

KARAPAN CASE IN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE AS A MADURARY CULTURAL IDENTITY IN PASEAN PAMEKASAN COMMUNITY

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Abstract: Madura is an island located in the northeast of East Java. Madura has its own unique culture, one of the cultural icons in Madura is Karapan Sapi (Kerrabhân sapè), a cow racing competition. The Karapan Sapi culture emerged from the upbringing of K Ahmad Baidlowi, the grandson of Prince Pulang Jiwo (Panembahan Blingi), to cultivate crops as a form of gratitude to God Almighty for the abundant harvest. But today's culture is experiencing degradation and is far from Islamic elements. This research is a literature study to see how the Karapan Sapi culture is from an Islamic perspective and its relation to the identity of the island of Madura itself. From the analysis of the existing theory, it can be concluded that Karapan Sapi (Kerrabhân sapè) is a typical Madurese tradition combining folk celebrations, entertainment, livestock health performances, and cattle racing. It is called Kerapan Sapi because two pairs of bulls compete for their running speed (é kerrap). Purpose if this research is to describe the karapan case in an Islamic perspective in the 20th century and the present. This research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive type. As for analysis used is qualitative data analysis which consists of three stages to answer the problem studied. The degradation in implementing the Kerapan Sapi tradition is due to criminal acts or activities that lead to things contrary to Islamic religious values. Torture of animals in the tradition of Karapan Sapi is the reason for the issuance of the Decree of the Governor of East Java No. 1/ins/2012 dated May 1, 2012, regarding the prohibition of bull racing with violence. The revitalization of Karapan Sapi's culture, which has a strong Islamic feel, takes time to implement. Law enforcement is also tricky and takes a long time to be realized. This is caused by the lack of firmness of the government and law enforcement, as well as the lack of awareness from the public.

Keywords: Culture, Karapan Sapi, Madura

Introduction

Madura is the name of an island located in the northeast of East Java. The Madura island region has a shape that almost resembles a cow's body. Madura Island has four districts namely, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Madura and its long history actualized a reflection of the culture and art of Madura it self. Koentjaraningrat, (2015) defines culture as a form of all ideas or ideas, actions, and the results of human work in community life that belong to humans by learning.¹ This opinion is aligned with the definition of Hawkins in Zayyadi & Halim, which reveals that culture is a complexity that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs, and other abilities and habits possessed by humans as part of society.²

Rasyad (2009) explains that in Islamic law, the tradition is known as 'Urf, which etymologically means 'something good and accepted by common sense. Al-'Urf (customs) is believed by most people, either in the form of words or actions that have been repeated so that it is embedded in the soul and accepted by their common sense. This is in line with the rules of fiqh al-'Adah Muhakkamah (a tradition or custom that can be used as a legal basis).³

Like other regions in Indonesia, Madura also has its own unique culture. One of the cultural icons in Madura is Karapan Sapi (Kerrabhân sapè), a cow racing competition. Kuntowijoyo, (2002) describes this typical Madurese tradition as a combination of folk celebrations, entertainment, cattle health performances, and cow racing. It is called Kerapan Sapi because two pairs of bulls compete for their running speed (é kerrap).⁴ The term 'kerapan' or 'karapan' which is used until now actually comes from the word 'garapan', because at first cow races were held by farmers while 'working' their fields.⁵ According to Pambudi (Wiyata, 2013), for most Madurese people,

¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 2015.

² Zayyadi M, Halim D., *ETNOMATEMATIKA BUDAYA MADURA (Budaya Madura Dan Matematika)*, 2020.

³ Khalil RH, Hawari N., *Tarikh Tasyrî' : Sejarah Legislasi Hukum Islam*, 2009.

⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850 – 1940*, 1999.

⁵ Rosida, Madura, *KEBUDAYAAN DAN MATA PENCAHARIAN RAKYATNYA* (Jakarta : Pustaka Jaya, 1986).

Kerapan Sapi is not only a hereditary tradition but also a symbol of authority that can raise the self-esteem and status of the Madurese community.⁶

Historically, cows are thick with Islamic values. According to based on a story that developed in the Madurese community, the existence of the bull race cannot be separated from the figure of Kyai Ahmad Baidawi, known as Prince Katandur, one of the propagators of Islam in Madura.⁷ Kerabhan sape or cow race is a term in the Madurese language which is used to name a cow racing competition. Kerapan cows can also be defined as racing between a pair of cows and another cow, which is linked by both pangocong and kaleles. Karapan cows are usually held in several locations, both at the sub-district level, then continue at the district level and finally at the Madura level.⁸ Kerapan for the biggest cow is a competition that has a huge impact on the prestige, image and social status of the cow owner who wins.⁹

The beginning of the emergence of Karapan Sapi is a form of community gratitude for the abundant harvest, held in the form of a cow running competition accompanied by traditional music. This moment is also used to distribute zakat on agricultural products to mustahiq zakat. This tradition certainly does not conflict with religious values and can even be a forum for the community to fulfill their obligations to pay zakat. Positive things like this deserve to be appreciated and preserved. However, over time and the development of the times, there has been a degradation in the implementation of the Kerapan Sapi tradition due to criminal acts or activities that lead to things that are contrary to Islamic religious values.¹⁰

In his research, Kosim (2007) explains that when the race is about to start, the jockey makes the cow angry so it can run fast. This

⁶ Wiyata AL., *MENCARI MADURA*, 2022.

⁷ Soegianto, *Kepercayaan Magi Dan Tradisi Dalam Masyarakat Madura*, 2003.

⁸ Ririn Siyati, El Indahnia Kamariyah, *Analisis Budaya Kerapan Sapi Di Madura Sebagai Sumber Belajar Berbasis Etnosains*, *Jurnal Luminous* Vol. 3 No. 2. 2022.

⁹ Touwen-Bouwsma, *DE STIERENRENNEN VAN MADURA*, IN *INDONESIA APA KABAR?*(Meppel: Edu' Actief, 1988)

¹⁰ Kosim M., *KERAPAN SAPI; "PESTA" RAKYAT MADURA (Perspektif Historis-Normatif)*, 2007.

effort is made by torturing the pair of cows that will compete. Before the cows have competed in the arena, the cows are doused with spirit. The balm is smeared on one side of the eye so that the cows can focus only on the front, and then the cow is injured in the buttocks by using a tool such as a grate that contains many nails so that the skin bleeds so that the cow can running very fast because of the pain he felt.¹¹ This torture was shown (by jockeys) in front of thousands of visitors and accompanied by loud applause from the audience, which made the cows more confused and violent.¹²

The torture of animals in the Karapan Sapi tradition is so obvious that in 2012 according to the Decree of the Governor of East Java No. 1/ins/2012 dated May 1, 2012, regarding the prohibition of bull racing with violence. As reported from Kompas.com (2013), The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Pamekasan, East Java, issued a haram fatwa against Karapan Sapi activities which were carried out with the Rekeng (violence) model.

This prohibition does not necessarily make the Madurese become a deterrent and does not carry out the Karapan Sapi tradition. Considering Karapan Sapi is the identity of the Madurese community itself. Torturing animals is an inhumane, anarchic, immoral act, contrary to the cultural values of Madura, which are *andep asor*, and contrary to religious teachings. This research is considered necessary considering that tradition and identity in an area have benefits and disadvantages, especially the Karapan Sapi Madura tradition. Hence, the authors are interested in research on Karapan Sapi from an Islamic Perspective as a Madurese Cultural Identity.¹³

Result and Discussion

Madura is famous for its Karapan Sapi tradition, so cows become symbolic and closely related to the Madurese community.

¹¹ Kosim M., *KERAPAN SAPI; "PESTA" RAKYAT MADURA* (Perspektif Historis-Normatif), 2007.

¹² Shalihah H., *TINJAUAN HUKUM PIDANA ISLAM TERHADAP TRADISI KERAPAN SAPI DI KABUPATEN BANGKALAN MADURA*, 2019.

¹³ Fardhilah N., *Karapan Sapi (mengenal kesenian nasional 2)*, (Semarang: PT. Bengawan Ilmu, 2008)

Cows are animals with muscular bodies and strong jaws that reflect their importance to the Madurese community. Cows historically, At the time of the entry of Islam in Madura, cows are mentioned in the historical documentation of Madura based on agrarian sources as having a vital role in the survival of the Madurese.

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach, namely research that is presented in a descriptive form through oral and written data from related informants. Descriptive research aims to describe, describe, and map facts based on a particular perspective or frame of mind.¹⁴ Data analysis is the process of searching, sorting and systematically compiling data from interviews, observations, and documentation, by organizing data according to categories, described according to units, arranging according to patterns, selecting data that is considered important and needs to be studied, and making conclusions to use facilitate researchers and others regarding the results of research later.¹⁵ In the data analysis session the researcher attempted to analyze the data obtained through several stages, Data Condensation, Data Display, Verifying Conclutions.¹⁶ The validity of the data used in this research is source triangulation and technique triangulation. Source triangulation is used to test the credibility of the data by checking the data that has been obtained through several sources. Meanwhile, technical triangulation is used to test the credibility of the data by checking data from the same source using different techniques.¹⁷

Another thing was also expressed by Raditya (2021), who noted that the arrival of a group of Islamic propagators, the first generation of Walisongo from Turkey around the 14th century, or three centuries after the arrival of Fatimah Bint Maimum in Gresik, one of its members

¹⁴ Mahmud, *METODE PENELITIAN PENDIDIKAN* (Bandung: CV Pustaka Setia, 2011)

¹⁵ Umar Sidiq dan Moh. Miftachul Choiri, *METODE PENELITIAN KUALITATIF DI BIDANG PENDIDIKAN* (Ponorogo: CV. Nata Karya, 2019).

¹⁶ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS* (USA: SAGE Publishing, 2014).

¹⁷ Sugiyono, *METODE PENELITIAN KUANTITATIF KUALITATIF DAN R & D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2019).

there was a man named Sayyid Ali Murtadhlo who landed on the island of Sepudi which is called one of the ancestors of the Madurese. The following century gave birth to the descendants of the kings of Madura, who embraced Islam. Among his children, Prince Pulang Jiwo (Panembahan Blingi), who ruled from 1386-1399, and his grandson Ahmadul Baidlawi, known as Prince Katandur, are descendants of Ustman Haji, brother of Prince Pulang Jiwo.¹⁸

According to D. Mohammad Noer & Maduratna (1976), Panembahan Blingi mostly accompanied his father in Sepudi, while his brother migrated to spread Islam on the islands of Java and Lombok. At that time, Panembahan Blingi introduced the local community to farming methods using the help of cows, equipped with nagghalâ tools made of wood coated with iron at the bottom. This makes the agrarian culture more advanced so that the land of Madura, which previously contained hard rocks, becomes fertile and easy to plant, such as Mango, Tamarind, Jackfruit, Waringin, Guava, Orange, Teak trees, and so on.¹⁹ It is said that after advanced agriculture, pairs of cows working the fields were plowed together (plowed) or competed for speed. Over time it becomes a habit. Finally, every rice cultivation is followed by a cow race.²⁰

Smith (1989) said that Madura cattle are cattle resulting from cross-breeding between local banteng (*Bos javanicus*) with Sinhala or Ceylon cattle from Zebu (India) that have been domesticated. Thus, Madura cattle are not only brownish yellow in color but also have dark skin with black lines running along the back, and most of them have white legs, which are signs of banteng descent.²¹

Madura cattle are different from other regional cattle. It has a small size and is yellow-brown in color. According to Dutch livestock

¹⁸ Raditya A., PERTARUNGAN IDENTITAS (KELUARGA) SAPI MADURA, 2021.

¹⁹ D. Mohammad Noer, Maduratna C., *Kerapan Sapi: Permainan Dan Kegemaran Rakyat Di Kepulauan Madura*, 1976.

²⁰ Sumintarsih, Makna Sapi Kerapan dari Perspektif Orang Madura Kajian Sosial, Ekonomi, Budaya, *Jurnal Patrawidya*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2015.

²¹ Glenn Smith, *Pentingnya Sapi dalam Masyarakat Madura, dalam Huub de Jonge, Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi; Studi-Studi Interdisipliner Tentang Masyarakat Madura* (Jakarta : Rajawali, 1989).

experts, Madura cattle are a special breed. Even though they are small in stature, have little flesh, and do not produce milk, Madura cattle are very suitable for Madura's dry climate. Therefore, in the Dutch era, regulations were made that forbade the entry of foreign cattle to Madura to maintain the purity of the established breed. This particular cow also causes the tradition of Madura cattle to be entrenched and remains preserved to this day.²²

Madura bulls have a small hump that stands out as a symbol of their physical strength. Because its toughness is almost equal to that of a bull, this Madurese bull is also used as a venue for bullocking a one-year-old cow whose price ranges from 8-10 million rupiah or more. If the cow wins the bull race, especially the gubeng class cattle (cow race in Madura), the price can reach hundreds of millions of rupiah. Therefore, the health and safety of cows must always be maintained. The owner sometimes sleeps more peacefully in the cowshed than in the house with his relatives.²³

Kerapan Sapi is a hereditary tradition that has survived until now. This specific Madurese event is held in August or September and will be contested again in the final at the end of September or October every year. To control the cows in this race, it takes a jockey and two cows to be ridden to run as fast as they can until they touch the finish line. The jockey's way of riding a cow is standing while pulling the kaleles to control the cow's running motion. In Kerapan Sapi, the track length is usually approximately 100-200 meters, with 4 or 5 pairs of cows competing quickly, and it takes about thirty seconds to one minute, depending on the speed of the cows being competed and the agility of the jockey in controlling it.²⁴ Madurese know two types of bull races: (1) Kerapan kene' (kerapan on a small scale), and (2) Kerapan raja (kerapan on a large scale to win a championship).²⁵

²² Rifai MA., *Lintasan Sejarah Madura*, 1993.

²³ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850 – 1940*, 2002.

²⁴ Shalihah H., *TINJAUAN HUKUM PIDANA ISLAM TERHADAP TRADISI KERAPAN SAPI DI KABUPATEN BANGKALAN MADURA*, 2019.

²⁵ Soegianto, *EKSIKLOPEDI MADURA II*, (Research Report, Department of Education and Culture and University of Jember, Jember, 1990)

Caring for kerrap cattle is also not easy; it requires more effort from the cow owner. Among the treatments is every day, the cows are bathed, dried in the sun in the morning, massaged, and given food and herbs. The leading food is grass and young corn leaves, which must always be fresh. Sulaiman Sadik narrates; that for empê' (calf) to get bigger quickly, the ingredients include 20 pieces of betel leaf meeting veins, tamarind fruit, and brown sugar. After three months old, emp' was given a herbal concoction made from coffee water, soybean leaves, stale rice, gaddung, shallots, wheat flour, and brown sugar. This herbal medicine is intended so that the cows can be hungry to eat. Then, so that the cows can run fast, the ingredients for the herbs are wine, wine/beer, 20 eggs, ginger, vinegar, honey, Lombok juice, chili herbs, tamarind fruit, brown sugar, turmeric, salt, and boiled chicken meat. The herbs are given every week; the closer the event, the frequency of providing herbs is getting more frequent and increasing. For example, if the cows often need 10-20 eggs an average day before the competition, they can spend 80-100 eggs per day. As a result, the cost of raising bulls is very high, so not everyone can do it.²⁶

At the time of the race, the bulls will be decorated as well as possible. The whole body of the cow is decorated with various decorations, and it also costs extra, even if it is only for the accessories of the bull. The bull with the most attractive decoration will cause pride for its owner. Before the competition, the cows are paraded around the playing field.

During the procession, the owner walks in front of his cow accompanied by a group of musicians who play traditional music called saronen. Then during the race, all the decorations are removed so as not to interfere with the running speed of the cow when it is released. Before the competition starts, the cows included in the competition are bathed and then smeared with spirtus mixed with balsam and finely ground ginger, and the cows are massaged so that their muscles are relaxed and not tense during the race.

²⁶ Shalihah H., *TINJAUAN HUKUM PIDANA ISLAM TERHADAP TRADISI KERAPAN SAPI DI KABUPATEN BANGKALAN MADURA*, 2019.

At the time of the competition, the treatment of cows changed drastically. Cow owners do not hesitate to do anything so that their cows can win, such as using violence to increase the running speed of the cows, the jockey who controls the bulls will try as hard as possible to speed up the running speed of the cows. He whipped the cow's ass and shouted, and he had to be able to maintain his body balance, which was in a standing position between a pair of cows.

Perpetrators of animal abuse in the Kerapan Sapi tradition intentionally carry out several ways; the following are the explanations:²⁷

1. Watering the spirit on the cow's body before competing in the arena
2. Smear one part of the cow's eye by using a balm so that the cow focuses on looking toward the front
3. The cow is injured in the buttocks by using a tool such as a stick with many nails such as a grate so that the skin bleeds.
4. The belt used at the base of the cow's tail is attached with a nail so that when the cow runs, the pin will continue to stick to the bottom of the tail

In Kerapan Sapi, the jockeys or tongkok builders will try to spur their cows as fast and as fast as possible, therefore to get and increase the speed of the cows, the base of the cow's tail is fitted with a belt underneath, which is full of sharp nails, plus the jockey also beats his whip in the form of iron rod with sharp thorns on the cow's ass. Thus this wound will make the cow angry and run faster. This anarchic act is very pathetic, especially when it is shown by a jockey in front of thousands of spectators, accompanied by loud applause from the audience, which makes the cows more violent and confused.

For the Madurese people, Karapan Sapi is not only a place for cow races but also a means of fighting for prestige and self-esteem. This arena became a people's party which was used by several community leaders to show off their cows. But on the contrary, if the cow often loses, then the self-esteem of the owner of the cow will fall

²⁷ Raditya A., PERTARUNGAN IDENTITAS (KELUARGA) SAPI MADURA, 2021.

and will not be seen anymore in the surrounding environment.²⁸ Kerapan cows today are not the same as in the past. Now, the implementation of bull races is very complex, many parties are involved in it, the motives and types of cow races are varied. In general, today's holding of bull races can be grouped into two types, namely formal and non-formal types of bull races.²⁹ This change in the cultural meaning of Kerapan Sapi, in turn, helped change the cultural views and self-concept of the Madurese. In subsequent developments, cattle density is more towards competition, so that cattle owners will do anything to win the race.³⁰ Such change, as Lauer sees it, is a reaction to external forces that befall a system. Therefore, both external and internal changes are necessary to maintain balance.³¹

Whereas the Governor of East Java has issued Instruction No. 1/INST/2012 on Non-Violence Cow Kerapan, which states that:

First: In terms of the implementation of Kerapan Sapi, among others:

1. There is no violence/torture against animals (cows) except naturally.
2. For the use of balm, ginger is allowed, provided it is not placed on the cows' eyes, ears, rectum, and or genitals.
3. The use of a booster for jockeys is only allowed to use pak-kopak (bamboo) without nails and other sharp objects.
4. The use of whips and other bats at the starting line is not permitted.

For the majority of Madurese people, Kerrabhân Sapè is not only a hereditary tradition but also a symbol of authority that can raise the self-esteem and status of the Madurese community. This has become an inverted paradigm with the current implementation of Kerapan Sapi. Kerapan Sapi, which is full of Islam, has been degraded. This perspective is not in line with Allah's commands in the Qur'an and

²⁸ Lisbijanto Herry, *KERAPAN SAPI*, (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2013).

²⁹ Sutjitro, *GENGSI, MAGIC, DAN JUDI; KERAPAN SAPI DI MADURA*, (Jember; Tapal Kuda, 2003)

³⁰ H. Sudarwantini, *BIBLIOGRAFI KEBUDAYAAN MADURA, SERI KERTA KERJAI* (Jember: Pusat Kajian Madura U- niversitas Jember, 1987)

³¹ Robert H. Lauer, *Perspektif tentang Perubahan Sosial*, terj. Alimandan (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1993)

the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. One of them is in Surah Al-Mu'minun (23) verse 21, which means:

"And indeed, there is a lesson for you in the cattle. We give you to drink from (milk) in its stomach, and in it, there are also many benefits for you, and some of it you eat."

The verse explains that animals can also be a lesson to humans. God also gives glory to animals, so it is not justified if humans have authority over animals, let alone resort to violence. The Prophet also said in his hadith:

"Has told us Abu Al-Walid Al-Tayalisiy, has told us Shu'bah, from Hisham bin Zaid, he said; I and Anas met Al-Hakam bin Ayyub, then he saw some youths or children who put up chickens, and they threw them. Then Anas said; Rasulullah saw. Has prohibited from targeting animals."

Another hadith states that the Messenger of Allah strongly encouraged his people to love animals instead of hurting them; even when slaughtered, they had to be treated well. As in the hadith:

"From Syaddad bin Aus he said, Two things I always remember from the Messenger of Allah, he said: Verily Allah has made it obligatory always to be kind to everything, if you kill then kill in a good way, if you slaughter then slaughter with a good way, sharpen your knife and please your slaughtered animal."

The content of the hadith above has relevance in teaching to keep doing good to anyone, including animals. The analogy of the hadith is based on the process of slaughtering the animal with the conditions that must be followed. This hadith reflects on the temporal nature; when you want to kill an animal, you should sharpen the cutting tool. This is because the use of a blunt instrument will be difficult to slice or cut something, in this case, the neck and tendons of the animal to be slaughtered, and of course, the pain is longer than a sharp tool whose slices almost do not hurt so quickly and sharply in cutting the skin.

Torture of animals in the tradition of Karapan Sapi is the reason for the issuance of the Decree of the Governor of East Java No. 1/ins/2012 dated May 1, 2012, regarding the prohibition of bull racing

with violence and reported from Kompas.com (2013) the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Pamekasan, East Java, which issued a haram fatwa against Karapan Sapi activities which were carried out with the Rekeng (violence) model. However, this does not deter the Madurese, who are fanatical about the tradition. So the authors conclude that law enforcement in the Kerapan Sapi culture is challenging to apply to perpetrators. The revitalization of Karapan Sapi's culture, which has a robust Islamic feel, takes time to implement. Law enforcement is also tricky and takes a long time to be realized. This is caused by the lack of firmness of the government and law enforcement, as well as the lack of awareness from the public.

Conclusion

Madura also has its own unique culture. One of the cultural icons in Madura is Karapan Sapi (Kerrabhân sapè), a cow racing competition. (Kuntowijoyo, 2002) describes this unique Madurese tradition as a combination of folk celebrations, entertainment, cattle health performances, and cow racing. It is called Kerapan Sapi because two pairs of bulls compete for their running speed (é kerrap). However, over time and the development of the times, there has been a degradation in the implementation of the Kerapan Sapi tradition due to criminal acts or activities that lead to things that are contrary to Islamic religious values.

Torture of animals in the tradition of Karapan Sapi is the reason for the issuance of the Decree of the Governor of East Java No. 1/ins/2012 dated May 1, 2012, regarding the prohibition of bull racing with violence. However, this does not deter the Madurese, who are fanatical about the tradition. So the authors conclude that law enforcement in the Kerapan Sapi culture is challenging to apply to perpetrators. The revitalization of Karapan Sapi's culture, which has a solid Islamic feel, takes time to implement. Law enforcement is also tricky and takes a long time to be realized. This is caused by the lack of firmness of the government and law enforcement, as well as the lack of awareness from the public.

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