

THE FOOTSTEPS OF RESISTANCE IDEOLOGY IN MANGKUNEGARAN DANCE-STYLE

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the ideology of resistance that grew and became the basis of the politics of cultural movement during the war to the establishment of Puro Mangkunagaran up to maintaining the existence to the present. The study was descriptive analytic using 12 advanced-steps method of Spradley Ethnography, which was shortened into 4 research steps. Triangulation data research includes direct observation of Bedhaya Anglir Mendhung dance performance, dance manuscripts in Mangkunagaran, and interviews with two respondents.

The findings of this study are: a) dance art in Puro Mangkunagaran are all themed with resistance except free-patterned dance like *gambyong* and *golek*; b) Bedhaya Anglirmendhung dance is the first Puro Mangkunagaran's Bedaya dance as well as an attribute of power in which ideologically articulates resistance; c) the ideology of resistance is also evident in the archetypal orstate logo artefacts, batik cloths, and the family of Mangkunagaran creeds.

Keywords: *ideology; representation; Mangkunagaran*

Introduction

Mangkunagaran-style dance if were to view at a glance there almost remains no different from other general dance styles of Surakarta. I.e. *gambyong pareanom* dance of Mangkunagaran style generally resembles the Surakartan style (Kasunanan) and ISI (the Indonesian Arts Institute) of Surakarta style. Likewise, the Surung Dhayung dance style of Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Mangkunagaran, even conservatory style (if only it is considered a special style) is basically no different. It is true that the two dances (Gambyong and Golek) are not the types of dance coming out of Puro Mangkunagaran, however, it then perceivable if we see dances other than those of the two. Let us say the Wireng Bandabaya dance which is a paired dance and performed by two men armed with sword fencing. Similar dances (themed with a war exercises) are also found in Kasunanan Surakarta.

Our understanding may be even more different as we watch Bedhaya Diradameta dance. Although it is named after the Bedhaya dance but this dance is performed by 7 male. Generally Bedhaya dance is performed by 9 female dancers. Bedhaya dance theme usually nuanced with romance as a symbol of fertility. Bedhaya Ketawang in Keraton Surakarta describes Panembahan Senopati's romance with Nyai Rara Kidul. Panembahan Senopati figures appear in Bedaya Bedhah Madiun which is the attribute of Mangkunagoro VII's power but in the theme of Mataram battle in quelling the Madiun rebellion. This interesting phenomenon is studied, especially in relation to what ideology usually underlies the creation of a cultural form.

The occurrence of these fundamental differences necessarily implies a strong background because the locus of the event is at the center of power. Kraton not only influences the production-reproduction of cultural meanings within political power but more broadly with respect to the cultural realm. Such a realization will be a very important lesson not only for Kraton but also for observers of cultural proliferation of the Kraton and the parties who live the culture of the Kraton as a role model so as to guide the emergence of a better cultural awareness.

The proposed research problems are: 1) why was the ideology emerge along with forms of material representation of the ideologi in Mangkunagaran; and 2) what types of heritages that the Puro Mangkunagaran own in terms of the ideological practice?.

This study attempts to reveal the emergence of ideology underlying the meanings production regarding the above phenomenon. This study is analytical descriptive to various data intertextually. The research data establish triangulation that is: a) direct observation to dance performance of *bedaya* Anglirmendhung at *jumenengan* (royal memorial service) K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagara IX on October 11, 2016; b) the manuscript of *Serat Babad Lelampahan K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagoro I* (manuscript number 298 Volume I) and other supporting texts; C) Interview with K.R.M.T. Lilik Priarso Kusumo as Pengageng Wedana Satriya Puro Mangkunagaran on February 6, 2017 and Wahyu Santosa Prabawa on February 10, 2017. Resource data were obtained through applying Spradley's ethnography method (2007), which is summarized into 4 main steps: a) the selection of resource persons; b) interview; c) making records for development; d) data analysis and presentation in the form of cultural themes discovery.

Discussion

The Emergence of Resistance Ideology

Puro Mangkunagaran was founded by R.M. Said (born in April 7, 1725 and died in December 28, 1795) - Indonesian National Hero and received his nickname the Prince of Sambernyawa by Nicolas Hartingh (VOC governor). He married a peasant woman (Rubiyah), known as Matah Ati, and married the daughter of Mangkubumi (Hamengkubuwana I) named Raden Ayu Inten.

He recieved unfair and despotic treatment of self and his family (his father was named with Prince Mangkunegara in Mataram Kartasura) since childhood due to the intrigue of succession. His father was exiled to Sri Lanka and then to South Africa while he himself and his younger siblings from the age of nine had to hide and move place to place frequently from the pursuit of the fearful Mataram officials which emerged and conquering the power. That menace brings out extraordinary feelings of hurt and grudge, and those feelings burning out for the rest of his life.

In order to take revenge and claim his rights while continuing to move and hide he studied various religious sciences, martial arts tactics and warfare besides looking for the rightest time to attack. He also made friendships with any party that was deemed to be self-strengthening and the troops that would later be built. His friendship with the dudgeon Chinese - especially those on the north coast of Java Island - leading to a skill in combat expertise.

The first attempt of assault was waged while he was assigned to assist attacking on Mas Garendi on 30 June 1742; he was only 17 years old. Kraton Kartasura collapsed and the

end of the palace moved to Surakarta. The second attack was carried out alone with his troops in 1752 in Ponorogo against the Mataram alliance with the Company and the Prince Mangkubumi (his own father in law). This battle is the most heartbreaking. The third attack on Alas Sitakepyak (south of Rembang), attacked the Dutch troops on the North Coast with two detachments. During the attack, all the Company's troops (composed of 600 troops and commanders) were killed and all beheaded, while Sambernyawa lost 15 soldiers.

The fourth attack (1757) took place over a day at the Kraton Yogyakarta, and was triggered by the fury of RM. Said since the VOC soldiers chased Mangkunegara while burning and looting the property of the people. After beheading the head of Patih Mataram (Jaya Sudirga), Mangkunegara troops secretly approached the Kraton of Yogyakarta and attacked the VOC fortress near by it. Five VOC soldiers were killed, hundreds more fled to the Kraton of Yogyakarta. Furthermore, Mangkunegoro troops attacked the Kraton of Yogyakarta.

All efforts to get rid of Mangkunagara were unsuccessful, instead making the Company turned bankrupt. His struggle successfully won the political recognition with the founding of Praja Mangkunagaran at the level of kadipaten, on the edge of Kali Pepe on 4 Jimakir 1683 (Java), or 1756 AD. The area includes Kedaung, Matesih, Honggobayan, Sembuyan, Gunung Kidul, North Pajang, and Kedu.

The strength of Prince Sambernyawa's troops consists of elements of his own troops (elite troops), troops of Mas Garendi, and some troops of Mataram Kartasura under the leadership of Prince Tepasana, and society. Almost all the Prince Sambernyawa's attacks were ended up in guerrilla. The core of trio R. Said with Wiradiwangsa (titled Kyai Ngabehi Kudanawarsa), and RM. Sutawijaya (title of Kyai Ngabehi Rangga Panambang). The core forces formed a second elite army consisting of 18 people who were named Punggawa Jaya warriors. The main forces then established a larger troops and were usually named after the addition of "Jaya" ahead of it, for example, Jaya Panantang, Jaya Pamenang, Jaya Prawira, Jaya Misesa, etc. The Sutawijaya-built troops themselves are called Lawung Banguntulak (armed with batons). The elite troops consisting of women soldiers named Ladrang Mangungkung (initially consist of 144 women). The motto of Prince Sambernyawa's struggle is comprises in a term *tiji tibeh (mati siji mati kabeh, mukti siji mukti kabeh)*. The action played by R.M. Said is abstracted from Prabowo's explanation (interviewed on February 10, 2017) and the book *Jejak Langkah Tari di Pura Mangkunagaran* [free Trans. the Dance Footsteps in Pura Mangkunagaran] essay authored by the informant and friends.

Mangkunagaran as Althusser's description⁶¹ was originally a state apparatus of power but now turned to be an ideological state apparatus which has no repressive power such as the armed forces, administration, and the law. Representation according to Foucault⁶² occurs through stages: philology, biology, and economics. Each element in the representation of the material will form together a finite character (special) either as a partial structure or as a totality, namely the relation of descriptive signs, organizing the similarities, affinities, and ability of the ideological group to be described⁶³. Similarity as Foucault's theory according to

⁶¹Althusser, Louis, *Tentang Ideologi: Marxisme Strukturalis, Psikoanalisis, Cultural Studies*. Transl. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2015, p.20-23

⁶²Foucault, Michel, *Order of Thing Arkeologi Ilmu-ilmu Kemanusiaan*. Transl. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007, p. 251-252

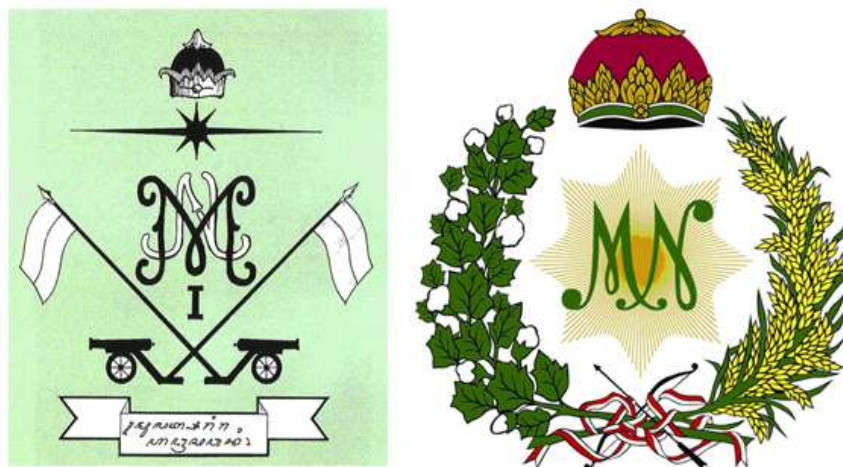
⁶³Foucault, Michel, p. 271

Eco⁶⁴ is, “[...]included not only those phenomena that today we would list under the heading of morphological resemblance or proportional analogy, but every kind of possible substitution permitted by the rhetoric tradition, that is, contiguity, pars pro toto, action or actor[....]” Similarities can be of any kind originally in accordance with rhetorical traditions such as similarities seen in such things as behavior (observational objects), the form and appearance of objects simultaneously⁶⁵.

The Representation for the State Logo

The brief narrative is an illustration of the ideological opposition that really constitutes the energy of claiming rights. This spirit remains today because it was instituted by the Mangkunagaran royal family, and then manifested in various forms of classification. Such classification according to Brown⁶⁶ serves as a method to organize perceptions, knowledge and moral relations. This classification exists in the form of words, state logo, objects and other cultural products including the dance. Representation highlights in the motto declaration of unity *hanebu sauyun*, which means the unity of Mangkunagaran family like a clump of sugarcane. Cane plants have a special place as a sugar producer (sweet taste as a symbol of prosperity, and as a real meaning (not figurative meaning) in the case of the establishment of Tasikmadu and Colomadu sugar mills during Mangkunagara IV.

The ideology of resistance is also articulated in the form of state logo and this study observes two forms: 1) during the Mangkunagoro I; and 2) in the present (Mangkunagoro IX).



The state logo Mangkunagaran, the Mangkunagoro I period (on the left) and the present one (on the right). Source: Kadipaten Mandrapura Puro Mangkunegaran

The first state logo consists of 7 symbols: 1) a green vertical rectangle box as the background; 2) the crown of Kadipaten ‘the duchy’ is not the palace (Kusumo, interview 6 February 2017); 3) an octagonal star representing sun beam; 4) initial MN I; 5) white flag with black cammock symbolizing of *bangun tulak* color; 6) two cannons of the army warrior; and 7) the white band representing the sacred family ties written in the Javanese *mulat sarira angrasa wani* (acknowledging the inside courage).

⁶⁴Eco, Umberto, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 45

⁶⁵Eco, Umberto, p.10

⁶⁶Brown, Richard Harvey, “Cultural Representation and Ideological Domination”. *Social Forces*. Vol. 71(3). The University of North Carolina Press, 1993, p. 659

The black or navy and white color – these colors composition is called *bangun tulak* - is a prominent color as the spiritual identity of the Prince Sambernyawa's struggle. This color matches the prohibited batik cloth that prevails in the Mangkunagaran family *dhengklung* patterned in the form of a rectangular box with navy blue blocks in the middle and 4 thin lines that surround the block. *Bangun tulak* cloth is believed to be the creation of Sunan Kalijaga given to Danang Sutawijaya (Panembahan Senapati, the founder of Mataram) (Kusumo, interview February 6, 2017).

The current state logo is a series of symbols of rice, cotton, bows and arrows, shields, red and white tie bands, and crowns. The shield symbol is formed by the lines up until resembling the image of the sun as well as describing the words of *surya sumirat* which means 'shining the sun'. According to Kusumo (interview 6 February 2017) the essential difference between the two symbols is only in the visualization of cotton (symbol of self-esteem) and rice (prosperity).

The fourth Mangkunagoro period until Mangkunagoro IX is an era of new historical context that requires new and even distortive interpretations of the initial representation of the ideology. The symbolic wealth of struggle and spirituality found a different context after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia and gave rise to a cultural response of new meaning, one of which is due to repression of the doctrine of economic projects in the form of tourism world as described in Presidential Decree no. 23 of 1988 on cultural preservation including Mangkunagaran as tourism asset.

Regarding the repression of this tourism context, the K.R.M.T Lilik Priarso Kusumo as an official in Mangkunagaran expressed, that the Mangkunagaran family are "commanded" to abandon the earthly things as outlined by the predecessors of Mangkunagaran through the teachings of Wedhatama by Mangkunagoro IV. Here is the quotation (Pupuh Pangkur stanza 14 connects to pupuh next Sinom stanza 1).

sajatine kang mangkana | [the truth of such condition]
wus kakênan nugrahaning Hyang Widhi | [for having received His Grace]
bali alaming asuwung | [Go back to the realm of emptiness]
tan karêm karamean | [no longer fond of mundane things]
ing kang sipat wisesa-winisesa wus | [which indulges power]
mulih mula-mulanira | [Come back to where you came from]
mulane wong anom sami | [because of that the young generation]

nulada laku utama | [nonsuching the virtues]
tumrape ing tanah Jawi | [which applies to the Javanese]
wong agung ing Ngèksigônda | [a great man from Mataram]
Panêmbahan Senapati | [Is Panembahan Senapati]
kapati amarsudi | [seriously trying]
sudaning hawa lan nêpsu | [to be able to control the passions]
pinêsu tapa brata | [practicing a great *laku* or spiritual silence]
tanapi ing sariratri | [upholding in the middle of the night]
amêmbangun karyenak tyasing sasama || [but also making other people feel content]
(Padmasusastra, 1989, p.10—11)

"Our clash with mundane things, we regard as inevitable and we stick to Panembahan Senapati's nonsuch is to make other people love to," as confirmed by Kusumo (in an

interview, February 6, 2017). In the case of *bedhaya* dance performance as a tourist attraction, the Mangkunegaran does not eliminate the essence of the dance as the ancestral advice but only removes its sacred rite as it does in the traditional rituals and reduces the repetitions of motion.

Representation of the Resistance Ideology in Dances

It should be pointed out here that dance is a great narrative in Puro Mangkunagaran because it gets special attention from every Puro's leader. Even certain dance such as *bedaya* in Javanese cultural awareness is symbols of political power. The ideology of resistance is articulated in Mangkunagaran dance in at least three categories: repertoire, vocabulary, and Mangkunagaran dance styles.

a. Mangkunegaran Dance Style Repertoire

Dances in Puro Mangkunagaran are classifiable into 3 groups namely *bedhaya srimpi*, solo, and *wireng* dances. *Bedaya* dance performed by 7 dancers, *srimpi* by 4 dancers, solo dance performed by one person or group, and *wireng* dance describes schuffle exercises performed by 2 dancers or more. All dances that come out of Mangkunagaran are *wireng* (warrior or schuffle) dance. The naming of *wireng* dance is based on the figure that became the theme of dance. The dance which the name is based on characters such as Karna Tinandhing dance tells a fight between Arjuna against Basukarna in *bharatayuda* war. Gathutkaca-Dhadhungawuk dance is a fight between Gathutkaca figures against Dhadhungawuk. Bandabaya Dance is a dance of fight (attributed with armed shield and sword fencing) by warriors to get rid of threats against Puro.

Mangkunegara The First created 3 *bedhaya* dance which is a trilogy as a reminder for the events of war: 1) Anglir Mendhung, war memorial in Ponorogo; 2) Diradameta (Rembang); 3) Sukapratama, the war in Yogyakarta.

b. The Special Vocabuler of Dance Motion

The vocabuler is a motion element in a particular sequence that forms a dance. The vocabulary is given a specific name to exemplify the interpretation for the dancer who performs it. Generally, vocabuler consists of *sekar*, motion, displacement, and the connecting motion is assigned to arrange one vocabuler with another vocabuler.

Special vocabuler is only found in Mangkunagaran dance style i.e.: *sekar* *gidrah*, *ombak banyu* (moving forward and no backward movement), *enjer ridhong seblak samparan*, special *sekar* Anglirmendhung, and *methik sekar* which are all the symbols of war or movement in war or atmosphere in a war. Meanwhile *gidrah* vocabuler which means 'pating jingkrak' and 'kiprah', is a description of the atmosphere of war (from the word 'pating galidrah'. The motion of *ombak banyu* is a symbol for the motion of attack (forward continuing abstinence) is symbolized as the wave plaque. *Seblaksamparan* is a symbol for the utilization of all existing forces to paralyze the enemy (Prabowo, interview, February 10 2017).

c. Qualita in the Aesthetic of Dance

Qualita is the values based on the attitude of dancing to create a certain impression. In the treasury of Javanese dance there are many qualita that are based on certain aesthetic values. As can be exemplified in *mucang kanginan* (like a Pinang tree in the wind), *ngangrang bineda* (the angry ant for it is tempted), *doran tinangi* and *angron akung*, etc.

As for some *qualita* that are only found in Mangkunagaran style dance, some of which is *ngelir*. *Ngelir* comes from the word 'kelir' and with the prefix 'ng' where the 'ngelir' means a solid body posture, perpendicular (not inclined), like a vertical line with *kelir* (a type of screen in Javanese puppetry). In such a *qualita*, the dance body's position should not be leaning forward or backward. The forward-leaning position known in the Surakarta dance style, symbolizes the attitude of the concept *andhap asor* (humble as a servant of God). The position of body skew is called *ndoran tinangi* or *angron akung*. *Ndoran tinangi* means like *doran* (hoe handle) which although it stays upstright, the position is still leaning forward. While the *angron akung*'s leaning position is like a leaf (*ron*) that will "nglunthung" (for it begins to curl). While the body position of Mangkunagaran dance style is perpendicular like a screen in a puppet show. *Ngelir* position is also called *nggrudha* where *grudha* means banyan tree. Mangkunagaran style dancer is like a brave warrior then she must stand strong, as strong as a banyan tree.

Another typical *qualita* of Mangkunagaran is the asymmetrical position of body where the shoulder is not leaning to the left or right (asymmetry) to get the impression of *cakrak*. The position of *cakrak* is a symbol for a careful calculation and always alert for attitudes such as while stalking or facing the enemy (Prabowo, interview 10 February 2017).

Conclusion

At the end, this can be concluded that the main ideology of the Puro Mangkunagaran life is a struggle armed with unity. The ideology arose as a result of the unfair treatment of the rightful owners of the Mataram dynasty, namely the Prince of Mangkunegara and his descendants. The unfair treatment gives rise to extraordinary hurt and resentment and become the energy of the resistance drive. The unity is a means of building strength.

The ideology of resistance is articulated in various forms such as words, state logo or 'emblems', and cultural objects including dance. Mangkunagaran dance style repertoire contains mostly described war, although only a few are not a description of war. Special vocabuler of Mangkunagaran dance style motion is a symbol for motions in war and describes the atmosphere of war. *Kualita* in Mangkunagaran dance is used to achieve certain values related to warfare.

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