

**THE VALUES OF HARMONY BETWEEN NATURE  
AND PEOPLE IN *TEMANTEN KUCING* RITUAL**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

**BY**

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DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF CULTURAL STUDIES  
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**Presented to  
Universitas Brawijaya  
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## ABSTRACT

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Keywords: The Values of Harmony, Nature and People, *Temanten Kucing* ritual, *Pelem* Village, *Umborampe*.

As the reflection of the culture, enabling values and beliefs becomes observable for the outsider, ritual has been the primary reference of the research to understand particular folk. Accordingly, *Temanten Kucing* ritual, a ritual conducted by communal farmers to invoke rain from God in *Pelem* Village, *Tulungagung*, East Java, was selected. The ritual was executed by bathing a couple of selected cats in *Coban Kromo* (sacred spring) followed by *Slametan* and closed by the performance of the *Tiban* dance.

The values embodied in the ritual was observed by the ethnography approach, obligating the researcher to involve in the intimate relation with the informants. Not to mention qualitative method was used in the reseach. Besides, to comprehend the function of the ritual for the folk, functionalism was operated. Additionally, this research also applied semiotics theory covering denotation, connotation, and myth. All of them were required to uncover (1) kinds of the *Umborampe* in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, (2) the meaning of the *Umborampe*, and (3) the functions of the ritual.

The result of the research revealed that there were ten *Umborampe* presented in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, each of which embodies Javanese teaching namely *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. The microsomos and macrocosmos concept of Javanese are manifested in each of those items, including; Man-man, man-nature, and man-God relation. Besides, the ritual also functioned to bridge human and nature, to escape from the limitation of current values, to maintain and reinforce the accepted values, and to validate Javanese values. However, despite the uniqueness and the values embedded in the ritual, seemingly, due to several factors it is gradually abandoned.

## ABSTRAK

Hakim, Luqman. 2016. **Nilai-nilai Harmoni antara Alam dan Manusia dalam Ritual *Temanten Kucing***. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya. Pembimbing: Sri Herminingrum.

Keywords: Nilai-nilai Harmoni, Alam dan Manusia, Ritual *Temanten Kucing*, Desa *Pelem*, *Umborampe*.

Sebagai refleksi dari budaya yang memungkinkan nilai-nilai dan keyakinan dapat diamati oleh orang luar, ritual telah menjadi acuan utama dalam memahami kelompok masyarakat tertentu. Oleh karena itu, ritual *Temanten Kucing*, sebuah ritual yang di laksanakan oleh kelompok petani yang ada di Desa *Pelem*, Tulungagung, Jawa Timur, sebagai sarana memohon hujan, dipilih. Ritual ini dilaksanakan dengan cara memandikan sepasang kucing pilihan di *Coban Kromo* (mata air keramat), diikuti dengan *Slametan*, dan ditutup dengan penampilan tari *Tiban*.

Nilai-nilai yang terkandung dalam ritual diamati melalui pendekatan etnografi, yang mengharuskan peneliti untuk terlibat secara dekat dengan informan. Metode kualitatif juga dipilih dalam penelitian ini, sedangkan untuk memahami fungsi ritual bagi masyarakat, fungsionalisme juga digunakan. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menerapkan teori semiotika, meliputi konotasi, denotasi, dan mitologi. Hal tersebut di perlukan untuk mengungkap (1) Jenis-jenis *Umborampe* dalam ritual *Temanten Kucing* (2) Arti *Umborampe*, serta (3) Fungsi ritual.

Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa ada sepuluh jenis *Umborampe* yang di disajikan dalam ritual *Temanten Kucing*, yang masing-masing mengandung ajaran Jawa yaitu *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. Mikrokosmos dan makrokosmos terkandung dalam tiap subjek meliputi hubungan antara manusia dan manusia, manusia dengan alam dan manusia dengan Tuhan. Disamping itu, ritual ini juga berfungsi untuk menjembatani manusia dengan alam, sarana melarikan diri dari batasan nilai, sarana memertahankan dan memperkuat nilai, serta memvalidasi nilai-nilai kejawaan. Terlepas dari keunikan dan nilai-nilai yang tertanam dalam ritual ini, nampaknya karena beberapa faktor, sedikit demi sedikit ritual ini mulai ditinggalkan.



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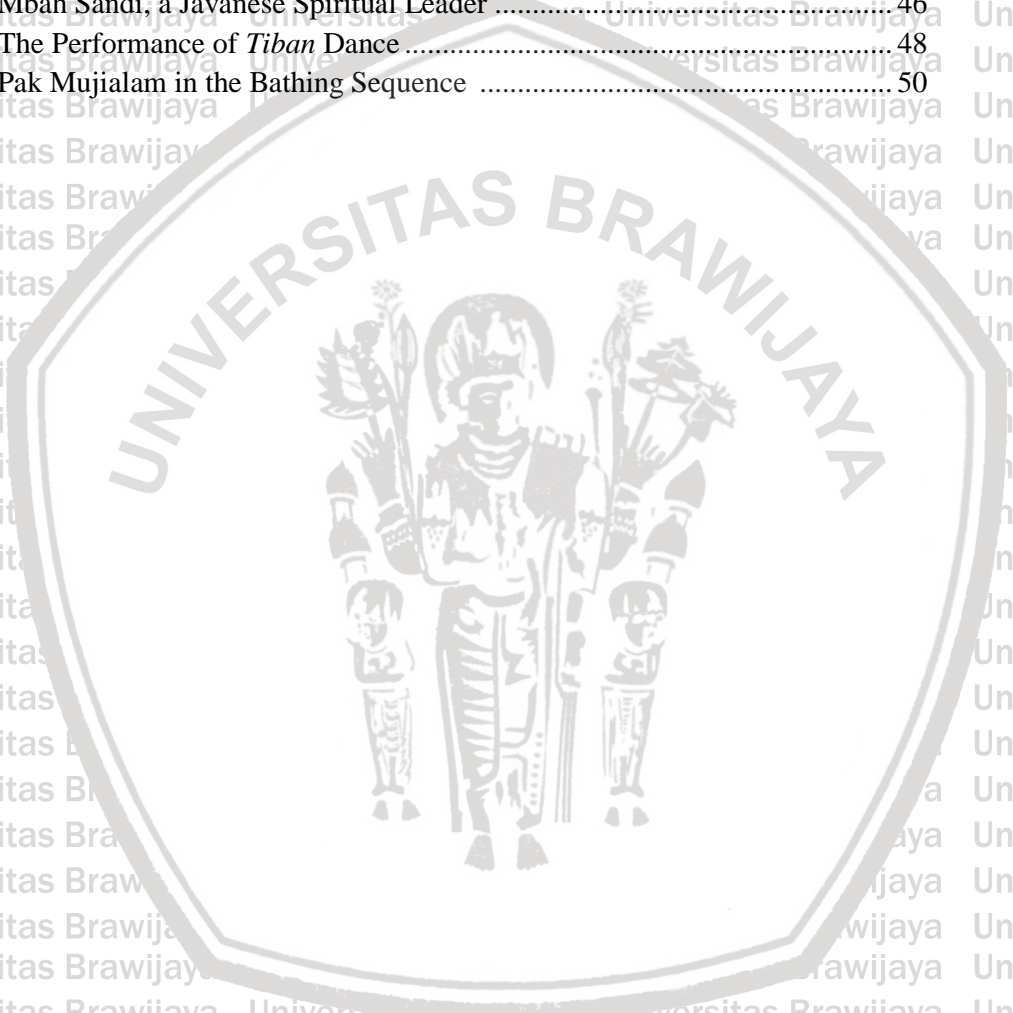
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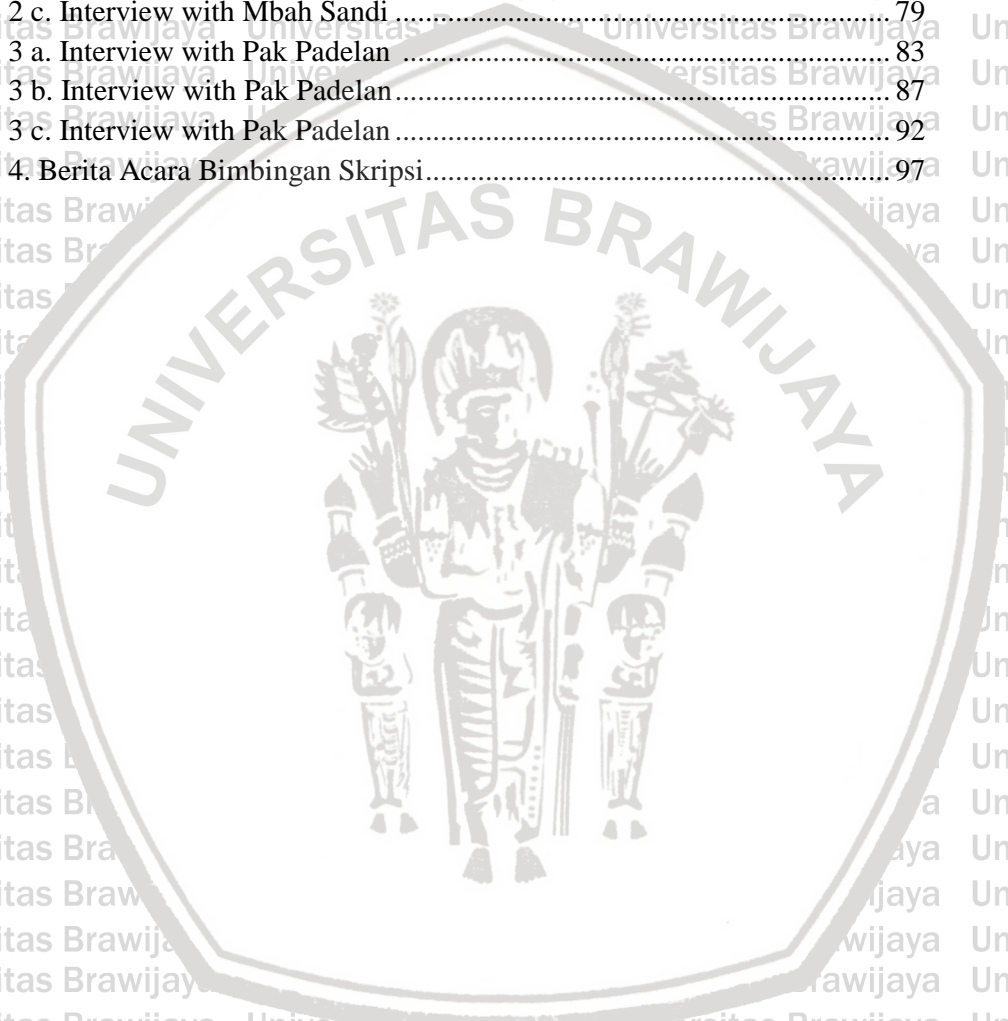
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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

One fundamental nature of human which contributes to the establishment of civilization and thus essential to be discussed is a nature of being social creature. A need to interact will lead human to the establishment of group. As a group is formed, there must be a specific system shared and lived by the people to maintain their sustainability. This system is further defined as culture.

The word “culture” is derived from the Latin word *Colere* meaning to cultivate. The early definition of culture, as suggested by Koentjaraningrat (2009), is associated with agriculture and cultivation. Indeed, the great size and complexity of their brain has made it possible for *Homo sapiens* to cultivate and to adjust to their physical environment (Danesi, 2004). Therefore it can be inferred that originally, culture is the result of an adaptive respond of human toward their physical, biological, and socio-cultural circumstances. The process of self-adjustment toward their surrounding leads human to the creation of particular concepts, including law, habit, norm, belief and so forth. The concepts are then unconsciously carried out, transmitted and learned through generation which eventually becomes a part of their life.

A British anthropologist Edward B Tylor (1871, cited in Danesi, 2004, p. 35) proposed that culture is, “A complex whole including knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capability or habit acquired by human beings as

members of society". Culture is a system which is correlated with the geographical and social conditions. Those factors will generate distinct way of survival forming variation of the language, dialect, food, clothes, occupation, building architecture, custom, tradition, belief, etc. Those are the manifestations of human experience.

Based on Spradley and McCurdy (2011, p. 8), there are three fundamentals aspects of human experience: what people do, what people know, and what people make and use. Those aspects eventually produce cultural behavior, cultural knowledge and cultural artifact respectively. One of the embodiments of those three aspects can be found in folklore. Folklore itself can be classified into three major genre involving verbal, material, and customary folklore.

### **1.1.1 Ritual**

Even though there has been obvious classification of folklore, the intermingling of it is still frequently found. Ritual, in spite of being considered as a distinct category of folklore by folklorists, is the flawless model of the intermingling of folklore. However, the striking difference of ritual compared to any other types of folklore is the frame indicating the beginning and the ending of it. In a more comprehensive elaboration, it is mentioned that:

“Rituals are performances that are repeated, patterned, and frequently include ceremonial actions that incorporate symbols, action, and repetition; and perhaps most significant to our being able to recognize rituals, they have a frame that indicates when the ritual begins and ends” (Myrehoff, 1977, p 200)

Ritual is a significant expression of a group's traditions, beliefs, values, and identities. Each group with distinct belief and culture will generate distinct ritual. It is also represented in Indonesia, a nation with more than 300 ethnic groups owning



their own uniqueness which differ one to another. Among those 300 ethnic groups, Javanese is considered as one of the biggest ethnic group.

Javanese is well-known for the blending of diverse cultural forms and religious beliefs. The process of religious transition occurring to Javanese is one of the roots of the cultural diversity. The original religion of Java, called Javanism can harmoniously merge with imported religions, such as Hindu, Buddha, and even Islam. As the result of it, numerous philosophies and wisdoms of life are created.

One of the philosophies of Javanese is depicted in the traditional saying *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*.

Nonetheless, the indirectness of Javanese, as depicted in the proverb “*Wong Jowo Iku Nggone Semu*” makes the comprehension and transmission of the wisdoms obscure. They are mostly hidden behind something else. One of the embodiment of Javanese wisdom is through symbols found in Javanese communal ceremony or ritual. The attachment of the symbol in the ritual is quite essential to represent important concept (Sims and Stephen, 2005). In term of Javanese ritual, the symbol can be in the form of *Sesaji*, *Tumbal* or *Umborampe*. *Sesaji* is the actualization of the thoughts, hopes, and feeling presented in the ritual to get closer to God. This is an abstract cultural accumulation functioning as a means of spiritual negotiation toward invisible beings and world (Endraswara, 2014). A strong belief on the invisible power surrounding this world triggers Javanese to conduct ritual which often employs symbol as the manifestation of their hopes. Symbol, therefore, is a significant part in Javanese religious life. One of the rituals of Javanese which also incorporate symbol is *Temanten Kucing ritual*.

### 1.1.2 Temanten Kucing Ritual

*Temanten Kucing ritual*, a ritual conducted by communal community of farmers in *Pelem* village, *Tulungagung*, is a ritual aimed to beseech rain to God.

*Pelem* village, where the ritual of *Temanten Kucing* is found, administratively includes the area of *Tulungagung* Regency. It is located 12 kilometers from the local governance center, and 165 kilometer from the East Java province governance center, *Surabaya*.

Historically, according to the local people, the prominent figure of *Pelem* village named *Eyang Sangkrah* was taking a bath in the *Coban Kromo* (Kromo waterfall) when suddenly her *Condomowo* (three colored cat) jumped into the water and joined her bathing in the spring. A moment later, the rain started pouring the village exciting the residents of *Pelem* village, since the long dry season endangering their farm was finally over. Since then, when long dry season hits this village, this ritual is held.

This ritual is executed by bathing the selected male and female cats in *punden Coban Kromo*, a sacred spring of *Pelem* village. The ritual sequences are as follow; the selected couple, who have dressed in the traditional Javanese wedding costumes, carry male and female cats using traditional carrying cloth called *Jarik*. The cats are then being marched from the village office toward the sacred spring to be bathed. The marching is followed by several traditional Javanese dances and performances like *Reog Gendang* and *Tiban*.

After arriving at the spring, the ritual is taken over by the *sesepuh*, Javanese spiritual leader, who recite Javanese praying (*Ujub Jawa*) before bathing the cats.



After the cats are bathed, the following agenda is *Slametan*, as an expression of gratitude from the natives to God, where most of the residents of Pelem village participate in. *Slametan* has been the interest of most Javanese anthropologist, since it is considered that *Slametan* lies at the heart of Javanese religion (Beatty, 2003).

Geertz (1690), proposed that *Slametan* is a simple, little undramatic ritual which lies at the center of the whole Javanese religious system. Furthermore, *Slametan*, in general, is conducted in order to create the security, state of well-being, freedom from hindrances of both material and spiritual kind (Jv: *Bala'*) (Beatty, 2003).

The last, after the *Selamatan* is done, the ritual is completed by releasing the cats and performing *Tiban* dance, a traditional dancing executed by bare chested men flailing each other using *lidi aren* (rope made of palm leaf rib).

Ironically, *Temanten Kucing* ritual is now becoming obsolete and scarce. This is caused by a collision with religion triggered by the incomprehension in interpreting the values contained in this ritual. Thus, based on this reason, this present study focuses on disclosure of the functions and values contained in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, using functionalism approach and semiotics theory.

### 1.1.3 Significance of the Study

Regarding to the current condition that *Temanten Kucing* ritual is somehow neglected, this study is expected to arouse the awareness of the importance of preserving culture, since culture is one of the heritage of our ancestor containing the values and wisdoms within it. In addition, this study will also provide a more elaborative understanding on Javanese culture, particularly on *Temanten Kucing* ritual. Thus, the sense of belonging toward culture will be raised.

## 1.2 Problems of the Study

Despite the uniqueness and the value containing in this ritual, *Temanten Kucing* ritual is now neglected. This is caused by the misconception in interpreting this ritual. As the result of it, the conflict with religious belief occurs and this ritual begins to extinct. Therefore, to provide comprehensive understanding, the study aiming to answer the problems such as; what the ritual offerings used in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, what the meaning of each of them, as well as the function of the ritual toward the folk, is conducted.

## 1.3 Objectives of the Study

In line with the problems mentioned previously, this study basically underline the importance of rediscovering the neglected values in *Temanten Kucing* ritual. Therefore, the objectives of the current study cover:

1. To investigate the ritual requirements of *Temanten Kucing* ritual in Pelem village, *Tulungagung*,
2. To analyze the meaning of the ritual offerings of *Temanten Kucing* ritual in Pelem village, *Tulungagung*.
3. To explore the functions of *Temanten Kucing* ritual in Pelem village, *Tulungagung*,



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter contains an integrated approach and several related theories used to analyze and interpret the object of this research. The theory used in this research deals with theory of folklore studies since ritual, which is a part of folklore, is the main object of this research. Not to mention, Semiotics theory is appropriate to be applied to discover the meaning and essence of the ritual.

#### 2.1 Theoretical framework

As a mirror of culture, ritual must possess particular ideological and cultural characters. Likewise in the ritual of *Temanten Kucing*, cultural values within this ritual must reflect certain mindset and teaching of particular group of people, in this case is Javanese. The values are inserted within certain aspect of the ritual, such as in the ritual offerings or *Sesajen*. One of Javanese teachings which constantly attaches in Javanese ritual is *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*.

##### 2.1.1 Javanese Teaching, *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*

According to the cultural anthropology, as stated by Haq (2011), Javanese is a group of people, whose mother tongue is Javanese. This language is inherited from the older generation and spoken as the means of daily communication. Meanwhile, from the geographical point of view, Javanese is an ethnical group inhabiting Java area, including East Java, Central Java, and Jogjakarta.

Javanese is well-known as an ethnical group upholding various philosophical values. There are numerous norms, wisdoms, and principles of life possessed by Javanese. They give the fundamental guidance to Javanese to behave in their life. One of the obvious characteristics of Javanese is the strong belief in the invisible power beyond human power (Sutiyo, 2013). They believe in spirit and any other supernatural things. Javanese believe that God is the center of universe and life since with His power, God is capable of providing stability, maintenance, balance, and life. Hence, the moral responsibility of human, is to strive to get close to God.

Besides, the basic thinking of Javanese is that the whole universe is somehow connected. Javanese consider that their life is attached with the cosmic life. They aware that they live within two cosmic systems, called as macrocosmos (*Jagad gede*) and microcosmos (*Jagad cilik*). Macrocosmos is a mysterious world containing supernatural power while Microcosmos is a visible world where we live in (Sutiyo, 2013). Macrocosmos is associated with God, spirit, and any other invisible beings. Microcosmos (*Jagad Cilik*) will always seek the protection from macrocosmos. Therefore, Javanese always tries to seek the harmony between microcosmos and macrocosmos. And, this notion is depicted in Javanese saying *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*.

*Memayu Hayuning Bawono* is an ancient wisdom of Javanese having multiple layers of understanding. *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*, as defined in Sumodiningrat and Wulandari (2014, p. 446), consists of three words, namely, *Memayu* (beautifying), *Hayuning* (the beauty), and *Bawono* (universe).



Furthermore, as explained earlier, the word *Bawono* or *Jagad* is divided into two categories, i.e. *Bawono alit* (microcosmic) including man-man and man-nature relation, and *Bawono Ageng* (macrocosmic) including man-God relation.

Furthermore, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, the sultan of the *Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* (palace of Jogjakarta), (cited in Anshory, 2013, p.xii) elaborated a deeper value of *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. The obligation of the human in life, called *Tri Satya Brata*, is attached in this wisdom. *Rahayuning Bawono Kapurbo Waskitaning Manungso* (the balance of the world depends on the good hearted people), *Darmaning Manungso Ahanani Rahayuning Nagoro* (the obligation of the human is to maintain the stability of the country), and *Rahayuning Manungso Dumadi Karana Kamanungsane* (the salvation of the human depends on their own humanity), imply another values: *Hamangku Bumi*, *Hamangku Nagara*, and *Hamangku Buwana* respectively.

*Hamangku Bumi* is an obligation in preserving the nature, since the nature has provided facilities enabling human to survive. *Hamangku Nagara* deals with the responsibility of maintaining the stability and sustainability of a nation, while *Hamangku Buwana* relates with the bigger compulsion of human in keeping the harmony of the universe. Hence, the comprehensiveness of values within this philosophy place *Memayu Hayuning Bawono* to be the highest Javanese viewpoint.

The concept of *Memayu Hayuning Bawono* is manifested in some aspects of Javanese life, one of which is in the ritual. Traditional Javanese believes that ritual, is important to be conducted to maintain the harmonious connection between *bawono* or *jagad alit* (Microcosmos) and *bawono* or *jagad ageng* (Macrocosmos).

However, this concept is not well understood by most Javanese. This is due to the tendency of indirectness of most Javanese who like to keep the real message within something else. According to Sumodiningrat and Wulandari (2014, p. 446), the notion is depicted in the *pitutur* (proverb) of Javanese saying “*Wong Jawa Nggone Semu, Sinamung ing Samudana, Sedadose Ingadu Manis*”.

The above elaboration gives us a clue on how important ritual is for Javanese. Some rituals are still preserved by Javanese in spite of the rapid development of economy, technology and knowledge which have affected every layers of life. It is therefore interesting to figure out the actual meaning of ritual according to Javanese nowadays. The study on *Temanten Kucing* ritual exposes the functions of the ritual toward community and try to trace the transformation of it. Therefore, to accomplish this task, functionalism is applied in this study.

### **2.1.2 Functionalism**

The reason of the resistance of folklore through time is the importance of it toward the society. There must be meaningful things within particular folklore which keeps it survive and shared by people. The concept about the functions of folklore is very fluid, having various ideas depending on the experts in defining function itself (Endraswara, 2009). For instance, Malinowski assumed that the function of cultural elements is to fulfill the basic need (instinct) of human and civilization. Meanwhile, Radcliffe-Brown believed that the function of cultural elements is to select the social systematic integrity.

Discussion on the function of folklore cannot be separated with the context and the whole culture. It can only be comprehended by deep understanding of a



specific culture, where certain folklore is found. Basically, folklore functions to reinforce the sense of identity of particular group of people. Based on Sims and Stephens (2005), functional approach is the strategy to discover meaning on folklore. Bascom (1965) states that there are four main functions of folklore, such as to educate, to escape from limits of the culture, to maintain the accepted pattern of behavior, and to validate the culture. This approach can be used to interpret the function of the ritual toward society. However, since culture is constantly changing, the function of folklore will possibly change.

### 2.1.3 Semiotics

It begins with the philosophical assumption that culture implies layers of meaning, each requires thorough interpretation. And folklore, as one of the products of culture, is a form of cultural expression containing various symbols within it. Based on Endraswara (2009), symbol is a means of communication wrapped in the cultural framework. Furthermore, symbol is the division of sign. Thus, in order to interpret and to understand the meaning of symbol, semiotics theory is applied in this study.

Semiotic is a study of sign. Sign could be everything as long as we invest them with the meaning. This is in line with the notion of Chandler (2007) stating that, "Nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as sign". Therefore, sign owns a very broad concept covering words images, sounds, and anything signifying another thing. Sign is constructed by two aspects known as the signifier and the signified. Signifier is the form that the sign takes, while signified is a concept to which it refers (Chandler, 2007). This notion refers to the dyadic concept of sign proposed

by Saussure. Another concept about sign is called triadic system proposed by Pierce. He argued that sign is the unity of *representament*, *an interpretant* and *an object* (Chandler, 2007). The *representement* resembles the concept of signifier by Saussure, which is also called “Sign vehicle” by some theorists. This is the concept, things, or idea to which it refers the object. Meanwhile, *interpretant* is the meaning (sense, impression, cogitation) that is obtained from the sign (Danesi, 2004).

Furthermore, Danesi (2004) argued sign is classified into three types, namely, icon, index and symbol. Icon is a mode in which the signifier is perceived as resembling or imitating the signified. It is considered to have some similar qualities. Thus, portrait or cartoon is the example of icon. Index is a mode in which the signifier is not arbitrary but is directly connected in some ways. For example, smoke is the index of the fire. The last mode, symbol, is the mode in which the signifier does not resemble the signified. The relation between signifier and signified is purely arbitrary and based on the convention. Alphabetic letters is the example of it (Chandler, 2007).

The signs found in the ritual is categorized as symbol since the meaning will be based on the convention of a particular cultural group. Therefore, the interpretation of the meaning should be conducted based on the cultural code where the ritual is found. The previous two theories is presented to provide general view about the sign and how it differs in the view of the theorists. Semiotics, as any other field studies, also develops to the boarder conception. The two earlier theorists have given fundamental contribution to the development of the semiotics. Most of the current theories of semiotics are developed based on the two previous theories.



Barthes is one of the semiotician who developed the concept of Saussure. His significant theory is known as denotation, connotation and myth.

**2.1.3.1 Denotation**

Denotation is the first meaning interpretation. Denotation and connotation are terms which define the connection between the signifier and its signified. Denotation tends to describe something literally. We can describe the meaning of a particular thing simply by seeing it, without any social and cultural knowledge (Chandler, 2007). It also refers to what dictionary provides. Take, for example, the word house. In the denotation level, it can be described as a structure of human habitation (Danesi, 2005). Thus, in the case of Javanese ritual, one can describe particular symbol by describing how it looks, smells, or sounds.

**2.1.3.2 Connotation**

Connotation is the second level of meaning interpretation. when it comes to the connotation level, the meaning obtained from this level requires the cultural, social, even political background. It is thus compulsory for the researcher to embrace the cultural understanding of a certain community to comprehend the the correct meaning description. Besides, since it is not limited to the context of the signified, connotation therefore is more open to be interpreted, but still should consider the cultural factor (Chandler, 2007).

Since connotation is more open to be interpreted, we can relate our voice intonation or our way of talking to the feeling or the value of what we talk about (Fiske, 1990). Another example, for a hierarchical society, certain sign such as

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crown connotes different class of society. In terms of the Javanese ritual, the connotation level can be obtained by investigating the deeper meaning or function of particular symbol beyond the framework of literal meaning. This attempt can be completed by discussing and interviewing the folklore bearer.

### 2.1.3.3 Myth

The last meaning interpretation level is myth. The word myth is derived from the Greek *Mythos* which means “speech”, “word”, or “tale” of Gods. As stated in Danesi (2004, p. 145), myth is “narrative in which the main characters are gods, heroes and mystical beings. The plot revolves around the origin of things or around the meaning of things, and the setting is metaphysical world juxtaposed against the real world”. Myth provides the metaphysical knowledge for explaining the human origin, action, character, as well as phenomena in this world (Danesi, 2004, p. 145). Being interpreted so, it is thus not surprising that myth is associated with something false.

However, in the semiotics framework, this definition is not necessarily true. Myth is quite important to construct meaning. As proposed by Chandler (2007, p. 143) cultural myth help us to understand our experience within a culture. Barthes, as cited in Fiske (1990), additionally suggested that myth is the ideology of a particular culture. It functions to conceptualize or to understand something. Furthermore, Barthes considered that myth is the root of connected concepts. Thus, myth makes non verbal sign and behavior seem entirely natural, while in reality, they are largely a matter of historically based conventions.



In the case of the ritual, myth can be operated in order to figure out the hidden historical convention behind it. This attempt requires extra effort to be done since the root of how ritual requirements is formed is investigated. In *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the myth can be used to trace the historical sides of particular aspects.

By employing the theory of denotation, connotation, and myth by Barthes, it is expected that comprehensive meaning understanding could be obtained. Applying this theory will also reconstruct how history, ideology or myth operates meaning. Both function and the meaning of symbol is based on the convention. Therefore in order to obtain valid data, ethnography approach is employed.

**2.1.4 Ethnography**

Based on Spradley (2011, p. 4), ethnography is, “the process of discovering and describing a particular culture”. To do so, it is compulsory for the researcher to be involved with the native in an intimate and personal activity. The main purpose of Ethnography is to understand the perspective of native. Ethnography means learning from people. Therefore, the informant will be the teacher.

**2.2 Previous Studies**

Two related previous studies have been discovered in the process of completing this research. The previous studies contribute significantly toward the research since they gives additional basic understanding about Indonesian traditional ritual and strengthen the comprehension of the theory. The first previous study is the thesis of Silvia Maulana Sari, from Brawijaya University (2010) entitled “A Semiotics Study on Non-Verbal Symbolic Mode of Myth Found In *Seblang*

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Ceremony by *Osing* Community in *Oleh Sari* Village, Banyuwangi". The second previous study is the thesis of Abdul Muis (2009) entitled *Makna Simbol Ritual dalam Ritual Agung Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa di Komunitas Bumi Segandu Dermayu*.

For the first previous study, the similarity is in the theory in which semiotics theory from Bathes, covering denotation, connotation as well as myth, is employed. However, the first previous study chooses *Seblang* ceremony conducted by *Osing* community in *Oleh Sari* village, *Banyuwangi* as the research object, whereas the current study focuses on the meaning of ritual requirements found in *Temanten Kucing* ritual as well as the functions of it. The previous study strengthens the comprehension of the theory since the theory applied are alike.

The second previous study resembles this research in terms of the theory and the research method. Abdul Muis attempts to discover the meaning of the ritual requirements by using semiotics theory. The data collection is done through interview and direct observation in the ritual. Those two things are also applied in this research. However, the divergence of the research is the material object, in which *Temanten Kucing* ritual is the object of this research.

### **2.3 Research method**

In conducting this research, there are four steps that are significant to be employed. The steps are as follow:



### 2.3.1 Deciding the Object of the Study

This study focuses on *Temanten Kucing* ritual conducted by the resident of Pelem village, *Tulungagung* as the material object. This ritual is selected since it begins to be extinct. Besides, the ancient wisdom of Javanese called *Memayu Hayuning Bawono* is depicted in this ritual. Therefore, by choosing this ritual as the object of the research, the hidden message of this ritual can be uncovered.

### 2.3.2 Collecting Data

In collecting data, both field research and library research are applied in this study. The data collection is derived from primary and secondary sources in order to obtain a deeper understanding about both the meaning and functions of the ritual.

The elaborations of both primary and secondary data are as follow:

#### 2.3.2.1 Primary Data Collection

Primary data collection is obtained during the field research involving:

(1) Direct Participation

In order to reveal the phenomenon happening in particular place, the direct participation is conducted. Since the ritual which is being the focus of this study is a product of culture, ethnography is the most appropriate approach to choose. The direct participation is conducted in *Pelem* village, *Tulungagung*, East Java.

(2) Holding Interview

The technique of interview is a snowballing method, in which the question are both arranged (prepared) with impromptu question. In order to obtain valid data about the ritual, the selection and limitation of the informant are conducted. The

informants are Mbah Sandi as a folklore bearer, Bapak Mujialam as the chief of the village, Bapak Padelan as the Chief of *Karang Taruna* or village youth organization, Bapak Agus as the former chief of *Pelem* village, and Ibu Yuni as the head of the tourism department of *Tulungagung*.

### (3) Taking Pictures

As the field observation is held, the pictures, which are relevant to the research, are taken to strengthen the analysis.

### (4) Recording and Transcribing

The data interview with the informant is recorded in order to be analyzed further with the theory which is relevant with this research. The recording is then transcribed into written format and translated into *Bahasa Indonesia* and finally into English. In the process of transcribing, only significant data is chosen as data analysis.

### 2.3.2.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data source is derived from documentation taken from the other available sources, articles, and also previous studies related to the research.

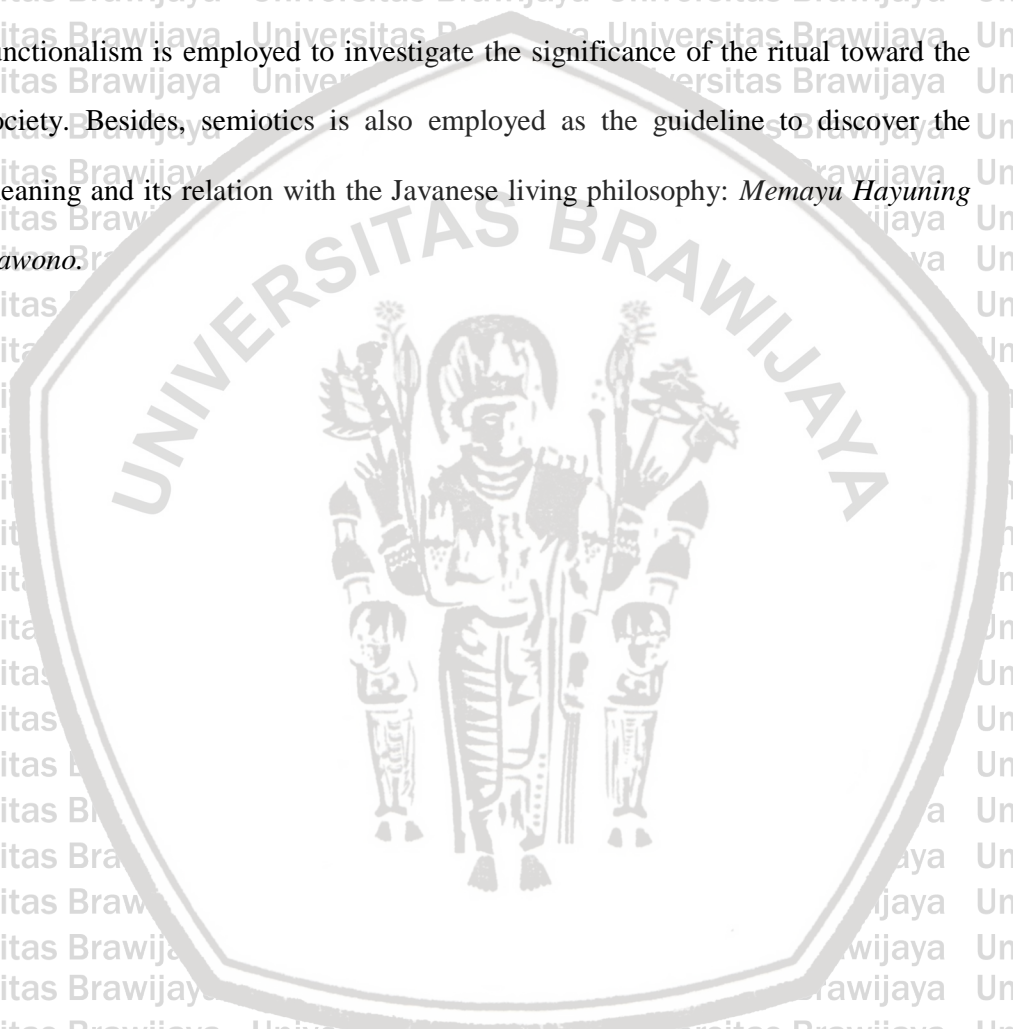
### 2.3.3 Analyzing and Interpreting Data

After completing the data, related theory gained from library search is functioned. The symbol of the rituals, *Umborampe*, is discussed by the theory of semiotics. It is required to reveal the hidden value of the ritual offerings. Meanwhile, functional approach is applied to find out the significance of the ritual toward society.



### 2.3.4 Drawing Conclusion

After all the steps have been done, the result of the analysis which is related to the Javanese ancient wisdom of *Memayu Hayuning Bawono* concept is presented in order to discover the manifestation of it within *Temanten Kucing* ritual. The functionalism is employed to investigate the significance of the ritual toward the society. Besides, semiotics is also employed as the guideline to discover the meaning and its relation with the Javanese living philosophy: *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*.



## CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 3.1. Agricultural Activity as a Root of Javanese Trait

Javanese, particularly agrarian society, is recognized by their view that nature, human, and spiritual world are integrated. And, a personal adjustment toward the integration of those three elements is the assurance of the salvation in their life. Hence, they always try to live harmoniously with three of them. Rhythms of nature; day, night, rain and dry season determine their life and the planning that they have. The successful harvest is associated with nature. The sun, rain, wind, pest, is the embodiment of the force of nature. Ultimately, they learn that their existence relies heavily on the nature (Suseno, 1984)

Furthermore, agriculture also contributes to the development of the Javanese religious activity. As affirmed by Koentjaraningrat (1994), unlike the concept of Gods in Hindu, Javanese agrarian society recognizes two prominent Gods, playing an important role in the agricultural activity. They are the Goddess of Sri (Jv. *Dewi Sri*) as the Goddess of fertility and paddies, and the *Batara Kala*, the God of time, destruction and death. This fact denotes that agricultural activity is one of the factors shaping the character of Javanese in term of social and religious life. In the religious life, Javanese creates various kinds of ritual as the reflection of their spiritual sensitivity.

In accordance with it, *Pelem* village, which is administratively located in *Tulungagung* regency, can be classified as the agrarian society. The 2014



monographic data confirmed that more than 70% of the total population of *Pelem* village are farmers, with the compositions of 3.419 as farmers and 3.172 as hodge out of total population of 8.118. The typical farming system of *Pelem* village is *Tadah Hujan*, a farming system which relies heavily on the availability of water from rain. *Pelem* village is situated on hillside owned by *Perhutani*. It is adjacent to *Pojok* village in the north, *Perhutani* in the south and east, and *Campurdarat* village in the west. This village is composed by five sub areas (Jv. *Dukuh*), i.e. *Jambu*, *Bangak*, *Tambak*, *Pelem* and *Sumber Rejo*. High dependency on the water to irrigate the farm has led rain to be one of the most vital cycles for the farmer. This is how *Temanten Kucing* Ritual emerged.



Figure 1  
The map of *Pelem* village

*Temanten Kucing* ritual is a typical ritual of *Pelem* village conducted to invoke rain from God. The ritual is conducted by bathing a couple of male and female cats in the sacred place. Javanese sacred site is mostly situated in the strategic places, such as springs, ancient tomb, big trees, and the cross road. Suseno (1984) confirms that a village consists of sub areas (Jv. *Dukuh*) possessing one

particular sacred site which becomes the central of religious activities. This research reveals that *Temanten Kucing* ritual is conducted in the sacred spring, known as *Coban Kromo* located under a group of old guava trees. The local people believe that the spirit of the ancestor of the village (*Mbah Brahim*) inhabits those trees. Additionally, the *Pundhen* lies administratively in the area of the *Dukuh Jambu*. Thus, this ritual is mostly conducted by the residents of *Dukuh Jambu*.

The ethnographical approach employed in this research has discovered that this ritual was initiated by the myth of *Eyang Sangkrah*. The myth, descended from one generation to another, explains that long time ago, there lived an old widow named *Eyang Sangkah* who had a three colored male cat (Jv. *Condromowo*). In the ancient time, the area of *Pelem* village underwent a long dry season, threatening the crops of the local people. This is due to the fact that the farming system in *Pelem* village is the *Tadah Hujan* system. This triggered the panic among the peasants and forced them to do a lot of efforts both in logical and illogical techniques. But all the efforts they did, ended in vain.

In the midst of the panic, *Eyang Sangkrah* was believed to take a bath in the *Coban*. Suddenly, when *Eyang Sangkrah* was taking a bath, her *Condromowo* cat jumped into the *Coban*. Both of them finally took a bath together in the *Coban*. After a while, the rain started pouring the village. The people could not hide their sense of exhilaration. They danced while smiting their friends' bodies under the rain. These activities ultimately lead to a new tradition called as *Tiban* (see on Appendix 1).



The rain was associated with the activity of *Eyang Sangkrah* and her cat in the *Coban Kromo*. When *Pelem* village was led by *Demang Sutomejo*, once again the village experienced drought. On one night, *Demang Sutomejo*, got spiritual hint (Jv. *Wangsit*) to bath cats in *Coban Cromo*, as done by *Eyang Sangkrah*. *Demang Sutomejo*, by the local, is described as a legendary figure who had magical ability and had a white horse as his vehicle to go around the village. And, after getting the *Wangsit* once again, this event was held.

This ritual was initially nameless. However, to attract public curiosity, the ritual is named as *Temanten Kucing* Ritual. The word *Manten* is derived from the male and female cats used as the requirements in this ritual. Furthermore, according to *Bapak Agus*, the former headman of *Pelem* village who is also the descent of *Demang Sutomejo*, the two cats represent the *Condormowo* cat and *Eyang Sangkrah*. Since that moment, when a dry season hit the village, the people regularly held *Temanten Kucing* ritual. Regarding the cats, this ritual requires a couple of cats taken from eastern and western part of the village. This is as done by the *Eyang Sutomejo* who revived this ritual. After the selected cats are found, the cats are being marched form the headman office to *Coban Kromo* to be finally bathed.

Based on the explanation of *Bapak Agus*, the ritual was initially limited to the activity of bathing the cats in *Coban Kromo*. However, nowadays the ritual is becoming increasingly complex by the addition of *Slametan* and *Tiban Dance* as the vital components of the ritual (see on Appendix 1).

**3.2 The Umborampe of Slametan in Temanten Kucing Ritual**

Javanese has a strong notion about the association of food and blessing. Certain food, presented in the ritual (*Slametan*), denotes special types of blessings. Javanese recognize the selected foods as *Umborape*. And, the combination of them is known as ritual offering (Jv: *Sesaji*). Ethnographical approach has revealed that there are at least ten *Umborampe* served in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, namely *Lodho Sego Gurih*, *Nyambung Tuwuh*, *Golong Limo*, *Buceng Kuat*, *Kupat Luar Polo Pendem*, *Sego Punar*, *Brokoan*, *Jenang Suro*, *Cok Bakal*, *Kembar Mayang*. And, by applying the semiotics theory by Barthes, including denotation, connotation, and myth, each of them is discussed and elaborated. The use of semiotics to reveal the meaning is significant. This is due to Javanese trait which is vague, as depicted in Javanese saying “*Wong Jowo Nggone Semu, Papaning Rasa, Tansah Sinamuning Samudana*” (Endraswara, 2003, p. 223). The explanation of the meaning below is obtained from the interview conducted with an informant of Javanese spiritual leader, namely *Mbah Sandi*, and elaborated with the related concepts of Javanese.

**3.2.1 Lodho Sego Gurih**

In the denotation level, *Lodho Sego Gurih* is described as a traditional food originated from East and Central Java. This meal consists of two parts, namely *Lodho* and *Sego Gurih* (savory). *Lodho* is a traditional food made from intact chicken (Jv: *Ingkung*) cooked with certain spices. The chicken was previously roasted before being cooked with coconut and certain seasoning. Meanwhile, *Sego Gurih* is rice cooked with coconut milk to produce savory tasted rice. This meal is served simultaneously in the rice bin. In the connotation level, this offering implies



a deeper value and meaning. According to the informant, *Lodho Sego Gurih* is served as a symbol of petition of *Pelem* village society for a salvation from God.

However, the concept of God is very abstract. For those who still uphold the local belief, a God can be manifested as *Dhanyang*, or village spirit, whereas people with different beliefs will also describe God differently. However, despite the distinction, the ritual has successfully embraced the differences and formed social integration.

For the myth level, this offering is served to Prophet Muhammad and his family. Woodward (2011) affirms that the *Sego Gurih*, or some recognize it as *Sego Wuduk*, still has relation with the Islamic tradition. He argues that according to the *santri* informants, *Sekul Wuduk* is said to have been one of the Prophet's favorites.

Nonetheless, referring to the notion that *Slametan* is the center of Javanese religion, the myth that underlies the offering should be much older than Islam, which according to Anshoriy (2013) started to spread massively in Indonesia in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, Sutyono (2013) argued that *Slametan*, which initially was a ritual conducted to communicate with spirits, has transformed along with the expansion of Islam. This is associated with the story of *Walisongo* who spread Islam through art and cultural approach. He added that instead of omitting the *Slametan*, *Walisongo* merely replaced some prayers to make it in line with Islamic teachings.

From the myth level interpretation, historical shift occurring in the religious system of Javanese can be traced. Besides, one of the Javanese traits, which is accommodative, can also be observed.

The accommodativeness of Javanese is also depicted in the saying “*Wong Jowo ki Gampang Ditekek-Tekuk*”. According to Sumodiningrat and Wulandari (2014) this saying signifies the ability of Javanese to adapt toward new things. Javanese is viewed to be accommodative in accepting new ideas enabling the imported thoughts harmoniously merges with the local's. This is how syncretism occurs.

Furthermore, Endraswara (2003) argued that the cultural looseness in accepting and processing religious belief into new form of religion (Javanese-Hinduism, Javanese-Islam) is not merely pure syncretism. He refers this phenomena to the ancient concept called *Tantularism*. This is a concept proposed by *Mpu Tantular* in the *Majapahit* era prioritizing the harmonious life (*Jv. Rukun*) and union. The core of this notion is mutual understanding among religions by reconciling differences. *Tantularism* is in line with Javanese *savior vive* or tolerance.

Tolerance and accommodativeness can be the source of cultural diffusion or disorientation. However, based on Suseno (1984) the rapid cultural invasion to Javanese, instead of eradicating the characteristic of Javanese, reinforces its character. The imported ideas are welcomed; Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam are embraced and eventually being “Javanized”. In conclusion, Javanese culture grows and reinforces its characters, not in the isolation, yet in assortment of cultural diversity.



### 3.2.2 Nyambung Tuwuh

In denotation level, *Nyambung Tuwuh* found in *Temanten Kucing* ritual is rice cone (Jv. *Buceng*) with slashed boiled eggs as the side dish. The *Buceng* of *Nyambung Tuwuh* is served with the rule of one person requires two *Buceng*. So if the people, who are being *Disambung Tuwuh* are three, the *Buceng* which should be served, are six.

*Nyambung Tuwuh*, besides being used in the Javanese wedding ceremony, is also used in other rites with almost the same purpose. This is usually called as *Nyambung Tuwuh Batih* (*Batih* is Javanese language of relatives). The *Buceng* served in this rite are seven, as the representation of days. Yet if the *Batih* (relatives) are many, the host should prepare at least twenty one rice cone. In *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the *Buceng* presented are four, representing the marrying couples.

In the connotation level, *Nyambung Tuwuh* is a manifestation of a hope of the village. It is a symbol of unification of all of the elements of the village in order to be able to live in harmony with others. “*Nyambung tuwuh ki, nyambung kajate, nyambung tuwuh manten sekrone, nyambung tuwuh pak lurah, nyambung tuwuh setap desa sak desa pelem, masyarakat sak desa pelem*” (see on Appendix 2a). By having *Nyambung Tuwuh*, it is expected that the whole society will obtain long life, prosperity and also good job. *Nyambung Tuwuh* is also meant to unify the spiritual relation between the subject and the ancestor, *Sedulur Papat* (four mystical companions), and the Supreme Being. In the myth level, this offering is the embodiment of Javanese ideology regarding ideal social order, in which they wish to live peacefully, or in Javanese concept called *Rukun*.

**3.2.3 Golong Limo**

Apparently the *Golong Limo* is the abbreviation of *Sego Golong*. While *Limo*, which is Javanese language for five, is the number of the *Sego* presented in the rite. *Sego* or rice, is common offerings served in many Javanese ritual. The type of *Sego* is varied, implying different meanings and purposes. The variation is in how it is shaped, colored, tasted and served. And, *Golong Limo* covers both the variation of the shape and the amount.

In denotation level, *Golong Limo* is rice served with leaves and shaped like adult fist-sized ball. As the name suggests, the amount of *Golong Limo* should be five, representing *Pasaran*, a Javanese traditional daily calendar. Javanese is known to own traditional method in defining days. Unlike the modern calendar, Javanese classify days into five categories, namely *Legi*, *Pahing*, *Pon*, *Wage*, and *Kliwon*. Each of them is linked with colors and directions. Furthermore, it is also linked with the mythologies of Javanese about four mystical companions (*Sedulur Papat Limo Pancer*). *Pasaran* is used as a consideration by Javanese in determining particular event.

*Golong Limo* is also completed with some raw vegetables. In the connotation level, *Golong Limo* is the reflection of the hope of the village to obtain a harmonious life without a gap. As stated by the informant that, "*pak lurah nyang setap deso iso gumolong-gumolong, masyarakat sak deso pelem*" (see on Appendix 2a). A hierarchical position in the village government will not be an obstacle to mingle with the entire villager. The egalitarian attitude should be owned by the leader. In the myth level, this offering is derived from the Javanese teaching guiding



Javanese to be low profile, such as “*Ojo Dumeh*”, “*Aja Adigang, Adigung, Adiguna*”. Sumodiningrat and Wulandari (2014, p. 8) defines *Aja Dumeh* as the prohibition of being arrogant. It implies an advice to always respect people and not to underestimate them. Meanwhile *Aja Adigang, Adigung, Adiguna* is the warning or even prohibition of being arrogant due to one’s possession. *Adigang* means being too proud of the power and social status. *Adigung* means being too proud of the wealth while *Adiguna* means too proud of the intelligence, skill or any other ability that someone has. Human should avoid this three factors to achieve meaningful life.

#### 3.2.4 *Buceng Kuat*

In denotation level, *Buceng Kuat* is a rice cone made from sticky rice. In several areas of East Java, the sticky rice is only used in as the topping or peak of the rice cone. However, in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the whole *Buceng* or rice cone is made of the sticky rice, as mentioned by the informant, “*Buceng kuat ki ketan kabeh le*”. In the connotation level, *Buceng Kuat* is symbol of hope that the whole community of *Pelem* village can gain strength in life. This is symbolized by the sticky rice whose texture is solid and unbreakable. In the myth level, regarding the shape of the *Buceng*, unlike the common understanding about the association of the cone with holy mount *Meru*, the informant explained that it is the metaphor of Javanese teaching that life should have high dreams and ideals, “*sing diantah kudu duwur*” (see on Appendix 2a). It does not matter whether the dream can become a reality or not, because in the end, all of the efforts will collide with the fate that has been determined by God.

### 3.2.5 *Kupat Luar Polo Pendem*

In denotation level, *Kupat* or *Ketupat* is rice cake boiled in a rhombus-shaped of plaited young coconut leaves. However, the *Kupat Luar* pattern is unique.

The bond pattern of *Kupat Luar* is not tied up as *Ketupat* generally. Besides, the *Kupat* is not cooked and just filled with yellow rice. In *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the edge of the patterns of *kupat* will be drawn so spontaneously, the bond of *Kupat Luar* will be released shedding the yellow rice that had been inserted within it. In the level of connotation, the *Kupat Luar* is a symbol of the hope and dreams (*Nadzar* or *Kajat*) of *Pelem* village. By conducting this tradition, it is expected that the hope of the village can be achieved. The myth of this offering is the portrait of Javanese ideology which always seek to live hand in hand with their neighborhoods (Jv: *Rukun*) or living peacefully. “*enek keluputane opo wae temanten sekalian iso rukun, keluputane lurah lan setap iso rukun, iso rukun wong sak deso pelem*” (see on Appendix 2a ). It means that every human mistakes should be forgiven to achieve the concept of *Rukun*. It furthermore also reflects the Javanese high sense of tolerance. When facing a disorder, Javanese tries to avoid open conflict. They will always try to find the best way to resolve conflict. A saying which prioritizes *kepriye apike* (how is the good one) rather than *kepriye benere* (how is the correct one) obviously represents the notion of Javanese character (Santosa, 2012).

### 3.2.6 *Sego Punar*

In the denotation level, *Sego Punar* is rice which is colored yellow on the top of it. Its side dish is *Serundeng*, a grated coconut cooked with certain mixture of seasoning that produced savory and sweet taste, and eggs. In the connotation



level, this offerings means a hope of the village to *Njemokne* or to achieve spiritual union of the bride, the headman and the staff, and the whole village elements (*njemokne iku supoyo roh e manunggal karepe*). When spiritual union is achieved, solidarity, tolerance, and understanding of one another can be obtained and thus harmonious life can be also gained. Furthermore, *Sego Punar* is also required in the *Slametan* of *omah-omah* or moving to a new home. In this occasion, it is expected that the owner of the house will be spiritually connected with the house, the land (Jv. *Ibu Bumi*). In the myth level, this is the projection of Javanese ideology of living peacefully. This resembles the concept of *Rukun* in Javanese. This concept teaches Javanese to be tolerance, thus a harmonious life can be obtained.

**3.2.7 Brokoan**

In the denotation level, *Brokoan* is rice served with vegetables. The rice is not savory nor shaped like a cone. In the connotation level, *Brokoan* means unifying the whole village elements. It is also used to *mbrokohi* the headman, and the community. *Mbrokohi* means a hope that human can live in harmony with other, and avoid the hindrance of disunity (*mbrokohi kui coro jawane, iso ayem tentrem uripe neng kono, rasane wong-wong kui, iso'o cocok karo sing njemukne ki iso kumpul dadi siji ojo sampek mecah belah*) (see on Appendix 2a). The myth of this ritual offering can be related with the concept of *Rukun* in Javanese.

**3.2.8 Jenang Suro**

In the denotation level, *Jenang Suro* is a porridge, sprinkled with soy bean (Jv. *Kacang kawak budhe kawak*), on the top of it. However, *Jenang Suro* is only served when *Temanten Kucing* ritual was carried out in month of *Suro*, or Javanese

sacred month. In the connotative level, *Jenang Suro* is the embodiment of the hopes of the villagers in order to avoid interference from spiritual and material beings, especially in month of *Suro*. In the level of myth, this offerings is dedicated to *Nyi Roro Kidul*, the ruler of southern ocean. This is a manifestation of the religious sense of Javanese, which cannot be separated from the spiritual power. It is a form of spiritual negotiations conducted by Javanese in order to obtain a cosmic balance between the microcosmic and macrocosmic, or the material and the spiritual world.

**3.2.9 Cok Bakal**

In the denotation level, *Cok Bakal* is an offering which is made of banana leaves shaped as a container, filled with various herbs such as tobacco, coconut, chili, garlic, onion, rice, leaf, sugar, eggs, red porridge, white porridge, flower, money and so forth. There is no standard pattern of the herbs which is served in the *Cok Bakal* found in *Temanten Kucing* Ritual. There are five *Cok Bakal* which have to be served in *Temanten Kucing* ritual. Four *Cok Bakal* are placed in the southern, western, eastern, northern parts of the head of village office, while the last one is placed in the center which is in the village office. In *Javanese*, this pattern is called as *Papat Kiblat Limo Pancer*.

In the connotation level, *Cok Bakal* is a symbol of a hope of the agricultural society toward the nature spirit, called *Sanak Dhanyang*, in order to get maximum result of their farm and being kept away from disorders. In the myth level, *Cok Bakal* is the offering for the village spirit, known as *Kakiamong Niniamong* or *Sanak Dhanyang* who is believed as the Supreme Being inhabiting the *Punden* or sacred area of *Pelem* village. This implies a hope that what is planted by the farmer



of *Pelem* village can grow well, “*nandur opo wae kudu metu*”. In addition, another myth about *Cok Bakal* explained the reason behind the concept of *Papat Kiblrat Limo Pancer*. According to the *Javanese* belief, human is accompanied by four mystical companions living in the spiritual world. The companion, called as *Sedulur Papat*, is exactly the copy of ourselves whose face, voice, and other attributes are the same. Meanwhile, *Limo Pancer* is the human living in the material world.

Furthermore, *Dulur Papat* is explained as the metaphor of the elements within human. Mbah Sandi, on the interview held on February, 20 2015 explained that, “Four mythical companions mean that you are created from the earth, fire, water, and wind. You are shaped from those four elements, and the fifth is yourself. Hence, it is known as *Keblat Papat Sekawan Gangsal ko Wonten Tengah*. The middle is you. (see on Appendix 2a). Based on this understanding, human is described metaphorically composed of four basic elements, namely earth, fire, water, and wind.

**3.2.10 Kembar Mayang**

In the denotation level, *Kembar Mayang* is a symbolic decoration made from young leaves of coconut (Jv. *Janur*). *Kembar Mayang* should be carried by four bridesmaids consisting of two young men and women (Jv. *Joko loro karo prawan loro*). In the connotation level, *Kembar Mayang* is the embodiment of a hope that the spiritual unification of both bridge (Jv. *Manten*) would occur after the marriage (*enenge roh e manten sekarone kui iso kumpul dadi siji*). It also means as an advice for the brides to be more open minded. It is compulsory since they are no

longer live alone, thus they have to be more mature. Besides, *Janur* which is the main material of the *Kembar Mayang* means “Soko Nur” or from light. Javanese associates *Nur* with the semen from the father and the mother. In the myth level, it is derived from tale of *wayang* or puppet show about the marriage of *Janoko*, one of the characters in the puppet show. According to the story, *Janoko* can only marry after providing *Kembar Mayang Kembarparijotho* or *Dewondaru*. This is a mythical flower which can bloom by itself. This flower is the main requirement enabling *Janoko* to marry his spouse. This story eventually forms the concept of *Kembar Mayang* nowadays (see on Appendix 2b).

### **3.3 The Concept of Macrocosmos and Microcosmos expressed in *Umborampe* of *Temanten Kucing Ritual***

The offerings of *Temanten Kucing* ritual, based on the findings, are the reflection of Javanese ideology about the harmonious life between macrocosmos and microcosmos. The interrelatedness of the material world and spiritual world is depicted in several variety of offerings.

The microcosmos of *Javanese* is portrayed in the symbols, such as *Lodho Sego Gurih*, *Nyambung Tuwuh*, *Golong Limo*, *Buceng Kuat*, *Kupat Luar Polo Pendem*, *Sego Punar*, *Brokoan*, and *Kembar Mayang*. Those offerings are the manifestation of *Javanese* hopes encased in the cultural framework. Basically, the hopes implied in those ritual offerings underlies the same purpose, namely living in harmony. This is the root of the concept of Javanese ideal social order, known as *Tata Tentrem Kerto Raharjo*. Based on Sumodiningrat and Wulandari (2014, p. 399), “*Tata Tantrem Kerto Raharjo*” is derived from Sanskrit word. *Tata* means order while *Tentrem* means peace. *Kerto Raharjo* is the prosperity for all elements



of the society. Hence, *Tata Tentrem Kerto Raharjo* is a harmonious social order which is constructed by prosperity and peace. Indeed, in order to achieve this notion, it is required for Javanese good conducts such as *Rukun* (*keluputan lurah iso rukun*), *Tepo Seliro*, and *Gotong Royong*. Therefore, the firm (*kuat selamet*) society union (*njemuk, golong gumolong*) can be obtained.

Meanwhile, the macrocosmic dimension is represented in the offerings of *Jenang Suro* and *Cok Bakal*. *Jenang Suro* is served for the spiritual ruler of southern ocean, *Nyi Roro Kidul* while *Cok Bakal* is for village spirit, *Sanak Dhanyang*. This is the embodiment of the Javanese sensitivity toward abstract world portrayed in cultural expression. Every force of nature is associated with spirit. Therefore sickness, accident and other things happening in the material world is linked to the spirit.

A strong belief on the spirit also denotes integrative attributes since diverse forces of nature, which are associated with spirit, can be named. It makes the spirit is no longer anonymous since it is set in the cultural framework which can be understood. In particular level, they, the spirit, can even be manipulated and named such as *Mbah Brahim* (*Dhanyang*) and *Kakiamong-Niniamong* which is associated with spirit protecting the crop (Suseno, 1984). Harmonious relation with nature can be obtained after communicating with their ancestor spirit through the *Cok Bakal* offering (*ngaweruhi kakiamong, niniamong, sanak dhanyang supoyo masyarakat deso pelem nandur opo wae kudu metu*) (see on Appendix 2a). Javanese consider that ritual will ensure their salvation in life. Ritual becomes an obligation, and so that the insecure feeling grows from the absence of the ritual or even from the

inadequacy of ritual requirements. This notion is confirmed by Bapak Padelan saying that the inadequacy of the ritual requirements might not affect to the individual salvation, yet they will feel awry (Jv. *Ewuh Pakewuh*) (see on Appendix 3a).

Furthermore, *Cok Bakal* which is situated in the four main directions plus one in the middle, also represents the concept of cosmic consciousness of Javanese known as *Papat Kiblat Limo Pancer*. This is a metaphor of Javanese perceiving four main directions, namely *Etan*, *Kidul*, *Kulon*, *Lor* as the limit of the material world. Whilst, *Pancer* is in the center of those four directions (*coro jawane adu mrapat ki sing etan, sing lor, sing kidul etan, yo sing etan kidul etan, sing kulon kono kidul kulon, sing kulon kono lor kulon*). The four directions is also an embodiment of Javanese belief of four mythical companions (*Kadang Papat*) surrounding Javanese life (*dulurmu kui papat, limo wujudmu kowe kui*). Endraswara (2014) argues the notion of *Kadang Papat* is the manifestation of *Kawah* or amniotic fluid, *Getih* or blood, *Puser* or navel, and *Adhi Ari-Ari* or placenta. Whilst, *Pancer* is the ego. *Kadang papat* is situated in line with the concept of Javanese four main directions (*kiblat*), in which *Kawah* (associated with white color), *Getih* (with red color), *Puser* (with black color) and *Adhi ari-ari* (with yellow color) are located in the east, south, west, and north respectively.

In connecting with it, puppet tale about the birth of *Dasamuka*, *Kumbakarna*, *Sarpakenaka*, and *Wibisana* is also associated with this concept. Furthermore, those figures are the embodiment of the doctrine of Javanese about four desires, known as *Amarah*, *Aluamah*, *Sufiah*, and *Mutmainah* attaching to



human life (Jv. *terus umur pitungsasi punjul limang dino diwei dicemplungi maneh sukmo karo digawani sing nggodho awake. Coro sing nggodho awake ki sing diarani supiyah, amarah, aluwamah, mutmainah*). Those four main desires are further elaborated in the *Serat Wulang Reh* by Sri Pakubuwana IV. *Lawwamah* or *Aluamah* is a desire from stomach and coming out of mouth symbolized as a dark-shining liver. Thirst, hunger, and drowsiness are triggered by this desire. *Amarah*, symbolized as a red-shining liver, is a desire from bile. And, it comes out of the ears. This desire is the source of emotion, jealousy, and rebellion. *Supiyah* comes out of the eyes, as the source of lust, longing and pleasure. *Supiyah*, symbolized as yellow-shining liver, is a desire from spleen. The last, *Mutmainah*, is a desire from bones as the source of right thinking, benevolence and excellence. This desire comes out of nose. The sources of the four desires are also implicitly mentioned by Mbah Sandi, stating that Javanese four companions can be assumed as *Panggodo*, *Pangroso*, *Pangucap*, *Pangrungru* and *Paningal*. Yet, in his explanation, he adds *Pangroso* to complete the fifth number (see on Appendix 2c). Based on this understanding, the concept of *Papat Kiblat Limo Pancer* is associated with desires, coming out of five senses of human. Besides, based on Endraswara (2014) Javanese cosmology also offers philosophical explanation on the constituent element of human i.e. water, earth, air, and fire (*Asalmu awakmu soko bumi, geni, banyu, angin papat kui, cut limo wujud awakmu kui ngono loh. makane diarani keblat sekawan gangsal ko wonten tengah, sing tengah ki wujud awakmu*). This explanation also has close relation with the idea of *Papat Kiblat Limo Pancer*.

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Microcosmos and macrocosmos are inseparable; human, nature, and supernatural world is perceived as a unity. Javanese consider that everything happening in the material world is reflected exactly in spiritual world. Therefore, Javanese should be very careful to behave and consider that the problems experienced in material world does not merely related to the social and visible world. This is for the sake of avoiding the collision with the spiritual world (Suseno, 1984). Therefore good conducts is required to maintain the harmonious relation of material world and spiritual world.

The concept of the *microcosmos* and *macrocosmos*, interpreted from the *Umborampe* served in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, implies deeper Javanese Ideology known as *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. However, an attempt to reveal the concept of *Memayu Hayuning Bawono* in the *Temanten Kucing* ritual cannot be done partially. It requires holistic analysis in seeing the elements as well as the behavior of the people.

In regard to holistic meaning interpretation, Turner, as cited in Endraswara (2003) has provided framework to ease the understanding of the ritual's meaning namely exegetical meaning; a meaning obtained from the explanation of the natives, operational meaning; a meaning obtained both from the explanation of the natives and the observation of the ritual, and positional meaning; a meaning obtained from the interpretation of the symbol by relating one symbol to another.

*Memayu Hayuning Bawono* is the ancient concept of Javanese, teaching its adherents to constantly maintain equilibrium. And, the attempt is manifested in Javanese way of life. *Bawono* is commonly translated as world (Jv. *Jagad*).



However, Javanese concept about world is different from the modern concept of world. The world (Jv. *Jagad*) in Javanese is associated with their cosmology perception. Therefore in Javanese, *Jagad* is classified into two, namely *Jagad Gedhe* (macrocosmos) and *Jagad Cilik* (microcosmos). Though the classification is obvious, both of them are interconnected.

Endraswara (2013) argued that there are at least three strategies required to achieve *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. They are personal contemplation, social interaction, and spiritual interaction with God. And three of them can be observed in many rituals of Javanese, including in *Temanten Kucing* ritual.

Personal contemplation can be viewed from how people place themselves in which the selflessness becomes very dominant when the ritual occurs. They willingly withdraw themselves and offer others who have more experience to lead the ritual. The spiritual atmosphere also triggers the awareness of the human to be submissive to the power of the Supreme Being. People admit that they are powerless in front of the force of nature.

*Temanten Kucing* Ritual is definitely embracing all the elements of the village. The three main components of *Temanten Kucing* ritual successfully reinforce the relation among the community. *Slametan*, as one of the main components in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, reveals deepest values of humanities, such as togetherness, oneness, equality, harmony and respect toward the environment where they live. Besides, the distribution of the food in *Slametan* denotes very essential teaching. Javanese, as stated by Woodward (2011, p. 115), considered that the food in *Slametan* is more important than any other similar rite. He took an

example of zakat, the alms tax mandated by *Sharia* or Islamic law. It is identified that zakat is a legal duty and not a pure gift in Javanese. Conversely, *Slametan* food is referred to as a “gift from the heart” stemming from a deep desire to help humans with no expectation of return.

Though *Slametan* is dense with the social nuance, the prayer and the food presented within this rite is beyond the social dimensions. The prayer also denotes an attempt of achieving equilibrium in life. It covers both biotic and abiotic elements, both material and abstract being, both mental and psychological condition. The whole inhabitant are connected. All of them can be united and thus the state of *Slamet* can be attained.

The comprehensiveness of *Slametan* in covering all of the elements of life is in line with the concept of *Memayu Hayuning Bawono*. Microcosmos and Macrocosmos are protected. The spiritual and material equilibrium are reinforced. And thus eventually the ultimate ideal social order of Javanese, known as *Tata Tentrem Kerto Raharjo* can be accomplished.

### **3.4 Four Functions of *Temanten Kucing* Ritual**

The reason of the resistance of folklore is the significance of it toward the community. As long as particular community assume that folklore is important, it lives. Therefore, to reveal the motive and function of folklore, functionalism is employed. Bascom (1965) proposed four functions of folklore, including to educate, to escape from limit or imposition the culture places on us, to maintain the conformity of accepted patterns of behavior and to validate culture. The functions



proposed by Bascom have given framework to ease the analysis of the function of the folklore.

In *Temanten Kucing* Ritual, there are four functions signifying the execution of the ritual. The function is obtained from the interpretation of the interview with informants. The functions are bridging human and nature, escaping from the imposition of current status quo, maintaining and reinforcing the accepted values, and validating the values.

### 3.4.1 Bridging Human and Nature

It has been stated in the previous chapter that ritual embraces all categories of folklore, i.e. verbal, material and customary lore. *Temanten Kucing* ritual incorporates verbal lore in the form of myth and mantra (Jv. *Ujub*). Myth found in *Temanten Kucing* ritual can be divided into two categories, namely, the myth believed as the origin of the emergence of the ritual and the myth associated with the ritual. The first myth, which is regarded as the origin of the ritual, is linked with the myth of *Eyang Sangkrah* and her cat, meanwhile the second myth is a myth emerges along with the development of the ritual, which in this case is associated with the site of ritual execution. This part elaborates the second myth, which is the site of ritual execution, in connecting with the preservation of the nature.

*Temanten Kucing* ritual is executed in the sacred spring namely *Coban Kromo*. It is a river with large rocks originated from springs at the top of the hill. There is a small lake formed naturally in that place, in which the water for bathing the cats is taken from. Above the lake, there are old guava trees, which according to the informant, are inhabited by the local guardian spirit, or *Dhanyang*.



Figure 2  
The Sacred Site of Ritual Execution

In *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the *Dhanyang* is associated with the figure of *Eyang Brahim*, the one who settled the village for the very first time (Jv. *Mbabat Alas*). The attachment of *Punden* (sacred place) which is associated with the myth of the village spirit has successfully created an invisible protective system preventing destruction of the environment. The observation had revealed that the surrounding environment of the ritual site, despite the illegal logging occurring in the areas, is well-preserved. This is also affirmed by Bapak Agus, who argued that the surrounding ritual site is still much better compared to the general condition of the forest; the trees are still quite a lot (see on Appendix 1). Besides, according to Mbah Sandi and Bapak Padelan, nobody is brave to steal the rocks scattered in the ritual site for individual interest. Mbah Sandi confirms that it is due to the belief about the site which is labeled as sacred (Jv. *Pesadranan*). Thus, the rocks remains the same. Additionally, there is a myth growing and spreading within local community about mythical creature, namely *Blorong*, watching over the ritual site.

It is affirmed by Mbah Sandi explaining that when the rain comes, and the bluster



emerged, it is the indication that the *Blorong* appears. *Blorong* is a mythical creature of a beautiful woman with a half-snake body (see on Appendix 2a, 2c).

The myth is deep-rooted in the mindset of the society and unconsciously teaches society how to behave and interact with environment. Borrowing the notion proposed by Spradley and McCurdy (2011, p. 4) that “culture lies under the conscious level” of human, it is therefore makes sense that the doctrine or teaching is conveyed unconsciously, and one of them is through myth. Additionally, Syafa’at (2008) confirms that labelling certain place as the sacred place is an effective strategy to preserve resources.

Moreover, Anshory (2013) also aligned this notion by arguing that traditional society constantly maintain the preservation of the nature both by rational and irrational techniques. Rational strategy can be traced from the farming system or housing strategy found in the traditional society. The farming system always tries to harmonize with nature; *Tumpang Sari* (Intercropping farming system) and *Terasering* (terracing). In the housing system, traditional society, instead of using permanent material as the fence, prefer using the growing plant to have the same functions. Those are actually manifestations of living in line with nature. Meanwhile, the irrational technique is associated with the particular tale, myth and symbol. Those techniques lead human to behave wisely toward nature.

Myth which is rooted in human’s mind eventually produces prohibition controlling human behavior benefiting the ecology. Likewise, in *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the myth is operated as a controlling instrument. The myth somehow creates an imaginary cycle, which the researcher names it “Circle of Harmony”

The majority of inhabitants of *Pelem* village are farmer who depend on the availability of water to grow their crops. The dependency on water is the factor which triggers the emergence of the ritual. Furthermore, the ritual takes place in the spring located under the old guava tree which is labeled as sacred place. The label, then, affects the society to preserve the spring, the trees, and environment. A well-preserved nature eventually will benefit the whole society since the availability of water which is the priority of the majority can be guaranteed.

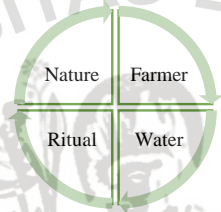


Figure 3  
Imaginary Connections; Circle of Harmony

As demonstrated in the figure 3, the interrelatedness of each instruments results in mutualism symbiosis. Ultimately, in order to avoid the destruction of the nature and to obtain the prosperity from the forest, LMDH or *Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan* (villager forest society), a program from *Perhutani* cooperating with the local people to maintain the sustainability of the forest, has been initiated. As the consequence, ecology, which based on Spradley and McCurdy (2011, p. 70), “is the relationship of an organism to other elements within its environmental sphere”, can be sustained. Myth inserted in the ritual has acted as a bridge connecting human to nature. Above all, it unconsciously teaches human how to behave toward nature.



### 3.4.2 Escaping from the Limitation of Current Values

Since the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, Islam has spread and developed massively throughout Indonesia, which soon became the mainstream religion of Indonesia. A Muslim scholar, Azyumardi Azra, in Anshoriy (2013) argues that Islam has acted as *supraidentity* in Indonesia, creating solidarity bound connecting ethnic groups in this nation. In one hand, this notion offers the integration to the nation since immense number of the ethnic groups in Indonesia stick under the same belief system. Yet, in another hand, the fluidity of the religion to be interpreted has resulted various divisions or sects. Even, misconception of interpreting religion frequently drives its follower to act radically, which eventually oppress the thing which subjectively is considered not in line with religious teaching.

In connecting with this notion, Geertz, cited in Beatty, (1999, p. 28) elaborated three major classifications of Javanese segregation triggered by religion, namely *Santri*, *Abangan* and *Priyayi*. *Santri* is a pious, orthodox-leaning Muslim, while *Abangan* is nominally Islamic, remaining embedded in native Javanese animism ancestral tradition. Conflict happening currently is a conflict between *Santri*, demanding on the purification of Islamic teaching and *Abangan*, perpetuating the tradition. And culture, particularly ritual, often becomes the innocent victim of the high tension of both groups. Some of the rituals are labeled with bad conduct known as *syirik* (polytheism). As the consequence, the misleading interpretation of religion frequently becomes the major factor diminishing the culture.

However, by placing the activity in the framework of ritual, some activities, which in the normal situation are considered beyond the religious teaching, can still be maintained. The ritual has become a justification of the activity. And, by the execution of *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the activity such as praying while burning *kemenyan* (incense derived from gum benzoin), praying in the sacred place, and bathing cats in the ritual can be conducted despite the imposition of the current status quo. The framework of ritual has legitimated the activities and bring them back to life.

Furthermore, the ritual also re-functions the role of Javanese leader who is gradually abandoned by modern society. As stated by *Mbah Sandi*, the spiritual leader of *Pelem* village, the ritual has enabled him to be in his original position (see on Appendix 2a, 3a). Society trusts and chooses him to be the leader of the ritual. The ritual leads the whole participant to travel backward where spirituality is more dominant than the logic.



Figure 4  
Mbah Sandi, a Javanese Spiritual Leader



Another element which is justified under the framework of ritual is violation. Status quo has provided obvious articles concerning violence. Those who commit this conduct would be rewarded with certain sentence. However, ritual has allowed or even obliged violence to be conducted within the ritual. *Tiban* dance, as one of the part of *Temanten Kucing* ritual succession, has to be performed to complete the ritual. *Tiban* is a dance performed by bare chested men whipping each other using *lidi aren* (rope made of palm leaf rib).

According to the local belief, if the ritual is executed without performing *Tiban* dance, the rain which is expected from the ritual would not come. Despite the blood shedding out from each lash, the performer manages to bear it and keep doing this dance. Unlike any other violence leading people to the destruction of relation, this ritual, in the contrary, can unite and even bring joy to society.



Figure 5  
The Performance of *Tiban* Dance

### 3.4.3 Maintaining and Reinforcing the Accepted Values

There are various values growing within Javanese society. The values are manifested in numerous Javanese aspects which eventually becomes the characters of Javanese. The value or teaching such as respecting the elderly or the leader, *Gotong Royong* (being cooperative), and *Guyub Rukun* (living in harmony), which currently becomes rare items, can still be found in traditional society. Many aspects within ritual actually revive those values in this modern era.

In *Temanten Kucing* ritual, the value of respecting the leader can obviously be traced in the bathing sequence. The bathing process of the selected cats can only be handled by the headman who is the descent of *Eyang Sutomejo*. This also indicates a respect toward the ancestor merit since *Eyang Sutomejo* was the former headman reinventing the ritual for the first time. In some areas of Java, as asserted by Suseno (1984), often the headman position is passed on to the same family members. Moreover, headmen frequently are linked with the mythological figure of the local area. In *Pelem* village, the current headman is still blood related to *Eyang Sutomejo*, a well-known legendary figure of *Pelem* village. One of the informants, Mr. Agus, describes that *Eyang Sutomejo* was a powerful figure (Jv. *Sekti*) owning a white horse as his vehicle used to get around the area of the village. The relation of the current headman and *Eyang Sutomejo* is one of the factors strengthening the position in the ritual.

In regard to the headman position, Bapak Padelan affirmed that this position is the highest position in the village, both administratively and spiritually.

Consequently, in order to execute the ritual, the approval and the attendance of the



headman are required. The headman was invited to bath the cats since there is a strong belief that the village chief (Jv. *Lurah*) is spiritually more powerful than ordinary people. Pak Padelan argued that *Lurah* is even more superior compared to *Dhanyang*. He assumed that *Lurah* is the king of the *Dhanyang* (Jv. *ratune Dhanyang* or *Dhanyang e Dhanyang*) (see on Appendix 3c). It denotes a vital position of the *Lurah* toward the whole village.

Furthermore, *Lurah* also patches the shortage of funds from the public and being the effective coordinator to collect money from the villagers. More importantly, the presence of the *Lurah* also functions as a shield against protests from those who do not agree with this ritual. Bapak Padelan explained that there are still several people who do not agree on the ritual execution. He refers them to the one who have strong religious belief (Jv. *sing agomone kuat*) (see on appendix 3b). This fact is apparently in line with the notions of Geertz, who classified Javanese into *Santri* and *Abangan*. Yet, interestingly, both group could still maintain the stability order within society by respecting each other. The *Abangan* did not compel the *Santri* to come, while *Santri* did not commit excessive protest but merely absent from the ritual. This is indirectly also caused by the attendance of the *Lurah* in the ritual execution.

Furthermore, the ritual also allows the integration of all elements of the village. The harmonious union of the village can be obtained through ritual. Every member of the society, regardless their gender, age, or social status, mingles as one entity celebrating the ritual. Besides affirming the values of equality, this activity also brings back the concept of *Guyub Rukun* into reality.



Figure 6  
Pak Mujialam in the Bathing Sequence

The principal of *Rukun* aims to sustain the harmonious life of society. Based on Suseno (1984), *Rukun* is the state of harmony, calmness, and serenity without strife and contention. *Rukun* is the ideal condition within society which should be sustained. And, in order to obtain this concept, people should be willing to live hand in hand, and help each other, this concept is known as *Gotong Royong* in Javanese.

The concept *Gotong Royong* can be viewed on how the community work together to prepare the ritual. They voluntarily work together and serve the food or any other requirements needed to conduct the ritual. Therefore, through the process of succeeding the ritual, the sense of the togetherness and oneness, as an entity is revived.

**3.4.4 Validating Javanese Values**

Tradition maintains the sense of belonging, sense of “groupness” which tie the group with particular people and cultural behavior that important to people. Moreover, it also connects people with the older generation (Sims and Stephen, 2005). This notion can be obviously seen from the procession of the *Temanten*



*Kucing* ritual. Though there are some modification within ritual, the main guide line of the ritual execution (Jv. *Pakem*) for the community, still connect to the past generation. They practice the same important activities like bathing the cats by the headman of the village. Mbah Sandi also affirmed that there is unwritten advice passed down from generation to generation suggesting that when the dry season comes, the community are expected to execute the ritual (see appendix 2a). This notion is further confirmed by Bapak Padelan who said that tradition must not be forgotten (see appendix 3a). Besides, the location of *Temanten Kucing*, which is believed to be the tomb of the ancestor, also validates Javanese trait who have a strong bound with their ancestor.

Most ritual as suggested by Sims and Stephen (2005, p 95) “are stylized, highly contextualized, deeply symbolic activities that enable groups to acknowledge, exemplify and/or act out certain traditional ideas, values and beliefs”. Ritual makes the inner experience of tradition visible and observable. Thus, observing ritual can lead us to understand the values upheld by particular community. *Slametan*, as one of the three primary components of *Temanten Kucing* ritual, owns several observable values within it. First is in the distribution of the food. Regardless the number of the participants, the food is shared to all of the members equally; *Lurah*, village staff, donor and ordinary people get the same portion of the foods.

In the social interaction, Javanese acknowledge a systematic pattern guiding them to behave. The way of behaving is constantly controlled by circumstance. Several factors, such as; social position, age, and status, also determine their

behavior. This phenomenon is constructed by the principle of respect. The principle of respect forces Javanese to be aware of their actual position by evaluating their situation and condition. In regard to this notion, as affirmed by Suseno (1984), Senior-junior aspect will always appear in Javanese communication. The notion of respect has been implanted since the early childhood education by teaching the sense of the *Wedi* (anxious), *Isin* (embarrassed) and *Sungkan* (reluctant) to the children. In line with it, Javanese language is classified into two major levels, namely *Ngoko* and *Kromo*. Those levels are applicable in different conditions (Koentjaraningrat, 1999). As the consequence, seemingly hierarchical society is formed in Javanese. However for Javanese, hierarchy is a means to express politeness since it enables them to behave properly. It is as suggested in Javanese ethnical word *Andhap Ashor* which signifies “maintaining politeness” especially to ones regarded as respected persons.

Yet interestingly, the hierarchy of Javanese seems to disappear in the ritual. Society can mingle as one. They immerse themselves in the solid spiritual atmosphere and forget their worldly position. It can be observed in the food distribution of the *Slametan* in which every participant gets the same portion of the food. Besides the scale of the priority, based on the social status, fades away. Ritual has turned the participants to be selfless. The selflessness of the local functionaries is a manifestation of the Javanese teaching. The word *Andhap Asor* transforms individuals to present themselves as inferior, regardless their actual social position (Woodward, 2011). To conclude, ritual has successfully validated the idea of *Andhap Asor*.



Furthermore, Bapak Padelan argues that if the number of the participants is large, the food will also be shared in a little amount to make sure that the food is sufficient. Yet for the food distribution, the elderly is more prioritized rather than the children (see on Appendix 3c).

Second, in the *Ujub*, there are at least two observable Javanese traits that can be viewed. The first is in from the language used in the *Ujub*. The *Ujub* is recited in the most polite language and closed by the apology of inadequacy of the food and praying. For Woodward (2011), self-denigration in Javanese view is the supreme method of politeness. Besides, the use of Javanese language in *Ujub* reflects that the essence is better than the cover. Bapak Padelan affirms that the core of the prayer is when the prayer is well understood by the community (see appendix 3b). Though Arabic prayer might offer more Islamic or religious atmosphere yet when it is not understood by the community, it will be useless. Therefore, in *Ujub*, there are specific portions and time for Javanese prayer and Arabic prayer.

Third in the *Ujub*, several spirits are repeatedly mentioned. This denotes the belief of Javanese society toward spiritual beings as the source of blessing. Based on the interview with Bapak Padelan, the spirit (Jv. *Dhanyang*) acts as a mediator between people and God. People believe that by serving the *Dhanyang*, the prayer that they recite will be much easier to reach God (see appendix 3b).

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

#### 4.1. Conclusion

*Temanten Kucing* ritual is one of the cultural heritages originated from *Pelem* village, Tulungagung, East Java, conducted in order to invoke rain to God. The emergence of the ritual cannot be separated from the condition and occupation of the local community who work as farmer. This is added by the fact that the farming system in *Pelem* village is a *Tadah Hujan* system, making rain as the vital cycle in their life.

The ethnographical approach employed in this research has revealed that this ritual is initiated by the myth of Eyang Sangkrah and her cats. By the help of the informant, namely Mbah Sandi as the spiritual leader, Bapak Padelan as the head of the *Karang Taruna*, Bapak Agus as the former headman, and Bapak Mujialam, as the current headman, this research has exposed the substantive transformation of *Temanten Kucing* ritual. The ritual of *Temanten Kucing* was merely limited to the bathing process of the cats in *Coban Kromo*, yet nowadays, *Slametan* and *Tiban* are also involved as the vital part of this ritual and making this ritual becomes increasingly complex.

The emergence of the *Slametan* in *Temanten Kucing* ritual reinforce the notion arguing *Slametan* as the core of Javanism. The *Slametan* also functions as the embodiments of the Javanese values and teachings. Semiotics theory by Barthes



employed in this research, covering denotation, connotation and myth, has discovered that the ritual offerings presented in *Slametan* sequence portray Javanese understanding about cosmic system. The microcosmos and macrocosmos are covered in the ritual to accomplish the harmonious life of both mental and spiritual, social and individual.

Based on the functionalism approach proposed by Bascom, the ritual function is analyzed. Four function of the ritual, involving to educate, to escape from the imposition of the culture, to maintain the acceptance and to validate culture can be uncovered. Those four factors are succesfully expressed in the activity of (1) Bridging human and nature, (2) Escaping from the limitation of the current values, (3) Maintaining and reinforcing the accepted values, and (4) Validating Javanese values.

#### **4.2. Suggestion**

As a unique cultural heritage which is dense with values, *Temanten Kucing* ritual should be preserved by all of the elements of society; including students. For the next researchers who are interested in taking similar research, it is suggested to broaden the object of the research to other cultural heritages of Indonesia since they are dense with values. Thus by digging the values of the cultural heritage, the sense of belonging can be aroused. Ultimately, for those who are interested in continuing the research of *Temanten Kucing* ritual, they can take other focus, such as the mantra, the performance of *Tiban* dance, or other elements constructing the ritual.

it is suggested for the next researcher to combine ethnography approach with the

theory discussing oral tradition as well as the performance to reveal hidden values  
or philosophy of those two mentioned aspects.





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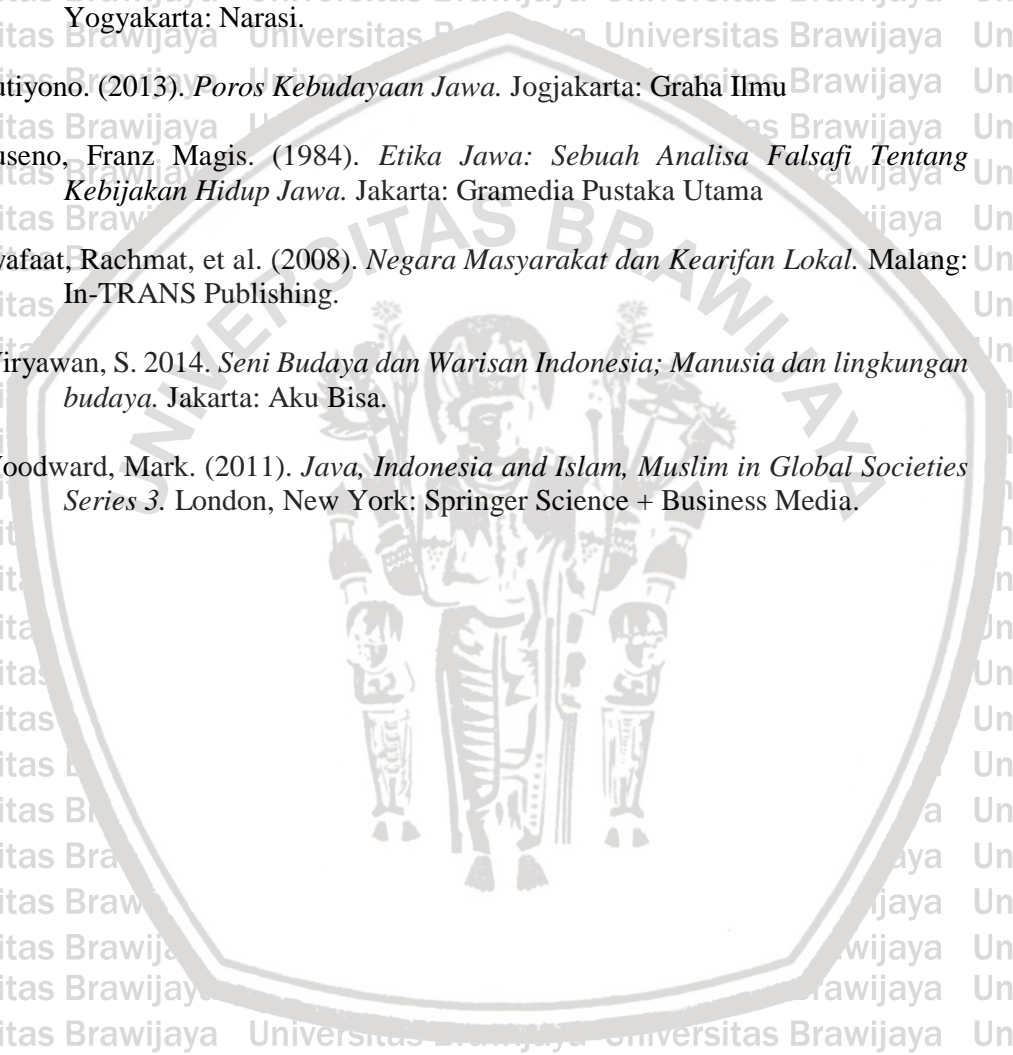
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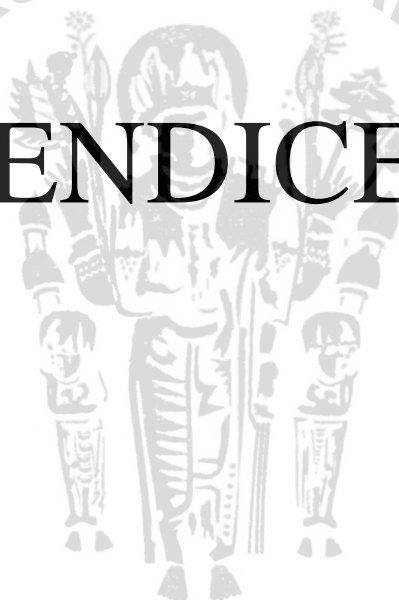
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# APPENDICES



**Appendix 1**

- Date interview** : July, 4, 2016
- Time of interview** : 20:00
- Place of interview** : In Mr. Agus House
- Interviewer** : Researcher (Luqman Hakim)
- Informants (1)** : Mr. Agus (The former headman of Pelem Village)

*I(1)* : Asal muasal manten kucing, itu dulunya ndak ada namanya, jadi hanya anu, ada anu, gimana ya. Jadi kan gini awal mulanya, emm gak tau, entah kapan tahun berapa, konon cerita itu ya. Cerita turun temurun itu ya, gak tau tahunnya berapa, tapi masih gimana ya, masyarakat, nggak hanya masyarakat sini, tapi masyarakat lain masih dibelenggu penjajah. Kan ada bagian bagian wilayah, terus itu saja belum terbentuk suatu pemerintahan, desa iki ae belum terbentuk. Nah ini kebetulan yang sebelah timur, itu hidup seorang janda, namanya eyang sangkrah. Kita menyebutnya eyang sangkrah, terus konon cerita, eyang sangkrah itu masih keturunan dari eyang brahim. Eyang brahim itu yang babat daerah sini gitu loh. Itu kan ada tiga, konon cerita dari mataram. Terus mbah brahim itu yang di wilayah timur. Konon cerita itu meninggal makannya yang ada di itu, terus kebetulan ya memang ada sisa-sisa peninggalan, walaupun tidak ada secara data fix seng menyebutkan itu ndak ada, cuman disitu itu ditemukan batu bata. Terus eyang sangkrah itu konon cerita masih keturunan eyang brahim. Ndak tau keturunan yang keberapa yang pasti masih. Terus eyang sangkarh itu hidup seorang diri, terus dia punya piaraan kucing, namanya kucing condromowo laki-laki. Kucing condromowo itu, punya keistimewaan khusus, jadi lain disbanding dengan kucing lain. Jadi salah satu cirinya itu bulunya itu berwarna tiga, jadi istilahae telon, jenis kelaminnya laki-laki, terus itu keistimewaan di sorot matanya sangat tajam sekali. Bahkan katakanlah ada tikus, diatas hanya dilihat gitu ae iso jatuh, jadi memang punya keistimewaan lah. Bahkan itu memang langka, ada kucing telon, tapi perempuan. Konon cerita, kalo kucing betina melahirkan kucing telon jantan, langsung dibunuh. Nah kembali ke eyang sangkrah itu punya piaraan itu, terus waktu itu daerah sini, itu dilanda kemarau panjang. Terus suatu siang eyang sangkrah itu ke coban itu, telaga coban itu. dulu dibawah puhon jambu itu ada kedungnya itu, tapi karena erosi, banyak yang tertutup, sehingga kedungnya ilang. Nah itu disitu dimanfaatkan oleh masyarakat untuk kebutuhan sehari hari, ya mandi, ya nyuci itu di situ. Nah, karena dulu itu belum ada sumur ya mas ya, jadi untuk keperluan sehari-hari masyarakat ya disitu. Nah, jugak dengan eyang sangkrah, tiap harinya ya disitu, untuk kebutuhan sehari-hari ya nyuci, ya mandi, dan lain-lain. nah, namun, ndak pernah eyang sangkrah itu bersama atau ngajak kucingnya, nah suatu siang, eyang sangkrah itu kesitu, dia itu nyuci terus mandi. Nah konon cerita, kucingnya itu ikut diajak mandi sekalian disitu. Masyarakat yang tahu eyang sangkrah mandi dengan kucing itu ndak lama kemudian itu ada mendung, nah sebelum eyang sangkrah itu pergi, hujan turun. Loh kok hujan? Padahal kemarau panjang tidak ada tanda-tanda anu, kemarin-kemarin itu ndak ada tanda-tanda mau hujan. Beberapa tahun lagi, peristiwa kemarau itu terulang lagi, akhirnya dari pemuka-pemuka masyarakat, nah bahkan karena kehidupan masih pedalaman ya primitiv, kan belum mengenal keagamaan ya, jadi ritual sing koyok anu dilakukan, tapi ndak turun hujan. Akhirnya masyarakat saat itu ada ide, teringat peristiwa beberapa tahun yang lalu, daerah sini kemarau panjang terus eyang sangkrah mandi dengan kucingnya kok hujan. Terus akhirnya, itu apa diulangi lagi ya, akhirnya musyawarah dan sepakat. Akhirnya eyang sangkrah ditunjuk, mandi bersama kucingnya. Akhirnya eyang sangkrah mau, dan terjadi hujan lagi. nah makanya peristiwa yang kedua itu kan sudah mulai, apa melalui musyawarah untuk membujuk eyang sangkrah, akhirnya karena coba, mencoba untuk itu, akhirnya kedung itu dinamakan coban.

*R* : Itu kucingnya satu?  
*I(1)* : He'eh, tetep kucing yang lama. Terus karena kegembiraan masyarakat ya, itu kan "hore-hore udan-udan" akhirnya timbulnya tradisi tiban itu. tiban itu diambilkan, karena opo



tiban, ketiban udan. Udan ndadak ngono, dadi geblek-geblekan ngono saking senenge, akhirnya tiban itu. akhirnya perkembangan jaman, sudah ndak gablek-gablekan tangan, akhirnya pake lidi

R : Oh dulu pake tangan pak?

I (1) : Peristiwa, konon cerita itu, dadi ndak pake lidi, karena itu gablek-gablekan itu karena spontanitas rasa kegembiraan karena hujan itu. setelah itu, setelah eyang sangkrah itu ndak ada peristiwa kemarau panjang, jadi sudah ndak anu, cuma tiban itu karena sudah, akhirnya dikembangkan toh. Dikembangkan akhirnya pake lidi, bahkan tari tiban itu identik dengan minta hujan. Jdai ndak hanya disini, tapi mengembang. Tiap kemarau, eh wayahe udan iki, ndak udan udan, mengadakan tradisi itu, tiban itu pake lidi aren itu. karena sudah tidak ada kemarau panjang itu, dan eyang sangkrah juga sudah meninggal, cerita itu sudah terlampaui. Terus untuk wilayah-wilayah ndak hanya desa pelem ya, wilayah-wilayah lainnya, karena waktu itu masih pendudukan kolonial belanda, akhirnya kan lambat laun dibentuk pemerintahan. Waktu itu istilahnya belum lurah belum kepala desa ya, istilahnya masih demang. Itu alhamdulillah, jadi jadi demang untuk wilayah sini, itu eyang sutomejo. Kebetulan eyang saya sendiri. terus kalo orang dulu itu kan istilaha sekti. Saya sendiri belum, belum, jangkank kok melihat sendiri. eyang semasa masih hidup saya belum lahir. Eyang sudah meninggal saya belum lahir. Jadi kan belum tahu eyang saya itu. dadi menurut cerita, eyang sutomejo itu orang yang sakti. Jadi beliau, masyarakat anu tidak, niteni itu apa ya, paham betul eyang sutomejo punya kendaraan pribadi. Istilaha lek saiki kendaraan ya, lek dulu tumpakan kuda putih. Terus masyarakat sini sudah paham betul, jadi wayahe kemarau gini ya eyang sutomejo naik kuda, keliling desa itu sambil bersin-bersin itu masyarakat sudah, “weh iki meti arep udan”, ning yo betul beberapa hari itu hujan. Pokonya dengan kemampuan beliau itu akhirnya ditanggap. Masyarakat di niteni gitu loh mas. Terus sewaktu, ndak tau tahunnya berapa ndak tahu. Ndak ada bukti otentik, karena kita ndak, masyarakat waktu itu ndak berpikiran karena maklum. Oh peristiwa iki ditengeri ditandai gitu ndak ada. Jadi waktu itu masih kolonial belanda, sebelum merdeka itu dilanda kemarau panjang lagi wes parah kering kerontang itu. nah, eyang sutomejo selaku demang, secara moral kan mesti punya, “piye iki masyarakat ku ki”. Wes berbagai cara di coba tapi ndak kena. Dan meminta kepada yang maha kuasa, supaya turun hujan sudah dicoba tapi ndak hujan. Terus eyang suto mejo suatu malam, melalui tirakat beliaunya mendapatkan semacam firasat gitu ya agar supaya memandikan dua ekor kucing di coban. Entah waktu itu mimpi atau melalui apa ndak jelas, hanya mendapatkan wisik

R itas : Wisik?

I (1) : Iya wisik atau wangsit gitu ya, agar supaya melakukan itu. akhirnya dimusyawarakan dengan pemuka-pemuka akhirnya dilaksanakan pertama kali. Nah, karena saat itu, nah ini dihubungkan dengan cerita waktu eyang sangkrah. Nah kalo jaman e eyang sangkrah kan kucing laki cundromowo, eyang sangkrah sendiri seorang perempuan. Karena saat ini ndak ada kucing codromowo, akhire dua ekor kucing. Akhire ya penemu ya beliau eyang suto mejo yang harus kita mandikan dua ekor kucing laki-laki perempuan, akhire dilaksanakan seperti itu. terus kucing tersebut diambilkan oleh eyang sutomejo yang satu dari wilayah timur, satu wilayah barat. Terus diarak ke telaga situ terus dimandikan. Waktu itu ya sebatas itu terus hujan. Itu pertama kali setelah eyang sangkrah, eyang sutomejo melakukan seperti itu. terus itu belum timbul, muncul namanya manten kucing.

R : Dulu namanya apa pak?

I (1) : Ndak ada, ya hanya melaksanakan karena terdesak situasi kering kerontang itu terus eyang sutomejo itu mendapat wingsik untuk memandikan dua ekor kucing akhirnya ya itu, hanya sebatas itu. setelah itu, sekitar tahun 11, itu baru timbulnya istiah anu, untuk kedua kalinya anu, eyang sutomejo melaksanakan pemandian dua ekor kucing itu. itu sudah mulai di anu, itu sudah tidak melalui opo, proses mendapatkan wisik lagi ndak. Karena dilanda kemarau panjang terus akhirnya eyang sutomejo punya pemikiran wes iki. Awalnya sudah

dicoba ya tiban, ya tirakatan situ tapi ndak pernah hujan. "coba koyok ndisik" mungkin pemikiran beliau gitu, yaudah kita laksanakan lagi. akhirnya yo ngono. Nah itu sudah mulai anu, masyarakat sendiri sudah mulai banyak, terus arak-arakan sudah mulai banyak, terus diaraka dengan tiban, nah waktu itu sudah ada selamatan seperti itu. sudah, "yo lek ngono iki diarani manten kucing ae" ngono. Dadi wes, pola pikirnya kan sudah pola pikir anu, masyarakatnya kan semakin lama kan otomatis semakin bertambah to pola pikire. Itu tahun sebelas. Terus demang sutomejo itu melaksanakan hanya dua kali. Jadi yang pertama itu karena wisik, yang kedua itu sudah ada moderenisasi, ada penambahan itu ya. Terus akhirnya setelah itu, "wes iki diarani manten kucing ae"

R :Pak saya mau tanya ngegeh, kalo saya melihat itu dari segi agak ilmiahnya. Kan manten kucing itu diadakan dengan memandikan kucing dicoban itu kan pak. Saya kemarin sebelum kesini mikirnya kalo seandainya bergantung pada coban ritual itu, paling tidak masyarakat disini menjaga kelestarian alam disekitar situ. Jadi sehingga ada lingkaran harmonis antara masyarakat yang mayoritas petani dijembatani oleh ritual itu sehingga alamnya terjaga. Tetapi yang saya lihat disitu, kemarin alamnya agak rusak gitu

I(1) :He'eh emang gitu.

R :Setelah saya konfirmasi dengan bu yuni, itu kemarin, "ya coba sampean tanyakan ke pak agus"

I(1) :Ya emang gitu. Jadi tidak hanya kita kaitkan dengan manten kucing dan keberadaan wisata coban. Setelah saya menjabat itu kemarin, karena letak desa pelem itu di lereng gunung ya, dan kita tahu, pohon-hutan didaerah sini itu tinggal kenangan ya. Itu alhamdulillah itu sudah terbentuk LMDH, lembaga masyarakat desa hutan itu sudah kita bentuk waktu itu. kita sudah sering kali minta bantuan bibit. Tapi ya itu, lagi-lagi kembalinya pada person-person masyarakat yang kurang paham. Jadi kita sulu sering mengadakan penyuluhan sering tetep saja. dan itu tidak hanya terjadi di wilayah sini, di lain-lain daerah kan hutan dijarah, tetep kalah sama itu. ya tetap kita lestarikan sebetulnya itu, bahkan kalau dibandingkan dengan di wilayah, maksudnya Cuma di objek wisata itu agak mending, kayune sek enek daripada lain anu, akhirnya saya sudah. Tapi akhirnya karena lagi-lagi kalah dengan para penjarah.

R :Berarti memang sudah ada usaha ya pak ya?

I(1) :Sudah, tapi dari pengelola, setelah saya ndak menjabat saya lepas to. terus ganti pak padelan, pak padelan menjabat jadi perangkat, akhirnya jadi pak sulaji. Itu sudah sering mengadakan kegiatan itu, juga kita sering kerjasama dengan sekolahan seperti SMP boyolangu, degan pramuka mengadakan reboisasi, tapi ya itu sudah. Tetep ditebangi ae.

R :Kalau seandainya suatu saat pak, sumber mata air itu, kan sumber mata air itu tergantung pada hutan kan pak, katakanlah kering gitu. Itu bagaimana dengan keberlanjutan manten kucing?

I(1) :Belum ada pemikiran seperti itu, karena gini, sejak dulu sampek sekarang, itu coban itu belum pernah kering hanya debit arinya aja yang berkurang. Sebenarnya sudah ada langkah-langkah kongkrit tapi ya itu tadi, terbentur dengan itu.

R :Itu yang pertama pak, terus yang kedua kemarin saya tanya pak carik, memang keadaan geografis disini itu, sawahnya kan sawah tadah hujan ya pak, dan mulai sudah ada masuknya teknologi dengan sumur bor gitu. Itu seandainya nanti semua sawah itu, apakah mungkin pak semua sawah itu menjadi sawah yang ndak tadah hujan, maksudnya irigasinya?

I(1) :Kalo irigasi ndak mungkin, karena opo, itu ndak mendarat. Jadi dulu untuk saluran irigasi itu mentok kesana, tapi ndak kuat karena itu naik. Akhirnya separo, ndak ada separo sawah, desa sini yang terairi

R :Kalo bor?



I (1) :Nah itu yang irigasi, saluran irigasi. Akhirnya ya itu tadi, akhirnya alternatif pake sumur bor itu.

R :Jadi kalo untuk sumur bor masih ada kemungkinan ya pak?

I (1) :Iya, bahkan sini itu ndak terlalu dalam

R :Nah kalo dikaitkan dengan manten kucing pak. Manten kucing itu kan ada, muncul karena kekeringan gitu pak. Tadi yang bapak jelaskan tadi di awal itu memang tujuannya minta hujan agar tidak sampai poso atau gagal panen, nah sekarang itu kan seperti bapak sudah jelaskan, nggak sampe dalampun air sudah keluar ya pak. Jadi ada pergeseran fungsi yang dulunya itu memang media untuk minta hujan, sekarang sudah bergeser?

I (1) :Iya bergeser. Karena memang juga kedua gini mas, kan sekarang kita mengadakan harus pintar pintar mencari waktu yang tepat. karena kalau ndak, memang kalau dilaksanakan waktu musim penghujan, mosok manten kucing anu, paling ndak ki sudah ndak ada hujan kan gitu, jadi harus pintar mencari waktu, agar supaya tidak berbenturan dengan masyarakat petani. Dan kebetulan masyarakat kita itu daerah pertanian sini itu. masyarakat kita mayoritas petani dan sekarang karena kemajuan jaman dan khususnya dari segi pertanian itu masyarakat sini sekarang kalau musim kemarau, polowijo itu sudah ndak jagung. Tanaman jagung itu sekarang sudah bergeser, sekarang yang banyak tembakau, terus melon, semongko, brambang. Itu kan pola pikirnya lain kan kemajuan pertanian untuk peningkatan produktifitasnya yang jauh bila dibandingkan dengan jagung. Nah itu kan anti air semua tanaman itu. makanya kalo masyarakat sudah menanam itu, kita mengadakan, kita khawatir. Walaupun misi kita tidak minta hujan, katakanlah misi kita untuk seni, dan akhirnya hujan kan rame toh. Masyarakat kan mesti komplain gitu. Jadi kita lihat, oh ini belum nanam, jadi kita adakan. Jadi kalo sudah bulan-bulan gini kita ndak berani mengadakan karena ini tambakau kan sudah tanam walaupun masih anu itu. jadi sebelum tanam itu, sehingga manten kucing itu diadakan waktu tertentu. Harus dilaksanakan tepat bulan ini ndak ada. Katakan ya sering, kemarin berapa tahun ndak mengadakan

R :Tapi ada pak, sampe sekarang tujuannya ndak di komersilkan? Maksudnya masih murni seperti yang bapak tadi katakan. Atau semua bergeser?

I (1) :Jadi gini, itu melihat situasi kondisinya alam, kalau memang kemarau panjang dan memungkinkan untuk itu, kita adakan. Tidak ada lagi untuk promosi saksikanlah itu sudah ndak ada gitu loh. jadi selama saya terjun di coban, saya mengadakan manten kucing tanpa promosi, itu Cuma sekali, tahun 2008 itu yang banjir itu. itu ndak ada promosi ndak ada anu, memang misi kita saat itu memang mengadakan itu. enek sing ndelok yo kono, ora yo kono. Kita ndak pikiran itu. karena yo ndak di karciskan.

R :Kalo ndak ada promosi itu apakah juga ada promosi yang pertama, dan yang kedua ada tontonanya?

I (1) :Justru gini, jadi itu sebagai umborampen, pelengkap. Kan selamatan itu bukti tanda sukur kita, tapi yang pertama seperti eyang sutomejo itu sudah ndak ada itu, baru yang kedua itu ada. Terus saya sendiri tetep. Makanya belum sampe dikajatne sudah hujan.

R :Tapi kalok di ritual yang di kabupaten, terus di jawatimur itu memandikannya gimana?

I (1) :Ya Cuma gini, ya Cuma gambaran bahwa ini, kan ada narasinya. Selolah olah saya menghadap telaga, ini kucing ya gitu.

R :Tapi kalo disini memang harus turun di telaganya itu pak ya?

I (1) :Iya, ya murni saya anu air.

R :Iya pak, ini setelah ada larangan dari MUI itu pak, saya kemarin tanya bu yuni dana untuk manten kueng itu diberhentikan, itu apa bener pak?

*I(1) :Iya, terus akhirnya kan tidak di anu ya, terus baru 2013 kemarin pak heru saya sempat ngomong-ngomong dengan beliau-beliaunya. Waktu itu saya sempat ngomong-ngomong dengan bu yuni itu, “piye pak kan ada dana yang bisa dipake”, tapi karena dulu itu karena kesibukan saya, “ya bu” mek tak iya ni tok. Memang pasca itu akhirnya di dinas pariwisata dak ada pos.*

*R :Sebelumny ada pak ngegeh?*

*I(1) :Sebelumny ada, ada khusus memang disediakan waktu itu. jadi MUI itu setelah kit jelaskan seperti itu jadi haram itu kalo perlaksanaanya semacam itu, ya saya salahkan. Kalo timnya kita lihatnya dari sudut apa, disitu saya tidak meminta ke Dhanyangan itu. saya tetep mintanya kepa Allah. Akhirnya alhamdulillah paham, sebenare seperti itu. tapi karena dulu itu ada persert ayang melaksanakan keluar dari rel ya terus akhir ya ndak beda jauh dengan manten sungguhan, manten manusia. jadi yo diarak, karo solawatan. Jadi sambil jalan itu disampaikan, iki mantene jenengne agus, seng wedok siti. Aku ae sempat, aku kan ya kebetulan kenal sama pak camat e, “yaopo iki kok ngene?”, “lah ben kondang sampean” hehe. Lah udah masuk pendopo, itu pelaksanaan ritual kan gitu, nah itu baru disampaikan ijab kobul e. Kebetulan saat itu ketua MUI tulungagung kan juga di pendopo, kaget, “loh kok ngene?”. Sesoke mencak-mencak kae, ‘manten kucing haram’.*





**Appendix 2 a**

**Date of interview** : **February, 20, 2015**

**Place of interview** : **Mbah Sandi's House**

**Interviewer** : **Researcher (Luqman Hakim)**

**Informant** : **Mbah Sandi**

R : *Mbah Sandi seja-rahe..*

I(2) : *Seja-rahe ngene le yo, seja-rahe mbiyen ki naliko lurahe mbah Suto Mejo, naliko lurahe mbah suto mejo ki kene ki coro jawane gadhu*

R : *Gadhu niku nopo?*

I(2) : *Nandur pari gadhu, kurang banyu ora eneng udan, cut kui inshallah jaman sakmono mripeni kon gae manten kucing. Terus gae manten kucing kui embuh tahune, soale aku duduk kelahiran kene. Tahune ki embuh ngenengne manten kucing ngenengne tiban.*

R : *niku saking mimpi?*

I(2) : *Ho'oh asale ngipi terus yo dienengne manten kucing kui, cut saban tahun pokoke saban tahun lek kurang udan lek nandur pari kon gae manten kucing ngono loh le. Seja-rahe manten kucing ki yo jupuk manten kucinge sopo teko lio deso, terus soko deso ngendi ngono terus di dapukne terus di rabekne, saknaliko ki yo ditemokne nek sor jabu kono. Sing kulino nemokne kui yo aku iki. Ngono loh.*

R : *Lha kok kudu teng jambu niku nopo*

I(2) : *Yo pancen danyangane yo kono kok, terus pesadranane neng coban kono.*

R : *Pesadranan niku nopo?*

I(2) : *Pesadranane kui coro jawane yo punden. Yo punden coro jawane. Jaman sakmono kui sak bubare dienekne manten kucing tiban, tibane rung mari ki udane wis deres. Yo ngono kui seja-rahe. Terus dienekne sampek saiki manten kucing kui sampek teko Jakarta mbarang biyen*

R : *Oh ngoten, njenengan diundang mriko*

I(2) : *Ndak adikku lor kui tukange tiban, mandegani teko anu kono, ambek lurahe jaman lurahe agus sampek teko jakarta. Yo ngono kui seja-rahe biyen. Iki dakanuke ndak enek dienekne manten kucing cut ndak udan-udan. Terus iki kae coro jawane dienekne manten kucing, slametan tapi ndak enek tibane yo ndak udan. Dadi lek manten kucing ki kudu enek tibane.*

R : *Prosesine ngoten loh, maksude diarak, terus didus*

I(2) : *Ho'oh, diarak yo koyok 17 kae, dadi ibarate kucing ki teko perbatasan, seng sitok ki teko deso banyak kono, sing sitok teko pelem.*

R : *Oh niku kudu saking deso sing bedo?*

I(2) : *He'eh ndak sak deso, tapi dipek swiwine le. Dadine antarane batas kono ibarate, tengah tengahe kono karo mbangak. Keni iki yo dek, desone pelem, dukuane ki 5 dukan, bangak, jambu, mbangak, pelem, junerejo. Sejarah biyen ki yo le, nalikone ngenekne sepisan ki kan bangak ki enek gebang, wit gebang ki ra karo karoan. Punden ki sing gedhi yo enek wit e gebang enek manuk, opo kui, manuk kuntul ki podo nglumpuk neng kono. Dadi podo mencok neng punden kono, neng gebang kono. Manuk kuntul ki dianggap manuk cangak, makane mbangak ki dianggap gebang karo cangak ngono le seja-rahe. Yo deso pelem, biyen peleme yo sing ngalahne deso pelem ki ndak enek. Lekdeso jambu ki koyok koyok mben omah biyen ki pager pager ki wit jambu, ning jambu klampok sing ndak enak dipangan. Terus saiki jambu klamok ki sing enek yo mek neng punden coban kui. punden coban kui seja-rahe biyen lek wayah rendeng le, lek wayah rendeng ki suarane kemrosong kui*

bloronge yo metu. Ngono loh le sejahe. Mbiyen sakdunge aku neng kene wes dieneke manten kucing

R :Lha nopo to mbah niku kok harus beda deso ngoten, eh nopo, deso dukuh?

I(2) :Yo lek tunggal sak deso ki kan manten kurang tepak, ngono le. Dadi sing teko bangak ki yo diarak teko kono. Kudu sing wedok disik, engko lek sing wedo disik terus sing lanang teko dadi sing wedok yo mapak neng kono. Yo wes koyok manten ngono ditemokne ngono. lha sing nggendong manten wedok kui engko yo kui ra bedo manten, gantae? Yo dibandemne disek nggone manten lanang kui, sing nggendong kucing lanang kui. yo lek nemokne yo ra bedo diubeng-ubengne koyok manten ngono. Yo didus, kucinge ki yo didus neng ngesore jambu kono. Yo eruh ku iku yo mek ngono kui, kon nemokne yo kon tukang kajat. Lek sejarah biyen-biyene kui, babate sepisan enek e manten kucing kui, sing sepisanan ki diarani mbah suto mejo. Mbah suto mejo ki sekolahe, lek coro sekolah endek ning lek coro .... duwur wong pinter tumpakane jaran. Dadi jaran ki yo nyimbulne danyang kono le, pundhen kono ki kan demenane jaran putih dadi mbah luarh ki tumpakane yo jaran putih. Sampek pirang-pirang tahun ki jaran panggah nduwe. Mben mati sitok enek neh, ngingu sampek manak-manak ngono kui. omahe yo kono kui lo le, omahe mbah suto mejo kui etan sekolahan kui enek tok token. Yo kae enek brak e tipake sepedah kae yo tipake mbah lurah demang.

R :Engkang wau, dados sejahe saking mimpi nggeh?

I(2) :He'eh, teko mimpi wes kok catet ya maeng. Cut saiki slametane ya, slametane ki lodho sego gurih ki yo ngeneki anu, lodho sego gurih sedekah neng nggone kanjeng nabi muhammad hajad niate pak lurah, setap deso, masyarakat sak deso pelem. Kajate yo ngono kui. terus nyambung tuwuh

R :Nyambung tuwuh niku nopo mbah?

I(2) :Yo janji kok tulis nyambung tuwuh engko gurumu kan ngerti yo'an. Nyambung Tuwuh ki, nyambung kajate nyambung tuwuh manten sekarone, nyambung tuwuh pak lurah, nyambung tuwuh setap desa sak desa pelem, masyarakat sak deso pelem. Supoyo diparingi panjang umur, lancar lek nyambut gawe, opo sejane kelakon. Terus golong limo

R :Sego golong niki?

I(2) :He'eh, sego golong kui, nggolongne manten sekarone, pak lurah nyang setap deso iso gumolong-gumolong, masyarakat sak deso pelem. Buceng kuat, supoyo manten sekarone iso kuat slamet sing nemokne yo kuat slamet, lurah sak setap e supoyo slamet, masyarakat supoyo slamet. Sego punar, njemukne manten sekarone, njemukne manten sekarone

R :Njemukne niku nopo?

I(2) :Njemukne iku supoyo roh e manunggal karepe. Njemukne manten sekarone, njemukne lurah sak setap.e, masyarakat sak deso pelem, kupat luar polo kependem, jenenge maesa agung, enek keluputane opo wae kemanten sekalian iso rukun, keluputane lurah lan setap iso rukun, iso rukun wong sak deso pelem. Sek tak ngen-ngen e. Brokoan

R :Brokoan niku nopo?

I(2) :Brokoan niku sego lawuhe janganan

R :Segone sego gurih nopo..

I(2) :Ndak, ndak sego gurih, sego biasa, lawuhe janganan karo ndog

R :Kulupan ngoten?

I(2) :He'eh kulupan. Kui mbrokohi manten sekarone, mbrokohi lurah sak setap e, mbrokohi masyarakat sak desa pelem



R :Mbrokahi niku nopo maksude mbah?  
 I(2) :Mbrokahi kui coro jawane, iso ayem tentrem uripe neng kono, rasane wong-wong kui, iso'o cocok karo sing njemukne ki iso kumpul dadi siji ojo sampek mecah belah. Nggenah yo? (nggeh) he'em.

R :Jenang suro ngoten wonten?  
 I(2) :Kui lek sasi suro enek jenang suro le. Ho'oh wes tulisen jenang suro.

R :Jenang suro ki nopo?  
 I(2) :Jenang suro ki nolak balai neng sasi suro

R :Nolak balak?  
 I(2) :He'eh, nolak balak sasi suro, ojo sampek temomo neng mantene, neng lurah, neng setap deso, neng masyarakat sak deso pelem. Iki omongku sembarang mlebu kene yo?

R :Mlebu kene mengke kulo catet  
 I(2) :Terus eneke tontonan

R :Tontonan niku nopo mbah?  
 I(2) :Tanggapan (oh nggeh) ho'oh, tanggapan ki eneke tontonan sembarang sing mlebu neng kono, kui termasuk iso'o gawe senenge manten sekarone, senenge lurah sak setape, senenge masyarakat sak setape.

R :Tontonane kok mesti tiban ngoten nopo to mbah?  
 I(2) :Yo ndak mesti, lek tibane kui mesti enek. Tiban yo uyon-uyon yo jaranan yo reog yo mesti

R :Wonten maleh?  
 I(2) :Sek-sek.

R :Cok bakal ngoten wonten?  
 I(2) :Eneng le, cok bakal ki eneng, cok bakal ki nangndi yoan, ndak perlu kok lebokne

R :Tapi mesti eneng nggeh?  
 I(2) :Mesti enek

R :Mboten nopo-nopo mbah kulo masukaken mawon  
 I(2) :Cok bakal ki yo genep limo

R :Cok bakal genep limo?  
 I(2) :He'eh, dipasang, cok bakal limo kui dipasang neng desoadu mrapat karo neng balai desa sing sitok

R :Neng deso nopo?  
 I(2) :Adu merapat

R :Adumrapat?  
 I(2) :He'eh

R :Adumrapat niku nopo mbah?  
 I(2) :Coro jawane adu mrapat ki sing etan, sing lor, sing kidul etan, yo sing etan kidul etan, sing kulon kono kidul kulon, sing kulon kono lor kulon.

R :Emm, nopo kok kudu limo mbah?

I (2) :Limo, sitok yo sing neng bale deso kui. cok bakal limo, cok bakal limo kui supoyo ngaweruhi kakiamong niniamong, sanak dhanyang supoyo masyarakat deso pelem nanduri opo wae kudu metu

R :Kakiamong?

I (2) :He'eh, kakiamong niniamong, terus sanak danyang, kui supoyo dicepaki ngono kui supoyo ditanduri opo wae ojo nenk gangguan opo wae

R :Niku nopo papat kiblata limo pancen ngoten niku sami?

I (2) :He'em, yo kui, cok bakal ki yo kui, papat kiblata limo pancen, dadi sing sitok kui nang tengah

R :Jane papat kiblata limo pancen niku nopo sih mbah?

I (2) :Sak tenane?

R :Nggeh?

I (2) :Papat kiblata limo pancen ki, saktene sedulurmu kui kabehe kan papat

R :Sedulure papat?

I (2) :Dulur mu kui papat, limo wujudmu kowe kui, ngono lo le. Mulane kowe kui dulurmu papat, papat ki engko lek kok goleki tenan enenge yo wes koyok kowe ngene iki, papat ki podo, suarane podo, rupane podo. Engko lek ora percoyo ngomongo bapakmu, bapakmu ndak percoyo kon rene. Lek koe pengen eruh didudohi karo mbah sandi. Pokoke kowe kelar lakune kon nggoleki

R :Niku nopo sami kaleh kakang kawah adhi ari-ari ngoten niku?

I (2) :Lek kui durure bareng sak uwat le, kakang kawah adhi ari-ari kui batur bareng lahir

R :Dadi seje kaleh dulur sing papat kui nggeh?

I (2) :He'eh, seje. Saiki dulur sing papat ki, asale awakmu soko bumi, geni, banyu, angin. Asalmu awakmu soko bumi, geni, banyu, angin papat kui, cut limo wujud awakmu kui ngono loh. makane diarani keblata sekawan gangsal ko wonten tengah, sing tengah ki wujud awakmu. Sing keru dewe lek isik sedeng, kembar mayang

R :Kembar mayang?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Nopo mbah niku?

I (2) :Kembar mayang kui, enenge roh e manten sekarone kui iso kumpul dadi siji ngono loh. diarani kembar mayang ki, wujud yo diarani kembang purwojadi pang papat limo punggur ki lingguhe yo neng awake dewe. Mulane diarani mekari ki sak bubare dadi manten supoyo mekar angen-angene. Coro kowe rabi kudu pecah ngen-ngene, ojo panggah koyok joko. Kowe dadi manten mbesok kan kowe kelangan. Kelangan nopo? Kelangan joko. Bojomu yo kelangan prawane. Ning koe lek lek murabi ra rukun, cut nemu, nemu opo? Nemu dudo, bojomu nemu rondho hehe. Yo kudu duwe cita-cita, aku mbesok kudu iso nyambut gawe. Aku lek rabi kudu cukup sepisan.

R :Dadose wau persyaratane kulo baca maleh nggeh. Umborampene niku lodho sego gurih, terus nyambung tuwuh, golong limo, buceng kuat, kupat luar, sego punar, kolo pendem, brokoan, jenang suru, cok bakal, kaleh kembar mayang. Wonten maleh?

I (2) :Mboten

R :Kulo wau cirose pak lurah wau kucinge kudu kucing telon ngoten?

I (2) :He'eh. Condromowo biyen.



R :Kucinge condromowo?  
I (2) :He'eh, Kucinge kudu condromowo. Diarani kucing condromowo kae lanang ning sing telon. Lek kucing telon wedok kan pirang pirang.

R :Lek mboten telon dos pundi mbah?  
I (2) :Yo lek cetuk yo golek sing ngono lek ndak enek golek sak cetuk e. Dakanu kae wayah direjakne, disilehne manten, anu kucing sing duwur duwur lembut. Kucing opo jenenge (anggora) nah, digolekne anggora. Dadi sampek tulungagung kui digendong

R :Dadi kucinge niku kan saking bedo dusun nggeh, dadi lek neokne niku teng cobane nggeh, mboten teng kantor desa?  
I (2) :Dak, yo neng cobane kono. Neng coban ditemokne, terus neng coban di dus neng ngesor jambu. Yo ora ketang di lap i tok

R :Dadine lek pengen udan tenanan kudu lengkap nggeh, kudu enten tiban, enten..  
I (2) :Tiban, utamane tiban kui.

R :Lek tiban niku sejaraha dospundi mbah?  
I (2) :Lek tiban ki yo sabetan ujung kui loh, sampek metu getihe mancur-mancur ngono hehe.

R :Dadi riyen niku adu kekuatan ngoten nggeh? Nggeh saking ngendi ngendi ngoten  
I (2) :He'eh. Jalarane kon ngono kui sejaraha biyen, sarehne neng kono kui kalah sampe mati, diarani puntilanak kui. terus jaman semono, negoro kene biyen critane ki kan nglakoni silem

R :Silem niku nopo mbah?  
I (2) :Silem ki yo kelem, belung belunge uwong ki digrabyak neng brang kidul ki gek liane podo keru, sing keru yo karo gusti Allah kui, "nyapo kok keru?", eman babatane, makane kui sing keru didadekne sanak danyang ngemongi, mbesok lek tukul jalmo manungso neng kene mongen, kowe jenenge kakiamong niniamong karo sanak danyang.

R :Danyang niku asline nopo mbah?  
I (2) :Dhanyang ki sing mbabat biyen

R :Lek mriki seng mbabat sinten mbah? Ngertos?  
I (2) :Sing mbabat kene yo kui mbah coban kui, mbah brahim.

R :Dados pas ngujubaken ngoten nggeh disebut?  
I (2) :He'em disebutne mbah brahim ngono.

R :Maksude temanten kucing niku sarate podo karo manten uwong?  
I (2) :Nah, podo karo manten uwong. Biyen kui nggrucit, bar nggrucit kui dienekne slametan

R :Nggrujit niku nopo mbah?  
I (2) :Nggrujit ki yo nggawe kembar mayang kui loh, kui kan nggrucit jenenge.

R :Oh, kembar mayange saking nopo?  
I (2) :Janur.

R :Niku kok kudu janur ngoten nopo mbah? Mboten angsal..  
I (2) :Kudu janur kui lek biyen. Lek saiki arang janur, wong suroboyo jarang janur kembar mayang yo sak ler ngono kui. sing digawe plastik hehe

R :lha nggeh, niku, maksude lek janur wonten maksude nopo ngoten?

I (2) :Janur ki, sejane ki awake ki kan soko nur. Soko nur ki, diarani nur ki air manine wong tuwek antarane manine bopo ibu. Iki urung dadi bayi ki jenenge ujud nur

R :Wujud nur?

I (2) :He'eh, kui wujud ki sek koyok riyak. Cut iki engko, coro jawane gotro bayi iki engko bakal bocah ki diwenehi kedhet

R :Kedhet niku nopo mbah?

I (2) :Kedhet ki yo obah, jud, jud, jud (ohhh) urung dikeki nyowo (oh dereng ngoten niku?) urung. Bareng dikeki nyowo, umur limang sasi jabang bayi ki dikeki nyowo, ning urung dikeki sukmo.

R :Oh sukmo kaleh nyowo niku seje?

I (2) :Seje

R :Lek nyowo niku nopo mbah?

I (2) :lek nyowo ki nyawamu ujud awakmu kui, wujud raiiso ngaleh, ning lek sukmo iso nglinggar rono-rono. Lek kowe sekolah ki muleh aku kok ngipi jik neng kampus, kui kan sukmanu sing dolan neng kono kui. aku ngipi sir-siran neng kono kae kui kan sukmane. Dikeki nyowo terus umur pitung sasi punjul limang dino diwei dicemplungi maneh sukmo karo digawani sing nggodho awake (napsu?) corone sing nggodho awake ki sing diarani, supiyah, amarah, aluwamah, mutmainah (nopo niku?) loh, awake neng ndonyo kui lek nglakoni iki, papat iki, ndak dadi uwong. Liane mek kesenengane tok ora eneng. dadi manungso kui mentale kuat opo ndak. Kilo kowe uripo bareng manungso. Mbesok balikmu soko ndonyo yo bareng karo si kae.

R :Kulo tak catet e mbah, amarah niku nopo mbah?

I (2) :supiah, amarah

R :nggeh supiyah. Supiyah niku napsu nopo?

I (2) :amarah, aluwamah, mutmainah. Supiyah ki yo sing gawe goro-goro awake gawe rencana opo ae

R :sing gae goro-goro?

I (2) :He'eh. Ibarate utek sing ndak apik lah kenek pengaruhe jin setan. Amarah ki sing marai, pinter elek apik kui yo amarah kui. kepinterane manungso kui, apik ora yo amarah. Aluwamah kui, kesenengane kui engko lek nuruti aluwamah, awake ki ndak nduwe bondo donyo. Senengane sembarang-mbarang diujo

R :Lek mutmainah?

I (2) :Mutmainah ki podo wae karo supiyah, amarah, aluwamah, mutmainah ki. Sing rodok nduwe ketioso yo amarah kui. amarah kui, nduwe kepinteran yo sugih nesu. Lek diomong wong marah wong marah ki kan mesti nesu. Ning tanpo eneng amarah, menungso kui yo mendho ela elo.

R :Niku seje kaleh papat kiblat limo pancer?

I (2) :Seje. Lek sedulur papat sing podo rupane kenek kok ngetme. Kenek kok ngetme lek cocok lakumu, sing terakhir kowe arep cetuk ki, kowe mapan turu kudu nggowo milon (melon?) milon (milon ki nopo?) koco milon

R :Lek lodho sego gurih ngoten niku, lek umpami segone mboten gurih ngoten dospundi mbah?

I (2) :Opo iso to le?

R :Mboten saget? Pun pasangan ngoten?



I (2) :He'em. Lodho sego gurih ki enek sing kuning enek sing ora.

R :Lek temanten kucing niku sing nopo?

I (2) :Segane biasa. Ning lek bongso cino, lek diarani lodho sego gurih ki kan sego kuning. (lek cino niku?) he'em, enek wedhus e

R :Nyimbulne nopo mbah lodo sego gurih niku?

I (2) :Yo nyimbulne njaluk slamet kui. sing di sediani kanjeng nabi Muhammad. Sediane neng kanjang nabi Muhammad lan sak putune sak putrane. Terus diarani garwo putro

R :Nyambung tuwuh niku nopo kados kulup ngoten?

I (2) :Sing lawuh e kulupan kui brokohan le. Lek nyambung tuwuhki yo buceng ngono loh. (oh buceng) he'eh. Buceng kui lek wong siji-loro, wong siji loro, dadi engko lek batihe loro loro peng limo. Cut lemek e engko ketan, terus enek ripihne (ripi?) ripih

R :Ripeh niku nopo mbah?

I (2) :Ripeh ki yo embuh, kok dijenengne ripih. Koyok glepung ngono terus digambari koyok sendok, digambari koyok enthong, koyok glepung digambari prahu, yo gedang mateng enak dipangan uwong kui. kui jenenge ripih.

R :Lek golong lino niku wujud nopo mbah?

I (2) :Golong limo kui yo sedulure papat kui maeng

R :Nggeh maksud kulo dalam bentuk, teng slametan niku dalam bentuk..

I (2) :Yo dibunteli koyok berkat kae

R :Berkat?

I (2) :Berkat digolong limo kae

R :Jenang ngoten?

I (2) :Ndak, sego biasa, sego biasa dibuntel sak mene-mene ngono

R :Dibuntel damel nopo?

I (2) :Godhong

R :Godhong gedang?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Namung sego biasa? Mboten gurih?

I (2) :Sego biasa

R :Sego biasa dibuntel, tapi kabeh e limo ngoten nggeh?

I (2) :Kabeh e limo, engko lawuhe ditakir ngono karo lek ibarate engko sing disambung tuwuh ki dino jemuah engko janganan lauhan entah (nopo?) luluan entah (luluantah?) he'eh

R :Luluantah niku nopo?

I (2) :Yo janganan entah ngono kui loh, godhong turi, sakandhane, engko ditumpangne awor golong limo kui maeng. Ujud e kui nylameti sedulure papat dinone apik, diluihi sandhang pangane karo Gusti Allah.

R :Rek buceng kuat niku, cirose nduwure wonten ketane ngoten? nggeh lerès niku?

I (2) :Buceng kuat ki ketan kabeh le

R :Oh sedoyo ketan?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Lek buceng nopo, nyambung tuwuh niku, anu  
I (2) :Sego biasa

R :Sego biasa tapi bentuke buceng ngoten? terus wonten nopone ngoten?  
I (2) :Ndak

R :Wonten ndoge nopo anu  
I (2) :Yo lek lawuh ane ki yo ndog, lawuhane nyambung tuwuh ki. Eneng ndog e digodhog ngono terus disigari ngono. Dionceki terus disigari

R :Lek menawi buceng kuat lawuhe nopo?  
I (2) :Lek buceng kuat ki ndak enek lawuh e

R :Oh ndak enek lawuhe, ketan biasa ngoten?  
I (2) :He'eh, didadekne buceng

R :Buceng niku nopo to mbah kok kudu ngeten ngoten bentuke?  
I (2) :Diarani buceng karepe ki yo, buceng ujude koyok gunung, gunung kan lincip ngono koyok kukusan ngono hehe

R :Lha nopo, wonten sejarahé nopo mboten ngoten niku, nyapo kok bentuke kados niku ngoten?  
I (2) :Sejarahé ki lek kowe arep nekokne buceng ki, mulane buceng kuat ki wujudé lincip, uripe menungso kui ojo mung setithik pendhek. Sing diantah kudu duwur, coro kelakon opo ora kan embuh. Mergo lelakone manungso kui kalah karo kodrat. Yo lek dikodratne kowe sugih ibarate, nglakoni kaji peng papat nglumpukne bondo donyo karo bojo iso ngge kaji, ning kodrate mari kaji peng papat kui kudu bubar karo sing wedok, ora kurang. Kan mesthine kari nglumpukne bondho donyo, ngopeni anak putu, iyo to? (nggeh) nah, saking kenek kodrate gusti Allah, mbokmu saiki tak wayuh. Lha wong wedok kan yo mesti ndak gelem. Lha wong lanang arep wayuh ki pomo diwalik, bapakmu aku tak wayuh yo, hehe terus seng wedok pomo piye rasane? Mengungso lek ora diwolak walik ngono pora yo menange dewe? (nggeh) dianggep lek wong lanang kuasa? Podho wae lek kekuasaan kui, opo maneh saiki lek uwung sing ora drajat pangkat. Ndak derajat pangkat, coro ketingkatane ki duwur wong wedok.

R :Emmm, kok saget mbah?  
I (2) :Yo iso, yo wong lanang kon lungo nang Malaysia, limang tahun, nglakoni seneng neng kono, muleh ndak nggowo duwit. Ning wong wedok neng malaysia limang tahun, kesenengane dituruti, mulih tambah sugih. Mergo wong wedok lek seneng kan oleh duwit. Wong lanang seneng sak e bolong (oh, nggeh ngertos hehe) heheh. yo mugo-mugo wes cukup kui, dadi ular-ulare lekmu sekolah. Lekmu sekolah iso lancar, kowe mbesok diparingi panjang umur opo kerjamu Gusti Allah maringi damai

R :Aamiin. Anu mbah, lek sego punar niku nopo?  
I (2) :Sego punar yo njemukne kui.

R :Mboten maksude, sego gurih nopo.  
I (2) :Ndak, sego biasa, ning coro jawane piye yo. Ngono kae dicetak ngono dikekne neng anu, neng piring, ning lemek e ki dikeki, janur adu merapat ngene. Mari janur, dikeki godhong, ge numplek sego kui. cut segone kui nduwure dikeki sego kuning titik ngono kui, terus dilawuhi sronheng karo yo opo ngono lawuh e, yo ndog. Kui jenenge sego punar.

R :Mboten dibentuk buceng ngoten?  
I (2) :Ndak



R :*Nek kupat luar niku kupat biasa?*

I (2) :*He'eh kupat biasa*

R :*Niku diisi nopo?*

I (2) :*Yo diisi sego yoan*

R :*Oh wonten segone?*

I (2) :*He'em. Beras yo'an*

R :*Oh beras nopo sego mbah?*

I (2) :*Beras.*

R :*Oh dereng di godhong nggeh?*

I (2) :*ho'oh*

R :*Lek kupat luar niku, pas teng acarane niku, pun dadi kupat ngoten nopo tasik..*

I (2) :*Wes dadi kupat. Engko wujud ki, lek kupat luar ki nduwe nadzar, kupat luar kui engko isine beras kuning. Pungkasane kene dibalekne kene, kene dibalekne kene, kene dibalekne kene, cukup lek ngajatne, arepe dikajatne iki didudud. Supoyo luar ki di dudud sret ngono, udar dewe dewe. Cut kebyar to anune, berase kuning kui*

R :*Niku nyimbolne nopo mbah lek ngoten niku?*

I (2) :*Yo nyimbolne, ndazar-nadzar kui iso keluaran dino kui*

R :*Emm. Kolo gumantung mboten nggeh?*

I (2) :*Ndak, mek kolo kependem, kolo gumantung yo mek gedhang tundunan kui*

R :*Kolo kesempar ngoten mboten wonten?*

I (2) :*Ndak enek, ndak enek*

R :*Lek brokohan wau anu nggeh*

I (2) :*He'eh, yo sego biasa, lawuhe janganan kui, kulupan, ndog*

R :*Lek jenang suro niku dospundi?*

I (2) :*Jenang suro kui, koyok sego dijenang, lek jenang abang kan dikeki gulo, lek jenang suro yo ngono kae, terus engko dikeki dhele, dikeki kacang dhele ngono diplenet-pletne ngono, opo koro dicemplung-cemplungne ngono, diarani jenang suro ki, kacang kawak budhe kawak nyemplung neng kono*

R :*Kakang kawak?*

I (2) :*Kacang kawak budhe kawak barang ki di encep-encepne neng kono*

R :*Kacang kawak niku nopo?*

I (2) :*Kacang kawak ki yo kacang tahun kepungkur*

R :*Nopo kok kudu dilebokne ngoten?*

I (2) :*Yo kui cut jenenge jenang suro. Jenang suro ki, suro moro tahun iki balak ojo sampe temomo.*

R :*Oh ngoten, artine ngoten*

I (2) :*Jenang suro ki sing disediani balane ratu kidul.*

R :*Bentuke nopo niku?*

I (2) :*Bentuke yo jenang kui, koyok jenang abang terus dipletrekne cut diencep-encepi kui maeng*

R :Oh rupane nggeh abang ngoten?

I (2) :Putih, jenange rupane putih.

R :Lek cok bakal niku nopo sih mbah asline mbah?

I (2) :Lek cok bakal ki yo, bumbu cok bakal ki embuh aku ndak ngerti, sing ngerti ki bakul kembang

R :Niku nytosi sinten?

I (2) :Cok bakal ki yo coro jawane sing disediani yo bangsane sanak dhanyang, kakiamong nini among kui.

R :Kudu limo nggeh?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Lek umpami, salah satu persyaratan slametan mboten wonten ngoten, dospundi? Mboten nopo-nopo, nopo wonten balak e?

I (2) :Yo kolo mongso pangkah dienekne le, saben tahun lek slametan. Neng kolo mongso, lek manten kucing ki biasane yo rong tahun pisan kae.

R :Oh dua tahun sekali

I (2) :He'eh. Lek biyen-biyen ki saben tahun ki, lek biyen kurang udan ora enek saluran banyu-banyu ngeni iki. Dadi kabeh ki meng tadah udan. Saiki sarehne enek saluran banyu-banyu ngono kui, lek ndak kekurangan banyu tenan ora dienekne manten kucing, lek ngenekne yo kui, rong tahun pisan

R :Lek wau kulo cirose pak bayan niku, cirose 2 minggu yang lalu mbah, wonten temanten kucing niku leres?

I (2) :He'eh, ning manteno kucing yo ora enek ditanggapan opo-opo, mek manten kucing, lanang wedok ditemokne, cut didus neng kono, terus slametan uwis.

R :Njenengan nggeh engkang anu?

I (2) :Ndak, aku ra nyenggol aku. pokoke lek ora keramaian ora nyenggol aku. lek keramaian mesti aku iki. Mergo piye, sing ngajatne wong sak deso pelem kene, sing banter muni ne. Sing tatag yo mek aku dewe. Dadi aku ngajatne lewat corong ngeni kui, ko pelem kono nggenah.

R :Oh, pas ngujubne ngoten ndamel corong nggeh?

I (2) :He'eh, nganggo corong lek pas ramean.

R :Dadi mben anu niku gedhe gedhe nggeh?

I (2) :He'eh. Pacakaku yo wes ngono kae

R :Dados kucinge niku kudu beda dusun, terus ditemokne neng coban. Kucing kudu telon condromowo

I (2) :Lek biyen, lek saiki sak enenge kucing, mergo nggolek condromowo kan ndak enek. Soale kucing ki lek manak lanang telon dipangan mak e dewe.

R :Lha kok ngono?

I (2) :Embuh, corone maneni wong tuane ngono piye

R :Kui lek cirose sing bopong manten e, kucing e niku tiang sepah nggeh?

I (2) :Jik enom, lha sing nggendong mantene lanang ki, anakku lanang ki

R :Tapi asline niku tiang sepah nopo tiang nem mbah?



I (2) :Wong enom, kudu wong enom. Coro jawane yo sing urung tuwek nemen, nduwe anak loro ngono

R :Oh, maksude mboten sak kulo ngoten nggeh?

I (2) :Ndak, lha lek dayang-dayang e manten lanang ngono kui yo joko loro ngono, dayang wedok kui yo prawan loro

R :Tapi sing mbopong niku sing sampun keluarga?

I (2) :He'em. Sing nyekel kembar mayang ki yo kui, joko loro karo prawan loro ngono.

R :Kembar mayange dibopong. Dadi iki mboten menurut, mboten mben suro nggeh acarane?

I (2) :Ndak, pokoke ketigo kekurangan banyu. Biasane ketigo ki neng sasi limo banyu. sik akeh nandur pari digadu, cut kurang banyu kui dienengne tiban. Dadi ora mesti neng sasi suro loh. dadi saben tahun ki kan ganti sasine



**Appendix 2 b**

**Date of interview** : **December, 12, 2015**

**Place of interview** : **Mbah Sandi's House**

**Interviewer** : **Researcher (Luqman Hakim)**

**Informant** : **Mbah Sandi**

*R* : *Nggih mbah niki kulo rekam, terus kulo badhe tangklet masalah sejaraha sesajen niku. Kok dospundi misalkan wingi mbah sandi nate ngomong lek Umborampene niku Lodho Sego Gurih, terus Nymbung Tuwuh, Golong Limo, Buceng Kuat, Segu Punar, Kolo Pendem, Brokohan, Jenang Suro, Cok Bakal, kaleh Kembar Mayang. Ngegeh, Wonten maleh nopo mboten?*

*I (2)* : *Ndak le, eneke yo kui. ndak eneng jajane pasar ndak eneng. ndak nggae jajan pasar.*

*R* : *Bade tangklet lek kembar mayang niku maksude nopo to mbah?*

*I (2)* : *Kembar Mayang ki coro jawane yo sing kanggo nemokne manten kui coro wonge. Manten ki kan Kembar Mayang. Sing diarani Kembar Mayang ki, coro bibit, kuno kunane minturut jaman Purwo diarani Kembar Mayang ki sing gawe kan dewo.*

*R* : *Oh niku saking dewo ngoten?*

*I (2)* : *He'eh cut diturun awake sampek saiki ki jaman purwo ki dewo. Naliko rabine Janoko kui mbutuhne Kembar Mayang Sinomparijotho to kembang dewondaru*

*R* : *Sinom nopo mbah?*

*I (2)* : *Sinom parijotho sing iso mekar dewe sing gawe kui Dewo Suroloyo, diarani Kembang Mayang Sinomparijotho yo Kembang Dewondaru. Nah lek tekane awake saiki kenek diarani Kembang Mayang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer.*

*R* : *Niku namine, kembar mayang niku?*

*I (2)* : *He'eh.*

*R* : *Nopo wau mbah?*

*I (2)* : *Kembar Mayang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer. Sing nggawe poro pinisepeuh saiki. Dadi wong tuwo-tuwo nglumpuk nggawe Kembar Mayang kui. nah lek Jaman Purwo Sejati ki, Janoko ki lek ndak iso rabi ki lek ndak eneng Kembang Sinom Parijotho utowo Kembang Dewo Ndaru ki kan ndak iso rabi. Ngono kui, terus coro jawane dipethik sampek saiki. Saiki jenenge Kembang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer. Lek Jaman Purwo Janoko rabi kan nggawe srah-srahan. Dadi srah-srahane coro kene yo iring-iring ngono kui. nah lek biyen, naliko rabine Margono Janoko kui ngangge srah-srahan Kebondanu Pancalanggung patang puluh papat, sing nggiring Ratu Sewu Negoro. Terus sing ngiring-ngiringi Macan Putih sing iso toto jalmo karo Riwondo sito sing iso toto jalmo. Dadi Kentur Putih sing iso ngomong.*

*R* : *Nopo? Kentur?*

*I (2)* : *Ho'oh, kentur hanuman kae. Lha kui cut sing ngiring kemanten kui Ratu Sewu Negoro kui nganggo srah-srahan Kebondanu Pancal Panggung Patangpuluh Papat. Kui srah-srahane rabine Janoko. Lha saiki srah-srahane Kembang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer ki dipasrahne karo Mbok Dewi Salupi karo sing nggae, karo pinisepeuh neng amben tengah. Lek wes di serahne ngono di janji, "Mbok Dewi Salupi aku titip Kembar Mayang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer iki, ora kenek di jupuk sopo sopo lek ora prawan sekembaran karo joko sekembaran" sing wajib nggowo kembar mayang kui. Yo kui ngono kui sejaraha lek kembar mayang. Kui nakokne kembar mayang loh yo. Yo ngono kui jelase. Sing nggae lek biyen poro Dewo Surowoloyo mulane diarani kembang Siropato Joto ki sing iso mekar dewe. Ora usah di karne asale mingkup mekar dewe. Lha nek coro wayang yo kui kembang Sinom Pari Jotho ki utowo Kembang Tepu Dewondaru. Siki neng awake*



iki, awake ki coro wayange ki kan wes krucil. Yo kui sing gae poro pinisepuh kangge nemokne aku lan koe lek rabi, sing diarani Kembang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer. Sing gawe poro pinsepuh, ibarate ceritane poro sesepuh dipasrahi kon golek kui rabine anak wedok ki gelem di mantu. "aku gelem di mantu ning lek aku njaluk srah-srahan pak", "srah-srahane opo to nduk?", "Kembar Mayang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer" sing ngiringi kudu prawan sekembaran karo joko sekembaran, dadi seng nggowo ki kudu prawan, sing sak jodo ki prawn sakembaran, sing sak jodo ki joko sakembaran. Cut diijolne dikawinke.

R :Oh terus di ijolne nggeh?  
I (2) :He'eh lek wes temu ngono dikawenke. Sing sitok ki di irokne manten lanang, sing sitok tekane manten lanang diirokne manten wedok. Dadi sing kawin ki ora mek e manten tok. Kembar e mayang ki yo di ijolne.

R :Nopo kok kudu diijolne mbah?  
I (2) :Syarate mbiyen nono kui.

R :Niku lek kembar mayang niku wonten bentuke nopo walang, nopo dibentuk-bentuk ngoten?  
I (2) :Ho'oh le sembarang-mbarang, yo enek sing gambare anu, sing gedhe dewe sing baku sing gambar awak ngene iki sampek sak tangane

R :Oh kembar mayang niku bentuke awak kaleh  
I(2) :He'eh iki-iki pokoke tangane ngene iki, terus iki enek drijine ngono terus iki sampek igo. Sing di gambar iki sampek entong kene. Lha kene igo kene ki sing diarani Jentik Manis Sri Gerih, terus diarani Pletre kui mapane neng kene. Eneng sing diarani pletre, nah sing koyok dipulintir ngono kui dadine otot iki. Sing diarani kembang temu, kui mapane neng sirah utek kene. Dadi genep le, kembar mayang kui sak eneke kembar mayang, wong sesepuh iso nggae kembar mayang, lek ndak iso ndegerne neng awake manten sekarone, mbesok lek mati yo abot angel. Ngono loh le. Iki omongku ki wes mlebu kono loh yo

R :Nggeh niki kulo rekam  
I (2) :Yo ngono kui, sejahe lek e Kembar Mayang ngono kui. Mulane lek Kembar Mayang saiki bar gae kembar mayang dienengne selamatan. Selamaten ki sing diarani Midodareni. Ucape poro pinisepuh ditakoni karo sing duwe omah, "iki tak golekne etan teko jagad etan, kidul teko jagad kidul, lor teko jagad lor, kulon teko jagad kulon, sampek teko bumi Mekah ora kepetuk. Tak rawangi munggah gunung nglangkahi segoro wedang" supoyo segoro wedang ki ben ndang disuguhni wedang karo sing duwe omah bar gawe hehe. Gunung bubuk segoro wedang ki ben di suguh heheh. Jawane kui sanepen e wong gae kembar mayang. Nah wise ngono bar midodareni terus kajatan kui, Midodareni kembar mayang kui supoyo di ngge nekakne pulunge manten sing diarani pulung germono lan germani.

R :Pulung niku nopo mbah?  
I (2) :Pulunge Manten Lanang karo Pulunge Manten Wedok. pulunge manten lanang Germani, pulunge manten wedok Germono. Dadi nemokne pulunge Germono karo Germani, Komojoyo karo Bethari Rantih, terus Siti Kotijah karo Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad.

R :Dadi saking ceritane rabine janoko nggeh  
I (2) :He'eh. Sampek sak awake ki sing di turun jaman Purwo. Mulane saiki sing diarani Kembar Mayang ki ora kembar Mayang Sinom Pari Joto utowo Kembang Dewo Ndaru, saiki sing diarani Kembang Purwo Sejati, dadi ndidik jaman Purwo. Diarani Kembang Purwo Sejati Pang Papat Limo Punjer ki ngeneki neng manten loro. Manten, sedulurmu kui kan sedulurmu papat limo ujude kowe kui, ngono lo le. Opo nyoto tenan lek sedulurmu papat ki eneng? eneng. Ning kaceke urung eneng sing iso nggoleki. Ning lek kowe mbesok arepe rabi, pengen arepe eruh, sedulurku papat ki wujud koyo opo, reneo. Kowe tak

dudo. Neng kowe kudu wani, kendel, sugih kendel bondo wani. Mergo omah sing kok turoni kui wae, kowe turu soko lor etan pitung bengi, kidul etan pitung bengi, kidul kulon pitung bengi, lor etan pitung bengi, tengah bener telung bengi. Iki omah ki ora eneng menenge kok turoni. Kowe senden soko, omah hregg koyok lindu gedhi mben bengi. Dadi sangune kowe kudu awak iki dingge sangu njaluk slendange mbok. Dingge naleni awake iki karo soko. Soko lor etan kowe silo metekel, sendenmu mandep ngidul, lek kidul etan madep ngulon, lek kidul kulon madep ngalor. lek Lor kulon madep kan tepuk. Lek wes tepuk kowe turu tengah bener iki telung bengi nggoleki cangkoke Kembang Joyomulyo. Lek kowe wes iso methik kembang Joyomulyo kowe dadi sesepuh. Ketiwere donyo ki ditakokne uwong kowe iso njawab. Iki omongku kabeh mlebu ronoh loh yo, umpomo kok rekam takonke gurumu wes genah karek ngrungokne.

R :Oh nggeh. Berarti dowo ceritane nggeh mbah?

I (2) :He'eh. Wong lelakon sesepuh ngene iki lek urung teko wayahe, urung nglakokne mantu golek takok ngene-ngene ki iso gendeng.

R :Terus mbah, niku wau kan sejaraha kembar mayang nggeh. lek sejaraha cok bakal niku dospundi mbah?

I (2) :Cok bakal le? Cok bakal kui enenge cok bakal, ki rakitan bangsane mpon-mpon. Sak enenge mpon-mpon diirisi titik-titik dicemplungne takir, terus karo badeg ngenengke lombok terus dicemplungne kui kebutuhane wong urip neng donyo. Arane diarani cok bakal sing disedekah i ki sing mbakali deso kono.

R :Emm, niku dipersembahkan untuk sesepuhe sesajine?

I (2) :He'eh. Dadi cok bakal kui di gae sesaji ibarate Sanak Danyang neng kono utowo punden neng kono. Biyen nalikane jaman sakwise jaman purwo kene naliko silem wong entek resik, rengsekane wong ki digrabag neng segoro kidul diguak. Ning kolo mongso eneng sing kari, "loh kowe kok sik ker?" kegi karo babatane. Lek babat biyen neng kono. Penake kegi karo pekarangane lek babat ombo kui. "lek kowe ker kene, mbesok menowo kene enek tukule jalmo neh, kowe dadio kakiamong niniamong utowo sanak dhanyang neng deso kene", "openono jalmo manungso sing nang kene mongen amprih slamete piye" ngono.

R :Lek sejaraha lodho sego gurih niku dospundi mbah?

I (2) :Lodho sego gurih ki yo anu le, sing disediani yo sing mbakali neng kono karo lingguhe dino pitu pasaran limo, wuku telungpuluh.

R :Nopo mbah?

I (2) :Dino pitu, pasaran limo, uku telungpuluh.

R :Niku nopo niku?

I (2) :Yo sing disedekahi ki kui ucap-ucapane. Karo kanjeng nabi Muhammad sak garwo putrane, karo sekabat sekawan.

R :Sekabat sekawan niku sinten?

I (2) :Sekabat sekawan ki yo corojawane anak buahe papat

R :Anak buahe kanjeng nabi?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Dados sing di sedekahi dino nggeh?

I (2) :Dino pitu, pasaran limo, wuku telungpuluh

R :Niku nopo to mbah kok kudu di ngotenne?

I (2) :Yo kui anu le, eneke di sedekahi ngono minturut jaman nenek moyang biyen. Wong biyen kan wong ahli laku kabeh.,Kui dituwuhne neng awakmu diwenehi nyambung tuwuh,



*mulane kui nyambung tuwuh ki ngenengne buceng sekembaran. Dadi wong siji ki bucenge loro, buceng lanang karo buceng wedok. Mulane diarani buceng lanang karo buceng wedok ki kumpule roh dadi suwiji dadi kowe kui. ngono loh. nah golong kui meruhi sedulurmu papat, sing mbopongi awakmu rino lan wengi supoyo dikajatne diwenehi golong ki supoyo iso golong gumolong rino lan wengi. Lha lek nyambung tuwuh karo buceng kuat. Buceng kuat ki supoyo kowe kuat slamet neng alam donyo, lekmu ngumboro mapan neng endi kowe slamet. Kui Maesa Agung.*

*R :Maesa agung niku nopo?  
I(2) :Maesa Agung ki yo coro jajan sakrenane. Kupat luar polo kependem sak andane kui jenenge maesa agung. Maesa agung kui nyedekahi sedekah neng gusti Allah, mbok menowo neng cerito sing ora disengojo eneng sing kleru tindake sing ndak bener, rembuke sing ndak bener, opo wae mugo-mugo gusti Allah maringi pangapuro, agunge pangapurane, agungo keslametane agungo rejekine. Mulane diarani mesa agung.*



**Appendix 2 c**

**Date of interview** : **February, 28, 2015**

**Place of interview** : **Mbah Sandi's House**

**Interviewer** : **Researcher (Luqman Hakim)**

**Informant** : **Mbah Sandi**

*R* : *Anu mbah, niku, kan wonten watu gedhi-gedhi nggeh teng cobane niku. Niku nopo wonten engkang njupuki ngoten niku? Maksude di ngge bangunan nopo nopo ngoten*

*I(2)* : *Ndak, ndak iso, ndak wani*

*R* : *Nopo toh mbah kok mboten wani?*

*I(2)* : *Ndak wani soale yo pancen pesadranan gedhe kui le.*

*R* : *Pesadranan niku nopo?*

*I(2)* : *Pesadranan ki sok ngge nyadran wong-wong adoh ngono kui loh le. Nyadran kui yo selamatan neng kono. Kolomongso nduwe penjuluk opo parane rono ngono. Tur kui mbiyen naliko renendeng jemuah legi, bloronge metu.*

*R* : *Blorong niku nopo mbah?*

*I(2)* : *Blorong kui yo sirah e uwong ning awake ulo. sing nguasai kono. Diarani blorong ki, kui sing neng kono kui blorong wedok. Dadi lek sampek eruh, wong ki iso gendheng kedanan karo blorong kui*

*R* : *Mben jemuah legi eneng blorong?*

*I(2)* : *He'eh, kui biyen. Ning saiki coro jawane jarang le. Jarang metu. Kapan udan deres kui teko kene kurngu loh le, krosong-krosong-krosong, kui mesti metu.*

*R* : *Dadi ket biyen nggeh pancet ngoten nggeh? Panggah ngoten nggeh? Dadi waktune yo mboten wonten engkang mindah ganti mindah-mindah ngoten nggeh?*

*I(2)* : *Ndak wani eneng wong lurus yo watu sing neng kalen-kalen kae, watu sak mene-mene, cilik-cilik teko lor e buk kene. Neng kidule buk ki watu semene-mene ki njupuk di tumpuk ngono. Sak bare di tumpuk nduwe tari opo lek nda oleh di gowo yo ndak di jupuk. Ngono loh. neng kono kui danyangan embah brahim*

*R* : *He'em, tapi selain niku wonten lodho sego gurih, nyambung tuwuh niku wonten?*

*I(2)* : *He'eh kui ngge selamatan neng kono. Selamatan neng kono kui yo njaluk selamet wong sak deso kene eneng e kabeh lurah sak setap e kabeh sak rakyate. Nyambung tuwuh ki yo nyambung tuwuh masyarakat sak deso pelem, setap sak rakyate kabeh. Nah njemukne ki yo njemukne lurah sak rakyate iso akur pamong kabeh. Ngono le.*

*R* : *Riyen mbah, nyambung tuwuh niku maksude nopo to mbah?*

*I(2)* : *Nyambung tuwuh kui, mah mu kono pora yo eneng nyambung tuwuh? Nyambung tuwuh kui setahun sepisan, nyambung tuwuh awak. Diarani nyambung tuwuh kui njaluk slamet nyambung tuwuh, nyiram tuwuh badane si A sinambungo neng pengerane paringono panjang yuswo pepak o bedewane*

*R* : *Pepak o nopo?*

*I(2)* : *Bedewane, sedulure papat kui kudu pepak. Kui diarani nyambung tuwuh kui nyambung tuwuh e embah sing kok gowo kui*

*R* : *Tuwuh e mbah? Tuwuh e niku nopo?*

*I(2)* : *Tuwuh e ki yo komo ne mbah mu biyen ki kumanthol neng wong tuamu terus saiki dadi kowe kui. dadi turune mbah*



R :Katanane?

I (2) :He'eh

R :Lha niku di simbolkan dengan bucing?

I (2) :He'eh, bucing kuat kui supoyo kuat selamat neng alam donyo, eneng keluputane mugomugo di paringi pangapuro. Jenang monco warno ki yo eneng. ponco njliane sedulur papat limo wujud ojo sampek keru kudu rukun atur rutut. Yo sadulur panggondo, pangroso, pangucap, pangrungu, paningal

R :Nopo mbah niku wau? sedulur papat niku nopo? Pangrungu nopo?

I (2) :Sedulur papat ki ujude panggondo

R :Panggondo niku nopo?

I (2) :Panggondo ki kowe opo ndak mambu dengah-dengah?

R :Oh irung

I (2) :Iyo. Panggondo pangroso, pangucap, pangrungu, paningal, lan sedulure sing wenangi mbopongi rino lan wengi

R :Lan sedulure nopo?

I (2) :Sedulure sing mbopongi rino lan wengi, sing ngreso kowe rino lan wengi. Kuu dudu manunggal dadi wiji.

R :Lek niku wau nopo mbah? Pangroso pangucap, pangrungu, niku wau jenis jenis nopo?

I (2) :Yo jenise neng awakmu kui. kowe kan nduwe cerito iso pinter cerito ceritane sing marai yo sedulurmu pangucap kui maeng. Pangrungu isane kuwe ditakoni biyen sek cilik A ki opo B ki opo urung iso, ning soyo pinter soyo iso. Paningal wujud yo iki. Pangroso ki kan awakmu kan duwe roso lan bener .... legi lan pait, iyo to? sedulurmu iki mbopongi rino lan wengi yo sedulurmu sing jogo awakmu kabeh. Limo wujud awakmu ngono loh. ora usah kok catet mestine lek iki engko kok setel neng kono kok rekam nggenah.

R :Soale kadang kata-katanane niku mboten kulo ngertos, dadine kulo tulis riyen ngoten mbah

I (2) :Sampean kelahiran ngendi?

R :Kelahiran Tulungagung

I (2) :Lha gene kelahiran Tulungagung kok ndak ngerti coro jowo ngene ki kok ndak paham? Opo wong tulungagung ki ndak enek sing selamatan?

R :Jarang mbah sak niki, sing daerah kulo loh. nyambung tuwuh niku kulo nggeh anu sering krungu tapi mboten ngerti njerone. Maksud detail niku mboten ngertos.

I (2) :Lha wong kene ki masio ora sametan, saben tahun ki kudu slametan saben sasi suro

R :Slametane kudu teng ngriku?

I (2) :Yo ora, neng omahe dewe podo slametan dewe-dewe. Pokoke e sasi suro ki tanggale tau kui nylameti nyambung tuwuh anak putune kabeh. Ngono lek coro kene. Yo pokoke sak kidule mbeji ngidul lah. Mulai sobontoro ngidul kabeh carane ngono kui akeh. Nah kolomongso enek sing ndak nglakoni nyambung tuwuh, podo ndak slamet ngene-ngene kau ki ginio-ginio ndak gelem ngaweruhi karo enenge ndonyo. Ndak gelem ngaweruhi karo bangsane kanjang nabi mukamad, nak ngaweruhi karo gustiallah, ndak ngaweruhi karo sekabat sekawan, abu bakar, ngusman, bagindo ngali, lan kasan kusen monko ngono-ngono kui sing nylametne awake ngono loh

R :Jadi selamatan niku nggah nylameti ngoten niku sedoyo?

I (2) :He'eh, dadi eneng di slameti ngono kui, mlaku sak mlaku, ngomong sak ngomong, ojo sampek lek iso ojo kleru. Ning do ngonong kleru iki engko, kleru ne ngonong iso di gepuk

*i uwong, pora iyo? Ngono kui. kleru ne ngomong iso di gepuki uwong, klaru omonge sekecap iso kecemplung huwen*

*R :Kecemplung nopo?*

*I(2) :Kecemplung huwen. Yo di ukum, kleru sekecap omonge kleru ne isini klerune mengenai pemerintah, pora yo mesti kecemplung neng di kandangne. Mulane di arani menungso kolomongso lek mbah kiyai kowe sok kulino sobo langgar ben nduwe iman. Ojo sampek kowe ora sobo langgar. Lek kowe sobo langgar ra ngerti doso, ngono kui. yo lek ngerti doso, awake ki sembarang kan wedi ngono loh. ning nyango langgar lek ndak duwe wedi, kulino ngelone uwong sakpenak e tanpo guno. Lek bapakmu kene ora anu le mbah mu kene ki ndak tau neng langgar nak tau. Mbiyen sregep neng langgar. Ning wegah, wong langgar ki sok nyindir-nyindir dak gelem solat, aku sedih ngono kui. neng aku senajan ndak solat, didu karo pak kyai sing wes neng mekah peng limo, sanggup tak adaepane. Tenanan sanggup tak adepane. Pak kyai kon ngulehne wong sing wes neng malaysia sanggupe pirang dino? Engko lek aku kalah kon nggantung neng kabupaten tulungagung. Kowe magang tentara, njaluk o nang nggone kyai piye lek ngarani. Ning lek aku ngomong dadi dadi, lek ngomong ora dadi golek o dukun rangkep rongpuluh, lek dadi tak ombe uyuh e. loh tenan, ning lek aku ngomong dadi kon ndak dadi, ragatmu piro wajib nagih kowe.*

*R :Nyambung tuwuh niku bucenge pinten mbah? Lek teng manten kucing niku?*

*I(2) :Lek nyambung tuwuh ki batih e yo okeh lo le, buceng pitu.*

*R :Oh bucenge pitu?*

*I(2) :He'eh bucenge pitu di arani nyambung tuwuh ki. Terus golonge limo.*

*R :Kok pitu nopo mbah?*

*I(2) :Eneng e pitu?*

*R :Nggeh*

*I(2) :Yo njupuk dino to. dino pitu pasaran limo. Pasaran limo ki maman neng golonge, golong gangsal. Disambung disiram sederekake sederekipun kiblat sekawan gangsal wonten tengah sageto golong gumolong rino lan wengi ojo sampek owah. Mergo lek sedulurmu owah salah siji ndak ngemon kowe, kowe engko iso setres, ngono kui loh.*

*R :Lek wingi cirose nyambung tuwuh e kaleh soale nyambung mantene. Eh, bucenge sekawan ngoten, soale mantene kaleh, dadi lek*

*I(2) :He'eh, lek kui nyambung tuwuh manten le, nyambung tuwuh e manten ki mae wong siji ki kudu bucenge sak jodo. Ngono loh le. Lha lek manten lanang sak jodo, manten wedok sak jodo. Kui lek gae kembangan. Ning lek nyambung tuwuh batih, yo iki pitu kui. engko njupuk soko dino pitu, pasaran limo, wuku telungpuluh. Lha iki engko lek batih e akeh, lek gae paling ndak yo pitu peng telu buceng ki.*

*R :Emm, tapi lek teng manten kucing niku sekawan nggeh?*

*I(2) :Yo oraao manten kucing, manten o uwong yo mek sak jodo-sak jodo, makane di depi karo sego punar ngono kui maeng. Segu punar kui kan ngge njemokne manten sekalian, di ngge njemokne sekahing polong*

*R :Sekaing polong niku nopo?*

*I(2) :Pulong, pulunge manten. Pulong e manten lanang karo manten wedok iso dadi siji rucut, rutut selawase.*

*R :Gen rukun ngoten nggeh?*

*I(2) :He'eh. Yo wes kui, kui engko kok setel ngono kowe wes genah. Lek cerito lio liane, catetammu ndisek kui wes genep. Engko lek kowe tekok liane kene eneng sing ngruru kowe, omongo. Enenge deso mbangak ki jalaran soko piye, deso nggodong ki jalaran soko piye,*



*deso sumber ki jalaran soko opo, enenge deso jambu ki piye, tambah kedadean deso tambah karo pragas ki piye.*

R :*Lek golong limo wau, sego di kepele?*

I (2) :*Sego di pelangi ngono loh le, di buntel di pelang*

R :*Sak kepel-kepel ngoten?*

I (2) :*he'eh*

R :*Jumlahe limo?*

I (2) :*Ho'oh, koyok berkat ngono kae loh le.*

R :*Niku anu, ngaweruhi dinten limo, pasaran limo.*

I (2) :*Pasaran limo, bucenge ngaweruhi dino pitu, pasaran limo, wuku telung puluh dipun sambung dipun sirami sedulure sing lahir bareng sak uwot kakang kawah adhi ari-ari, sadulure panggondo, pangroso, pangucap, pangrungu, paningal sedereke engkang wenangi mbopongi rino lan wengi sageto slamet wilujeng, golong-gumolong*

R :*Ben iso golong gumolong ngoten nggeh?*

I (2) :*He'eh, makane golong ki lek ngucapne keru dewe*

R :*Oh ngoten*

I (2) :*Gulo gimbal-gulo gising. Gulo gimah gulo gising ki mapah sekawane dino karo tahun.*

R :*Nopo? Gulo?*

I (2) :*Gulo gimbal gulo gising kui sing di sedekah i, nogo tahun*

R :*Nogo tahun*

I (2) :*He'eh, sekahing kolo ojo sampek temomo neng deso kene*

R :*Buceng kuat niku gen masyarakate kuat nggeh mbah?*

I (2) :*He'eh. Lurah sak pamonge kabeh mugo-mugo kuat slamet lek ngemongi uwong kabeh sak deso pelem.*

R :*Riyen mbah, lek sego punar niku segone kuning?*

I (2) :*He'eh,*

R :*Sego kuning mboten di bentu opo-opo?*

I (2) :*Ndak yo mung di cetak bunder ngono, terus nduwur e di keki sego kuning, terus di lawuhi serundeng karo ndog.*

R :*Niku engkang damel njemokake?*

I (2) :*He'eh. Ngge njemokne mantene, upomo wong omah-omah yo ngge njemokne tanah iki karo seng ngomahi. Wong ngadek omah, mapan neng kono ki yo enek segane punar, mergo ngge njemokne tanah antarane sing ngenggoni*

R :*Njemokne niku nopo maksude mbah?*

I (2) :*Yo kui njemokne kui rasane njemok ibu bumi di jemokne kui supoyo awakmu kui mapan neng kono kui krasan. Tur kowe yo di tresnani karo mbok dewi mulat, moloikat kasim kowe rino wengi di ulati sandang pangan supoyo kowe selamet neng kono, supoyo nyambut gawe lancar ora kekurangan.*

**Appendix 3 a**

**Date of interview** : February, 20, 2015  
**Place of interview** : Pak Padelan’s House  
**Interviewer** : Researcher (Luqman Hakim)  
**Informant** : Pak Padelan (The Head of Karang Taruna)

R :Hemm, lek pas upacara ngoten niku pas slametane dijelasne niki umborampene niku buce ng kuat niku fungsine nopo dael nopo niku wonten?

I(3) :Yo jelas, ho’oh, yo wes ra bedo karo wong rabi. Yo mugo-mugo karon slametan buce ng kuat ki wargone kuat slamet ra onok opo-opo, terus gusti Allah tansah maringi keslametan, terus opo sing dadi penyuwune wong wargo kene ki iso keturutan, koyoto njaluk udan ki yo diparingi udan. Supoyo engko lek wis udan parine podo subur ngono loh. Intine yo mek ngono kui maeng

R :Nopo pak lek lengkape ngoten? umborampene niku?

I(3) :Yo enek kembang telon, cok bakal, terus mbah lurahe iko yo cukup sesaji neng nggone, kono kan enek wit jambu, kuwi no termasuk danyangane

R :Hemm, seasjine niku nopo pak?

I(3) :Yo mek dupo kui loh. Yo lek aku sampean ngomong ngene kan iso. Lek karo barang

R :Nggeh ngertos-ngertos

I(3) :Kan yo enek anune dewe-dewe. Yo coro sampean, “yo pak, kulo anu. Ngriki bade anu. Kan iso” tapi lek konoan opo iso lek gak enek alate? Bar ngono yo slametan, slamten yo ngono kuwi, buce ng kuat, nyambung tuwuh, terus lodho sego gurih ngono kae. Terus enek pisang sesanggan

R :Sesanggan? Sesanggan ki nopo?

I(3) :Pisang sak ember niko loh,

R :Sak tundun?

I(3) :Ora sak ember, rong anu

R :Oh rong ngeten, rong tangkep. Niku ket riyen sampek sakniki ngoten nopo wonten bedo-bedone?

I(3) :Pangguh. Krono yo perkembangan jaman mungkin yo pomo mbiyen ki sokor enek saiki yo tambah gedhi. Tapi coro anune pangguh

R :Pakeme niku wonten nggeh?

I(3) :Lek biyen gedange sokor anu, lek sakniki yo rodok akeh lah. Mari ngono biasane terus tiban. Lek jaranane mek ngge ngarak mari ngono tiban, yo enek uyon-uyone ngono maeng.

R :Yo teng ngriko?

I(3) :He’eh

R :Tapi cirose pun mboten dienekne akhir-akhir niki nggeh cirose pak haji niku?

I(3) :Pangguh dienekne, tapi kan yo ora, ora koyok biyen. Lek biyen sak dino-dino sabet-sabetan. Lek saiki kan yo dingge saronu lah. Kan kabeh ki srono, sabet-sabetan peng piro terus prei. Lek ora ngono yo kurang marem. Awake ngenekne upacara adat ki kan pikirane awake ben lego. Lek pikirane lego, ndongo kan ndak anu to. Njenengan lek berdo lek ndak pikirane padhang lek ndak nyampek, ngono loh. Dadi lek opo kurang siji ngono yo ndak mandi. Mandine kan krono awake dewe.



R :Oh ngoten. nopo nggeh wonten ujub jowone ngoten?  
 I(3) :Yo diujubne, sing baku yo sodakohan. Yo digolekne tukang kajat lah.

R :Tiang ngrki nggeh an?  
 I(3) :Ho'oh. Yo sing kulino, masalahe kadang kadang lek ndak kulino yo ora gelem

R :Hemm, tiang pundi pak?  
 I(3) :Yo sak petuke kok, sing iso ngajatne.

R :Nggeh tapi nggeh boso jowo nggeh?  
 I(3) :Jowo

R :Kulo niku mireng ngoten niku cirose upacara mben suro wonten maleh sing ngomong mben kemarau, wonten engkang ngomong ngeten. Ngoten niku dospundi pakeme?  
 I(3) :Ora enek pakeme kok. Kadang-kadang lek ketepatan sasine suro wayah ketiko kui yo ngenekne, lek biyen yo sasi suro, ning saiki iki kan ngene to, sasine suro sawah kene ki usum mbako, lek kudanan kan susah. Dadi sewaktu-waktu lek butuh banyu, baru upacara. Dadi bolak balik mas, cukup ngedus, mulane puanas ngono kae yo, slametan cukup yo udan. Jane wis nasional loh kui, wong neng taman mini kok wingi.

R :Hemmm, runtutane acarane dospundi pak?. Maksude mungkin dari awal sampe akhir niku dospundi?  
 I(3) :Yo ngono maeng. Lek kene berangkat dari desa, opo dari rumah warga

R :Oh dari rumah warga nggeh saget nggeh?  
 I(3) :Yo sing dekat. Kucinge kui di gendong wong loro

R :Di krangkeng ngoten nopo?  
 I(3) :Digendong biasa, kadang-kadang lek galak yo di krangkeng. Di gendong terus enek pengiringe, koyok pakaian kejawen. Yo enek sing macak tani, yo warga lah kono sing melu. Terus ngono enek reyog.e

R :Lek umpami persyaratane umpami kados umborampene mboten wonten satu mawon dospundi?  
 I(3) :Yo ra masalah. Yo Cuma awake dewe sing ndak penak. Awake dewe sing tau masang, masang ki tau nggae, kurang opo ngono lek kelingan kan ndak enak to.

R :Hemmm. Dadine mboten kok mengke kenek balak ngoten mboten nggeh?  
 I(3) :Mboten. Kui ndak anu kok, yo mek saking turun temurun ae. Ndak enek coro bare enek resiko ngene-ngene ndak enek.

R :Kucinge niku nopo kedah kucin telon? Nopo kucing biasa? Nopo kucing ireng?  
 I(3) :Yo sing luwih apik jane telon. Lek ora enek yo sak eneke

R :Oh, tapi umtamane telon. Nopo to pak kok kudu telon ngoten niku?  
 I(3) :Lek telon ki yo ra bedo koyok gedhang, nyapo kok gedhang rojo? Punya keistimewaan sendiri kok

R :Hemm. Telon niku susah ditemoni ngoten nggeh. Lek terakhir niki, telon nopo biasa?  
 I(3) :Biasa. Biasane yo tak jupukne anggora mbarang kok.e

R :Lek kulo moco teng internet ngoten, cirose wonten tembang dolanan ngoten  
 I(3) :Kui kan di kreasi, kreasi ae. Kadang-kadang kan mosok to didus tok terus bubar? Kan ndak anu ngono loh.

R :Hemm. Dados pengiringe ngoten sambil nyanyi-nyanyi ngoten nopo mboten?)  
 I(3) :Yo di kreasi, koyok kabupaten tau ngenekne ngono kui yo enek. Enek fragmene barang

R :Fragmen niku nopo?  
 I(3) :Halah yo koyok ludruk ngono loh; mbok rondo golek kayu, terus golek anu, yo koyok fragmen tenanan ngono kae loh. Tapi yi lek ora wong ahli seni opo yo iso?

R :Terus tanggpane masyarakat piambak dospundi pak kaleh acara niki?  
 I(3) :Yo setuju (setuju pak nggeh) soale selama enek puanas ngono kae yo ngeneng ne ngono. Terus imbase yang lain yo ndak ada, udan yo uwis.

R :Mboten tau enten sing menentang ngoten?  
 I(3) :Sing baku kita itu minta kepada Tuhan bukan kepada mbah coban, dengan prasarana memandikan kucing. Kan lain kan mas, agomo kan, kecuali karonu iki njaluk udan, kleru. Sing benar ki kan ngono maeng, sarana, memandikan kucing di telaga coban penake. Nyapo kok diarani coban kromo? Corone yo karonu enek manten, kucing loro kuwi loh. Kucing loro dimandikan ngono kan koyok manten kan. Lek dua ki, lanang karo wedok ki biasane manten. Kucinge didus gantian, terus diculne.

R :Terus di culne pak nggeh?  
 I(3) :Yo kadang enek sing eman, “oyo di culne pak” yo ora di culne.

R :Coban kromo nggeh?  
 I(3) :Kromo

R :Kromo niku artine nopo nggeh?  
 I(3) :Kromo ki rabi, mulakno manten kucing.

R :Dadose namine niku, mengikuti upacara niku. Tapi cirose bapak wau saking MUI wonten nopo wau?  
 I(3) :Halah, sing eneng MUI ki kan naliko festival neng kabupaten, kui kan enek sing salah kaprah di ijabne pas neng pendopo. Jane ngijabne kucing kan ndak bener, kok koyok uwong? Lha sakumpomo lek koyok kui opo di tentang to? Agomo opo anu toh? Kita kan bersama-sama memandikan kucing di telaga, bare sukuran. Opo enek sing nyimpang teko agomo? tapi kadang kadang wong-wong sing dak paham, “njaluk udan” ngono kui. sing bener yo ngono kui.

R :Dados pas teng kabupaten niku di ijabne kados uwong ngoten, maleh MUI ne ndak trimo?  
 I(3) :Ndak trimo

R :Tapi lek acarane teng ngriko ngoten MUI mboten pernah nggeh. Dados sedoyo..  
 I(3) :Ndak wani karo warga mas. Wong urusane adat kok di tentang, wong kui yo gur ngono loh. Pomo sampean yo, sampean kan yo mahasiswa kan yo luwih tau masalah agomo, koyok lek ku ngomong maeng nentang agomo opo ndak? yo kucing digowo terus didusne terus awake syukuran. Slametan kui kan syukuran kan yo tetep teng kanjeng nabi syafaate, mugi-mugi kanthi ngedus kucing dateng ngriki gusti Allah paring jawah. Yo kan yo anu to mas. yo wong sing pro kontra ki yo panggah enek. Sing agomone setengah-setengah, tur sing ndak tau nyedek, gese ndak tau nyedek ki enek kegiatan ndak tau moro.

R :Nggeh enten?  
 I(3) :Yo, tapi lek udan yo marem. nyapo lek di gae kebutuhan sekolah ngono aku anu mas. Lek sebatas aku iso yo dak masalah. Yo sebatas kui loh. Mengko umpomo sampean mampir mae pak lurah yo ndak masalah.



R :Nggeh, pemerintah ngoten campur tangane wonten nopo mboten pak? Maksude nggeh nguri-nguri budoyo ngoten

I (3) :Wonten, saking dinas pariwisata biasane manggarkan. Ya kadang kadang, yang dulu dulu itu ada. Mulane sampe neng TMII kan sing nggowo pariwisata.

R :Perbedaan mencolok antara ritual dulu dan sekarang niku nopo pak?

I (3) :Ndak ada. Yo mungkin lek saiki iki maleh enek dangdute. Kan bene engko bar ndelok, kan rituale mek sedilut. Karang taruna yo pengen seneng-seneng ngono loh.

R :Dados intine niku diarak kucinge terus dimandikan terus slametan. Niku inti acaraae?

I (3) :Intine yo kui

R :Tapi mengke enten sampingane kados tiban ngoten?

I (3) :Lek tiban niku asline kuwajiban loh



**Appendix 3 b**

**Date of Interview** : **Februari, 27, 2016**  
**Place of interview** : **Pak Padelan’s House**  
**Interviewer** : **Researcher (Luqman Hakim)**  
**Informant** : **Pak Padelan (The Head of Karang Taruna)**

R :40 hari yang lalu diadakan temanten kucing, tapi sekala kecil.  
I(3) :Sekala kecil. Ya lek aburampen, kui yo ndak ngurangi yo paling yo selamatan nyambung tuwuh ngono kae, koyok uwong ngono kae. Tapi lek rodok gedhen-gedhenan ki kan enek hiburane, yo macak, lha kui kan koyok jaman biyen. lek jaman biyen kan ndak macak loh, gok sawah yo gok sawah. Lek e sing anu kui yo sing nggendong ki yo koyok manten tenanan kae.

R :Niku lek alit ngoten, cirose lek gedhe kan diarak saking bale deso, menuju teng coban. Lek engkang elit niku dospundi?  
I(3) :Yo minimal tempat sepedah kui loh mas

R :Oh parkirane niku?  
I(3) :Ho'oh, kui kan omah e anu, biyen, omahe mbah lurah biyen

R :Dadi engkang kepungkur 40 hari yang lalu nggeh ngoten?  
I(3) :Yo tempat sepedah kui, kan lingkup kono kui tempate mbah sutomejo biyen

R :Terus diadakane kaleh pak lurah nggeh?  
I(3) :Iyo kerja sama

R :Harus?  
I(3) :Harus

R :Jadi walaupun acarane sekalane kecil tetep pak lurah nggeh?  
I(3) :Nggeh, karena dongke ne sing ngedus. Sing minta ki terutama kan pak lurahne, ngono loh. ora angger uwong iso. Yo modele iso tapi kan diambil soko demange kui maeng. Nyapo toh manten kucing kok selalu melibatkan kepala desa utowo lurah. Masalane masyarakat ki pro kontra. Sing agamane rodok kuat, kui ora gelem. Jereke kufur, ngono loh. tapi masyarakat biasa yo njaluke neng gusti Allah ora karo mbah coban. Melalui mbah coban dengan selamatan adat manten kucing. Tapi bisane lek ora lurahne yo ora gelem, soale kan yo nanggung. Nanggung biaya, nanggung anunue masyarakat kui. Kan yo mesti enek masyarakat sing kontra ngono loh. Walaupun adat kan istilahe, lek wong saiki lek ngarani, kuno. Jadi ngono lo. Memang nyapo to diambilne keturunan mbah sutomejo? Sing ngenengne pisanane mbah sutomejo, yo koyok ngimpi lah biyen, firasat kudu ngene neng kono ngono loh. Yo kabeh kan soale ceritane soale kan mek sitik to, dadi yo podho. Yo nggowo kucing di gendong wong loro lanang wedok, neng kono di dus terus selamatan lek iso yo tiban, karo dikarak jaranan. Lek gedhen-gedhen yo sampek uyon-uyon barang ngono. Kui lek pas enek dana ne.

R :Lek gedhen-gedhen niku danane di tanggung desa?  
I(3) :Iya, swadaya

R :Tapi lek skalane lebih kecil, ditanggung?  
I(3) :Yo lingkungan. lingkungan sing bener-bener, sing membutuhkan. Kadang-kadang kan kesadaran to. lingkungan seng arep nandur angel, ndak enek banyu, 'yo-yo-yo' mungkin yo 500 sampe satu juta kan wes cukup. Kene ke yo mek 500, kurango yo ndak seberapa



R :Emm, tapi lek lingkungan niku biasane sing ngajatne sinten mbah?

I (3) :Lek kui sembarang

R :Oh sembarang. Teng selamatane niku sembarang nggeh?

I (3) :Lek aku sing baku enek sing ngedus, lurahe gelem ngedus.

R :Emm, dadi nopo nggeh, utamane niku lurahe. Tapi lurahe mesti mau nggeh?

I (3) :Mau

R :Pak mujialam niku nggeh?

I (3) :He'em, kui kan sek buyut

R :Kulo kan tangklet-tangklet pak agus, cirose lurah e niku lek di tarik garis keturunan niku tasik sedoyo dari mbah suto mejo ganti sinten niko, sampe sekarang pak mujialam niku, tasik hubungan darah ngoten nggeh?

I (3) :he'eh, anak cucu buyut. Yang lain ya pak manan niku, yo pernah dijabat orang lain

R :Oh pernah nggeh tapi

I (3) :Pak manan, pak tariyo, pak gunung, mbah sutomejo ki sudah lama.

R :Tapi pak, tahun 2010 niku kan wonten konflik niku nggeh? Sing MUI niku. Niku imbase kalian manten kucing niku nopo sing pling menjenengan rasakan?

I (3) :Imbas eleke to?

R :Nggeh, maksud e efeke, riyen biasane setahun pisan nopo nopo, sakniki..

I (3) :Ora eneng, ora enek anu. Dienekne ra masalah, ndak dienekne yo ndak masalah. Yo lek udane apik, memang manten kucing ki yo mek waktu membutuhkan. Dadi ora terus, ngono yo ora. Kadang-kadang wes udan, terus ngenengne terus malah banjir kan malah susah./

R :Lek riyen niku per tahun to pak? Leres?

I (3) :Endak mesti. Kan sakjane tekan kabupaten ki lek gelem ngajokne enek dana. Tapi lek mek cilik yo isin. Lek gedhi yo ra cukup. Paling 3 juta, lek saiki 5 juta kan ndak cukup. Mesti nyoting, mesti orkes

R :Njenengan nopo tasik gadah video ne?

I (3) :Ilang o, buh neng ndi. Kene kae aku yo ora njaluk di gowo mahasiswa unair kae. Yo disileh di gae anu kae, ora di balekne.

R :Pak agus niko kulo tangkleti nggeh moten wonten nggehan

I (3) :Paling kon tekok aku?

R :Nggeh, terus tangklet pak mujialam nggeh an pun an, terus pak muji alam cirose teng balai desa. Terus teng balai desa kulo parani mboten wonten, cirose teng pak mujialam. Tapi umborampene nopo wae lek sekalane kecil?

I (3) :Podo wae

R :Niku engkang ngurusi sinten?

I (3) :Opone?

R :Sing ngurusi umborampene ngoten?

I (3) :Yo wong wedok-wedok kui

R :Dados lek swadaya ngoten pun wonten pebagiane nggeh? Bagian masak sinten..

I (3) :Yo nggon tempat sepedah kae loh, mbah lah, mbah guru. lek tekok umborampen neng kono loh nggenah.

R :Mbah guru namine?

I(3) :Mbah lah

R :Dadine nopo wae ngerti nggeh?

I(3) :Ngerti, corone duwit di brukne kono wis ngerti.

R :Pas ritual ngoten niku, sing hadir teng tempate ngoten niku dibatesi nopo mboten?  
Maksude laki-laki nopo

I(3) :Ora, sembarang

R :Lanang wedok campur nggeh?

I(3) :Yo, bocah cilik. Lek seket ae enek lo mas. Tapi kadang-kadang kan ribuan to mas lek gedeng-gedeng. Paling nggak yo lima ratus lek gedeng-gedeng. Pak camat, teko, DPRD. Memang sakral, enek artine. Ning yo kui, neng deso ki kadang-kadang yo pro kontra. Kui pomo ngajak swadaya ki ndak mungkin 'kabeh yo urunan ge kui' ndak wani. Yo mek sopo sing gelem.

R :Dos pundi ngoten niku teknike?, maksude ngumpulne ne tiang niku dospundi?

I(3) :lek kene ndak susah lo mas. Pomo cetuk, he, manten kucing yo, 'iyo'. Wes turah lek kene.

R :Oh ngoten nggeh, tapi nggeh pancet tasik wonten nggeh engkang nentang ngoten nggeh?

I(3) :Enek. Nentange ki yo mungkin yo agomone kuat, yo ora wani nentang anu, tapi yo kan mek wegah ngoten. ritual ki ndak setuju ki enek. Tapi yo sebagian. Engko di jak ki malah rame, padahal lek udan tenan nandur penek yo marem, munafik jenenge

R :Hehe, tapi lek mboten purun ngoten nggeh mboten teko pak? Nopo nggeh tasek teko?

I(3) :Ndak, ndak gelem, kan salah arti to wong-wong. Selamatan neng kono kan harom, padahal adat ki kan ndak boleh di lupakan to.

R :Tapi anu nggeh pak, tegange niku mboten kok sing nemen ngoten nggeh?

I(3) :Ndak. Ora loh, yo mek biasa, yo wes meneng ndak anu. Lek aku yo wes kesepakatanku mengambil kesimpulan yo ben ditanggung lurah. Lek enek kurangane dana yo lurah, lek enek apik elek e yo di tanggung lurah

R :Oh berarti lurah niku salah satu strategi nggeh, damel tameng juga nggeh

I(3) :Tameng

R :Biar engkang mboten setuju niku meneng ngoten

I(3) :Wes meneng, saya tanggung jawabe kan ke lurah, lurah A yo A. Yang baku awake ndak mengurangi hak seseorang toh? Lek ngono opo mengurangi? Kita kan usaha. Tapi yo uwong satus ki yo mek siji

R :Emm., engkang mboten setuju ngoten?

I(3) :Emm, sing agamane kuat yo okeh, sing ndak anu. Kadang-kadang wong seng setengah-setengah ngono kui loh. wes lek di tekoni lurah, 'opo enek sing ndak setuju?', wes kabeh setuju. Tapi sing iso milah kan sing ngene-ngene iki

R :Tapi pak lurah nggeh support dana pak lek misalkan wilayah ngoten?

I(3) :Iyo

R :Tapi desa mboten nggeh? Maksude atas

I(3) :Yo ndelok-ndelok, lek cilik ngono yo uang pribadi kabeh, aku, lurah, uceng, wong piro ngono wes cukup toh

R :Emm, jadi sebenare tasik berjalan nggeh ritual niku?



I (3) :Isek

R :Soale kan kemaren kulo konfirmasi ke dinas pariwisata, bu yuni, engkang rien ngurusi ngoten niku yoan. Cirose nggeh pun lama mboten diadakan. Maksude lama niku dalam sekala gedhe mungkin nggeh?

I (3) :Anu, lek biasane kan ngajoken neng pariwisata, ngundang pariwisata. Terus di pikir-pikir ki yo engko dampake yo okeh, pilih cilik-cilikan wae gene kok.. mungkin pak maryono nduwe fotone.

R :Emm.. emane, ngenteni pirang tahun maleh niki hehe

I (3) :Satu tahun sekali. Lek udane lancar yo ora. Dadi lek wong kabupaten, wong pariwisata ndak tau, ogah laporan. Kene laporan yo mesti anu, tapi lek ndak rodok gedhe titik ngono, malah yo wes rugi

R :Nopo kok rugi pak?

I (3) :Yo engko lek ra rodok mewah ngono, di foto wong kabupaten kan yo isin. Lek ngono kan awake urunane yo nyatus rungatus wong telu wong papat dadi. Butuh-butuhe dewe. Lek kono kan diambil gambare kono, ngge anu kono. Awake ki kok anu yo ndak, dana semene medun semene ngono kui malah wegah aku.

R :Malah repot pak nggeh?

I (3) :Malah repot. Lha piye lek oleh dana teko kabupaten 5 juta, dadak macaki, terkadang sing tiban ki, 'oh oleh duwit' yo njaluk bayaran. Kan rugi, awake wes malah tekor loh. lek ngono kui wes selamatan awake dewe ae, lurah, perangkat sing gelem-gelem ngono kui.

R :Hemun dadi nggeh mboten wonten tibane nggeh?

I (3) :Yo mek tutuk-tutuk ngono kui, cah cilik-cilik ngono kui. yo alhamdulillah yo

R :Emm tibane diganti lare cilik-cilik ngoten? pokoke nopo nggeh, demonstrasine wonten ngoten nggeh? Dadi lengkap nggeh, ngedusi kucing wonten, selamatan wonten, tibane wonten?

I (3) :He'em

R :Tapi biasane nggeh tiap tahun pak nggeh?

I (3) :Lek lingkungan kene kui, mek lingkup yang bener-bener membutuhkan situasine, tapi tiap tahun sekali. Dadi waktune ndak bisa di anu, ndak bisa. Wayah ketigo, wayah mbutuhne panas ngenekne kui, di tukari malah

R :Tapi cirose sakniki tanemane bedo pak? Cirose pun mbako ngoten?

I (3) :Iyo lek wayah pari mek an, ngene kan pari. wayah mbako nda wani. Hubungono pak maryono, 'sampean nopo kagungan fotone manten kucing dakamu niko?'

R :Selain lingkungan ngriki, engkang ngadakaken wonten pak?

I (3) :Ora enek

R :Maksude dari desa pelem niku berarti namung lingkungan jambu nggeh?

I (3) :Nggeh, memang adate wong jambu. Sebenere ki uduk adat e deso pelem, yo deso pelem tapi khususse wong kene. Wong seng kulon kono ora jarang

R :Anu, pinten dukuh to niki?

I (3) :Limo, Jambu, tambak, pelem, mberjo, mbangak

R :Diantara lima niki engkang..

I (3) :Seng gelem yo njambu karo tambak

R :Tapi engkang paling intensif niki jambu?

I(3) :*Jambu, sebabe seng duwe wilayah wong jambu*

R :*Oh, dadi cobane niku teng wilayah jambu nggeh?*

I(3) :*He'em*

R :*Dadi mboten wonten macak-macake nggotten nggeh?*

I(3) :*Biasa. Dadi ndak mikir pacakane koyok opo wes ndak, sing penting ngedus kucing, enek selametane uwis*





**Appendix 3 c**

**Date of Interview** : **Februari, 27, 2016**  
**Place of interview** : **Pak Padelan’s House**  
**Interviewer** : **Researcher (Luqman Hakim)**  
**Informant** : **Pak Padelan (The Head of Karang Taruna)**

*R* : *Lek ngoten niku makanane, kulo kan ningali saking fotone pak maryono, terus kan katah engkang dugi ngoten. niku nggeh di dumi sedoyo nopo dospundi?*

*I (3)* : *Ho’oh, sak ratane, yo mungkin lek sangkek, sok sok ribuan loh mas, lek kae kan mek titik ndak enek satu kae roto. Coro anu ngono yo segone titik-titik titik*

*R* : *Pokoke roto nggeh?*

*I (3)* : *Ho’oh, sak tekane sak entek e kui. ndak mungkin di itung loh. engko lek kiro-kiro wongge akeh, di jukukne sak enthong titik ngono kae, plek, iwak e sak suwir, wes ngge lung-lungan ngono. Dadi ndak enek loh istilah e kui pejabat kui lurah, kui anu dijupukne apik ndak, di cuili podo. Adil ngono loh.*

*R* : *Nopo kok mboten di bedak-bedakne ngoten?*

*I (3)* : *Yo kabeh kan yo podo-podo umate to. lek wes nang kono kui ndak enek kowe lurah-kowe anu ngono toh. Karepe ki wong urip ki ojo peh pangkat njaluk di ladeni apik ndak. Yo wis sama. pokoke lek wes selamatan ki sama, sak entong yo sak suwir ngono. Yo mungkin lek meneh i ki luwih disek mek ngono tok. Jadi walupun sedikit ki podo, adate wong anu ki lek sing luwih tuwek ki di disekne terus engko bocah-bocah. Adate wong deso. Dadi seng ngajatne ki ndak harus wong satu. Pokoke iso ngajatne ndak po-po. Tapi lek seng ngedus. Kui kudu keluarga, wes minimal lurah. Khusus lurah sing turunane mbah suto mejo. Soale lek lurah, menurut adat deso, lurah kui, lek kono kan lek ngarani dhanyangan to? Nduwure dhanyangan ki yo lurah. Dadi lek dhanyangan uangker ae, lek sing ngetok pak lurah ndak masalah. Dhanyange dhanyang. Lek ngarani wong deso kan dhanyang to ngono kui, nduwure dhanyang ku yo lurah kui. dadi lek neng deso kui, p omo lurah e ngetok kayu ngono-ngono kae wani. Tapi lek ngene ngene iki ndak wani. Dibawahe lurah ndak wani. Dadi lek aku, perangkat ku kabeh tak omongi, ko lek awake ngetok kayu sing angker aku di kongkon mbah lurah lo*

*R* : *Emm, ijine ngoten*

*I (3)* : *He’em*

*R* : *Jadi posisine lurah niku di atase dhanyangan nggeh?*

*I (3)* : *Nggeh, dadi lek wes ndak dadi lurah, ngetok yo ndak wani.*

*R* : *Oh ngoten?*

*I (3)* : *Iya*

*R* : *Walaupun niku sanes keturunan eyang sutomejo?*

*I (3)* : *Nggeh. Yo memang yang mengajarkan itu mbah sutomejo.*

*R* : *Tapi niku nopo nate di ketok uwit jambu niku?*

*I (3)* : *Yo di ketoko mek kayune sing anu. Maksudku ki pomo dhanyangan lio, “iki angker, iki enek anune” ngono kui kan eneng to? kui sing ngetok kudu lurah. Westo dukun puintero, engko lek*

*R* : *Ndak wani nggeh pak?*

*I (3)* : *Jarang wani. Cuman lurah kan enek, sampean tau kurungu lek pilihan lurah kae, “enek pulunge amune”. Pulung lek ngarani koyok anu kae, kepulungan-kepulungan*

R :Tapi niku kok diparingi sarung abang niku nopo?  
 I (3) :Kui ndak enek artine mas. Memang ndisek ki kan pas mas sopo kae S2 sing erlangga opo kae arep ngenengne kae, karepe cah nom-nom sing ko Bali ki di padakne nggae kain bali ngono loh. asline ndak enek artine ngono kae. Mek sekedar hiasan ngono kui loh. pomo di cepot o yo di ngge opo. Ceritaneng neng bali yo di ngonokne kayu-kayune

R :Nggeh cirose  
 I (3) :Aku yo urung rono kok

R :Jadi niku masio mboten urunan, tetep di keki nggek pak?  
 I (3) :Opone?

R :Kan cirose pak padelan wingi kan, sing urunan pak padelan, terus pak uceng terus niku orang-orang tertentu. Tapi lek engkang datang banyak nggeh tetep di paringi nggeh?

I (3) :Nggeh. Lek ngono kui yo ndak kok sing urunan sing di kek i. Sing urunan ki kan urunan ngenengne loh. kudu ngundang uwong, wong sopo sing gelem, wong sodakohan. Tapi tanpo di bina karo pak lurah, perangkat, kan ndak mungkin ngenengne masalahe siji, sing ngedus engko yo pak lurah. Peng pindo, lek golek e dana kui engko yo lek biasane wong-wong ngono kui ndak eneng sing ngoordinir kan yo mek umeg tok. Kadang-kadang yo soko dinas pariwisata, ngono kui lek lima tahun yang lalu kui yo mesti metu limang juta, telung juta enek mas mben enekne manten kucing ki. Tapi kadang-kadang yo tekor. Kan mesti gedeng-gedeng kan, enek orkese, eneng sembarang-mbarange. Terus ora disewakne ki penonton okeh, disewakne ki podo mbobol, nyatu yo lokasine ngono kui. dadi saiki mileh anu, ngenekne sederhana.

R :Mbah coban niku nopo mbah brahim niku toh?  
 I (3) :Jereke yo ngono

R :Makame teng ngriku cirose nggeh? Nopo dospundi?  
 I (3) :Lek teko kui ndak tek paham aku. wong-wongo kene kan yo mek arane-arane kabeh. Dadi awake dewe yo ndak, opo wae bener wong kabeh ndak eruh kui sing mbabat pekarangan kene tur yo ndak di catet. Ndak ada tertulis to, bedo karo tekok wong tuwek-tuwekane kene yo mek jerek.e jerek.e. karena koyok deso ki kon nggolek i asal usul e deso kene ki, jenenge pelem ki opo, jambu ki opo mek ngarang. Pelem ki mbiyen enek wit e pelem akeh ngono ae. Jambu ki opo, mbiyen sing mbabat kene nandur wit jambu kae. Wes ngono ae. Ndak tau loh, berapa ratus tahun yang lalu. Yo mungkin jaman sekarang, oh kui di catet, di poto, dadi iso persis. Engko putune awake dewe satus tahun lagi tekok sik eruh. Lek biyen, nulis ae podo ndak iso loh.

R :Tapi kok ngajatne ne kok mesti jowo nggeh pak?  
 I (3) :Umumé wong tuwek-tuwek kene kui bahsa indonesia ndak lancar.

R :Tapi bahasa indonesia utowo bahasa arab ngoten mboten nopo-nopo?  
 I (3) :Ora-opo. Engko lek bahasa indonesia ne lancar yo bahasa indonesia. Lek bahasa arab, yo mek dongane tok. Ndak eruh artine kan percuma to mas. Awake dewe ndongo bahasao arab ndak eruh artine kan, mestine Ya Allah aku paringono terus dongane keleru Ya Allah aku Patenono. Sing baku tahu arti dan tujuane. Yo ngajatne kok, yo niate iki bucing iki supoyo awake slamet kabeh, pomo sodakohan neng mbah coban kene oleh slamet kabeh ora oaleh halangan opo-opo. Ora kok sodakohan iki mbah coban ngekeki slamet ndak. Kan lain to? podo-podo ngomnge podo-podo nggowone anu tapi lain arti.

R :Tapi ngoten niku mesti mbakar menyan riyen? Jane runtutane dospundi sing biasane niku?



I (3) :Yo saurunge mbah lurah teko ki yo mbakar menyan. yo mbakar menyan ki kulonuwun, masalahe nyapo, kok lek nang dhanyangan neng nggone kono ki mesti mbakar menyan? yo lek awake dewe suguhane kan rokok, wedang. Lek konokan kan ora arep to? konokan kan arepe kan karo dupo. Panganane kan dupo. Sampean suguhono panganan seng enak-enak kan yo ndak teko nggon. Pomo di kongkon “mbah, paling ndak loh iki, aku rene nggowo sak bolo ki yo njaluk tulung, tulung jalukno udan neng gusti Allah, iki loh tak gowokne ambengan ki loh” yo ndak mangkat “wong aku ra kok keki pangananku” kasarane kan ngono. Slametan kan sing mangan kan yo wong-uwong.

R :Niku namung perantara ngoten?

I (3) :Apane?

R :Mbah coban niku?

I (3) :Perantara, sing ngekeki udan ki yo tetep Gusti Allah. Yo koyok sing tak omongne iki loh. gubernur yo, tapi sampean nduwe kenalan tukang sayur opo yo wes tukang nyapu neng kono lek sampean teko dewe kan yo teko nggon tapi kan yo suwi to? tapi lek sampean kenal aku tukang sayur, sampean karo aku opo enek wong seng arep tekok? Teko nggon to? padane ngono kui loh coro istilaha ki. Sampean arep nyetuki gubernur presiden, ring ngarep di tekoni, tengah di tekoni eneh, engko wes teko bale yo sek di tekoni, yo to? kui lek uwong karo uwong. Tapi lek kene kui sing baku enek aburampen, kucinge di dus, nyuwun, panyuwune yo bosu jowo.

R :Lek slametan niku, lek seng teng griyo-griyo niku lek sing paling adoh di keki diseke ngoten? kados slametan teng nggriyo niko seng paling adoh di keki diseke. Niku nopo nggeh ngoten pak?

I (3) :Yo podo ae. Kene lek malah wong kene mas, sing di keki diseke ki sing cedek, orao kebagean sing adoh. Lha wong okeh, sing di keki sing njobo terus, sing melok amin ngrungokne anu, ngajadne wong njobo urung mesti melok amin kok. wong kene sing cedek ki di keki diseke, turah neng njobo, turah neh sak enteke.

R :Ngoten niku sing mbagi, setunggal tiang nopo?

I (3) :Walah yo ora, ndelok situasi sing nom-nom kui, biasane ibu-ibu. Ibu-ibu kan gampang roto.

R :Oh berarti mboten enek anu nggeh, aturane kudu lanang sing mbagi ngoten nggeh?

I (3) :Ndak, pokoke lek wis sodakohan ki yo wis bebas loh mas. Sing enek aturane ki yo sing ngedus kui. kudu ratune dhanyang. Jane lek dongke ki kadang-kadang arang gelem kon ngedus.

R :Dongke niku sinten?

I (3) :Diarani dongke ki wong tuwek sing iso ngajate sing iso anu ki lo, Dukun ngono loh. biasane lek kon ngedus ngono kui, mbah lurah-mbah lurah ngono.

R :Sungkan nopo dospundi ngoten niku?

I (3) :Embuh yo, podo ndak gelem. Paling lek mbah lurahe ndak iso, opo gering opo-opo yo ora masalah. Coro doyo kekuatane batin ki kan sek kuat pak lurah. Pak lurah kan luwih kuat.

R :Niku nopo nate kering pak?

I (3) :Yo pokoke lek ketigone dowo yo kering.

R :Cobane kering nggeh?

I (3) :He'eh

R :Lek kering terus memandikan kucinge teng pundi pak?

I (3) :Keringoi ki kaline panggah enek banyune. Ndak mungkin sat kali ndak enek banyune-ndak mungkin, panggah enek. Senajan wit-witan liane kering ki kono sek enek banyune mili

R :Niku lek saiki wite telas to pak? Niku pun dangu nopo.

I (3) :Halah, lek jenenge gunung ki ora mung kene tok, ngendi-ngendi di tanduri rodok gedi ditebang. Yo milik negoro marai. Yo lek melek karo kayu kan yo negor, podo ngetok karepe dewe. Pora yo panggah pinter malinge. Ning lek lingkungan coban yo ndak wani. Sungkan masalahe kan imbase kan roto, efeke ki loh, efek sampinge kan lek ndak enek kayune terus sumbere entek.

R :Ngajatne mboten di batar nggeh ngoten niku?

I (3) :Ora enek. Jare lek ngonokan ki kan lek mambu dupo nglumpuk

R :Dupo kaleh menyan bedane nopo pak?

I (3) :Yo podo wae. Cumak ngene loh ya, dupo, menyan, ratus, yo lek istilahku kok ngene podo karo rokok. Rokok surya, rokok cempaka, wismilak yo lek aku ngongkon uwong, terus wong e ki biasane mae lurah ki rokokane gudang gareme tak gowokne rokok sak ngisore opo yo gelem? Padane ngono loh mas. Pomo sampean arep ngongkon uwong. "oh uwong kae biasane rokokane opo" kasarane ngono loh yo, sampean arep nggowokne sing lurah elek kan ndak sae. Iki yo ngono. Oh mbah coban kae senengane mratus, yo ngono.

R :Damel mediasi nggeh? Lek cirose wong-wong kan makani ngoten mboten?

I (3) :Lek sampean omong omongan opo di enggep lek ora nganggo? Arep ngongkon, mbah lurah ki loh, "aku njaluk udan mbah coban" lek ora nganggo kui opo yo di enggep? . di keki dupo, "ojo ngganggu anak putuku, aku yo ra ngganggu kowe aku njaluk tulung", paling yo mek ngono. Nyuwun neng gusti Allah, dino iki, kabeh kan makhluke Gusti Allah to? aku makhluke Gusti Allah, kowe makhluke Gusti Allah. Aku ra eruh kowe, kowe yo ra eruh aku. aku ra ngganggu kowe, malah tak wenei iki, yo mek ngono kui loh sak jane. Ojo ngganggu anak putuku, anak putu wargane kabeh. Yo lek cocok sesaji yo gleger yo langsung udan. Jane sakral yo mek sekarang ki kan rodok terhapus karo moderenisasi tapi lek di tenani yo isek. Awake ki kan anu, aku, lurah, perangkat ki yo, saling mengeman, saling menghormati karo wong sing agomone setengah nolak yo eneng yo di hormati, karo wong sing biasa yo iyo. Jadi yo wes kita ambil tengahe wae. Benar-benar membutuhkan yo dilakukan, lek ora yo ora. Lek ngge rutin malah ndak anu, ndak terkabul.

R :Maksude menghormati niku dospundi pak?

I (3) :Lha wong sing agomone kuat kadang-kadang, "musrik pak ngono kui", akeh to? tapi kan opo toh artine musrik kan ndak ada. jereke lek nguri-nguri ngono musrik. Kita ki ndak nguri-nguri kayu, watu utowo anu loh, wong awake dewe yo sholat, yo jemuahan. Kui ngono adat. Dadose awake dewe ngono kui lek e kekurangan udan yo wes sodakohan lah. Wong sodakohan ki ndak harus di rumah. di jalan baik, di gunung baik, di tempat apapun baik. Kita itu sebagai anu mas, lek wong ngarani pinisepuh, jenenge sesepuh yang di tuakan. Koyok lurah, perangkat kan di tuakan karo warga, dadi amrih kono ki marem, kene marem ki piye. Padahal lek udan tenan yo marem kabeh.

R :Lek di arani ngoten niku dospundi reaksine?

I (3) :Biasa. Wong sing ngono kui lek berhasil marem, tapi lek ndak berhasil nyokorne. Wong namanya usaha kok. wong awake dewe sing njupuk duwit neng ATM ae yo sok-sok yo ngebleng kok. njupuk duwit neng bank ki loh opo mesti lek hehe, so lali, sok teko kono anune mati.

R :Lek sing ngongkon terus, keyakinanane kuat ngoten nggeh katah mbah?

I (3) :Yo okeh, bahkan lek lingkup kono kui lek anake loro enek opo, "Yoalah mugo-mugo ndang mari, engko lek mari aku nggowo sego anget neng mbah coban" ngono kui sek okeh. Sapine





#### Appendix 4. Berita Acara Bimbingan Skripsi



KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN NASIONAL

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#### BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

1. Nama : Luqman Hakim
2. NIM : 125110100111038
3. Program Studi : Sastra Inggris
4. Topik Skripsi : Folklore
5. Judul Skripsi : **The Values of Harmony between Nature and People in Temanten Kucing Ritual**
6. Tanggal mengajukan : 21 September 2015
7. Tanggal selesai revisi : 1 Juni 2016
8. Nama Pembimbing : Dr. Dra. Sri Herminingrum, M. Hum.
9. Keterangan Konsultasi :

No.	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing	Paraf
1.	21 September 2015	Konsultasi Judul	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
2.	2 November 2015	Penyerahan BAB I dan II	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
3.	3 November 2015	Konsultasi BAB I dan II	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
4.	5 November 2015	ACC Seminar Proposal	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
5.	6 November 2015	Konsultasi dan Persiapan Semiar	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
6.	13 November 2015	Seminar Proposal	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
7.	7 Desember 2015	Konsultasi dan Revisi BAB I dan II	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
8.	23 Desember 2015	Revisi final BAB I dan II	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
9.	1 Januari 2016	Menyerahkan BAB III dan IV	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
10.	15 Februari 2016	Konsultasi BAB III dan IV	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	
11.	23 Maret 2016	Menyerahkan Revisi	Dr. Sri Herminingrum	



12.	4 April 2016	Mengambil Revisi BAB III dan IV Appendix	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
13.	11 April 2016	Konsultasi BAB III dan IV	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
14.	15 April 2016	Mengembalikan Revisi BAB III dan IV	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
15.	20 April 2016	Mengambil Revisi BAB III dan IV	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
16.	22 April 2016	ACC Seminar Hasil	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
17.	27 April 2016	Menyerahkan Draft Seminar Hasil	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
18.	3 April 2016	Seminar Hasil	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
19.	16 April 2016	Revisi Ujian Skripsi	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
20.	20 Mei 2016	Ujian Skripsi	Dr. Sri Herminingrum
21.	25 Mei 2016	ACC Jilid	Dr. Sri Herminingrum

10. Telah dievaluasi dan diuji dengan nilai:



Malang, 8 Juni 2016

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