

The Profile of Indung in Sundanese Society (A Socio-Cultural Analysis on the Role of Sunan Ambu, Dewi Sri and Ronggeng)

Endang Caturwati*

Institute of Indonesian Art and Culture, Bandung Indonesia

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*Corresponding author: Endang Caturwati

Abstract

The research discusses the profile of *Indung* in Sundanese society, namely *Sunan Ambu*, *Dewi Sri*, and *Ronggeng*. It is conducted as an effort to unravel the existence of woman as *indung* or mother that has been influencing many aspects of life of Sundanese society. All those three actors have very dominant role both in social and internal aspect. The figure purpose of the research is to identify the process of value change in a series of time, particularly the change in their function caused by the particular circumstances during the past colonial era. The research employs descriptive-analytical methodology with qualitative approach, and focuses its analysis on process, event and authenticity. The findings of the research suggests that either the of *Sunan Ambu*, *Dewi Sri* or *Ronggeng*, have a multi-dimensional character: namely (1) as a woman who is responsible for human kind's life sustainability, (2) as a mother or *indung*, (3) as a protector and life-giver, the character of which are deeply embedded in those three figures. Those characters are manifestation of "the existence and identity of Sundanese woman" that always inspire the true meaning of life for the human kind.

Keywords: Indung, Sunan Ambu, Dewi Sri, Ronggeng.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Based on old transcript and the long history of Sunda, it is recognized that the status of Sundanese woman is very noble with a highly-respected role both in domestic (household) affairs and in society. As found in Sundanese ancient transcript of 1500s, particularly in poems, the role of Sundanese woman is very dominant. The role of *indung* or mother is reflected in, for instance, Sundanese house architecture, which is considered as having a character of 'indung'. The inside and the most sacred part of the Sundanese house is 'goah', a place where *Shanghyang Sri* exists. As revealed by Jakob Sumadjo, "mother is categorized as 'inside', and father as 'outside'. The oldest child is categorized as father, and the the youngest child as mother [1]. Therefore, paddy or rice are always kept and carefully stored in a special place, called *goah* for paddy, and *padaringan* for rice. A. Suhandi Sumamihardja is also of the view that "mother is highly respected and placed in very important position in Sundanese life guidance", as reflected in the following proverb: "*Ari munjung ulah ka gunung, muja ulah ka*

sagara, munjung mah kudu ka indung muja mah kudu ka bapa" (it is not mountain to worship, not ocean to adore, it is *indung* or mother and father to respect) [2].

In Sundanese society and culture, the role of '*indung*' (mother) is considered more important than father. Therefore, according to Sundanese values, a sinful act toward mother is unforgiveable, unless she is willing to forgive the child. The role of mother is not only manifested in real life, but also in many tales and legends, particularly regarding the figure of *Sunan Ambu Dewi Sri*. Unlike the two latest, the figure of *Ronggeng* is still developed and played in art performances in many regions of West Java until recent times.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the research is to study the process of value change in a series of time, particularly the change in the function of figures caused by the particular circumstances during the past colonial era. The research employs descriptive-analytical methodology with qualitative approach, and focuses its analysis on process, event and authenticity.

Library Research

One of articles discussing Sunan Ambu is published in *Journal Patanjala* Vol. 4, No. 1, May 2012: 156-169, titled “Mythology of Sundanese Woman” and written by Agus Heryana. The articles discuss the figure of woman in Sundanese mythology that has been accorded highly respected status. Her social status, self-respect and dignity are not inferior to man’s authority. Yet, in many cases woman plays a very strategic role in creating a new generation of high quality human resources. The research and reveals of the figure of Sundanese woman mythology were conducted through descriptive methodology. All figures were analyzed in such a way that the final result of the study would enable us to well understand the figure of Sundanese woman from spiritual aspect. Exploration on the Sundanese mythology pertaining to woman leads to reveals of typical figure of Sundanese woman as described in various tales. One of figures of the mythology among others was Dayang Sumbi, Sunan Ambu and Sri Pohaci. These three figures were later becoming source of spiritual strength for action, not only for Sundanese woman themselves but also for all Sundanese.

A study of Lilik Wahyuni, titled “Agriliteracy Construction through Dewi Sri Tales”, published in *Jurnal Belajar Bahasa*, ISSN 2502-5864, E-ISSN 2503-0329 Volume 4, No. 1, Februari 2019, analyzes education as a process of internalization of values which shapes the identity of learning human being so that it triggers critical awareness towards local culture, for instance in agriculture sector (agriliteracy). To make the lesson interesting to the students, the internalization of values in Agriculture faculty was conducted through Bahasa Indonesia lesson using story telling as medium. The study used descriptive approach and qualitative content analysis methodology. Source of data is tale of Dewi Sri with a technique of documentation, observation, and library research. This research tries to get explanation on (1) message and (2) role of tales of Dewi Sri as a stimulant for student’s imagination of agriliteracy. Findings of the research are (1) the message of *Dewi Sri* Tales is that she represents the land, which symbolizes mother who “gives birth” to plants needed by human being. Students, as member of agricultural society, have to respect the land in consistent with agricultural civilization in such a way that they would have sense of honesty and gratitude, (2) the role of Dewi Sri tale is to serve as a pleasant and friendly medium to promote ecological literacy capability with a view to strengthening the harmony among human being, and between human being and the nature they live in.

An article by Anis Sujana, titled “Shift in *Ronggeng*’s Function in West Java” , published in *Jurnal Panggung*, ISBI Bandung, Vol 22, (No.1), 2012, explained that, on one side, the term “ronggeng” is

generally used to refer to woman actor, “paid actor”, with negative connotation. However, on the other side, ronggeng is also doing spiritual rites and could be a source of blessing. It is obvious therefore that ronggeng has two roles and functions. The article is to identify function and typology of ronggeng art performance in West Java. The result shows that in many cases *ronggeng* is undertaking profane function, as an entertainer. In the context of performance technique, the *ronggeng*’s functions are: 1) as a partner of audience in social dance, 2) as an actor in various traditional theater, 3) as a dancer, solo singer and clown, 4) as a singer (*sinden*) for wooden puppet, 5) as a performer of juggle performance, and 6) as a player of ‘*helaran*’ (parade) performance. Additionally *ronggeng* also has sacred function, namely as a rites actor. In this regard ronggeng has an ambiguous function: as rites performer on one side and as entertainer on the other.

Those articles describe the figure of *Sunan Ambu*, *Dewi Sri*, dan *Ronggeng*. However, they don’t specifically analyze the three woman figures as mother or *indung* that has multi-role in human life, as observed by this research. Therefore, this research is original.

METHODOLOGY

This research employs analytical descriptive method and qualitative approach, and observes process, event and authenticity.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Sunan Ambu in Sundanese Society’s Cosmology Perspective

In Sundanese society, woman is granted very important and highly respected social status. They are viewed as a protector and caregiver as well, who guide the children. It is for this reason that woman is not only called ‘mother’, but what is more important is that she is also called ‘*indung*’. *Indung* refers to a woman who does not only give birth to her children but also protects and gives shelter to them. As stated by the Prophet Mohammad that the mother’s status is more important than father, Sundanese proverb also says that reference of mother always comes earlier than father.

‘*Indung tunggul rahayu, bapa tangkal darajat*’ means welfare and happiness of child is depending upon the willingness and prayer of mother and father. As described in many Sundanese poems, children are always kept under the *indung*’s protection, the figure of which is highly respected, called Sunan Ambu. *Sunan* is derived from word of *susuhunan*, means someone to

worship. *Ambu* is mother. Thus, *Sunan Ambu* means the Mother of Divinity. In heaven, *Sunan Ambu* presides very important position, i.e as ruling authority of the place where the *hyang* and ancestor's spirit live in. She has power over angels. *Sunan Ambu*, is a figure of supernatural woman, a ruler of heaven.

Since the figure of *Sunan Ambu* is perceived as a 'mother' of Sundanese culture, she is also called '*Kekemben layung kasunten*, which means woman as basis of Upper World or the Mother of Divinity. *Ambu* means mother, in a sense that mother or '*indung*' with divinity in character. Figure of woman as described in ancient Sundanese tales has multi-functions: as Goddess, as '*indung*' who is highly respected, charismatic, loving, educating, helping and has power to protect. In other words, *Sunan Ambu* is the highest figure. The symbolism of *Sunan Ambu* is upheld as philosophical perception in Sundanese society on the woman nobility.

In Sundanese society, woman has important status. Yet, in certain case woman is viewed such important, while man is considered only as supporter to preserve the respect and nobility of woman. This perception is reflected in cosmological view of the ancient Sundanese, that woman is 'life giver', transcendental in nature, as if man is only complementary in supporting the respect and nobility of woman. Woman has wide range of responsibility, from land cultivation, paddy-to-rice processing, rice cooking, taking care household to weaving and looking after child. It is due to this fact that, in Sundanese cosmology, house means woman. According to Sundanese custom and tradition, house is viewed as a symbol of woman. Woman is locality, house, cradle of life. House belongs to woman. Man is only to build and use it. When a man has woman (wife), he certainly has a house. If they divorce, the house remains belong to woman [3].

Dewi Sri the Life-Giver

Legends and myths concerning Dewi Sri or Dewi Padi in West Java have been so far visualized in rice-related ritual ceremony and in *ronggeng* dance. *Ronggeng*, derived from *Dewi Padi* in ritual for agriculture and land fertility, is a tale that has been long rooted in Sundanese land. As a symbol of fertility, Sundanese tradition visualized the authenticity of *ronggeng* in form of dance performed by man and woman as harvest tradition. In some regions *Dewi Sri* or *Dewi Padi* is played by a virgin girl. *Dewi Sri* sits and is surrounded by boys and girl who are dancing, praying, and playing music instrument, while one dancer boy approaches and dances with *Dewi Sri*. Triggered by feeling of excitement and stimulated by sound of percussions (*tetabuhan*), man and woman in the

village spontaneously join the dance and shake their body rhythmically in accordance to the music beat[4].

The social status of *ronggeng* is so noble in ritual context in West Java that it is still visualized in many rituals and performances projecting the figure of *ronggeng* as the goddess of life.

Those rituals and performances are closely related to the farming culture, for instance *Sérén Taur* ceremony in Kuningan and Sukabumi, *Ngarot* ceremony in Indramayu, and *Ngalaksa* in Sumedang. In many regions of West Java, particularly in the aspect of farming culture, land fertility is something that the farmers dream of best. Therefore, the heritage of old tradition such as *nyalin* ceremony has been practiced in traditional agricultural system until today.

In Rancakalong village, Sumedang, West Java, *nyalin* ceremony is called *tarawangsa*. *Tarawangsa* carries a meaning of "the Almighty". It is an art performance visualizing the effort to build a dialog and to express the deepest and subtlest feeling, which is meant to pray to the God. This performance is still held until today in every harvesting season. In Rancakalong tradition, man is considered a weak creature so that he prays and conveys his impression and happiness to the God during '*ngiriman*' or '*nyalin*' ceremony (rice harvesting) as a way to pay respect to Dewi Sri. The *ngiriman* or *nyalin* ceremony is undertaken by society in hope that people are happy to live in the village and that Dewi Sri always keeps them safe from any peril in particular and protect their rice field from any pest that spoils the land fertility.

Tarawangsa ceremony, that performs the *ronggeng* dance presented mostly by old woman and old man dancers, is just a few evidence that, for Sundanese *karuhun-karuhun* expressing gratitude by words is not sufficient. Gratitude is not necessarily articulated in words of praise and compliment, rather, it should be communicated through body movement, breath and glance. All those actions and movements are medium in expressing the thankfulness, as shown by *ronggeng* dancer in playing her shawl that moved by gentle dance movement in harmony with *jentréng tarawangsa* (music instrument with strings such as *rebab* dan *kecapi*). In Rancakalong village, the most important elements of *ronggeng* for ritual purposes do not lie at the structure of the dance, its floor design, or at the dancer itself. The most important part of the dance is how it creates symbolic movements which are reflecting the sacred relationship between *pengibing* and *ronggeng* dancers as symbol of fertility.

With regard to fertility rituals Jamake Highwater in his writing titled

Dance: Rituals of Experience states that dance could create miracle, as follows:

Primal people regard an action as the embodiment of a mysterious force. They believe that dance can shape the circumstances of nature if it can focus its contagious power on animals and supra naturals. This premise of sympathetic magic is at the root of most ceremonial use of dance....This practice, called homeopathic ritual, is the basis of most hunting and fertility rites [6].

The ritual relating to rice fertility is also found in Indramayu, known as *ngarot*. The main performance of this ritual is still performed until today in the village hall. *Ngarot* is performed once a year before rice planting season in October and is organized for “people party” in Indramayu. To welcome the ritual, right before the main part of performance people, some of them peddlers, are standing along the street leading up to the village hall. This ritual is also participated by food peddlers and traditional dance performance for 7 days long.

Rongg ng in Sacred Life

In traditional play of *Sri Langlang Bumi*, *rongg ng* is important figure which is presented as Goddess of Life, in the character of *Rongg ng Kembang* and *Rongg ng Pany ta*. These *Rongg ngs* have sacred position with a cast of *Sanghyang Sri Rumbiyang Jati* (Goddess of Fertility) represented by *Rongg ng Kembang*, and *pohaci* by four *Rongg ng Pany ta* (Nalan: 92). Figure ‘four’ and ‘one’ in Sundanese belief carry special meaning relating to sacred time, which refers to the time of performance of *Sri Langlang Bumi* played during *S r n Taun* ceremony in the era of Pajajaran Kingdom.

As to figure 4, known as “Comprehensive Understanding” stipulated in the transcript of “Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian”, refers to old Sundanese teaching that contains “the do and the don’t” guidance for human being, among others: 1) *Catur Utama* (the Four Virtues): *guru kamulan* (knowledge from mother and father), *guru hawan* (learning from the nature), *guru tangtu* (learning from reading), and *guru mulya* (learning from teacher or priest); (2) *Catur Yogya* (the Four Commendable): ‘gold’ means honest and correct words, ‘silver’ means peaceful, good and happy, ‘diamond’, means live in brightness, satisfaction and freedom, and ‘jewel’ means smile, laugh and kind-hearted. Things that should be avoided, among others

(1) *Shanghyang Catur Yatna* (The Four Alert): *siwok cante* (don’t eat something prohibited), *simar cante* (don’t take something not yours), *simur cante* (don’t mingle with wrong persons), and *darma cante* (don’t do the task mistakenly) (*Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian* 1518, 1981:32-47); (2) *Opat paharaman* (the Four Prohibitions): *Babarian* (easily offended), *pundungan* (cranky), *humandear* (complain), *kukulutus* (nagging).

Based on description above, it is therefore noted that the figure of *rongg ng*, referring to the ancient Sundanese cosmology, has high spiritual status and noble values. Those values and virtues have been acquired simply because *Shang Hyang Sri Rumbiyang Jati* (*rongg ng kembang*) and *pohaci* (*rongg ng pany ta*) live in the Sacred Land of *Alam Padang* (bright). The figure of Sundanese woman is derived from word of “Sundari”, that means beautiful woman, not only in physical term but also in term of moral quality [7]. Therefore, it is understandable that Kathy Foley does not share the views expressed in some articles and in performance of *kalangenan* that presents *rongg ng*, who is excessively exploiting sensual aspect of body movement. As argued in her article, the way how *rongg ng* dance articulates sexual intercourse by soil-hoeing movement and planting paddy seed, as symbol of *Dewi Sri*, is simply woman abuse and totally against the value of Sundanese womanity[4].

Image of Rongg ng in Sundanese Society

The existence of *rongg ng* as *Dewi Sri* or as shaman in rituals performed in West Java was gradually eroded since Islam was introduced in 1551. Some Islam followers don’t recognize the role of woman as leader [8]. Woman is being oppressed because people assume that the status of woman, by nature, is lower than man [9]. Also, worshiping polytheism statue including asking help from spirit for man’s prosperity was strongly prohibited [10].

Later on the figure of *rongg ng* re-emerged since the arrival of Western civilization which was prompted by plantation culture. The plantation company recruited contracted labor and local woman workers for coffee plantation in the forest and land which were not yet cultivated in Priangan region and were ruled by *Vereenigde Oost- Indische Compagnie* (VOC) in 1707 [11]. Since then the status and function of *rongg ng* changed along with the transformation in society. Many plantation in Indonesia recruited local workers and European labor as well (most of them are bachelor). It was due to this fact that mistress, prostitution and entertaining performance by *rongg ng* flourished.

Along with development of plantation culture that hired local contracted labor and woman workers in Sundanese land, West Java, new civilization started to prevail. 'Western Civilization', characterized as secular, rational and empirical, was totally new values to Indonesian culture. Initially Indonesian culture was spiritualistic and mystical. Most European came to Indonesia as *fortuin zoekers*, treasure seeker, *trekkers* (wanderer) and not as permanent resident/*blijvers* (settler). Their way of life as non settler determined their life style, particularly in the aspect of ethics and moral standard. It is more visible in frontier society, where individualism was not controlable and consequently it led to liberalism particularly in the sexual relation which in turn triggered promiscuity. The *ronggeng* amusement party spoiled the life of contracted labor. The contracted labor work hard, from which they earned much money, but they did not spend it in prudent manner, since they just gave the money away not only as tips for the *ronggeng*, but also for prostitute, drinks, gambling and drugs[11].

Ronggeng exists every where. It is cultural phenomena which is quite often discussed in many articles, among others are *Kidung Sunda*, a Middle Javanese literature written in 1500s; *Serat Centhini* [12], Javanese literature in form of *tembang* (song); and writings of foreign author who observed the socio-cultural condition in Indonesia, among others are Thomas Stamford Raffles in his book titled *The History of Java* [18], Claire Holt in his work titled *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* [19], P. J. Zoetmulder in his book *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* [20], Peter Boomgaard with his writing titled *Children of The Colonial State: Population Growth and Economic Development In Java 1795-1880* (1989), and Henry James Spiller in his thesis titled "Erotic Triangles: Sundanese Men's Improvisational Dance in West Java Indonesia [21]".

Thomas Stamford Raffles, British Governor General who ruled Java from 1811 to 1816 in his famous book titled *The History of Java* [18], wrote about *ronggeng*, as follows:

...the common dancing girls of the country...are called ronggeng, are generally of easy virtue. They make a profession of their art, and hire themselves to perform on particular occasion, for the amusement of the chiefs and the public. Though to be found in every principal town, their performance is most highly esteemed in the western, and particularly among the mountaineers of the Sunda districts, where the superior graces of the bedaya are unknown.... Their conduct is generally so incorrect, as to render the title of ronggeng and prostitute synonymous.... [18].

The Sundanese *ronggeng* of government power enjoyed special treatment, as stated by Hesselink in his article, as follows:

Although ronggeng were regarded as sex worker, government powers generally treated them differently from "ordinary" prostitutes. When prostitutes were regulated in Java, ronggeng were subject to mandatory medical examinations: they were not taxed like other prostitutes, however (1992:212).

The *ronggengs* generally were adored by people. And in many cases, due to their attractive appearance, some *ronggengs* were proposed and married by low level government officials and even by King. If this happens, it is just a good fortune for the *ronggeng*. In Cirebon, given that many performances presented *ronggengs* in party or amusement event, a *ronggeng* school was established under supervision of the Sultan [16]. However, as a matter of fact, despite being admired, *ronggeng* was quite often abused by flirtatious aroused dancer man by slipping money into her *kemben* while touching and squeezing her breast in front of the public (*suwelan*). And yet, if the *ronggeng* refused his sexual desire the *ronggeng* was slapped on the face by the drunken dancer man [17].

In Sundanese encyclopedia, it is mentioned that in West Java before war period (prior to Independence) all women who sing and dance in public and being paid by audience, such as *ketuk tilu*, *dogér*, *dongbrét*, *longsér*, were called *ronggeng*. If one of audience was attracted to the *ronggeng* he could not control himself. Therefore, that conduct might prompt fray, either during or after performance, just because audience scrambled each other to get the *ronggeng* [2].

Ronggeng, Tax and Nawala Pradata Penalty

During colonial era the fray triggered by *ronggeng* issue was manipulated and being used as commodity for money-making. This fact was more perceptible in Batavia, Bogor and Priangan, where *ronggeng* became favorite among people, particularly for workers in the plantation. Since 1706 *ronggeng* turned to be source of government revenue as the Dutch through Commissioner for Indigenous Affairs (*pribumi*) officially imposed "ronggeng tax". In 1789, the wider imposition of *ronggeng* tax was officially endorsed by the Government, under which the tax was not only applied to the *ronggeng* income but also to the host (man who hired the *ronggeng*) of *ronggeng* party as "amusement tax" by the Head of District [16].

Having imposed the tax on *ronggeng* performance, the Dutch now acquired three sources of revenue, i.e from *ronggeng*, the *ronggeng* performance group and the host of *ronggeng* party. Since the

ronggeng party was spreading out to the remote area, it could easily provoke quarrel and fray in society. It was due this situation that the Javanese ruler and Dutch issued regulation to prevent violence that might happen during the ronggeng party in form of penalty, called '*Nawala Pradata*'. This penalty was obligatory rule imposed on the violence perpetrator who provoked fray that caused casualties, injured or killed. The perpetrator was punished by penalty imposition in form of amount of money for the rich, and physical punishment for the poor in form of body-beating or '*gebuk*' [16].

Having considered that ronggeng party easily triggered fray and fight, in 1778 the ruler issued law of "*ronggeng party prohibition*" without agreement from plantation owner in Batavia and Bogor. This prohibition was applied specifically on stubborn workers who worked in private plantation. These workers were paid coolie who always spent their money only for prostitutes, drinks, gambling and drugs. In 1880 the law was imposed to all plantations. However, in 1887 new law was introduced, namely exemption for the certain plantations that were allowed to hold ronggeng party in order to keep the workers and contracted coolie living in plantation area [16].

Disregarding the attitude of *ronggeng*, which was generally viewed as an entertainer either in the stage or off-stage and as the one who provokes fray and quarrel, in real life the personality of ronggeng was significantly complex. Indeed, she was not simply an entertainer in *kalangenan* arena. She was product of social condition that she could not avoid. However, along its evolution, the *ronggeng* gained highly respected social position among society, particularly as respected woman in rituals, either as shaman or as old woman who was able to cure and give advices [15].

Change in Ronggeng's Image

Ronggeng amusement party did not only develop in low class and plantation coolie community. In 1920s, it evolved to be hired for *Tayuban* arena of *ménak* (high level) class. This change caused new perception toward ronggeng in society in certain period. Educated or *menak* woman were prohibited to exhibit themselves in performance arena since it might instigate misperception, as if they are identical to ronggeng. It was just until certain time when Tjetje Somantri, Sundanese dance choreographer, created a dance inspired by Javanese dance movement in 1950s, educated woman from *menak* class in particular were allowed to perform in public. Change in perception toward dance art and effort to promote woman dignity continuously developed. The effort by Tjetje Somantri, supported by *Badan Kesenian Indonesia/BKI* (Indonesian Art Agency) chaired by Tubagus Oemay Martakusumah, a Banten-origin Sundanese *menak*, succeeded in promoting the image of "woman dancer" to a higher class of society. His creation, which was

characterized by classic-style soft graceful movement, turned to be well known to many countries [13].

With regard to the existence of the figure of *Ronggeng*, it still exist until today in form of entertaining performance, among others are *Kliningan Bajidoran* in Subang region, *Ronggeng Gunung* in Ciamis, *Banggeng* of Tayub performance in Sumedang, and *Ronggeng Kedempling* in Majalengka region. Each performance has its own style, though the tips-giving from audience for the dancer remains. The very difference of today's ronggengs is that the tip is not only given by man but also by woman, and that the performance is more obedient and that it does not trigger fray. *Ronggeng* is now usually hired for wedding party, anniversary of institution or celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The figure of today's *Sunan Ambu* is still presented in the performance of Sendra Tari, Theater, and Film. The figure of *Dewi Sri* is embedded in a symbol of fertility, namely Dewi Kesuburan or Dewi Kehidupan, in the event of harvesting season in many regions. *Ronggeng* continuously develop in many entertaining performance in the region of Subang, Karawang, Ciamis and other regions in West Java. In real life, either Sunan Ambu or Dewi Sri is simply legend which is still believed as symbol of Sundanese woman, Mother or Indung with great charisma. On the other hand, *Ronggeng* still exists in real life.

The most important pheomena is that, as '*indung*', *ronggéng* has a great responsibility on the future of her children. Whatever the title she might be granted, in fact most of ronggeng bear burden to take care of her children as effect of divorce. Generally speaking, the former husband never takes care of the future of the children.

Many experts are of the view that the first and the foremost need of a child is sence of attachment, in particular to his/her mother (*maternal attachment*). It is significantly important because mother can provide sense of security, stability and *predictability* [14]. If those are well provided then the children's self-confidence will grow well. The mother holds the very central position in emotional term.

Having said that, it is recognized that *Sunan Ambu*, *Shangyang Sri* and *Ronggénga* are the figure of woman who is accorded a nobbles social status, the figure of '*sosok indung*' who grants life and peace to human kind. In the context of performance, *ronggéng* blesses man's life by creating source of income for many involved in the performance party.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that regional government or any other related authorities pay special attention to the ronggengs by providing skill training program for them because generally they are low educated. It is also suggested that special assistance be provided for her children education, since most of them single mother who has to shoulder her children's life.

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Lampiran

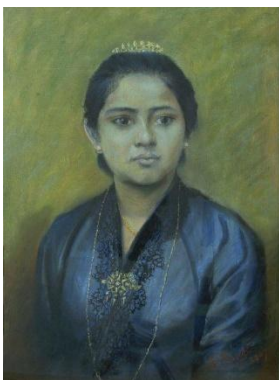


Image-1: Parent figure in Sundanese Society Foto: Koleksi Linimasa, Kalakay Jasinga 2014



Image-2: Figure Sunan Ambu: Goddess of Life in the Lutung Kasarung Operet Design: Dede Siswanto, 2014



Image-3: Figure Dewi Sri: Dewi Life & Rice Harvest Painting: Malhorta Zaeni, Lukisanku.com, 2018



Image-4: Ronggeng figure is not just a Comforter Dancer Sumber: Bombastis.com