteer. In his time, Tirtowinoto was the main choice in holding a *ruwatan* ceremony (Hidayat, 2019). In the eyes of the puppeteer Soleh, Ki Roesman and his uncle Tirtowinoto are artists who aspire to the return of Malang mask puppet in their fostered areas. Malang mask puppet suffered a setback and gradually disappeared from 1945 until its peak stopped in 1965. In 1976, the government began to revive Malang mask puppet and one of the students from Tirtowinoto named AM Munardi, a teacher at Surabaya High School took part contribute to this effort.

In 1972 after graduating from high school, the puppeteer Soleh studied at KONRI (Conservatory Karawitan Indonesia). The puppeteer Soleh worked as an employee of the Kasi Culture technical staff, Ministry of Education and Culture Malang in 1975-1979. In 1979, the puppeteer Soleh then majored in dance at the Yogyakarta Art Institute and graduated as a dance graduate in 1984. The puppeteer Soleh also studied the Malang mask puppet art in several prominent artists and puppeteers in Malang following his uncle Tirtowinoto, Mbah Karimun (Kedungmonggo), Mbah Samoed, Mbah Rasimun, Mbah Kimun, and Mbah Jakimen. The puppeteer Soleh (interview on 8 February 2019) also said that he studied art in Madura by occasionally quoting some songs in Madurese when he was met at his place. The puppeteer Soleh had been a lecturer at IKIP Malang (now Malang State University/UM) in 1984-1992. The puppeteer Soleh decided to stop teaching formally at IKIP Malang in 1992 and preferred to pursue his activities as an artist. It was stated in his profile in the book Drama Tari Wayang Topeng Malang (1997) that the puppeteer Soleh also fostered foreign students from Japan and America in collaboration with Merdeka University of Malang who was studying the Malang tradition art.

Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo is the next heir of the arts from the puppeteer family Soleh. In an interview (February 8, 2019), the puppeteer Soleh mentioned that Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo, his eldest son was a partner in running Padepokan Mangun Dharma. The puppeteer Soleh and his son had a lot of discussions, wrote books together, and put on shows. Supriyono studied art from an early age of three years. Supriyono deals with art as a descendant of artists and vocations, (interview on 10 May 2020). Actively and routinely, Supriyono watched the performance of the Malang mask puppet and then practiced the results of his learning. The self-taught learning from the puppeteer Soleh and other artists was then continued by Supriyono through formal education by majoring in Pedalangan. Nevertheless, puppetry is not the only field occupied by Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo, but also in the fields of dance, music, macapat, drawing, and singing. However, the inheritance of masterminding skills learned by Supriyono was selftaught and formally marked the success of Padepokan Mangun Dharma in passing down every element of Malang mask puppet to the descendants/family. As said by the puppeteer Soleh, Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo is not only an heir to the family arts but a partner in running and preserving the traditional arts of Malang.

The puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono not only succeeded in the process of inheriting art in a lineage. Together with Supriyono Hadi Prasetyo, Padepokan Mangun Dharma contributed to the inheritance of traditional art on the general public. According to the puppeteer Soleh, Padepokan Mangun Dharma (interview on 5 May 2020) called students from prominent artists such as Kek Tirtowinoto, Mr. Gimun, Mr. Rasimun, Mr. Djakimin to provide learning to male/female students. The term cantrik/mantrik for students who study traditional art in Padepokan Mangun Dharma follows the term nyantrik, which is the tradition of traditional art learning in Indonesia (Martono, 2011). The process of inheritance in the community is implemented through activities such as the Indonesian tour which is funded directly by the provincial government of East Java, and the City and Regency Arts Council of Malang. The process of inheritance is also carried out through mass dance performances played by school children, giving workshops and lectures to artists, government, KNPI, scouts, dance studios, and art/dance teachers. Various other activities such as the writing of a book about the puppets of Wayang Topeng Malangan, Wayang Kulit, Manten Malang, and Karawitan Malang. Even Padepokan Mangun Dharma routinely provides training in making masks and dances for school children both from domestic and abroad. Activities promoting the mask museum were also carried out in Indonesia, Los Angeles, America, and Australia. Every year, many students from Australia come to Padepokan Mangun Dharma to learn about Malang Mask.

The inheritance process is not only carried out by the main family of the puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono, but also a large part of this family. These processes are assisted by Soleh's sister named Turiani who has a Tarib and Karawitan Studio in the Tumpang area, and a younger brother named Djumikarah who runs the Ganesha Bokor Mudra Studio in Turen, Malang. The process of inheritance aimed at preserving and maintaining traditional arts is the mission and great dedication of the puppeteer family of Soleh Adi Pramono. Every month, a dialogue called "Budaya Tunggul Wulung Malang", Cultural Dialogue at Cafe Mesem and Tumpang Gallery. Dance, karawitan, and traditional music performances are held to increase the mask mascot network throughout Indonesia. Padepokan Mangun Dharma also provides performing arts services both at home and abroad. Students often come to Padepokan Mangun Dharma to conduct guidance and study assignments. According to The puppeteer Soleh, through TV Panji which was worked on by Semar Suwito Surabaya, art appreciation activities by the young generation are more likely to occur.

These activities are the embodiment of the horizontal inheritance process carried out between artists, as well as the public. Both Padepokan Mangun Dharma in Tumpang and Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji have succeeded in carrying out the process of hereditary vertical inheritance in the family, as evidenced by the existence of the heirs and the maintenance of traditional art practices to date. Between the two padepokan, there is cooperation, mainly according to the puppeteer Soleh as a form of interaction between the padepokan that their ancestors left behind. The puppeteer Soleh Adi Pramono himself is a student of Mbah Karimun, founder of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun. Each hermitage must work hand in hand in the process of the inheritance for the preservation of Malang's traditional arts. In 2001, all hermitages in the Greater Malang recorded a video about the Malang mask puppet as a form of documentation. In 2000-2005, for example, Padepokan Mangun Dharma annually invited groups of associations to give periodic performances on every Sunday. However, the activities were considered useful in generating spirit, togetherness, and motivation to advance each group stopped after five years due to limited funds. Inheritance efforts among hermitages, artists, and trainers are also carried out through the issuance of guidance books on mendalang, karawitan, dance, gendhing, costume arrangement, and so on. Dance, *karawitan*, mask-making lessons were also carried out. Padepokan Mangun Dharma also contributed to the production of plays, gendhing, vocals, and role characteristics, as well as the instructor's media in the form of a script that must be understood by the casts in the Malang mask puppet. This activity was supported by Malang State University, Department of Dance, and other Arts Colleges in Indonesia through workshops, discussions, and Mask Culture interaction visits.

However, said by the puppeteer Soleh (interview on 5 May 2020) that the challenges faced by artists and hermitages lie in the lack of script bank writing, as well as the recruitment or number of viewers who love the performance and art of Malang mask puppet. Furthermore, the government is considered to be half-measures in support of fostering, especially in old artists and art groups. This causes no promotion given to these artists and art groups. The government is still too focused on schools and art galleries. Appreciation of the government in the Malang mask puppet was still small, exemplified by their absence in meeting the invitation of artists or hermitage. According to the puppeteer Soleh, in the future, Padepokan Mangun Dharma plans to provide WTM Learning and Performing Practices (through the solid and concise work performance and can be accounted for in terms of its artistic/aesthetic). Padepokan Mangun Dharma will offer the claim to the art teachers and art community found in the school.

Padepokan Mangun Dharma in Tumpang and Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji are two examples of two successful hermits in the process of inheriting the Malang mask puppet. Both these hermitages become a historical part of the development of Malangs traditional arts, specifically Wayang Topeng (mask puppet).

### **CONCLUSION**

The history of the inheritance of mask puppet traditional art performed by Padepokan Asmoro Bangun in Pakisaji and Padepokan Mangun Dharma in Tumpang marked the long journey by artists and their families to dedicate life to local arts and culture. The calling of the soul, as a descendant of artists, gives children reason and motivation in pursuing traditional art. Generally, children know and learn the art from an early age, between 3-5 years so that vertical inheritance is successful. In the horizontal inheritance process carried out between artists and public, the whole family member participates to realize the goal of preserving traditional art. In the process of vertical inheritance, artists/padepokan focus their offspring on elements of art such as dance, puppetry, karawitan, music, macapat, etc.

Their sons/daughters are not only self-taught in mastering the practice of art,

but also set attitudes and knowledge that reflect the noble values of traditional art. In the process of horizontal inheritance, artists strengthen cooperation and togetherness with the same standards and goals. Padepokan plans ways and media to inherit the public, using both technology media and traditional methods. Padepokan expects cooperation with the government, educational institutions, researchers, observers of arts and culture in the process of inheritance. Although showing a similar inheritance model, Padepokan Asmoro Bangun and Padepokan Mangun Dharma show one difference. In its history, the heirs of the Padepokan Asmoro Bangun family settled and dedicated themselves to Pakisaji sub-district, while members of the Padepokan Mangun Dharma family moved around and spread from one region to another, with the mission of spreading the arts throughout the eastern part of Malang.

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