

RONGGENG: CULTURAL ARTIFACTS AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN INDONESIAN'S FICTION

Yulianeta

Indonesian University of Education

Abstract

This paper is based on the phenomenon of dancer or tayub which is celebrated as a very popular cultural artifact in public life, particularly in Java. This tradition is originally part of a sacred ritual, which ultimately became a performing art, but tends to be viewed negatively. In a historical context, the dancer was originally seen based on cultural concept and evolves into culturally sacred profane.

Negative reception of ronggeng is not only uttered orally but also embodied in the written tradition. It is found in the genre of literary fiction such as in Tayuban's Notosusanto Nugroho (1959), Sri Sumarah and Bawuk by Umar Kayam (1975), Trilogy Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk written Ahmad Tohari (1982), and Ronggeng works Dewi Lingga Sari (2007).

The results of this study illustrate that the figure of dancer who is represented in Indonesian fiction are various. Although there are similarities, but the authors tend to have different reception levels regarding ronggeng. Ronggeng as cultural artifacts is the manifestation of the ability of local communities to respond and adapt to the environment actively. Similarly, what is represented in fiction about ronggeng is a mirror of the society where the work was born.

Keywords: prose fiction, reception, representation, ronggeng, tayub

Introduction

Ronggeng or Tayub is one of most popular folk dancing and cultural artifact which has undergone many development in Indonesian history. This art is also known as *ronggeng*, *grandrung*, *lengger taledhek* and many others. *Ronggeng Melayu* or Malay *Ronggeng* is developed in Sumatra, *Ronggeng Betawi* in Jakarta, *Banggeng* in Subang, *Sumedang*, and *Jawa Barat*. *Gandrung* is famous in *Banyuwangi*, *Bali* and *Lombok*, while *Lengger* in *Purwokerto*, *Wonosobo*, and *Magelang*. The word *Taledhek*, *Ledhek*, *Joged*, *Ronggeng* or *Tayub* are known East and central Java, meanwhile *Jawa Barat* is most familiar with *Sinden* or *Ronggeng*. According to *Raffles* (1965: 381) *Tayub* or *Ronggeng* were almost found in the entire Java during 19 century.

Ronggeng or *Tayub* performance is an old tradition in Javanese culture. The term *Ronggeng* or *Tayub* was mentioned in *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* written by P.J. Zoetmulder and S. O. Robson. Excerpt from *Kakawin Ghatotkacasraya* as below " ... *tan hunine watek bini hajin panayub anapuk arja sasmita*; Excerpt from *Kidung Wandbang Wideya*"*aluwaran sri bupati, kuneng rahaden S. Malih anayub*"; Excerpt from *Kakawin Arjuna Pralada*: "... *sang angigel awusan mantuk ndan sang aulun malih anayub prasama linggih mangko*" (see Zoetmoleder and S. O Robinson. R.M. Soedarsono, 1999, *Narawati* 2003). Those excerpts mentioned the word *anayub* or *nayub* which is close to the term *Tayub*. This means that the term *Tayub* was known during the twelfth century as shown in *Kakawin Gathotkacasraya* and *Kakawin Bharat Yudha*.

The above explanation shows that *Ronggeng* or *Tayub*, as a tradition, has evolved because of adaptation. Based on Dennis Lombard's term, *Ronggeng* has experienced a *silang budaya* or cross culture both with the space and with actor of culture. Based on literary studies especially folklore studies, *Ronggeng* and *Tayub* can be classified as oral folklore, partly oral folklore, and non oral folklore (Brunvand, 1968). This writing, however, will not focus on folklore; yet it will focus on the tradition of *Ronggeng* and *Tayub* evolved in Javanese traditions and represented in modern literature especially Indonesian fiction.

The Meaning of *Ronggeng*

Ronggeng performance or *tayub* is a living tradition among Javanese, and it was considered as folk dancing grown and developed in villages. *Tayub* means dancing which has the same meaning as *ronggeng*. According to *Ensiklopedia Tari Indonesia Seri P-T* the name *tayub* was attributed to part of the dancing when performed with a partner. This implies that *tayub* means dance or dancing (1986:87).

According to folklore tradition, the word *tayub* is derived from *keratabasa* or *jarwodosok* from word *cikben guyub*. *Cikben guyub* mean a well-managed dance in order that the people live in harmony. Etymological meaning of *tayub* opposes to its literal meaning. In *Boesastra Djawa*, the word *tayub* is translated "*kesukaan jejoged-an nganggo dijogedi ing tledhek* (Poerwodarminto 1939:586). It means dancing happily with *taledhek* dancer.

From its literal and folklore meanings, it can be concluded that the word *tayub* implicitly means dance. Yet, how does classical Javanese (Jawa Kuna) define *tayub*? The word *tayub* is found in *Kakawin Bharatayudha* written by Mpu Sedah and Mpu Panuluh during the era of King Jayabaya in Kediri. This *kakawin* has Candra Sangkala pronounced *angakudadasuddhacandrama* which means 1079 Syaka or around 1175 AD. *Kakawin*

which contains *tayub* is found in *pupuh ke XIII*, stanza 18th, line 2nd as shown below:

*tekwan pwa ng wulan ashhtami hireng
akon adamara ri
parrayya ring kuwu
ramya ng wira sapanndawanayub
aghoshti pinigajihana ng
aremes musuh
tan mangka bala korawalah apurik mulat i
sira Suyo
dhalanara
tapwan mrem sakulem tekeng rahina
mangkat aruruh umareng
rannanggana*

This section was translated by Wirjosupartanto into Indonesian

for the time is 8th part of evening, kings in a camp asked to shed lights the Pandawa in the camp were happy they were dancing and talking joyfully, and those who had destroyed his enemy were rewarded

The situation in Kurawa, however, was reversed

It was gloomy when seeing miserable Suryodhana

They could not sleep during the night, even though they had to wake in dawn and went back to the battle to defense their life from their enemy (my translation)

From the translation it was clear that the word *sapanndawanayub* is translated by the Pandawa as dancing. This mean the word *tayub* means dance or dancing. In *Kamus Kawin-Kuna* arranged by Winter and Ronggowarsita (1987:168) the word *nayub* translated as *nayub, ngombe, sukan-sukan*. Peorbatjaraka (1954) said that *nayub* is not derived from *tayub* but *sayub* which means alcoholic beverages. Therefore it implies that *tayub* has two meanings of *tayub*, (1) dancing and (2) dancing while drinking alcoholic beverages.

Ben Soeharto (1980:38) in his study on *tayub* conducted in Gunung Kidul shows that *tayub* is closely related to the involvement of drinking alcohol which is considered as an important part of the dance during celebrating an event. He does not distinguish between *tayub* and *nayub*. Because of this overlapping term, alcohol and prostitution occupy *tayub*. The writer of *Serat Centhini* uses another term when describing *tayub* namely *gembyong* or *ronggeng*. According to R.R Kusumadewa and Soeharto (1980: 10) at first *ronggeng* or *tayub* was an art found in palace only and this dance is very different from *ronggeng* known today.

Ronggeng Tradition and its Development

Ronggeng or *tayub* is performed by a female dancer who is dancing and singing at the same time. The dancer wears a dance outfit similar to the *gambyong* dancer's costume. She wears batik, shawl, tank top, without kebaya, a traditional cloth. On her shoulder is hanging a piece of *sampur*. *Sampur* is a shawl that she will give to her male dancing partner. This kind of performance has been famous since ancient Java era in which *tayub* was known as *angigel angidung* as mentioned in some ancient Javanese prose such as *Wirata Parwa* and *Negara Kertagama* written during 14th century (Zoetmudler and Robson, 1982: 669). Haryono (2004: 7) states that *tayub* had been mentioned since 9th century in the inscription Taji dated 828 Saka. During the time was mentioned the existence of a dance (*mangigel*) which was performed by all audience including royal officials. The show of *ronggeng* or *tayub* continued to be performed during the era of Kediri and spread to Demak in 15th century, along with the influence of Islam began to grow (Widyastutiningrum, 2007: 2).

Ronggeng or *tayub* is a cultural phenomenon which is largely mentioned in many different texts as in *Serat centini* (1818), a Javanese work of art consist of lyrics and *Babad Mangir* volume 1, along

with foreigners' travel writing such as Thomas Stanford Raffles, in his book, *The History Old Java* (1817). Claire Holt in his *Art In Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (1967), P.J. Zoetmoelder in his book *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (1982) Peter Boomgard in his article *Children of Colonial State : Population Growth and Economic in Java (1795- 1880)* (1989).

Generally those writings describe *ronggeng* as female dancer *klengenan* surrounded, worshiped and flattered by men, or she can be his partner both as a dancing and a sexual partner. Reffless in his book shows that *ronggeng* has no difference from prostitute who is working for money and sometimes destroy other people's family.

Ronggeng does not dance only, as mentioned by Thomas Stanford, a leutenant Governoor during British occupation in Java in 1811-1816 in his famous book the *History of Java* as below *The commons dancing girls of the country ... are called ronggeng, are generally of easy virtue. They make professions of their art, and hire themselves to perform on particular occasions, for the amusement of the chief and the public. Though to be found in every principal town, their performence is most highly esteemed in the western, and particularly among the mountaineers of the Sunda districts, where the superior graces of the bedaya are unknown ... Their conduct is generally so incorrect, as to render the title of ronggeng and prostitute synonymous ...* (1965:381).

Claire Holt in his book *Art in Indonesia*, translated into Indonesia entitled *Melacak Jejak perkembangan seni di Indonesia* (2000) shows that male dancer's energetic attitude who is described dancing in the relief map implies an impressive style of dance performed by male dancer from a Javanese dancing party (*tayuban*).

In a book *Toekang Poetret: 100 Joar Fotografi in Nederland Indie 1839-1939* written by Liane Van Der Linden at al in *caturwati* (2008:166) shows many erotic pictures of *ronggeng* dancers and prosti-

tute from Java and Sunda who do not wear any outfit but shawl to cover small part of their body.

Other resources stated that *ronggeng* or *tayub* is *Serat Centini* that was written during the outority of Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820) and paku Buwana V (1820-1823), *Serat Centini* narrates its characters who lived from the era of Demak to the era of Mataram Islam. In *Serat Centini* is illustrated the journey of santri Seh Amongraga, Suluk, Tambanglaras, Jayengresmi, and emban Centini. It is also included the *tayub* party held by Ki Lembuasta, Pulung dan Wirasaba. *Tayub* which is called ringgit was held as am entertainment. Moreover, the behaviour of *ronggeng* and *tayub* dancer is also clearly described in *Serat Centini* volume VIII in episode Girisa pupuh 456, stanza 5, 8, and 9.

The performance of *tayub* and *ronggeng* which is appealing to men (*penayub*) is also mentioned in Babad Mangar Volume 1. During the era of Panembahan Senapati in Mataram Islam (16th Century), it was mentioned that *tayub* held by Sekar Pembayun, the daughter of the first King of Mataram Islam. Sekar Pembayun was disguised as a *ledhek* dancer or *tayub* singing around the kingdom (*mbarang tayub*) as one strategy to attract Ki Ageng Wanabaya, a leader who was known as Ki Mangir (Panembahan Senapati's opponent). Sekar Pembayun seduced and allured Ki Ageng Mangir through performing *tayub* or being a *ronggeng*. Thus Ki Ageng Pembayun attracted to her and married her. After became his wife, Sekar Pembayun revealed her identity as the daughter of Panembahan Senapati. She persuaded Ki Ageng Mangir to meet her father, and Ki Ageng Mangir agreed to come and bowed to him. Yet, when he bowed to him, Panembahan Senapati killed him.

Ronggeng narrated in *Babad Mangir* shows that Sekar Pembayun as *ronggeng* was a dancer as well as seducer who attracted men (Ki Ageng Mangir). In this

way *Ronggeng* or *Tayub* can be defined as folk dancing used as a political means to conquer an opponent.

Zweer (in Caturwati, 2008: 172) said that regardless from the negative description of *ronggeng*, the personality of *ronggeng* is more complex and more than just a prostitute. In the history of *ronggeng*, *ronggeng* has many meanings: she has been played an important role in ritual ceremonies as an honorable woman in a certain ritual such as a shaman or a person who in her old age has treasured many experience and therefore asked for her advice and vision.

This is in accordance with Alkema's statement (Wijaya 1976:78) in his book *Volkenkund van Nederland Indies* (1972) that *ronggeng* dance is from shaman dance (*symanendans*) which is a dance performed by female priests to connect the inside world to the outside one, the world of ancestor spirits. Then, this dance was performed when conducting religious ritual.

Ronggeng is a sacrifice ritual for the fertility of agriculture. It was believed to posses magic-sympathetic power and has its influence on the ritual. By performing cleansing ritual for a village, the officers of villages invite the residents to participate in doing dancing in field rice hoping that plants grow well and free from pest and any hazard. Related to fertility ritual, Jamke Highwater in his book entitled *Dance: Ritual of experience* reveals that dance may induce the miracle (1992:34).

At the same way, R.M. Soedarsono (1991: 35) also shows in his writing, *Tayub di Akhir Abad 20* that in an agricultural culture the fertility of the soil is farmers' most only hope. They believe that the fertility of the soil cannot be gained by increasing new agricultural system, but it is also important to do some efforts by transforming magical power. Among those magical power is in the form magic-sympathetic. This power can only be attained through performing coitus between a man and a woman. In ancient so-

ciety, this was translated by a realistic translation. Yet, in advance society, it is considered as a symbol in that magic sympathetic influences the fertility by performing dancing.

Furthermore, Surur (2003: 12) said that when *ronggeng* or *tayub* is performed, it becomes the center of people power as *slametan* (ritual to express thankful to god), *hajatan* (ritual for hoping something good to come), or even *tahajjud* (one of Islamic pray) for *santri*, an Islamic student. *Ronggeng* is considered to possess magical power and very meaningful to society in that they are not awkward of performing dancing in any condition, especially *ronngeng* dance. *Ronggeng* and *tayub* as magic sympathetic practice is well known by people who live in the area of field rice farming. They consider it as a mimetic of sexual practice. The more erotic the dance, the more power they will receive from the sky and the earth. This means the sky and the earth also performing sexual intercourse by falling rain from the sky to the earth. They believe that dance is capable at forming environment as well as focusing the transmission of the power from the mythical world. Therefore, the fertility ritual is still largely done by society until nowadays.

This description unveils the worship to the goddess of the rice, Dewi Sri in Java Island. Even though the name Sri is from India, this myth was found everywhere in Nusantara, including in an area where Indian cultural influence is not found. Yet, their version and stories are slightly different. Sri sacrificed all her body part and was buried. From his body, the rice and other plants appeared and grew. The worship to Dewi Sri still is practiced today hoping for successful harvest.

Along with society belief in *ronggeng's* magical sympathetic power, the show is now performed not only in the field rice but in religious ceremony as well such as circumcision and wedding. The magical power of *ronggeng* is still believed to fertilize the groom and bride so that

the blessing from *ronggeng* is still hoped for the birth of the offspring.

From the description above, it is shown that at first *ronggeng* and *tayub* was part of religious dancing and then expands to be a sacrificial dance at *bedah bumi ritual* or cleansing village. This ritual is translated as a ritual that has a connection to the fertility of earth and to the sacrifice done by Dewi Sri. In the next step, *ronggeng* and *tayub* became an entertainment in a palace as a tradition among nobility. *Ronggeng* and *tayub* evolved outside a palace and become traditional entertainment. As a traditional entertainment, *ronggeng* or *tayub* is considered as low culture because during the performance, *ronggeng* and her partner (*penayub*) known to have inappropriate behaviour such drinking alcohol and sexuality. Now, the meaning of *Ronggeng* or *Tayub* has slightly shifted to a more positive meaning since art academy and the government gave an attention to common people's art. *Ronggeng* or *tayub* has been prepared and packed in many forms of dance and grown in many areas.

The Representation of *Ronggeng* in Indonesian Fiction

The word *Ronggeng* and *Taledhek* and *Tandak* which have negative connotative meaning refers to female prostitution, and prostitution is also associated with *tayub* dancer. So, the problem here is how the reception of society toward *ronggeng* or *tayub*, based on historical analysis as mentioned above, it belongs to many meanings, and now people in large has already associated *ronggeng* or *tayub* with negative perception.

This negative reception is not only found in oral tradition but also in literal tradition as shown in a short stories "Tayuban" in short stories collection *Tiga Kota* (1957) written by Nugroho Notosusanto. It illustrates a noble man, Gusti Kanjeng of Rembang, who has been polluted by low culture, that he considered *tayuban* or *ronggeng* was the same as na-

yuban, so he ordered his officers as below:
"Bupati zaman dulu sudah seperti raja, bukan nenek?"

"Ya, seorang bupati kalau bertitah, adalah seperti Kanjeng Gubernemen sendiri memerintah.

Jadi pesta berlangsung dengan meriahnya diiringi oleh gamelan dan dimeriahkan oleh minuman keras. Gusti kanjeng bahkan memberi anggur Bordeaux yang mahal itu. Tentu saja hanya untuk sekali minum pada pembukaan pesta. Selanjutnya yang dihidangkan brandy dan cium. Dan ketika sudah agak malam, dimulailah tayuban. Para priyayi mengelilingi joged-joged yang menarinarini di tengah gelanggang ditingkah irama gamelan yang keras dan nyaring. Dan minuman keras terus diedarkan. Nenek lihat priyayi-priyayi itu sudah merah mukanya dan keringatnya berleleran seperti hujan. Mereka menyerukan perkataan-perkataan cabul pada joged-joged itu atau meningkahi dengan bunyi yang ganjil bersahut-sahutan. Maka joged-joged itu melemparkan selendang mereka ke salah satu priyayi yang dia pilih dan priyayi itu terus masuk ke gelanggang untuk ngibing dengan dia. Mereka mulai dengan biasa, tetapi lama-lama bercubitan, berpegangan dan akhirnya berpelukan, maka dibawalah joged itu oleh priyayi yang ngibing dengan dia keluar gelanggang, langsung ke kamar yang sudah disediakan. Akhirnya nenek lihat kakek kejatuhan selendang juga. Kakek berdiri dekat Gusti Kanjeng.

... Dan kakek ngibing terus dengan terhu-yung-huyung hampir jatuh dan dipeluk perempuan itu. Akhirnya kakek keluar dari gelanggang dan masuk ke salah satu kamar dengan perempuan itu (Notosusanto, 1959: 28-29).

This quote shows the *ronggeng* or *tayub* is one of social dances that tend to translated negatively because it is accompanied with alcohol. Meanwhile the dancer, both *joged* (dancer) and her guess (*tayuban*) performed movement which arouses sexually. If the condition is heated, the rule of dancing is ignored, even *ledhek/joged* directly find one room with the male partner.

In Sri Sumarah dan Bawuk (1975), it is also found the representation of *Ronggeng* and *Tayub*. The behaviour of nobleman before the independent of Indonesia or during the colonial period is portrayed as shown below:

"Tuan Surya sesungguhnya lebih suka main bridge dan Billiard di soos pabrik bersama administrator dan dokter gula daripada main kartu cina ini. Tetapi kesukan toh harus lebih banyak dia mainkan. Kesukan baginya adalah lebih merupakan 'bagian dari upacara' yang mesti dia penuhi dalam fungsinya sebagai seorang onder dan priyayi yang terpandang. Lagipula bupati yang sudah tua itu adalah seorang pecandu kesukan. Dan main kartu bersama bupati, dalam satu meja adalah satu privilege. Seorang onder juga yang belum tua, cukup intelek karena tamatan Mosovia, suka kesukan dan cerutu Regel adalah unsur-unsur yang paling positif untuk calon wedana. Tayuban adalah satu kesenangan yang menuntut lebih banyak lagi sikap serta citarasa yang khusus. Untuk ini dibutuhkan perwatakan serta 'tipe' yang khas lagi. Dia mestilah seorang casanova yang gembira, lincah, dan luwes. Dia mestilah seorang yang tidak kaku dan ragu-ragu membuat gerakan-gerakan tandak apalagi malu-malu dalam menghadapi liak-liak ledek atau ronggeng yang penuh dengan isyarat dan senyum yang sensuil itu. Pada saat-saat tertentu. Pada jatuhnya sesuatu pukulan gong, si penayup diharapkan oleh ledhek (dan juga oleh para hadirin) untuk mencium pipi ledhek. Dan bila malam telah larut, bau mulut para penayub itu telah membusa dengan jenever dan whisky, kendang telah disentakkan dengan suara yang sugestif, si penayub boleh saja menarik si ledhek masuk ke dalam kamar (Kayam, 1975: 89-90).

From the short stories quoted from *Bawuk* written by Umar Kayam, it pictures how *ronggeng* and *tayub* has been part of nobility's tradition. A nobleman was required to have charisma like Cassanova who is able to melt in *Tayub* dance: dancing, drinking, even whoring. *Ledhek* or *Ronggeng* is described as a seducer who seduces men's last by dancing with him,

stories Bawuk written by Umar Kayam is not different from those described in *Tayuban* by Nugraha Natasusanta.

Besides that, the representation of *ronggeng* or *tayub* is also found in one of trilogy novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* by Ahmad Tohari and *Ronggeng* by Dewi Linggasari. *Ronggeng dukuh Paruk* is one of masterpiece in the history of Indonesian fiction. This novel unveils the life of *ronggeng* in 1960s in a ritual called *bukak klambu*.

Berdiri buku kudukku setelah mengetahui macam apa persyaratan itu. Bukak klambu adalah semacam sayembara, terbuka bagi laki-laki manapun. Yang disayembarakan adalah keperawanan calon ronggeng. Laki-laki dapat menyerahkan sejumlah uang yang ditentukan oleh dukun ronggeng, berhak menikmati virginitas itu. "Dan ... "bagiku, tempat tidur yang akan menjadi tempat pelaksanaan malam bukak klambu bagi Srintil, tidak lebih dari sebuah pembantaian. Atau lebih menjijikkan lagi. Di sana tiga hari lagi akan berlangsung penghancuran dan penjagalan. Aku sama sekali tidak berbicara atas kepentingan berahi atau sebangsanya. Di sana di dalam karung kelambu yang tampak dari tempatku berdiri, akan terjadi pemusnahan mustika yang selama ini kuhargai. Sesudah terjadi malam bukak klambu Srintil tidak suci lagi (Tohari, 2003: 51-53).

Interestingly that after the decision on who was able to bestow piece of gold to *ronggeng* shaman, the person had the right to take Srintil's virginity. However, Srintil had already given hers to Rasus because she loves him. Besides that Srintil is described to rebel to *tayub* practices. It is clear that Srintil's attitude is ambiguous between obeying the culture or avoiding it. Srintil consciously chose to be a *ronggeng* as well as prostitute for Dukuh Paruk will be empty and gloomy without *ronggeng*.

From folk culture presented by Ahmad Tohari in his Trilogy *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, Srintil as *ronggeng* is associated also with the fertility of soil. The climaxes of *ronggeng* is when woman and

man dance together called *ngibing*. Generally honourable people will have the first opportunity to *ngibing* with *ronggeng* which is called *bedah bumi*. In this novel, it is described the the spirit of Ki Secamenggala in Kertarejo's body when *ngibing* with *ronggeng*. This relation reveals that *ronggeng* is a cosmic figure connecting a transcendent world to through the spirit of *indang*. This kind of functions is shown Srintil graduation as *ronggeng* in cemetery near Ki Secamenggala's tomb. This ritual is translated as *bedah bumi* for the purpose of prosperity of the people in the earth. This kind of relation of *ronggeng* is believed to influence the fertility of the soul. However, *ronggeng* who has ritual function is now become a secular show. As shown by Ahmad Tohari that one requirement of being *Ronggeng* is ritual *bukak klambu* and after that *ronggeng* belongs to public.

In Javanese agricultural society, this sacred ritual has its functional in the process of living. During harvest time, many ceremonies are conducted and *ronggeng* served the society. In those ritual, dancing movement, *taledhek* character or *ronggeng*, alcohol is considered part of abangan practices and tradition (Clifford 1976: 299).

Furthermore, in the novel *Ronggeng* written by Dewi Linggasari, the tradition of *ronggeng* is represented by a *ronggeng* dancer called Pursilah. Pursilah is beautiful javanese woman. This woman has bad memories of her family and powerless to face her destiny as *ronggeng*. The picture of real *ronggeng* is found in Pursilah personalities.

"Konon, Pursilah adalah bocah kecil yang dipungut dari keluarga petani miskin setelah kematian emaknya. Sang bapak tak kuasa menduda dan pergi entah ke mana? Kabarnya ia menikah lagi dengan seorang janda di desa tetangga dan tak peduli lagi akan nasib Pursilah. Sejak masih seorang keayuan Pursilah sudah sangat nyata, ia memiliki kulit kuning bak buah langsung, wajah berbentuk bujur sarih, sepasang mata jernih seperti air telaga, dagu yang runcing, dan rambut

selegam arang. Tubuh gadis itu tinggi semampai dengan tungkai yang panjang dan pinggang ramping menyangga pinggul yang padat berisi. Sementara dadanya adalah gundukan sepasang bukit yang amat sehat. Dia amat gemar menari (Linggasari, 2007: 62)".

"Sama seperti ibu-ibu dan kaum wanita yang bertanggung jawab terhadap asap dapur, Pursilahpun merasa perlu untuk berbelanja sekaligus bersenang-senang di tengah keramaian. Ia menikmati jerih payahnya sebagai seorang ronggeng... (Linggasari, 2007:36)".

Pursilah is a famous *ronggeng* in the entire village. She was grown up with a nyai, so she is very obedient to whatever the nyai order her to do. Until one day she found herself rebel to the nyai. She felt that she was used by the nyai, and she was unable to life a normal life as an ordinary woman who marry a man, have a normal family, and bear her own children. Then, she was blind and run with someone's husband hoping to build her own family.

Economically speaking, Pursilah had everything. Her income as a *ronggeng* and serving man was enough to support her life with her nyai. Psychologically, she felt emptiness because she could not have a normal life as a woman, even untill her death. While the writer illustrated her nyai becoming an established woman after transforming Pursilah into a *ronggeng*. Nyai was a poor farmer before she found Pursilah. She arranged her life and took care for her only property.

As a *ronggeng*, Pursilah had to serve men sexually, so she was not allowed to marry and bear a baby. This situation made her bored. She became a rebellious by persuading Prambudi, Sarinah's husband, and she had an affair with him. Her dream of being a traditional woman who had a family led her to forget her roles. Nyai was the one who was responsible in that situation and who had infused ideology to Pursilah to be a *ronggeng*. When Pursilah began to avoid her fans, nyai did her all efforta to stop her

rebellious attitude. Her effort, however, useless. Pursilah needed a normal family, a husband and children. She wanted to marry Pambudi. Even thought, at the end her effort was useless, she died tragically. She was a victim of a system created by nyai, yet her rebellious behavior ruined her.

The representaion of *ronggeng* in the novel *Ronggeng* written by Dewi Linggasari is not far from those described in the history and tradition regarding the development of *ronggeng* or *tayub* as female *klangenan* dancer surrounded by men, flattered, cherished, or taken as partner both in the arena of dancing and arena of love. Pursilah, as Gendra in *Serat Chentini*, is described as a female dancer who had the ability to charm her audience. Similar to this, Rafles also shows in his book *History of java* (1817-381) that *ronggeng* has no any different from that prostitute.

Ronggeng or *tayub* is presented in Indonesian fiction, novel and short stories, in fact has many different variations. Even though it bears similarities, writers has different reception regarding what their describe as *ronggeng*. In *Tayuban*, Nugroho Notosusanto represents *ronggeng* as woman seducer. Umar Kayam shows *ronggeng* as part of nobility tradition. Novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* perfectly describes the personality of *ronggeng*; from her role in ritual to her willingness to become public property. Dewi Linggasari in her *Ronggeng* represents *ronggeng* as a negative art performance and the personality of *ronggeng* as seducer. The representation of *Ronggeng* in fiction reflects society's thought of *ronggeng*, This proves that literary work is the mirror of the society from where the art was written.

Conclusion

Ronggeng or *tayub* is a very popular cultural artefact in the society especially in Java. *Ronggeng* or *tayub* show has been a tradition since in the ancient time. The

term of *ronggeng* has been known in the ancient time. *Ronggeng* and *Tayub* at first was a sacred ritual and then become an art performance and tend to translated with its negative attribute such as alcohol and sexuality. In 1960s, the government banned *ronggeng* or *tayub*. Based on history, *ronggeng* was considered as sacred ritual and it becomes a profane art performance as represented in many literary works.

Ronggeng or *tayub* as cultural artefact in other regions may have different forms and values. It will be based on the ability of society adapting it to its environment. What have been represented in fiction and prose is the reflection of society's reception where the art work is produced.

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