

## **GEMBYANGAN WARANGGANA: THE PROCESS OF ABJECTION TOWARD WARANGGANAS AND *LANGEN TAYUB* TRADITION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The concept of representation of Dewi Sri manifested in the *Langen Tayub* performance. However, as the massive development in Javanese society, the image of warangganas has gradually derogated. Even waranggana has been synonymous with prostitute, being a waranggana is not similar to be a sexual worker. There are many requirements of being a waranggana. Not only must able to sing obligatory *gendhings*, a waranggana is required to be a good dancer. Therefore, a waranggana training system was established in Ngrajek, Sambirejo, Tanjunganom, Nganjuk regency, East Java. The procession of graduation from this training has been an annual tourism agenda of Nganjuk regency, called *gembyangan waranggana*. The existence of training system for waranggana has been an antithesis of pejorative image of warangganas. Therefore, this paper aims to analyze on the existence of waranggana training system in Nganjuk. Refers to Kristeva idea of abjection of women role, this paper will focus on how the negative perception of warangganas has been formulated. Moreover, the discussion of government policies for managing this training system will be another highlight. The first chapter will be an introduction which represented by the history of *gembyangan waranggana*. The second chapter will explain the process being a good waranggana and skills

have to be mastered. Then will continue by the social condition of waranggana and the society's perception toward them. All chapters will be wrapped up by the last chapter, discussion.

**Keywords:** Gembyangan Waranggana; Waranggana; Abjection; Langen Tayub.

## ABSTRAK

*Kesenian tradisional langen tayub telah berhasil bertahan sejak pertamakali keberadaannya diketahui sekitar abad ke-9. Berbagai strategi bertahan dilakukan oleh dengan melakukan berbagai penyesuaian dengan tuntutan dari otoritas yang mengintervensi mereka. Satu hal yang pasti dari berbagai perubahan pada kesenian langen tayub adalah proses abjeksi terhadap pada pelakornya. Abjeksi adalah suatu proses pengecualian (pengucilan) terhadap kelompok tertentu, termasuk pada waranggana. Pemerintah kabupaten Nganjuk melakukan penerbitan surat izin bagi waranggana pada saat prosesi gembyangan waranggana dilangsungkan. Melalui praktek tersebut, waranggana beserta koleganya mendapatkan satu ruang khusus meski tidak serta merta menghilangkan abjeksi terhadap mereka. Meski demikian, para waranggana berhasil bertahan dengan menghindari bentrokan dengan pihak yang kontra namun tetap berdiskusi mempertahankan dan mengembangkan kesenian ini. Penelitian ini dilaksanakan menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan melakukan observasi dan wawancara pada berbagai pihak melalui skema snowball. Sumber sekunder didapatkan melalui berbagai dokumentasi mengenai gembyangan waranggana dan tayub untuk mendapatkan data yang komprehensif. Pada akhirnya, pola abjeksi terhadap waranggana masih terlihat jelas melalui berbagai stigma negatif yang disematkan kepada mereka dan tidak adanya perbedaan perlakuan kepada waranggana sebagai seorang penampil maupun secara personal dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Meski demikian, waranggana dan kesenian langen tayub mampu bertahan dengan melakukan adaptasi dengan perkembangan jaman tanpa meninggalkan aturan baku mengenai keahlian yang harus mereka kuasai.*

**Kata Kunci:** Gembyangan Waranggana; Waranggana; Abjeksi; Langen Tayub.

## A. INTRODUCTION

Gembyangan waranggana tradition has managed to survive through the uncertain political condition which has also affected the existence of waranggana tradition. Numerous survival maneuvers have been performed by waranggas during decades of its continuation for instance adapting into presumably more sophisticated version, massive modification of the performance, prohibiting certain practices, and engaging into local government's institution. Even though the Nganjuk government has widely promoted gembyangan waranggana as a tourism agenda, however this have not affected into the improvement of performers' prosperity. In the other side, the negative stigma toward waranggas has still commonly found in the society which create a social gap where waranggas manipulate for their benefit by existing in an object sphere.

Various research on gembyangan waranggas have been conducted in diverse topics. Juwariyah (2014) focused on the analysis of social transformation by examining the modification of *langen tayub* performance which previously known as spontaneous expression of rural inhabitants into more designed body movements. An interesting work from Purbaningtyas (2013) demonstrated the expression of dramaturgy from gembyangan waranggana performers in the stage that rarely found during their daily life. In the economic aspect, Trisnawati (2013) discovered how the intervention of Nganjuk government has improved the income of waranggas and pengrawit by legitimating tayub performers as professional occupation through the enactment of the license card. Ayu (2017) provided a study of tayub functions as entertainment which able to unify a society, but in the other side, negative stigma toward waranggas has been a reasonable cause of sexual abuse toward waranggas during the stage performance. The latest work on gembyangan waranggana by Ahmadi and Sukarman (2020) delivered the explanation of gembyangan waranggana through

an approach of folklore analysis. Ahmadi and Sukarman (2020) offered the meaning of *gembyangan waranggana* procession as a mimic of the quintessence of human life, the epitome of human soul, the relation of human and nature, the value of time, and the interconnection among human.

This research begin with a question on how *langen tayub* has succeed to survive through decades and adapted into countless social transformation. Second, the curiosity on the position of *warangganas* which earlier resemble the presence of Dewi Sri have been derogated into a symbol of dishonorable women. And how *langen tayub* performers have managed to manipulate the process of abjection toward them as a space for surviving and improving their existence. Abjection is a process where certain group has to undergo exclusion from its initial society.

For discovering the explanation for research questions, *langen tayub* performers were targeted as informants who provide data from the inside of *langen tayub* tradition. Using the snowball method, other sources of data were tracked and interviewed in the style of in-depth interview. In order to gain comprehensive data, numerous works focused on *gembyangan waranggana*, and *tayub* were counted as seconds sources of data. As a qualitative research, this paper aim to complete the analysis of previous researches on *gembyangan waranggana* through gender approach, especially on the persistence of *warangganas* to survive.

## B. DISCUSSION

### 1. The History of *Gembyangan Waranggana*

Around ten women wearing yellow traditional Javanese costume entered the area of Padepokan *Langen Tayub Anjuk Ladang* area in Nganjuk Regency, East Java. Every steps of them become the initial process of their professional life as *waranggana*

through the procession of *gembyangan waranggana*. *Waranggana* is the term to represent a professional *tayub* dancer. *Tayub* itself refers to a traditional dance which able to be found across Java island with different term, *lengger* in Central Java, and *ronggeng* in West Java. The termination of *tayub* derived from Javanese language “*ditata ben guyub*” means ordered for improving unity among people (Liputan6). Even though *waranggana* is a formal name of *tayub* dancer, but people across *Mataraman* area simply call them *kledhek*.

The history of *tayub* can be traced down into the 9<sup>th</sup> century in the Java as a form of popular culture for lower class society. Kings of Kediri promoted *langen tayub* as high-class performance when he mandated *langen tayub* for welcoming the guests from another kingdom. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, King Jenggala of Kediri obligated *langen tayub* performance as part of his coronation. On his special occasion, King Jenggala commanded his empresses performing *langen tayub* as a greeting for him once he entered *pringgitan* (main hall of a Javanese house) (Bratasiswara: 2000, 39). The new era of *langen tayub* approached through the proselytization of Islam by *wali sanga* (nine saints who spread Islam in Java). Knowing that Javanese people recognized as their culture, *wali sanga* modified it by inserting religious value and made it performance in a better manner (Soedarsono: 1991, 33).

There was a myth of *langen tayub* which included the miraculous power of *wali*. Once in Java, a carpenter sculptured a beautiful girl made of wood. As a tailor witnessed it and feel apologetic for seeing the nude statue and decided to make her a beautiful dress. For the compliment, a jeweler completed her appearance by crafting earrings, a bracelet, a ring, and a necklace. Soon after the appearance of the statue completed, those three men amazed by their own creation. They decided to perform ritual by fasting and meditating for 40 days. Soon after the ritual completed, a *wali* passerby and granted their wish by enlivened the statue. However, the beauty of the statue occurred dispute

among them. The *wali* ordered them to follow her dancing across the kingdom instead (Soedarsono: 2000, 291).

As the folklore of a dancer as explained before, the *waranggana* concept referred to a dancer who perform across the country. In the past, *waranggana* did not perform in a specific place but door to door as street musician. There was a term of *rara mabhramana tinonton* for expressing a *waranggana*. As in Javanese language, *rara* means girl, *mabhramana* indicates go around, and *tinonton* as show. In simplified term, *rara mabhramana tinonton* means girl who perform dance as street musician (Haryono: 2004, 33). However, as the development, *waranggana* and *langen tayub* has gradually performed in a certain place and requires specific skill of *waranggana*.

Marking the graduation of *waranggana* training, the procession of *gembyangan waranggana* has become annual event of Nganjuk regency and is included in its annual tourism attraction. However, this annual event is beyond than just tourism attraction, it has been a formal agenda to initiate *waranggana* and grant them the license card for performing *langen tayub* dance. There are a systematical agenda during the process of *gembyangan waranggana* which started by the procedure of extracting two *kendil* (jug) of water from Sedudo waterfall a day before. The *juru kunci* (caretaker) of Sedudo waterfall accompanied two professional *kledhek* for extracting the water. A day after, the procession of *gembyangan warangga* held in Dusun Ngrajek, Desa Sambirejo, Kecamatan Tanjunganom, Kabupaten Nganjuk.

At the first place, *gembyangan waranggana* had been annually held by local communities of *waranggana payuguban* (association) coaching village maidens and preparing them to be professional *waranggana*. Older professional *warangga* as long as *pramugari* and *pangrawit* have taken the responsibility for passing down this dance into younger generation voluntarily (Informant 1, interviewed July 2018).

The history of *gembyangan waranggana* can be traced down by the folklore of two sisters Mahkawit (11 years old then) and Jaminem (10 years old then) circa 1934. Based on the folklore, Mahkawit and Juminem had faced misfortune through the failure of their crop and suffering from chronic disease. The only way to withdraw their unlucky fate was organized *langen tayub* at their neighborhood. The dilemma occurred when the villager no *warangga* existed in their hamlet anymore since a waranggana was recognized as a glamorous figure whom lived close the capital of karisidenan (region) (Informant1, interviewed July 2018).

As in a common folklore, a magical solution appeared in the dream of Mahkawit and Juminem through dream. They requested to perform as a *waranggana* during the *langen tayub* was held. At the time, their request was difficult to be granted since they were not professional *warangga* and had never performed dance before. However, after a discussion the villager finally accepted their request. Everything turn into enchanting night when Mahkawit and Juminem moved their body into alluring movement. As every business going well after the night of *langen tayub* performance, villagers decided to carry on *langen tayub* tradition and start training new generation of *waranggana* (Informant2, interviewed on July 2018).

The story of miraculous recovery of Mahkawit and Juminem has been related into a myth of *danyang* (guardian) of Dusun Ngrajek. *Danyang*, as it is known in a wide area of Java, is considered as the guardian of certain place who made an agreement with the pioneer of those place. Therefore, for commemorating those agreement and pacifying the *danyang*, *nyadran* has been held annually in a specific place. *Gembyangan waranggana*, in Sambirejo, is not only held as an initiation ritual of *waranggana* but also representing *nyadran* for venerating the merit of Mbah Ageng (Informant3, interviewed on July 2018).

A decade after the miraculous of Jaminem and Mahkawit, another pivotal figure, Soedarto (25 years old then), arrived in

Sambirejo. Unlike Jaminem and Mahkawit who learned *langen tayub* dance autodidact, Soedarto was a professional *dalang* (puppet master) and mastering *gendhing* (Javanese traditional songs). The appearance of Soedarto marked a new step of *langen tayub* life in Sambirejo as he set up a restricted procedure for the education of *waranggana* (Utomo & Suparwoto: 2016, 13). Since then, Dusun Ngrajek in Sambirejo has been widely known as the respectable *waranggana* education place.

*Langen tayub* achieved its golden era circa 1950s, a decade before the outbreak of anti-communist riot. During those era, *langen tayub* has been adopted as an identity of local tradition. Almost all of the celebration, *langen tayub* had taken crucial role as the waiting moment where guests were able to enjoyed and participated at the events. Ngaji Budaya specifically noted that there has been a normal attitude for guests to insert amount of money in to the cleavage of *waranggana* (Ngaji Budaya: 2016).

The upside-down of *langen tayub* life happened during the massive riot against communism around 1965 when *tayub* was assumed as the representation of the communist party. The condition was getting worse considering that Nganjuk, as long as majority of regencies in East Java, has been the basis of Nahdatul Utama. The negated position of Communist Party and Nahdatul Ulama was commonly known as the later party has been used by right-wing of Indonesian party (Robinson: 2018, 9).

After the anti-communist outbreak, *langen tayub* has gradually risen up during 1980s. However, the government of Nganjuk regency restricted the *langen tayub* performance. The practice of *omben* (drunk) was totally prohibited. Moreover, the intervention of the government of Nganjuk regency resulted on the alteration of *langen tayub* in the structure and order of *langen tayub*. Furthermore, there was massive modification of *langen tayub* elements to adapt into the social condition at that time. The costume was modified into a modest version by adding *selendang* (scarf) for covering the shoulder of *warangganas*, so was the



make-up which changed into a less seductive version (Utomo & Suparwoto: 2016, 14).

The intervention of the government of Nganjuk regency manifested in the training programs and the formation of The Association of *Pramugari* (mater ceremony), *Waranggana* (singer and dancer), and *Pangrawit* (musician) Langen Bekso known as HIPRAWARPALA (*Himpunan Pramugari, Waranggana, dan Pangrawit Langen Bekso*) in 1985. This organization has taken part as a pivotal party who enacted licenses for *waranggana*, *pramugari*, and *pangrawit* to perform. As the commitment of the government in the *langen tayub* preservation, the government aided a well-known *langen tayub* educator, Saedjo Hadiwiyono, for establishing a studio in his house near the punden (rite) of Mbah Budho in Ngrajek. Hadiwiyono, together with his wife Sinten, has taught hundreds of *waranggana* not only from Nganjuk, but also the regions around for instance Tuban, Bojonegoro, and Lamongan (Utomo and Soeparwoto: 2016, 13).

In the 1987, The Department of Culture of Nganjuk Regency mandated to relocate the annual *gembyangan warangga* into the rite of Mbah Budha. However, as the refusal from the neighborhood around the rite, *gembayang waranggana* moved to the rite of Mbah Ageng up until now (Wulandari: 2017, 5). In the 1990, The Department of Culture and Tourism took off the management of *langen tayub* education from The Department of Youth and Sport who has been on duty since 1980s. As the follow up, the government also establish *Padepokan Langen Tayub Anjuk Ladang* in the rite of Mbah Ageng Ngrajek for providing a comfortable place for practicing *langen tayub* (Utomo & Suparwoto: 2016, 14).

## 2. The Basic Skill of a Waranggana

There are some phases for being a professional *waranggana* that should be mastered by a women. At the first steps, they have to receive education for becoming proficient at dancing steps,

and song rhythm and lyrics. A candidate of *waranggana* have to be coached by professional *waranggana* at least three month and follow them in every event of *langen tayub* in order to observe how a good performance be conducted. In the three month of trainee phase, coach trains them to master at least ten *gendhings* (song), and five kinds of dance movements.

*Gendhings* has been a crucial part in *langen tayub* performance and has been divided into two categories. The first category is the obligatory ones which have to be mastered by a *waranggana*, and the second is contemporary *gendhings* which sung to become accustomed with the popular modern song. Obligatory *gendhings* are consisted of ten *gendhings*, there are: 1) *Eling-Eling*; 2) *Golekan*; 3) *Bendungan*; 4) *Teplek*; 5) *Ganggangmina*; 6) *Astrakara*; 7) *Ono-Ini*; 8) *Gandariya*; 9) *Ijo-Ijo*; and 10) *Kembang Jeruk* (Wulandari: 2017). The contemporary *gendhings* are more diverse as it adjust to the trend in the society. The list of the contemporary *gendhings* can be seen below:

No	Title	Songwriter
1	Pepeling Trisno Sudro	Pambuko
2	Gelang Kalung	Wagiran
3	Larang Udang	Anom Kartono
4	Sekar Pucung Lodang Datuk	Anom Kartono
5	Slendang Sutro Kuning	Mulyadi
6	Kloso Pandan	Anom Kartono
7	Pupur Wangi Wolu-Wolu	
8	Langgam Ngimpi	
9	Srihuning	Sukron Suwondo
10	Kembang Rawe	Anom Kartono
11	Sawit Sri Tanjung	
12	Angklung Songo	
13	Loh Jinawe Loro Trisno	
14	Sedudo Kali Bening	Ndaru Antariksa
15	Jula Juli Jaipong	
16	Jaket Iki	Ndaru Antariksa
17	Srampat Sekarsari	
18	Sambel Kemangi Ban Serep	
19	Gunungsari Ireng Putih	
20	Pertiwi Songo	
21	Songo Kidul Srampat	
22	Jambu Alas	

23	Mawar Biru	
24	Kembang Rawe Orek-Orek	
25	Wayah Sore	
26	Kembang Rawe Grajakan Banyuwangi	
27	Sinom Parijoto	
28	Srempeg Banyumasan	
29	Pangkur Palaran	
30	Guntur	
31	Srampat	
32	Gedog Kembang Kapas	
33	Iilir-Iilir	
34	RRI	
35	Gedog Ayak	
36	Penganten Baru	
37	Eling-Eling	
38	Kijing Miring	
39	Songo Lor	
40	Labuh Trisno	
41	Alamat Palsu	Dadin Indriana/ Efit
42	Cewek Gaul	Jithul Sumarji
43	Joko Mlarat-mBangun Deso	Jithul Sumarji
44	Joko Kluruk-Loh Jinawi	
45	Joko Tuo	Jithul Sumarji
46	Owah Gingsir-WBL	
47	Palupi	
48	Ketan Endog Susu	Miswan D.
49	Gelang Ali-Ali	
50	Bulan Bayanan	Dalang Pur
51	Dadi Ati	
52	Rendengan	
53	Sri Kucing	
54	Mapak Sinden	Dalang Pur
55	Gambuh Pangatak	
56	Sri Tanjung	Jithul Sumarji
57	Rengu	
58	Denpasar Arjosari	
59	Sapu Tangan	
60	Pertiwi	
61	Ktw. Sinom Parijoto	
62	Eling-Eling Kasmaran	
63	Godril Slendo Manyuro	
64	Langgam Pemut	Waras Rianto
65	Nganjuk Mrarani	
66	Alun-Alun Nganjuk	
67	Langgam Bapak Tani	Waras Rianto
68	Langgam Prawan Sunthi	Waras Rianto
69	Langgam Lamis Slendro Manyuro	Waras Rianto
70	Narkoba	
71	Ojo Lungo	
72	Srempeg Songo	
73	Tanda Mata	
74	Dalang Soponyono	
75	Kangening Ati	

76	Bandul Kunci	Jithul Sumarji
77	Srampat	Ki Narto Sabdo
78	Podang Kuning	Dalang Darmo
79	Arum Manis	Wagiran
80	Kere Munggah Bale	
81	Langit Mendung	
82	Mikat Manuk	
83	Sambung Gilang	
84	Jamong Sluku-Sluku Bathok	
85	Ibu Pertiwi	

Even *waranggana* literarely means singer, but a professional *waranggana* is demanded to be more than a good singer. Therefore, a good dance skills is necessary needed for a good professional *waranggana*. The characteristics of *langen tayub* dance are simple, harmonic toward music, and free. In spite of dynamical characteristic of *langen tayub* dance, there are basic dance movement of *waranggana* which consists of five movements (Wulandari: 2017, 11). Those movements are:

No	Movement	Description	Dance			
			Head	Body	Hand	Leg
1	Goyangan	Moving and twisting the hip in a circle move.	Turning the head into left and right.	Moving and twisting the hip in a circle move.	Clenching and folding hands beside the hip and moving it back and forward.	Walking in certain place and moving appropriate to the music.
2	Lembehan	Swinging hands back and forward, moving the hip.	Shaking the head.	Swinging the body into left and right.	Swaying the hand back and forward.	Stepping into right and left as the hip move.
3	Ukel Penthangan	Clenching the hand then stretching to the side of the body.	Facing forward.	Standing still.	Clenching the hand then stretching to the side of the body.	Stepping into right and left as the hip's move.

4	Ukel Lembehan	Swaying both hand back and forward as the hands are clenched; moving the hip.	Shaking head.	Swinging the body to left and right.	Swaying both hand back and forward as the hands are clenched.	Stepping into right and left as the hip's move.
5	Jogetan	Swaying both hands beside the body; moving the hip; and walking in three steps.	Facing forward.	Moving the hip.	Clenching the hand then stretching to the side of the body.	Walking in three steps.

As a supporting factor, a *waranggana's* skill on make-up is an essential ability for attracting spectators. A *waranggana*, as the representative figure of Dewi Sri (goddess of agriculture) are demanded to have a goddess-like appearance or in Javanese term called *widadari* (Cooper: 2000, 609). All almost *widadari* role in Javanese society is as the guardian of the order. As an omnipresent creature, *widadari* is expected to illuminate the world with their good deeds (Koentjoroningrat: 1984, 133) and also assists god for assessing a hero's merit by luring them whether they are able to control their personal desire or not (Cooper: 2000, 609).

Sutarno stated that the seductive move of a *waranggana* is the characteristic of *langen tayub* as the meaning is "to lure" (Juwariyah: 2014, 7). The way of luring spectators manifested not only in the appearance, but also by performing seductive gesture. Therefore, even in their mundane life, a *waranggana* look as "normal" house-wife, soon after they step on the stage their transformation begun. As the espousing factors of their make-up, *waranggana* usually flirts, exposes their calves, and presents erotic move (Juwariyah: 2014, 7).

The existence of spectators is the determining factor to measure how successful is the performance. Royal spectators are the most desired ones since they do not hesitate to spend *suwelan*

(money) for satisfying their desire on *waranggana*'s performance. *Warangganas*, in another side, attempting their best effort to meet the demand, some of them are even implanting silicon on their part of bodies for maintaining their seductive performance (Informan4, interviewed on July 2018).

In the latest development of *langen tayub* performance in Nganjuk, seductive attitude of *waranggana* has been restricted by the government. For controlling what the call un-ethical attitude, the government modified *langen tayub* from *terop* into *padhang bulan* version as more sophisticated ones. After the modification, *warangganas* can accept the request for a song only after a song finished. That is different with the previous *terop* version which allow *warangganas* sing request songs in time the like. It raise up the potency of chaos during the performance (Juwariyah: 2014, 15).

### 3. The Procession of Gembyangan Waranggana

The procession of *gembayang waranggana* begun by preparing a crucial properties, water from Sedudo waterfall. The elder of Sambirejo then will enchant it will specific prayer and then put *kembang mayang* (palm flower) on it. The other side, *waranggana* candidates has prepared for performing ten obligatory *gendhing*, and dance.

The next day, *gembyangan waranggana* held on three steps: opening, main event, and closing. Those three processes involves not only *warangganas* and local elders, but also the bureaucrats as the major of Nganjuk, the chief of The Department of Tourism of Nganjuk, and the committee from Nganjuk Regency. The opening of *gembyangan waranggana* marked by the entrance of *cucuk lampah* (remark as the beginning of a performance) which represented by *juru kunci* (caretaker) of the rite who bring *dupa*, *Mung Dhe* (portrayed Mataram warriors) warriors, flower girls, *sampur* (special scarf) bearer, *waranggana* candidates, *dThomas* (portrayed princesses), *waranggana* candidates' parents, *pramugari* (master of ceremony) of *tayub*, professional *waranggana*, elders of the village, and *pengrawit* (Gamelan musician) of *Mung Dhe* dance. Soon after the crowd arrived in the rites, the chief of *cucuk*

*lampah* orders *waranggana* candidates to take seat in a prepared positions. During the chief is handling *warangganas*, *juru kunci* sets the incense and other offerings on the *Pundhen Ageng*. The opening will be begun by performance of *Gambyong* dance. As the end of opening series, some bureaucrats mark their speech which stated by the representative of The Department of Education and Culture, the representative of The Department of Culture and Tourism, and lasted by the Major of Nganjuk Regency. *Waranggana* candidates then form a line for being inaugurated by *juru kunci* accompanied by the village chief as long as three other bureaucrats (Trisnawati: 2013, 66).

As the fundamental event begun, *waranggana* candidates purified by *juru kunci*. He sprays *waranggana* candidates the water of Sedudo waterfall using *kembang mayang*. And applies *cundhuk menthul* (special accessories made by brass with application of jasmine and ylang-ylang flowers) on their *sanggul* (traditional Javanese hair knot). As the last step, *juru kunci* give them a little *pincuk* (A folded-over banana leaf used as a container for portions of food) and a *waru* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) leaf which then tore down by *warangga* candidates in one command (Trisnawati: 2013, 68).

The task for *waranggana* candidates in those ceremony are perform dance and *gendhing*, marked by the pronouncing the oath of *waranggana*. Dance performed in *gembyangan waranggana* have to be presented in a specific order follow the step of pattern around the *Pundhen Ageng*. So do *gendhings*, there are ten obligatory *gendhings* must be recited during the performance of the dance. Those ten *gendhings* are: 1) *Eling-Eling*; 2) *Golekan*; 3) *Bendungan*; 4) *Teplek*; 5) *Ganggangmina*; 6) *Astrakara*; 7) *Ono-Ini*; 8) *Gandariya*; 9) *Ijo-Ijo*; and 10) *Kembang Jeruk*. The last obligation of the process being professional *warangga* is the pronouncing the *Tri Prasetya Waranggana* oath:

1. *Tansah ngluhurake kebudayaan nasional mliginipun in babagan langgen bekso utawi tayub.*
2. *Tansah angudi indahing kawruh saha kualitas minangka engkang sae, saha ngugemi jejereng wanita utami.*

3. *Sudi aleladi dumateng bebrayan ingkang tamuju ing reh lestari, ngrembaka luhuring budaya bangsa* (Trisnawati: 2013, 68-70).
1. Performing active role in the preservation and development of national culture, especially the art of *langen tayub*.
2. Improving knowledge, increasing standard and quality of *waranggana*.
3. Becoming a noble person through the application of ethic in order to maintain the nobility of the nation.

As the oath pronouncing, *waranggana* candidates make an entrance into professional *waranggana's* life. The chief of the department of Culture and Tourism maker the very last procession by handing *Surat Ijin Pentas* (License of Performance) over *warangganas*. After all the procession done, village elder lead prayer recited by whoever presents in this occasion. For entertaining audiences, newly graduated *waranggana* perform *langen tayub* up until 5.00 pm.

#### **4. The Social Life of Waranggana**

*Waranggana*, as their goddess-like appearance, they have faced fluctuating stigma for decades, most of all are negatives ones. Those stigmas can be traced down into the origin of *waranggana* itself. The term *waranggana* derived from *Kawi* (ancient Javanese language) language *wara* (women) and *anggana* (chosen ones) (Winter & Ranggawarsita: 1988, 277). *Waranggana* expresses an ameliorating idiom for portrayed a chosen woman who possess clear and melodious voice among *niyagas* (gamelan player) whom majority are men. There has been another term for depicted *waranggana* in honored term, *swarawati* or *pesinden*. The later term express a woman singer who has ability for entertaining people even by performing *gendhings* by herself.



There is a misunderstanding among the term *waranggana* and *kledhek*. Both *waranggana* and *ledhek* are women who perform dance and sing *gendhing* in *langen tayub*, both as in ritual and entertainment. In the previous time, every entertainer of *langen tayub* was called *kledhek* which originated from the word *ngleledhek* meaning seducing *pengibing* (male spectators). For seducing *pengibing*, *kledhek* usually wear a *kemben* (a traditional cloth wrapped around the upper part of female body), heavy make-up, and tempting scent of perfume. Once a *pengibing* lured, a *ledhek* is required to dance in pair with the *pengibing* (The male pair for *waranggana*).

The seductive gesture of *warangganas* is only lasted during the performance. There is a total difference on their mundane life as a women and their life on the stage. However, not all the people are able to differ the life of *warangganas* on the stage and outside. Therefore, there are negative stigma which commonly perceived on the society for teasing *warangganas* and their family member as a less-honored women whom can be asked for their service (Srintil: 2004, 34).

Among their negative stigma, *warangganas*, as long as *langen tayub*, has taken pivotal role in the rural Javanese society based on its function. There are at least three different functions of *langen tayub*; ritual, social, and politic ones. Ritual function of *langen tayub* is the original cause of its emergence. *Langen tayub* created in order to perform a ritual ceremony for initiating fertilization of agriculture. For performing *langen tayub* as a ritual instrument, it need specific requirements:

1. Performed at specific time or period.
2. Performed in a specific place.
3. *Pengibing* must come in selection as a chosen male whom meet with specific requirements.
4. As the *pengibing*, *waranggana* who performs in the ritual must be chosen ones.
5. There was special offering during the performance (Bende: 2005, 108).

The performance of *langen tayub* as a ritual occasion has a deeper meaning. The pair of *pengibing* and *waranggana* depicted the fertilization symbols. *Pengibing*, as a male, portrayed the seed of rice or in Javanese term *bapa angkasa*. In the other side, *waranggana* represented the fertile soil or *ibu pertiwi*. The interaction of those two will produce rain which instigate fertility on agriculture (Widijanto: 2003).

As long as the development of the social condition, the function of *langen tayub* has widen up into other occasions for instance for social occasions. The transformation of *langen tayub* was begun in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when massive construction across Java initiated by Dutch colonial. *Langen tayub* has gradually played for entertainment and became communal art that often performed in the traditional ceremony for instance wedding, and circumcision (Holt: 2000, 149). Moreover, *langen tayub* has processed to be a communicative instrument among *langen tayub* fans whom majority comes from lower class society (Prabaningtyas: 2013, 8).

Political function of *langen tayub* has known since the colonial era when *tayub* was still known as a solo performance which play door to door. At that era, a *tayub* dancer usually function both as an entertainer and spy toward Dutch colonial. However, soon after the proclamation of independence, *langen tayub* has adapted as a form for spreading propaganda among societies. During the reign of Old Order, *langen tayub* as communal art gained its glorious times as every parties formed a division for supporting communal art. Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesia Communist Party) established Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (Institute of People Culture) recognized as Lekra; Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesia National Party) known as PNI found Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (Institute of National Culture) or LKN; in the other side, Nahdatul Ulama (NU) launched Lembaga Seniman Budayawan Muslim Indonesia (Institute for Moslem Artist of Indonesia) or LESBUMI (Holt: 2000, 160).

## 5. The Negative Stigma against *Waranggana*

The assumption of *waranggana* images is closely related to prostitute. As in Geertz depicted on his famous book *Religion of Java* accused that *langen tayub* dancers are almost always prostitute (Geertz: 1960). Koentjaraningrat strengthened Geertz assumption by stating that the dancer are consisted of sex workers (Koenjtoroningrat: 1984). Those assumption has been passed down through generations and worsened by the fact that almost of *langen tayub* dancers come from low economy class.

The practice of *pengibing* has contributed to the sexual abuse toward *waranggana*. Even in the original version of *langen tayub*, *pengibing* was taken pivotal role as the pair of *waranggana*, nowadays, *pengibing* is accepted as a privilege for a man. The non-existence of strictly prohibition of interaction between *waranggana* and *pengibing* provides the opportunity for *pengibing* to initiate physical interaction. Those abusing physical interaction are not only form into touching, but it is able to getting worse for instance grapping *waranggana's* breast and even kiss them. For anticipation, *warangganas* usually inserts a small pillow into their cleavage (Informant4, interviewed on July 2018).

The negative stigma of *langen tayub* has been added by the tradition to be drunken during the performance. Traditional liquor known as *ciu* was traded during the *langen tayub* performance. *Warangganas* as the stars in the performance have to take role for serving those liquor into *pengibing* and other guests. However, a *waranggana* do not possess for discontinuing this practice (Informant4, interviewed on July 2018).

The social condition in rural Javanese consist of homogenous society, as is in the Sambirejo village. This social condition contributes on how society perceive *waranggana* life. Most of the people in Sambirejo are not able to differentiate on-stage and off-stage life of *waranggana*. Therefore verbal abuse toward *waranggana* are commonly found during their mundane life in daily interaction.

### C. CONCLUSIONS

The position of *waranggana* whom perceives negative stigma in both of their on-stage and off-stage life portrayed a drastic change of the image of *waranggana*. As its original image of the manifestation of Dewi Sri in the earth, *waranggana* depicted the prominent role for initiating fertilization toward agriculture in rural Java. The position of *waranggana* as a chosen female whom perform around male *pengrawits* portrayed a power hold by a *waranggana* within a predominantly male society.

Javanese woman has widely stigmatized as the second class society place whose authority limited in the domestic area. However, a Javanese women authority in the domestic area more likely used as a support and in the behalf of men authority. The role of women for sustaining male power in the name of maintaining *rukun* (social harmony). *Rukun* has been a keystone in the Javanese family system which became the main goal of Javanese society. In the other side, men as their counterpart attempts to transfigure their power into inner strength (Geertz: 1961, 82). Therefore, in order to keep the harmony within their household and later the society, both women and men have to perform certain role as unequal pairs. Men, as a symbol of the leader of household have to show their power to dominate women.

The emergence of *waranggana* has been antithesis of the harmonious system of Javanese household. As the representation of Dewi Sri, *waranggana* possess power that have ever been retained by women. *Waranggan*as are able to perform the agency of suppressed women in Javanese societal system as independent and powerful figure. Those image of *waranggana* has widen up into their mundane life. Almost all of *waranggana* are the breadwinner for their family.

Subsequently, as the anticipation of *waranggana* powerful image, the negative notion has occurred for circumstance their agency through the practice of abjection toward *waranggana*. Abjection, as Kristeva stated is an action for excluding a group out

of the society through the banishment toward them (Kristeva: 1982, 2). The abjection has taken place especially due the *waranggana* role as breadwinner. Unintentionally, *warangga* opposed Tomalin argument of the face of poverty is women. This term refers to the exclusion of women in development agenda. Thus, by excluding the women, they will be marginalized not only in the developmental issue but also in religious ones. Tomalin took an example on the de-privatization of religion process which became the threat on the gender equality since the religious narratives are mostly patriarchal ones (Tomalin: 2015, 63).

The cause of abjection practice toward *waranggana* is an anticipation of the later possibility of *waranggana* power as counterpublic. The development of counterpublic can cause resistance movement in a society. Scott point of view, a form of resistance emerges from the hidden transcript movement which then accommodates subordinate groups to show its existence (Scott: 1990, 19). Moreover, in the hidden transcript movement, one would be more receptive to a group having equal agendas to create stronger dominance. (Al Makin: 2016, 147). Nevertheless, the division of power in the hidden transcript is also vulnerable to tyrannical rule (Al Makin: 2016, 147).

The abjection of *waranggana* executes through negative stigmas echoed by the society. The contradiction of the *waranggana* roles since its first emergence and the latest ones has proved how significant is the effect of its abjection. The process of abjection begun by the limitation of the organization of *langen tayub* performance during the 1980s when massive modification set for controlling *waranggas*. The purpose of government policy toward *waranggas* and *langen tayub* is not for discontinuing it, instead, giving a specific space where *waranggas* and *langen tayub* do not intertwined with negated groups. Thus, *waranggas* and *langen tayub* are able to exist in their own sphere without depending on other groups.

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