The Mamaca Text with a Pandawa Story for Rokat Pandhaba in Madura

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Abstract: Rokat Pandhaba is a purification ceremony to prevent someone from danger which is still carried out by some Madurese people. In the ceremony, Pandawa stories are always presented. There are two kinds of presentation of the story, depends on the economic ability of the person who will conduct ceremony. If the family is wealthy, the Pandawa story is presented in the form of a puppet mask show. While for the poor family, the Pandawa story is presented in the form of Mamaca narrating. Both of the performances have the same story. This research focused on presenting Pandawa stories in the form of Mamaca. The research data was collected through observations on the Rokat Pandhaba ceremony in Pamekasan and Mamaca text analysis. Based on the research, it can be concluded that the Pandawa story is used as a certifier that a Madurese will be out of danger if the family performs the mask dance.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Oral Literature of Mamaca in Pamekasan

In Pamekasan region, an oral tradition developed called Mamaca. This oral tradition has similarities with Macapat (read: Mocopat) tradition which developed in Java. Both are in Javanese songs, but have different nuances, based on the cultural influences of each region. Although it is in the form of Javanese song, the Mamaca tradition continues to grow in Islamic boarding schools and rural Madurese communities. The Mamaca tradition in Pamekasan is a form of acculturation of local culture with Macapat in Java.

The term Mamaca (Madurese language) means reading a story from a particular manuscript. This manuscript is also called Kitab or Layang. This manuscript is written in Arabic pégon. Kitab or Layang contains various stories that have the influence of Islamic culture. There are several popular Mamaca manuscripts, namely Layang Nurbuwat, Layang Yusuf, and Layang Pandhâbâ. These three manuscripts often deliver various events intended to fulfill various interests. The leader of the Mamaca group knows and adjusts the reading that will be presented in the event.

Figure 1. Narating Mamaca

Mamaca is usually performed or narrated by men. The reading activities are carried out alternately one by one and sometimes they do it together. Someone who acts as a Mamaca singer is called pamaos which means a reader (Figer 1). The rhythm of the reading follows various traditional song patterns in slendro-style that frame sentences that read from the Kitab or Layang. These traditional song patterns are synonymous with the Macapat tradition as in Java.

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(Kusmayati, 2018). One of the Mamaca performers acts as a translator or is called panegghes. Panegghes convey the meaning of the sentences which are read by pamaos into Madurese Language. The interpretation in Madurese language is delivered gradually after sentence by sentence or verse after verse is finished being sung by pamaos. The Mamaca performance is sometimes also accompanied by the sound of flutes or the beat of the xylophone.

A family can request or invite the Mamaca group to become a part of the facilities in the certain ritual ceremonies. One of the ceremonies that involving Mamaca is the purification ceremony of rokat. Rokat ritual in the Javanese tradition is known as ruwatan. Rokat ceremony is carried out for people who get the name pandawa or pandhabā (sukerta, Java). In the view of the Madurese, those who are included in the category of pandābā are only male or female children, two brothers and sisters, five brothers, a man among several sisters, and a woman among several brothers. The only male child is called the pandābā tiger. The only female child is called the pandābā rato. Two children, male and female are called pandābā pangganant or pandābā aingt. Two brothers are also called the pandābā tanganting. The five brothers are called pandābā lema’. Those who because of their birth carry certain traits are traditionally believed to be free from danger after the rokat pandābā purification ceremony be held. In practice, it is usually coupled with a wedding ceremony or the first seven-month pregnancy ceremony for girls’ Ruwatan (Rahayu, 2018).

The Rokat purification ceremony is very popular among the Madurese, especially in Sumenep and Pamekasan regions. Rokat Pandhabā is done so that humans in the category of Pandhaba are spared as prey to Bathara Kala. Bathara Kala is Goddess Uma and Bathara Guru’s giant son. He was born because of a mistake born. The people who are characterized by the pandābā are Bathara Kala’s meal promised by Bathara Guru.

In the narrating of Mamaca, the performers sit cross-legged and sit around the porch or living room which is lined with mats (figure 2). Layang that will be read is placed on the pillow. Layang with the pillow will move according to the seat of the pamaos. The voice of pamaos and panegghes, and the sound of flutes or xylophone will be heard intermittently and sometimes simultaneously together. If the implementation of the Mamaca is concurrent or for the benefit of a ceremony, the equipment of the ceremony (money, traditional snack, garden produce, cooking utensils, agricultural equipment, etc.) are placed in the middle of the circle. In general, the host also serves foods, coffee, and cigarettes. Coffee and the others are enjoyed together before starting the ceremony and at rest.

The reading of Layang starts at around 8:00 p.m. and must have been completed before 12 p.m. because the core ritual of the rokat Pandhabā is held at midnight around 12 p.m. After the reading of Layang is finished, followed by the rokat ritual with a sign of spraying for the children or people who are protected from danger by the older family member.
2 LAYANG PANDHABA

Layang Pandhaba manuscript is composed in five songs with the order of Kasmaran 16 stanzas, Sinom 40 stanzas, Pangkur 36 stanzas, Artati 16 stanzas, and Kasmaran for the closing of 7 stanzas. Here's a quick story about Layang Pandhaba.

Prophet Adam had a son, named Prophet Sis. The Prophet Sis and a wife who is an angel had some children, one of them is Bathara Guru. The descendants of the Prophet Sis did not adhere to Islam. The offspring is called Sangyang. Bathara Guru has a child named Bathara Kala. It is told that Bathara Guru asked the gods to weigh the universe. Bathara Kala and Sangyang Pungkur did not participate. At that time, they were meditating. Therefore, they were casted out to marcapada. One day, Sangyang Pungkur was awarded a gemstone chalice (cupu manik). Sangyang Pungkur went to meet Bathara Guru to give him cupu manik. After cupu manik was opened, a beautiful princess was appeared from it. Bathara Guru was about to marry the princess. The princess agreed to marry him with one condition that had to be fulfilled by him. She wanted a traditional instrument (gamelan) that could sound itself. Then, Bathara Guru asked for Sangyang Pungkur's advice in order to realize the princess's request. Sangyang Pungkur suggested Bathara Guru to ask for a help to his son, Bathara Kala who was famous for being very powerful. Then, Bathara Kala was summoned and asked to look for a gamelan that could sound itself. Bathara Kala was willing to do it as long as he was recognized as the child of Bathara Guru. After that, he went to do his father's command. Bathara Guru approached the princess. The princess was forced to be his wife. The princess did not want to, but she continued to be forced. Then, the princess ran away, but Bathara Guru could chase her. After being caught, the princess was killed. Her body was put into the cupu manik again.

The princess’s corpse had been in the cupu manik for three days. When the cup was opened, the princess disappeared and there were a thousand grasses in it. Then, Bathara Guru sent Narada down to the world to find Goddess Aseri. The rice planted by Gendhing Panukir, grew into rice plants. He transformed himself into a pig and searched the rice plants so that the rice became damaged, but Bathara Kala was unable to find her.

At that time, Vishnu met Bathara Guru and told him that Kala was not looking for gamelan but he chased Goddess Aseri. The rice planted by Gendhing Panukir as the command of Bathara Guru was even damaged. Hearing Vishnu's report, Bathara Guru was angry. Narada was told to bring Kala before him. Kala was scolded for not carrying out the task of searching for gamelan and had damaged rice plants. Kala regretted his actions. Then, he asked about the food he had to eat. Bathara Guru told him that the foods were Pandawa. Kala asked about who was called Pandawa. Bathara Guru explained that Pandawa are: 1) nganting namely people who have no siblings; 2) pangatin namely two siblings, male and female; 3) sandhang apit pancuran, namely three siblings, the firstborn male, then female, and the youngest male; 4) pancuran apangapit sandhang namely three siblings, the eldest one was female, then male, and the youngest one was also female; 5) pandawa tungkak, namely one female or one male among four to twenty siblings; 6) pandawa macan was a person who only has one child; 7) pandawa marcu are people who damage the furnace; 8) pandawa sagara atas, which is a person who is crushed by a barn; 9) people who leave in the middle of the night; 10) people who are dying. Then, Kala asked about who would accompany him to Marcapada. Bathara Guru replied that those who would be his servants were as many as forty. Then, they departed.

Godess Uma felt sorry for her son. He begged Bathara Guru to forgive their son. Bathara Guru was angry at the request. Uma was told to follow her son to Marcapada. On Friday midnight, Bathara Guru took her by riding the Andini oxen. They arrived at
Kala's place. He was bursting out laughing because his parents were now classified as his food. They were people who left at midday. Bathara Guru was surprised. He tried to avoid by making puzzles to buy time. Kala was told to guess. The puzzle read \textit{teri tutup sat lucani, esat karsanani, para rasul catur kunthul.} Bathara Guru asked the meaning of \textit{iku}. Kala answered that \textit{iku} was ika tail, meant one. Bathara Guru asked who had a tail. Kala answered that the tail belonged to the vehicle of Bathara Guru. Then, Bathara Guru gave one more question about the meaning of \textit{sat luca}. Bathara Kala answered that \textit{sat} means six, while \textit{luca} means eye. Then, Bathara Guru asked whose eyes were six. He answered, those were Bathara Guru and Goddess Uma's eyes. The next question was the meaning of \textit{sat karna}. Kala answered that \textit{sat} was six and \textit{karna} meant ear. The next, Bathara Guru asked whose ears were six. Kala answered, the six ears belonged to Bathara Guru, Goddess Uma, and the ox. Bathara Guru asked again, what the apostle meant. Kala answered that the apostle meant penis. The father asked whose penis it was. Kala answered that it was Bathara Guru's penis. The next question asked by Bathara Guru was the meaning of \textit{catur kunthul}. The son answered that \textit{catur} meant four, while \textit{kunthul} meant one. The father gave one more question, who the four testicles were. Kala answered, those were Bathara Guru and the ox's testicles. Finally, Bathara Guru praised the intelligence of his son because he had succeeded in answering the puzzle. Kala then asked his parents to be killed as his food. The father replied that it was dusk, meaning they were no longer included in the middle of the day. Kala was angry because he felt that he had been tricked by his father. Kala's anger was appeased by his father, saying that it was common for parents to be smarter than their children.

Goddess Uma also asked to Bathara Guru about her food. He said that her food was the same as her son. Kala, Uma was also told to come to the person who was going to give birth and blow her head so that the baby was born quickly.

One day, Kala was chasing after \textit{nguntung-nganting}. \textit{Nguntung-nganting} was hiding in the \textit{peltung} of the grass seeker children. Kala asked them. The children answered that they did not know. Kala swore that the grass seeker children whose \textit{peltung} facing upward would be his food. \textit{Tanganting} continued to run. Kala chased after him. When Kala's feet caught in a pumpkin tree, she swore that the person who planted pumpkin would be his food. \textit{Tanganting} ran into a house without \textit{tangantungi} (?). He managed to escape from Kala's pursuit. Kala also swore that someone who owned a house without \textit{tangantungi} will be his food. Kala's followers told him that \textit{Tanganting} entered the kitchen. Kala saw a rice boiler above the stove. He checked the rice boiler. \textit{Tanganting} was not there. Then, Kala swore that the person who did not cover the boiler while cooking, they would become his food. \textit{Tanganting} continued to run. \textit{Tanganting} met a woman whose house was on the roadside and was picking water spinach. He begged to be allowed to hide. Kala arrived at that place. The woman was asked about Tanganting. She answered that she did not know. Then, Tanganting escaped from the pursuit of Kala immediately. Kala swore that someone whose house was on the roadside and planted the water spinach would be his food. Tanganting found bamboo that was not made of paper. He then hid inside the bamboo. Kala arrived at that place. Tanganting could escape again. The same as the previous one, Kala swore again to anyone who cut bamboo without a book would be his food.

Bathara Guru heard Kala's behavior. After that, he asked Narada to go down to marcapada to bring the puppeteer mask along with the gamelan to save the people from danger. The four gods, Yang Indra, Yang Kamaajaya, Yang Anggana, and the lame god were sent down to marcapada carrying the gamelan and the mask puppeteer. Yang Indera became the puppeteer and others as accompanists. They were considered by King Darmawangsa day and night as a protector from all forms of misfortune.

\textit{Tanganting} who ran away from Kala's pursuit arrived at the Darmawangsa kingdom where the puppet mask was performed. He asked for help. Darmawangsa asked Tanganting to join the accompanists to beat \textit{kenong}. Kala arrived at the place and asked about Tanganting. He was told to check the place of the gamelan musicians. Suddenly, he wanted to beat. He begged to be allowed to beat the gamelan. He was allowed on condition that he would give up his own \textit{bedhung} (machete). Kala agreed, then he joined to play gamelan until finally feeling hungry. It was told that there was a child watching the performance near the gamelan. Kala wanted to kill him but did not have his \textit{bedhung}. His mother also said there was no point in wanting to eat the child because Kala did not have \textit{bedhung} anymore. Then, the child was released by Kala. The child immediately ran away.

Afterwards, Kala met the king asking for his \textit{bedhung} back. King Darmawangsa submitted a condition. Kala was asked to testify that whoever hold the mask puppet show would be free from the group he ate or free from \textit{pandawa}. Kala promised not to eat those who hold the mask puppet show. In addition, there are other requirements for them who hold the
mask puppet show. They have to prepare *dandang* (rice boiler), frying pans, fireplace stoves, spoons, and plates. Pandawa (who will be protected from danger) is given special clothes. Other equipment are *tumpeng ingkung ayam* (a cone shaped rice with chicken as side dishes around it), thousand kinds of flowers, one thousand kinds of fruits, tubers (sweet potatoes, jicama, etc.), one thousand *keteng* of gold coins, one bunch of bananas, pillows, and mats. Near the puppeteer, there are offerings such as betel leaf, areca nut, a bunch of *sivalan* fruit, *pucang*, coconut sugar, rice, chicken, *lawe*, caluk, hoe, paddy, dugel *jung*, ketupat, lepet, chicken egg, seven or nine kinds of fragrance, seven kinds of fragrant flowers, whip, rope, comb, *serit*, glass, fragrant powder of various kinds of flowers, white pomegranate flowers, jugs, forty four candlings.

Darmawangsa asked Kala to swear. Kala swore that he would not break his promise. If the promise is broken, he will be cursed by the Most Holy and find bad luck from the prophets and angels. If the people who belongs to Pandawa do not consider the story of the puppeteer mask, they will get the wrath of the Most Holy and will not get the blessing of the Prophet. *Rokat* is a medicine. The medicine for people who are sad is to read al-Quran. The people who belongs to Pandawa considered the story of Kala. Darmawangsa asked Kala not to destroy everything that grows on this earth. This action is a big sin.

Kala asked to be told about the kinds of parents to Darmawangsa. Darmawangsa said that there were three kinds of parents, namely essential, elderly person, and animal. Essential parents are parents who teach truth and goodness. Elderly parents are parents who do not repeat what they teach. Animal people are parents who like to eat anything. They like eating all day long.

Kala asked who called kyai. Darmawangsa replied that those who are called kyai are those who like to remain silent at home teaching all the knowledge of virtue (wisdom). There is another thing called *makkah*, which is someone who likes to teach his knowledge by going to places that will give him rewards. Kala asks about pillars of faith. Darmawangsa answered that there are six pillars of faith: 1) believe in God; 2) believe in God's angels; 3) believe in the books of God; 4) believe in the apostle of God; 5) believe in the Day of Judgment; 6) believe in God's destiny. Kala asked about the meaning of Islam. Darmawangsa replied that Islam is according to all the commands of Allah and the Prophet. Kala asked about the meaning of religion. Darmawangsa answered that there are four meanings of religion, namely faith, *tauhhid*, *makrifat*, and *lughat*.

Kala asked about the meaning of science. Darmawangsa replies that the knowledge is in the form of *nur dzat af'al*. Kala said that he knew everything taught by King Darmawangsa. The king requested Kala not to eat people who belonged to the Pandawa group because Kala had been a Moslem. Kala agreed to the request of the king, but Kala asked them to still consider the story about him. Anyone who does not want to be considered or does not get along with the Pandawa, cursed will not get a blessing, will not live long, and will not get prosperity and happiness in the world and the hereafter.

4 CONCLUSIONS

4.1 The Mamaca Tradition in the Setting of the Present Madurese Community

Based on the reading of the Layang Pandhaba text above, it can be concluded that the text acts as a certifier that the performance of the mask dance for a Madurese is very important. This performance can eliminate someone's pandhaba. A person who was originally classified as a pandhaba will be free when he performs mask dance performance or at least listen to the story of Pandhaba.

The *mamaca* tradition is an ideological site in which various ideologies meet and experience a dialectical process until the balance is achieved in harmony manifested in ethics and performance aesthetics. The *mamaca* oral tradition known in Madura appears to have a connection with the macapat tradition that lived and developed on the island of Java (mainly Central Java) since the time of Mataram kingdom period. The existence of the *Mamaca* Tradition is closely related to the social life of the supporting community. This tradition was born as a means of fulfilling the needs of the people in the place where the tradition grew and developed. Madurese people are known as people who have a very strong religious (Islamic) tradition. The presence of the *mamaca* oral tradition confirms the characteristics of the Madurese community because *mamaca* performances are derived from didactic texts and morality influenced by Islamic culture.

The *mamaca* tradition that lives in the Madurese community acts as a ritual media. This is related to the implementation of the *mamaca* tradition in the rituals of *rokat pandhaba*, marriage, circumcision, and when commemorating Islamic holidays (Rifai,
The existence of mamaca is something that must be presented in the procession of the implementation of all types of rokat purification ceremony. The Madurese consider that if the reading of the song is not presented into the procession of all types of rokat, then the implementation of the rokat is said to be invalid.

Rokat purification ceremony is a part of Madurese life that cannot be ignored until now. The religious values adopted by the majority of the population are not an obstacle for them. Rokat becomes a place for someone or society to lean when they are in trouble. Rokat is deemed appropriate to hang certain expectations. Rokat is also considered capable of releasing someone or group from snares that will threaten him (Dana, 2018). Thus, the Rokat continues to be pursued so that it can continue. Madurese assume that if the mamaca tradition is not carried out, the rokat that are carried out are not valid. Therefore, it can be understood that as a form of oral tradition, Mamaca shows its dynamic nature in order to be able to set a position itself in the social context and development of its owner's community.

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