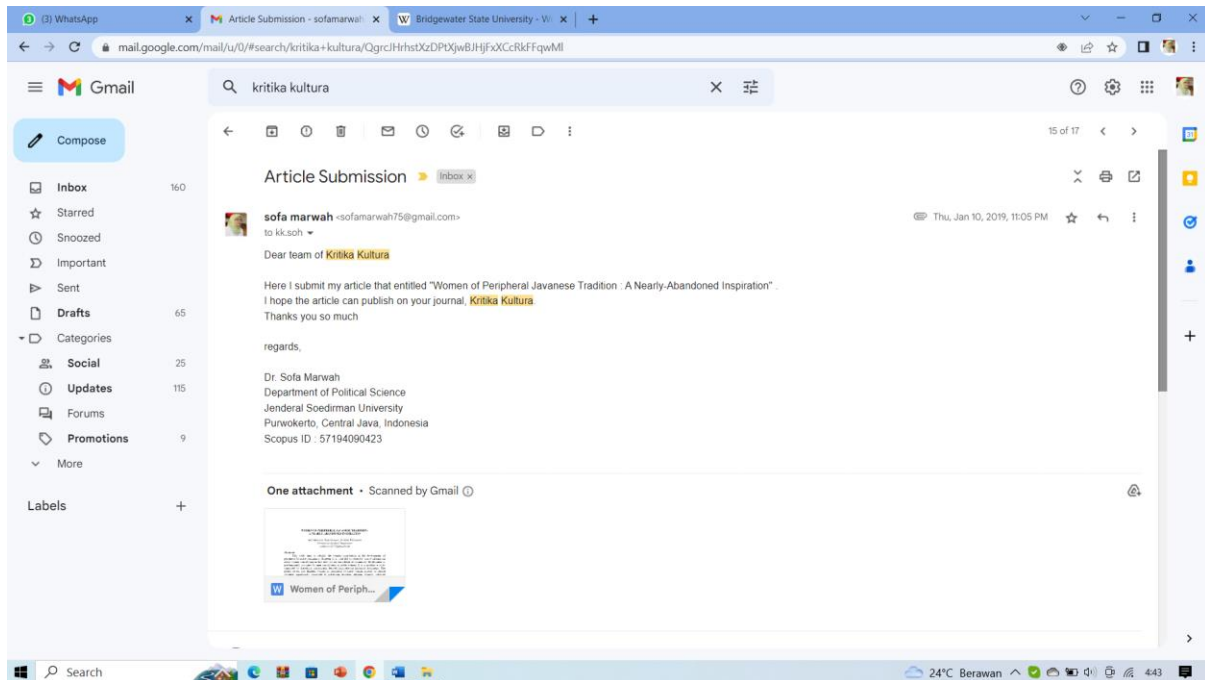


BUKTI REVIEW DAN KORESPONDENSI
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**WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION:
A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION**

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Abstract:

This study aims to identify the women contribution in the development of peripheral Javanese community, Bagelen. It is vital due to relatively scarce information about women contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men contribution or noble women. It is a qualitative study supported by theoretical construction derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that Bagelen women as peripheral Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition, religion, dynasty, cultivate agriculture and production. The contribution of Bagelen women in preserving dolalak dance, upholding religious verses through art and songs, delivering Islamic verses, is barely acknowledged by the public as a women effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women contribution is significant to be the resource for the community so that the community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords: *Bagelen, contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, women*

About the Author

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Universitas Indonesia. Her research interests are politics, women, and cultural. She wrote books such as *Contestation of Women and Politics in Banyumas Culture*, *Women in Islamic Power Tradition in Banyumas*, and *Indonesia Political Thinking*.

Introduction

This paper aims to identify the women contribution of a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. The center of power and culture called *negarigung* (central of power) region encompassed Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region has become a peripheral area since the Giyanti Agreement on February 13, 1755, which was fully loaded by Dutch colonial interference. This agreement forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta (Solo) Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. The agreement confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region was also affected by the agreement. Prior to the Giyanti Agreement, the region belonged to *negarigung*, but it shifted to become *mancanegara* (beyond) region as the power change occurred. As a part of *mancanegara* region, Bagelen always referred to as how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research is vital since women frequently become forgotten figures in community development. This study fills out the previous ones that examined the contribution of women in the development of community groups, namely Nastiti (2016) on the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century; Carey and Houben (2016) on the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century; Permanadeli (2015) who studied the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era; Adji and Wintala (2018) about women who ruled Java. Then, Pangastoeti (2009) addressed marginalized women in human history due to subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing while women in marginal positions are not deemed to provide a pivotal role in the development of society.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news of a Javanese ruler talks about how the greatness of the king, the prosperity of the people as the evidence of king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who is dominated by men. Consequently, a lot of knowledge is profoundly produced by men. In contrast, the existence of women became invisible in a community growth as the king's rule prevailed.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely found in women at the top positions: women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women, according to Abdullah said (2018). This confirms the men dominance who are present as kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time. Hence, the study of the women contribution of the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture is expected to provide a crucial contribution to show that women either upper-class women or peripheral ones provide extensive contributions to the social development. To achieve this goal, the study was divided into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely qualitative research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part discusses Bagelen women as guardians of traditions and cultures that are not widely known and understood by the public; the fourth part examines

women as upholders of religion and belief; and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

Research Methods

This is a qualitative study (Newman 4) to construct social reality and cultural meanings related to the women contribution of the Bagelen community in Purworejo and Kebumen Districts. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built on the basis of intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. Research informants were selected by snowball sampling (Harrison 25), starting from one particular informant and continuing to the next informant according to the development of information elicited in the field. Research informants involved the historians and cultural figures of Bagelen from Purworejo and Kebumen; female leaders in Bagelen area; arts and culture enthusiasts; and academics observing history, culture, and religion. Data were collected using a combination of in-depth interviews, document studies, and observations. Data processing began with the data classification process, and then theoretical abstraction steps on information obtained to formulate basic statements. The analysis is carried out simultaneously throughout the research process to reach fundamental conclusions as research answers.

Bagelen Women as a Tradition Guardian

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko*/low, *madya*/middle, *krama inggil*/high) while the Banyumas language obviously dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless the social strata. One word to prove the influence is the word "*enyong*." The word can be compared with the word "*inyong*" in the Banyumas language which means "I." In Banyumas culture, the word "*inyong*" has become a language symbol that reflects a culture of "*penginyongan*" which illustrates the more egalitarian society, not based on strong social layers. "*Penginyongan*," which comes from the word "*inyong*" to refer to the first person singular, shows a form of social relations that is informal, egalitarian, unpretentious, and humorous. Of course not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

Ludi's study (2014) shows that Purworejo region is influenced by standard Javanese (Yogyakarta) and Kebumen dialect. In this case, Kebumen dialect reflects the strong influence of the Banyumas language. Similarly, the study of Priyadi (1-2) states that several Kebumen cultures represent a mixture of Banyumas *penginyongan* culture and Yogyakartan culture or known as *priyayi*/upper-class culture. Priyadi (191) also emphasizes that as a Javanese culture, Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture. Despite much upper-class (*priyayi*) in the Bagelen region, the social order that is formed does not reflect strong feudalistic values.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, the dominant community structure is mutual cooperation and prioritizes common interests. In its development, farmers are still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. Some hilly areas of Bagelen are commonly used by local residents for plantations including the wide variety of fruits. In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely *batik*. The local batik production named Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti

batik in Kebumen Regency. The variety of *batik* patterns produced by the two districts can be widely used by people. In terms of coloring, the Bagelen society is free to create bright colors which actually reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the *batik* patterns characterize which class the wearer of *batik* is. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo *batik* in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency characterizes egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

To see the contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. There are abundant versions that explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo* (without years), the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* (inscriptions) later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the *prasasti* were in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription described the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. There is no information that explains whether women have an important contribution in maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are male-dominated rulers who do not involve the women contribution. In this case, we can assume that in fact prosperity and order cannot be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women capability to contribute significantly in fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community was Nyai Ageng Bagelen. The name Nyai Bagelen in Santoso (2013) also referred to Roro Rengganis. Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but in form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen is the ancestor of the Bagelen community who is described as a resilient farmer. She also raises and weaves while taking care of household chores. Nyai Bagelen is also depicted as a woman who has a strong stance, even daring to "fight" her husband to defend her opinion. Nyai Bagelen also has a leadership spirit. When her husband, Raden Ngawu-awu Langit, decided to go back to his origin due to a dispute with her, Nyai Bagelen replaced her husband's position as a leader in the Bagelen region. Nevertheless, Nyai Bagelen chose "*moksa*" (the body disappears) when her husband died, as a form of loyalty to her husband.

In terms of names, the address "Nyai Bagelen" with its own name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognized her identity with her own name, without relying on the husband's name. It is very likely that it was influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and free than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is actually recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of men and women through one's name. Identity as men will be signified as a men group, and become a marker of difference from the "confronted" group namely women (Woodward 2). Clearly, the identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself was recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the figure of Nyai Bagelen, however, was reduced to the issue of gender bias. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah 2018), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which cause the greatness of female characters to fade away due to its gender bias. In this case, Mulder's study (1996) can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out

that Javanese people have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles in terms that men in the family have role in public affairs while woman plays her role in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* (men are in the front, women are behind, lit.). The basic principle of this division is complimentary. In the context of equality discourse, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary, as society develops, the women contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being "placed behind," to complement the "front party". As a result, the involvement of women increasingly worn out and unknown to the wider audience.

In the context of Nyai Bagelen figure which experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public, Abdullah (2018) stated that the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced what so-called appropriate where a female leadership became invisible to the public that prevents the knowledge of Nyai Bagelen as a local female figure from the spotlight. The existence of Nyai Bagelen figure is more symbolized by mythical matters which obscure its real virtues. The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raise livestock, and the weave is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm and assertive woman are somehow abandoned by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to past figure who is closely related to magic and mystical. In fact, the figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural and industrial leader remains unexplored.

The figure of women in Bagelen can also be seen from *dolalak* dance that lived and developed in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. The history of the Dolalak dance is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. The indigenous soldiers who were required to join the military by the Dutch spent their spare time by dancing, singing and dancing that gradually, *dolalak* dance developed. Yet the existence of *dolalak* dance is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially in relation to folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers then it developed that was dominated by women. The shift from male *dolalak* dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santoso (2013) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. Nowadays, it tends to be a shift in the role of women limited to only on the performance stage.

In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* dance along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched on this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasized that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say that the arts were born among ordinary people and the initiation was still dominated by men. However, when *dolalak* is played by women, it is obvious that women are capable to be the guardian of culture and tradition.

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santoso above is part of an effort to show that women actually also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah 2018). Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, especially for women in the peripheral regions. At

that time, elite Javanese women were confined to a narrow circle of power, as shown by Carey's study above.

Thus the study of the women contribution in the journey of a community group is also an effort to place women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentrism, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly subordination to women (Budianti 207). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community group often out of sight.

The effort to examine the women position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity (Shiva 1997). Shiva is putting women who at first as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured (Kleden 1987).

Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect the lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. Even the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among farming communities is also recognized in Pasundan Land.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from an agrarian environment situation and later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered Hinduism and Buddhism, and later Islam. When the Hindu-Buddhist development period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embrace Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

In regard to the Islam development in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque (*Office of Tourism and Culture Purworejo* 2008). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* (the head) made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* (pyramid) roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islam development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background related to the mosque is the King of Mataram, namely Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, namely 1613-1645 AD. The mosque also became the oldest mosque in the Bagelen region. Bagelen Mosque was established based on the instruction of Sultan Agung's wife. The order was intended to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung was reinforced by the number of 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. There is unclear general knowledge that women also contribute to spreading Islam in the Bagelen region. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency for example, always refer to the men contribution who develop Islam in the region. We never knew how women were present in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas including Kebumen Regency also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region were also confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role in spreading Islam in Java through *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) or *wayang golek* (wooden puppet) was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this was a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region was manifested by the embodiment of religious symbols in *wayang kulit*; *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* (pray for the Prophet Muhammad); *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling the women involved as important as men in reciting sholawat, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art are hardly known and placed by the public as a form of women involvement in broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo began to occur before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* (local term for Muslim) later known as Kyai Sadrach, became the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term "santri" can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz (2017) conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* (peasants), and *priyayi*. Kyai Sadrach was a *santri* who later converted to Christianity even taking a position as a missionary. In 1869 Kyai Sadrach disseminated Christianity in Purworejo along with female Christian leaders, namely Mrs. Philips and Mrs. Oostrom Philips (Carey 221). In addition, to support the spread of Christianity in the area, junior high school level was established by PSSK (Association of Christian Schools). Again, the contribution of women maintains and uphold their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. One study providing evidence related to this is the participation of women in higher education established by Catholics in Magelang, an area not far from Purworejo. The women involved in higher education also shows the concern or mission of the Catholic religion to provide education for women who are the same as men (Raap 46). It proves that religion actually has a big

contribution to the advancement of women education, and women also become part of the community who contribute to upholding religion in accordance with their respective beliefs

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they were not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. Nyai Bagelen is a guardian of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and production. This finding is actually more profound than Carey's findings that the key role of women in Javanese history is the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced history discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has more been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

The writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its own mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Definitely, modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of the women contribution in the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

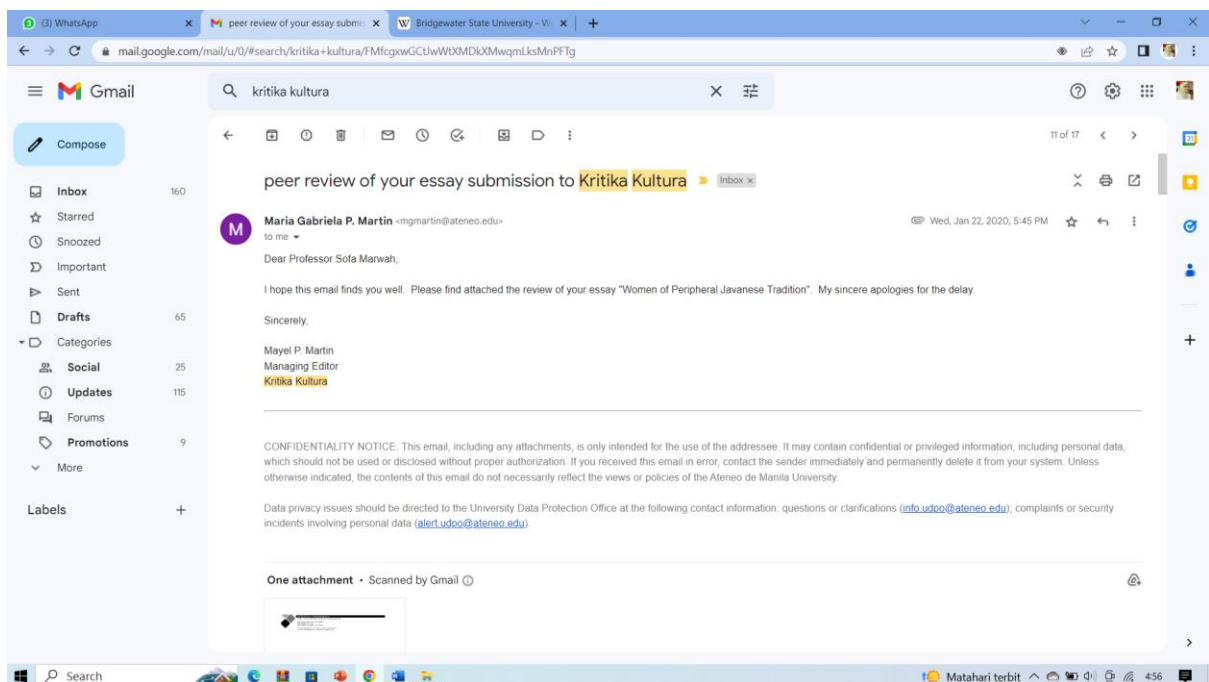
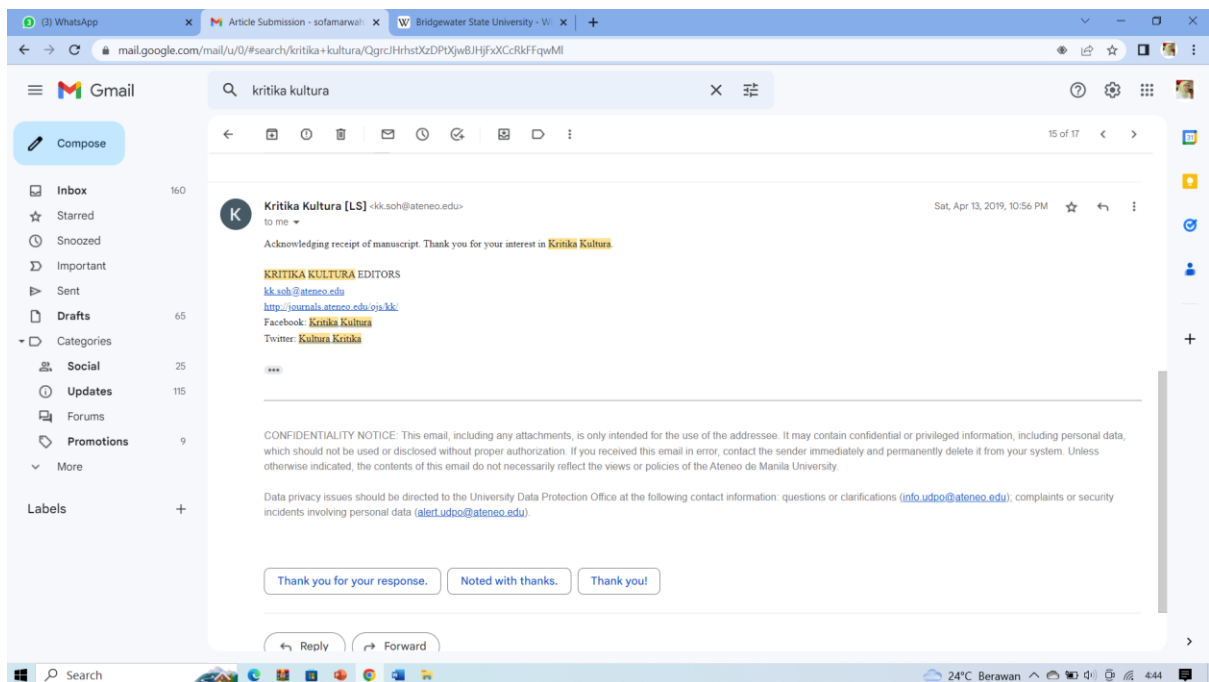
Note

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ON SCHOLARSHIP

Kindly evaluate the article on aspects such as relevance of topic; originality and soundness of argument; quality of research; comparison with research undertaken by other scholars, among others.

- * The article provides an important study on the role of Bagelen women in the local history and in preserving the local knowledge and tradition.
- * The article attempts to unveil the locality, specificity, and heterogeneity of a particular community and people in relation to geography, social class, and gender that will certainly contribute to the production of knowledge and relevant issues; however, this important focus is not yet well discussed and elaborated.

Please provide clear and specific points for revision which you'd like the author to undertake, stating as well the reasons why you are recommending these changes.

- * The focus of the study regarding the locality, specificity, and heterogeneity is lost in the course of the discussion and instead leads to the binary opposition of the central and peripheral arguments of the Bagelen regional geography.
- * There are some examples of the 'specificity' such as how linguistically and geographically Bagelen and the people are different from others, and how their geographical and cultural difference also give them space to create a more egalitarian and colorful batik. However, those aspects are not yet discussed in relation to the focus of the study: women of Bagelen who involved in the Dolalak dance.
- * The discussion is merely limited to the scope of Bagelen women as peripheral group in contrast to the central Javanese women (particularly the ancient Javanese noble women who held powerful position). Thus, the article does not yet dwell upon the difference of social class, not only concerning how the mythic and peripheral Nyai Bagelen differed from those powerful ancient Javanese women in term of social class and other marginal identities.
- * The article should also provide more knowledge and insights concerning the identities of the women who participated in the Dolalak dance so that their peripherality and marginality become important part of the discussion as the article attempts to claim and focus, and how despite those marginal positioning they still maintain a crucial role in preserving the tradition and culture.
- * The article had provided the example of how the Bagelen women participated in the important public and religious tradition and rituals, i.e., reciting the Holy Verses, and more. However, it needs to provide more elaborate details and arguments how and why the women are able to take over and dominate the Dolalak tradition from their male counterpart. It should also problematize some possible reasons of not only manage to participate in the public space through the dance, but also the possibility of its entertainment aspect of how they become the spectacle and the object of the public 'gaze' for spectatorship in modern context?

OTHER CONCERNS

You may also evaluate the article with regard to style and organization, and recommend further points for revision.

*The earlier part of the article promises particular focus of discussion, yet along the way it shifts the focus and merely provides general arguments and generalization of centre and periphery binary oppositions.

* It needs better organization and flow of thoughts to retain the focus,

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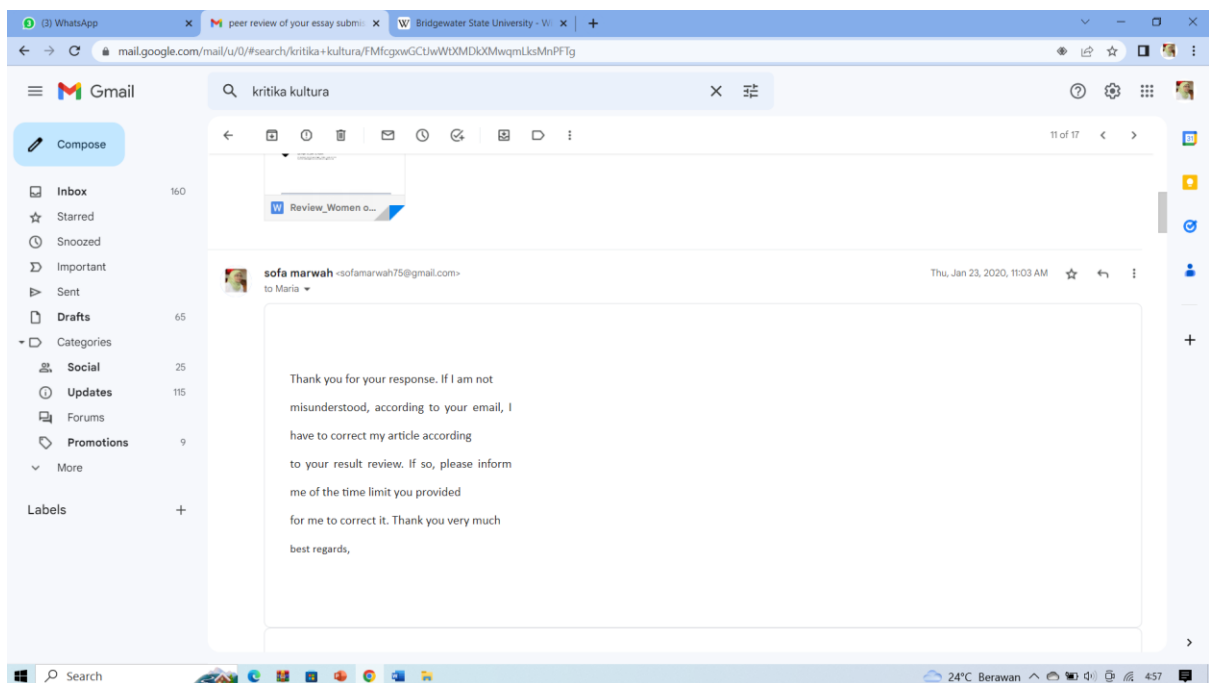
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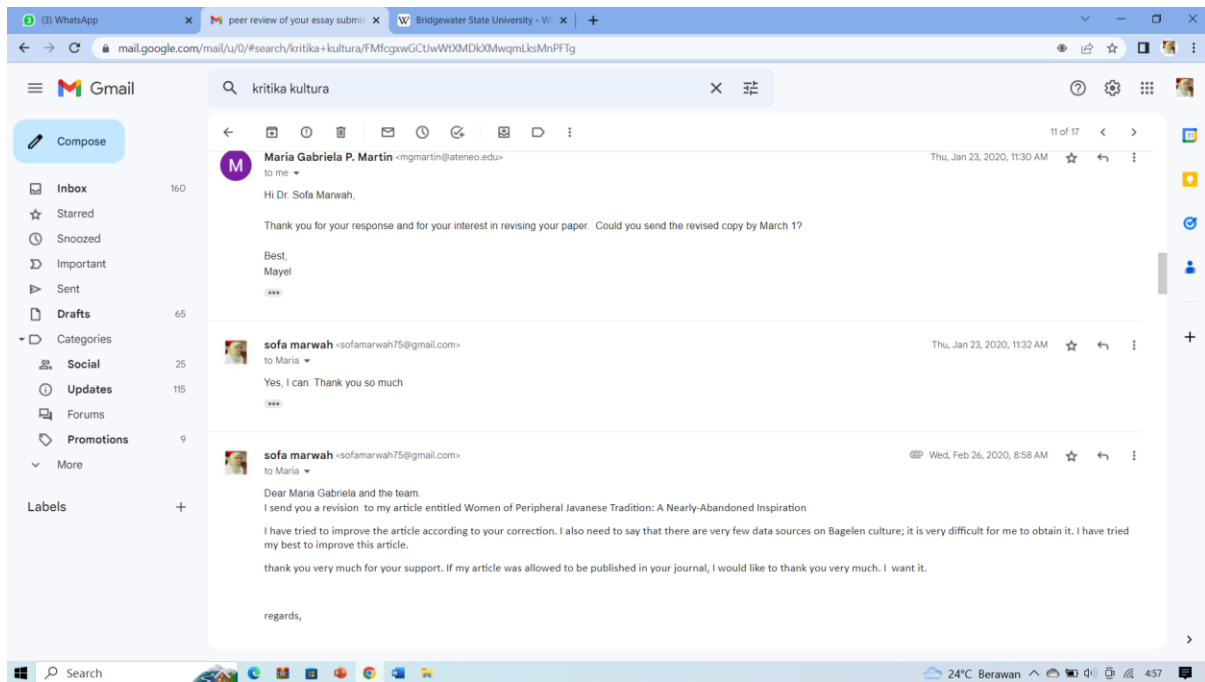
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WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION: A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION

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Abstract:

This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of Javanese community peripherals, Bagelen. It is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. It is a qualitative study supported by theoretical construction derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that Javanese women as peripherals Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving *dolalak* dance, upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a

woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resource for the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords: *Bagelen, contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, women*

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Introduction

This paper aims to identify the women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. The center of power and culture called *negarigung* (central of power) region encompassed Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region has become a peripheral area since the Giyanti Agreement on February 13, 1755, which was fully loaded by Dutch colonial interference. This agreement forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta (Solo) Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. The agreement confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region was also affected by the agreement. Before the Giyanti Agreement, the region belonged to *negarigung*, but it shifted to become *mancanegara* (beyond) region as the power change occurred. As a part of *mancanegara* region, Bagelen always referred to as how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research regards the contribution of women in a Javanese community peripheral. Previous research on the contribution of women in community development was dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. The previous study examined the contribution of women in the development of Javanese society at the center of power, such as Nastiti (2016) studied on the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century; Carey and Houben (2016) studied on the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century; Permanadeli (2015) who studied the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era; Adji and Wintala (2018) examined about women who ruled Java. Moreover,

Pangastoeti (2009) addressed marginalized women in human history due to subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing while women in marginal positions are not deemed to provide a pivotal role in the development of society.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news of a Javanese ruler talks about how the greatness of the king, the prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who is dominated by men. Consequently, a lot of knowledge is profoundly produced by men. In contrast, the existence of women became invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely found in women at the top positions: women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women, according to Irwan Abdullah (2018), the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, said. This confirms the men dominance that is present as kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, the study of the women's contribution of the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture is expected to provide a crucial contribution to show that women either upper-class women or peripheral ones provide extensive contributions to the social development. To achieve this goal, the study was divided into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely qualitative research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of woman leader in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; in the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion, and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

Research Methods

This is a qualitative study (Newman 4) to construct social reality and cultural meanings related to the women's contribution of the Bagelen community in the southwestern part of Java, namely Purworejo and Kebumen Districts. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. Research informants were selected by snowball sampling (Harrison 25), starting from one particular informant and continuing to the next informant according to the development of information elicited in the field. Research informants involved the historians and cultural figures of Bagelen from Purworejo and Kebumen; arts and culture enthusiasts; and academics observing history, culture, and religion. Data were collected using a combination of in-depth interviews, document studies, and observations. Data processing began with the data classification process, and then theoretical abstraction steps on information obtained to formulate basic statements. The analysis is carried out simultaneously throughout the research process to reach fundamental conclusions as research answers.

Women Leader in Bagelen Community in The Past

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower strata which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* (ordinary people), and the upper strata is *gusti/penggede* (the higher social) (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different hierarchical powers. People who have a higher social hierarchy must be respected. As for Bagelen culture as peripheral Javanese culture, Bagelen culture has a more open and loose

social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite much upper-class in the Bagelen region, the social order that is formed does not reflect strong feudalistic values.

To see the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. Several versions explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo* (without years), the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* (inscriptions) later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the *prasasti* were in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription described the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are male-dominated rulers who do not involve women's contributions. In this case, we can assume that prosperity and order cannot be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community was Nyai Ageng Bagelen. Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen is the ancestor of the Bagelen community who is described as a resilient farmer.

In terms of names, the address "Nyai Bagelen" with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognized her identity with her name, without relying on the husband's name. It was likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and free than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of men and women through one's name. Identity as men will be signified as a men group, and become a marker of difference from the "confronted" group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself was recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the figure of Nyai Bagelen, however, was reduced to the issue of gender bias. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah 2018), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to its gender bias. In this case, Mulder's study (1996) can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people, have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles in terms that men in the family have role in public affairs while woman plays her role in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* (men are in the front, women are behind, lit.). The basic principle of this division is complimentary. In the context of equality discourse, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary, as society develops, the women's contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being "placed behind," to complement the "front party". As a result, the involvement of women increasingly worn out and unknown to the wider audience.

In the context of Nyai Bagelen figure which experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public, Abdullah (2018) stated that the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced what so-called appropriate where a female leadership became invisible to the public that prevents the knowledge of Nyai Bagelen as a local female figure from the spotlight. The existence of Nyai Bagelen figure is more symbolized by mythical matters which obscure its real virtues. The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raise livestock, and the weave is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm and assertive woman are somehow abandoned by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mystical. Her presence as a leader in the peripheral of Java increasingly does not place her recognized in the historical development of a society dominated by men and popular figures. Even history writers are also mostly filled by male figures. Ahimsa Putra (2019), the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's findings that the key role of women in Javanese history is the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced history discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has more been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group is also an effort to place women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentrism, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly subordination to women (Budianti 207). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community group often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity (Shiva 1997). Shiva is putting women who at first as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured (Kleden 1987).

Bagelen Women as Preservers of Tradition

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level

(*ngoko*/low, *madya*/middle, *krama inggil*/high) while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless the social strata. Of course not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, the dominant community structure is cooperation and prioritizes common interests. In its development, farmers are still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. Some hilly areas of Bagelen are commonly used by residents for plantations including the wide variety of fruits.

In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely *batik*. The local batik production named Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency. The variety of *batik* patterns produced by the two districts can be widely used by people. In terms of coloring, the Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and *batik* designs varying that reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the *batik* designs characterize which class the wearer of *batik* is. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo *batik* in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency characterizes egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

The local language used in the Bagelen community has shown that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, traditional *batik* in the area also has a variety of colors and patterns that show people who have characteristic more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely *dolalak* dance.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen from *dolalak* dance that lived and developed in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. The history of the Dolalak dance is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. The indigenous soldiers who were required to join the military by the Dutch spent their spare time dancing, singing and dancing that gradually, *dolalak* dance developed. Yet the existence of *dolalak* dance is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* dance along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasized that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say that the arts were born among ordinary people and the initiation was still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, moreover for women in the peripheral regions.

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers then it developed that was dominated by women. The shift from male *dolalak* dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santoso (2013) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. For example, the development of *dolalak* in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the center of *dolalak* dance development in Purworejo Regency. The development of *dolalak* dance by women according to one of the arts managers in the village said that the *dolalak* dance played

by women made the dance more interesting. The *dolalak* dance group in Kaliharjo Village has approximately 40 members, but women who play *dolalak* are not only dancers who are members of an art group, but also almost all women in the village, from housewives to elementary school children.

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santoso above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah 2018). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing *dolalak* dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Historians are also dominated by men, so the narration about the contribution of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view if the one writing history about *dolalak* may be a woman, then the interpretation that emerges may be "more impartial" that the development of *dolalak* is mixed and the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve *dolalak*, by Ahimsa Putra (2019) said.

In part it can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social strata that is not strong, a colloquial language that shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism, then, in fact, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of *dolalak* dance, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing as important as men, even when the development of *dolalak* dance is precisely when played by women.

Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect the lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. Even the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among farming communities is also recognized in Pasundan Land.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from an agrarian environment situation and later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered Hinduism and Buddhism, and later Islam. When the Hindu-Buddhist development period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embrace Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

In regard to the Islam development in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque (*Office of Tourism and Culture Purworejo* 2008). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* (the head) made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* (pyramid) roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islam development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background related to the mosque is the King of Mataram, namely Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, namely 1613-1645 AD. The

mosque also became the oldest mosque in the Bagelen region. Bagelen Mosque was established based on the instruction of Sultan Agung's wife. The order was intended to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung was reinforced by the number of 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. There is unclear general knowledge that women also contribute to spreading Islam in the Bagelen region. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency for example, always refer to the men contribution who develop Islam in the region. We never knew how women were present in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas including Kebumen Regency also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region were also confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role in spreading Islam in Java through *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) or *wayang golek* (wooden puppet) was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this was a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region was manifested by the embodiment of religious symbols in *wayang kulit*; *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* (pray for the Prophet Muhammad); *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling the women involved as important as men in reciting *sholawat*, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art are hardly known and placed by the public as a form of women involvement in broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo began to occur before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* (local term for Muslim) later known as Kyai Sadrach, became the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term "*santri*" can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz (2017) conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* (peasants), and *priyayi* (nobleman). Kyai Sadrach was a *santri* who later converted to Christianity even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of criticism at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of

Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they were not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past, namely Nyai Bagelen, Begelen women are also able to preserve art and culture, and Bagelen women are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and production. His leadership figure should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of *dolalak* dance. Local women also cannot be separated into religious activities. Indeed, there is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

Note

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Maria Gabriela P. Martin <mgmartin@ateneo.edu> to me Feb 28, 2020, 4:42 PM

Dear Dr. Sofa Marwah,

Thank you for submitting a revised copy of your essay. I hope to receive feedback on this in a month.

Sincerely,
Mayel Martin

sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com> to Maria Feb 28, 2020, 11:01 PM

Thank you for your response.

sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com> to Maria Aug 16, 2020, 10:47 PM

Maria, how are you, I hope you and your family are fine and healthy. I just want to ask about the continuation of my article. thanks a lot, best regards.....

Dr. Sofa Marwah
Department of Political Science
Jenderal Soedirman University - Indonesia
Scopus ID : 57194090423

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Maria Gabriela P. Martin <mgmartin@ateneo.edu> to me Aug 16, 2020, 3:01 PM

Dear Professor Sofa Marwah,

I hope you are well. My sincere apologies for this late reply. It took some time before the readers responded to my email. Please find below their feedback on your revised essay. Would it be possible for you to send a revised copy by September 20? Please let me know if you need more time.

Keep safe.

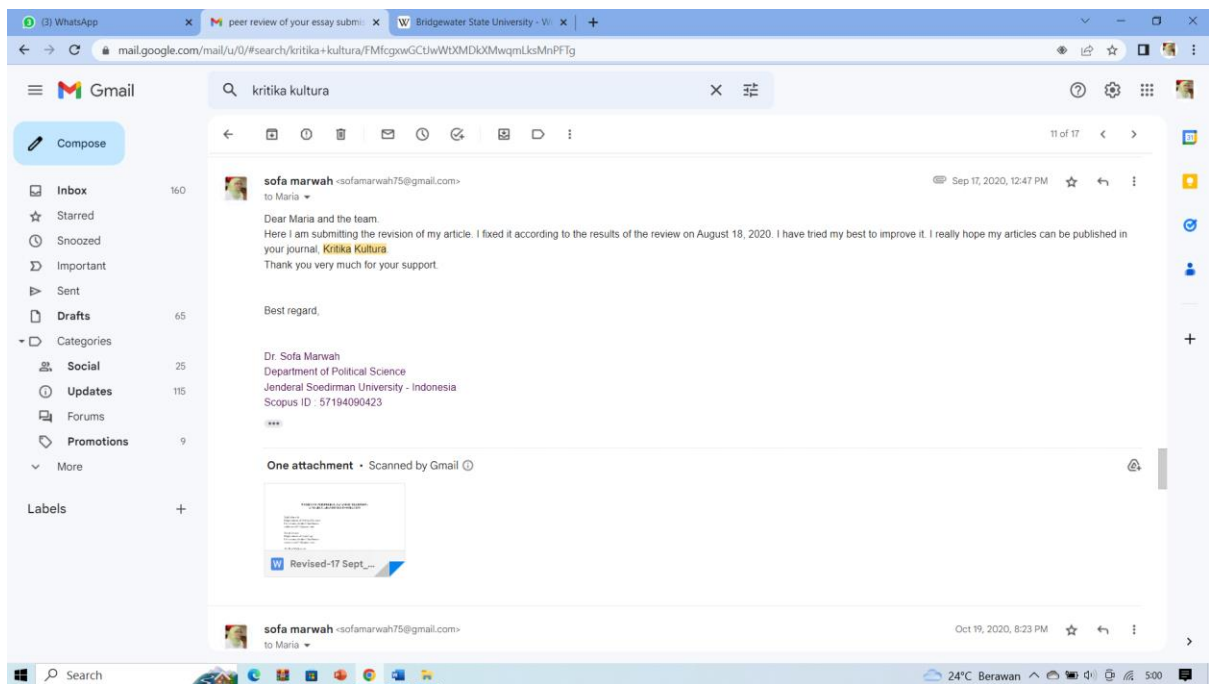
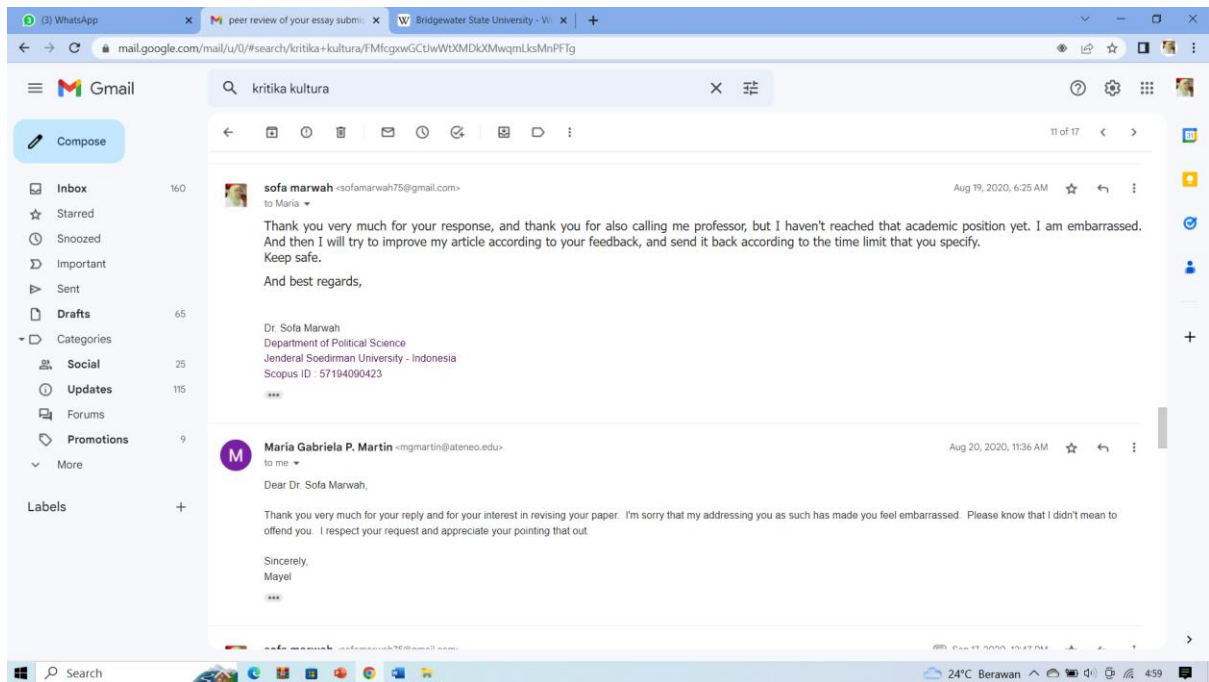
Sincerely,
Mayel

Discussing women in peripheral in Javanese tradition is in fact a good and challenging topic considering the status of Javanese women in general is still below men in Java. The author(s) here uses several historical data to show the important roles of women in the past and at present among the society of Bagelen. However, they are not entirely peripheral. For instance, looking from the name *Nyai Bagelen*, we can see that she must have been a highly respected figure, a Javanese woman who was the wife of a foreign man. The address term *Nyai* was used to refer to such women. (c.f. *Nyai Ontosoroh* in the story of *Bumi Manusia* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer). Thus she was not peripheral and she had more power compared to other women.

Perhaps the discussion on peripheral women's roles in *dolalak* dance and Islamic religious tradition could have been used to describe what Bagelen women in peripheral do in their effort to preserve their tradition and culture. However, the discussion in this paper looks more like tourism information about the events than an analysis of what, how, and why women are preserving the tradition.

The author(s) stated the use of qualitative approach in the study, such as the use of snowballing method to look for informants. However, the author(s) hardly mention who they were and what important information the author got from the informants. What presented in this paper instead, is the citing of some information from some literature.

This paper still needs a lot of substantial reorganization for a research report paper.



WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION: A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION

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Abstract:

This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of Javanese community peripherals, Bagelen. It is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. This study was undertaken via library research. Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books and supported by theoretical construction derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that Javanese women as peripherals Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving *dolalak* dance, upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resource for the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords: *Bagelen, contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, women*

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Introduction

This paper aims to identify the women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. The center of power and culture called *negarigung* (central of power) region encompassed Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region has become a peripheral area since the Giyanti Agreement on February 13, 1755, which was fully loaded by Dutch colonial interference. This agreement forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta (Solo) Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. The agreement confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region was also affected by the agreement. Before the Giyanti Agreement, the region belonged to *negarigung*, but it shifted to become *mancanegara* (beyond) region as the power change occurred. As a part of *mancanegara* region, Bagelen always referred to as how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research regards the contribution of women in a Javanese community peripheral. Previous research on the contribution of women in community development was dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. The previous study examined the contribution of women in the development of Javanese society at the center of power, such as Nastiti (2016) studied on the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century; Carey and Houben (2016) studied on the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century; Permanadeli (2015) who studied the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era; Adji and Wintala (2018) examined about women who ruled Java. Moreover, Pangastoeti (2009) addressed marginalized women in human history due to subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing while women in marginal positions are not deemed to provide a pivotal role in the development of society.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news of a Javanese ruler talks about how the greatness of the king, the prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who is dominated by men. Consequently, a lot of knowledge is profoundly produced by men. In contrast, the existence of women became invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely found in women at the top positions: women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women, according to Irwan Abdullah, the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada (in Marwah 2018). This confirms the men dominance that is present as kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, the study of the women's contribution of the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture is expected to provide a crucial contribution to show that women either upper-class women or peripheral ones provide extensive contributions to the social development. To achieve this goal, the study was divided into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely library research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of woman leader in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; in the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion, and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

This study represents library research (Bakker and Zubair 63). Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books, notably those by *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*, without years; Marwah (2018, 2019); Carey and Hoube (1987); Priyadi (2002); Nastiti (2016), as well as other books, supporting documents, articles or other information. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. The data are then analysed by explaining, checking, comparing, conceiving, and categorizing. Through these processes, many assumptions used to explain phenomena are questioned and explored to obtain the findings

Women Leader in Bagelen Community in The Past

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower strata which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* (ordinary people), and the upper strata is *gusti/penggede* (the higher social) (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different hierarchical powers. People who have a higher social hierarchy must be respected. As for Bagelen culture as peripheral Javanese culture, Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite much upper-class in the Bagelen region, the social order that is formed does not reflect strong feudalistic values.

To see the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. Several versions explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo* (without years), the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* (inscriptions) later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the *prasasti* were in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription described the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are male-dominated rulers who do not involve women's contributions. In this case, we can assume that prosperity and order cannot be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community was Nyai Ageng Bagelen. In Indonesia, the term “Nyai” has various meanings. Indeed, the term

“Nyai” is often attached to a concubine of Dutch soldiers who came from indigenous women during the colonial period. Pramoedya Ananta Noer (2005), for example, describes it in the story of *Bumi Manusia*. In the story, Nyai Ontosoroh becomes a strong and clever woman, even though her fate has ended in bad luck. Another study by Tineke Hellwig (2007) also describes the bad luck of “Nyai”, an indigenous woman who became a concubine of Dutch soldiers. However, the term “Nyai” is also synonymous with the honorific call for the wife of an Islamic religious leader (Kyai) in Indonesia. Even for the people of West Java, the term “Nyai” is a general term for adult women. However, for Nyai Bagelen, “Nyai” means honor because of her position as a leader in the suburbs during the ancient Javanese era. The term peripheral, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, refers to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Javanese's cultures as it is known are Solo and Yogyakarta.

Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen is the ancestor of the Bagelen community who is described as a resilient farmer. In terms of names, the address “Nyai Bagelen” with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognized her identity with her name, without relying on the husband's name. It was likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and free than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of men and women through one's name. Identity as men will be signified as a men group, and become a marker of difference from the “confronted” group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself was recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the figure of Nyai Bagelen, however, was reduced to the issue of gender bias. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah in Marwah 2018), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to its gender bias. In this case, Mulder’s study (1996) can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people, have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles in terms that men in the family have role in public affairs while woman plays her role in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* (men are in the front, women are behind, lit.). The basic principle of this division is complimentary. In the context of equality discourse, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary, as society develops, the women's contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being “placed behind,” to complement the “front party”. As a result, the involvement of women increasingly worn out and unknown to the wider audience.

In the context of Nyai Bagelen figure which experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public, Abdullah (in Marwah 2018) stated that the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced what so-called appropriate where a female leadership became invisible to the public that prevents the knowledge of Nyai Bagelen as a local female figure from the spotlight. The existence of Nyai Bagelen figure is more symbolized by mythical matters which obscure its real virtues. The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raise livestock, and the weave is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm and assertive woman are somehow abandoned by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mystical. Her presence as a leader in the peripheral of Java increasingly does not place her recognized in the historical development of

a society dominated by men and popular figures. Even history writers are also mostly filled by male figures. Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019), the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's findings that the key role of women in Javanese history is the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced history discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has more been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group is also an effort to place women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentrism, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly subordination to women (Budianti 2007). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community group often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity (Shiva 1997). Shiva is putting women who at first as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured (Kleden 1987).

Bagelen Women as Preservers of Tradition

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko*/low, *madya*/middle, *krama inggil*/high) while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless the social strata. Of course not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, the dominant community structure is cooperation and prioritizes common interests. In its development, farmers are still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. Some hilly areas of Bagelen are commonly used by residents for plantations including the wide variety of fruits.

In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely *batik*. The local batik production named Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and

Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency. The variety of *batik* patterns produced by the two districts can be widely used by people. In terms of coloring, the Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and *batik* designs varying that reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the *batik* designs characterize which class the wearer of *batik* is. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo *batik* in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency characterizes egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

The local language used in the Bagelen community has shown that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, traditional *batik* in the area also has a variety of colors and patterns that show people who have characteristic more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely *dolalak* dance.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen from *dolalak* dance that lived and developed in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. The history of the *dolalak* dance is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. The indigenous soldiers who were required to join the military by the Dutch spent their spare time dancing, singing and dancing that gradually, *dolalak* dance developed. Yet the existence of *dolalak* dance is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* dance along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasized that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say that the arts were born among ordinary people and the initiation was still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, moreover for women in the peripheral regions.

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers then it developed that was dominated by women. The shift from male *dolalak* dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santoso (2013) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. For example, the development of *dolalak* in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the center of *dolalak* dance development in Purworejo Regency. The development of *dolalak* dance by women according to one of the arts managers in the village said that the *dolalak* dance played by women made the dance more interesting. The *dolalak* dance group in Kaliharjo Village has many members, but women who play *dolalak* are not only dancers who are members of an art group, but also almost all women in the village (Marwah 2019).

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santoso above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah in Marwah 2018). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing *dolalak* dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Historians are also dominated by men, so the narration about the contribution of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view if the one writing history about *dolalak* may be a woman, then the interpretation that emerges may be "more

impartial" that the development of *dolalak* is mixed and the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve *dolalak*, said by Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019).

In part it can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social strata that is not strong, a colloquial language that shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism, then, in fact, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of *dolalak* dance, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing as important as men, even when the development of *dolalak* dance is precisely when performed by women.

Efforts to preserve culture as described above, on the other hand, look like tourism development. This is a necessity. The designation of Kaliharjo Village as a tourism village based on the development of the *dolalak* dance confirms this. On the one hand, it is an effort to preserve customs and culture, on the other hand, it is information on tourism development. In line with this is the development of culture as well as tourism in Bali and Yogyakarta. In Bali, for example, Rai Utama's study (2011) shows that Balinese cultural tourism is tourism developed based on the diversity of local and religious cultures, promoting harmony between tourism development goals so that the goal of sustainable Balinese cultural preservation can be realized. Likewise, cultural preservation in Yogyakarta. A study conducted by Ristiawan (2018) concluded that Yogyakarta tourism in the Kembangarum area also includes cultural products and activities in package attractions for tourist visitors. Therefore it is stated that a tourism village performing traditional local culture as attractions.

Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect the lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. Even the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among farming communities is also recognized in Pasundan Land.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from an agrarian environment situation and later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered Hinduism and Buddhism, and later Islam. When the Hindu-Buddhist development period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embrace Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

In regard to the Islam development in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque (*Office of Tourism and Culture Purworejo* 2008). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* (the head) made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* (pyramid) roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islam development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background related to the mosque is the King of Mataram, namely

Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, namely 1613-1645 AD. The mosque also became the oldest mosque in the Bagelen region. Bagelen Mosque was established based on the instruction of Sultan Agung's wife. The order was intended to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung was reinforced by the number of 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. There is unclear general knowledge that women also contribute to spreading Islam in the Bagelen region. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency for example, always refer to the men contribution who develop Islam in the region. We never knew how women were present in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas including Kebumen Regency also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region were also confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role in spreading Islam in Java through *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) or *wayang golek* (wooden puppet) was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this was a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region was manifested by the embodiment of religious symbols in *wayang kulit*; *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* (pray for the Prophet Muhammad); *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling the women involved as important as men in reciting *sholawat*, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art are hardly known and placed by the public as a form of women involvement in broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo began to occur before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* (local term for Muslim) later known as Kyai Sadrach, became the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term "*santri*" can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz (2017) conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* (peasants), and *priyayi* (nobleman). Kyai Sadrach was a *santri* who later converted to Christianity even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent

in coloring the development of criticism at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they were not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past, namely Nyai Bagelen, Begelen women are also able to preserve art and culture, and Bagelen women are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and production. His leadership figure should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of *dolalak* dance. Local women also cannot be separated into religious activities. Indeed, there is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

Note

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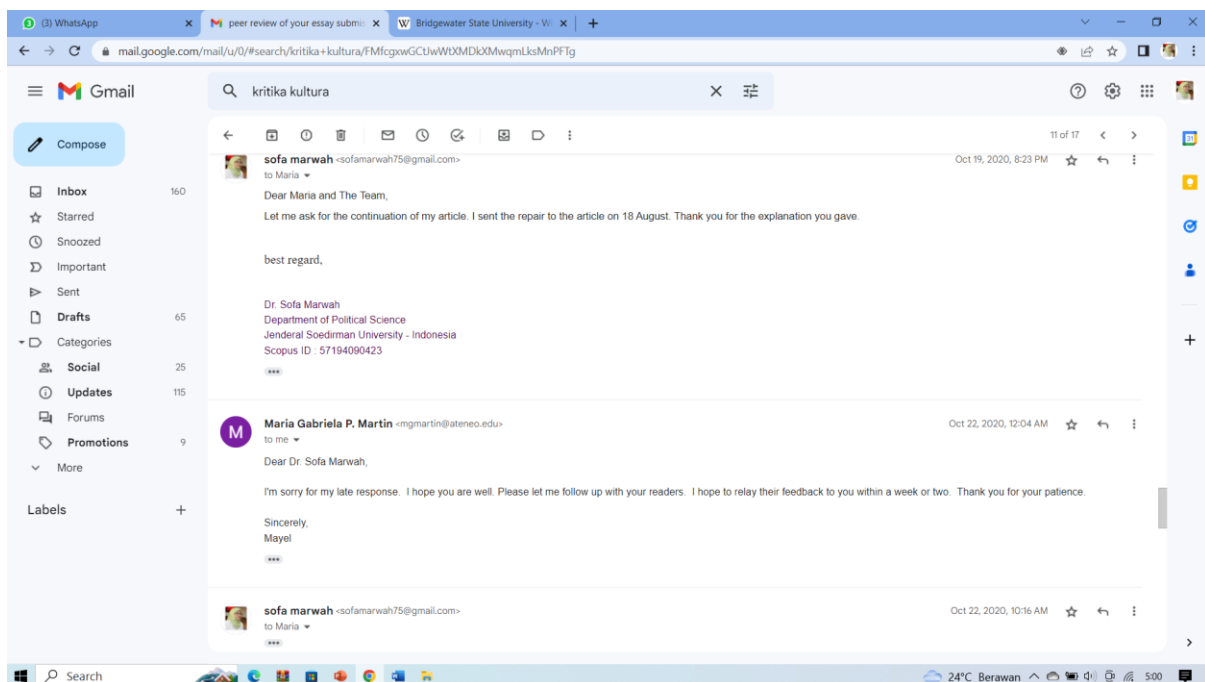
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Thank you so much.

Dr. Sofa Marwah
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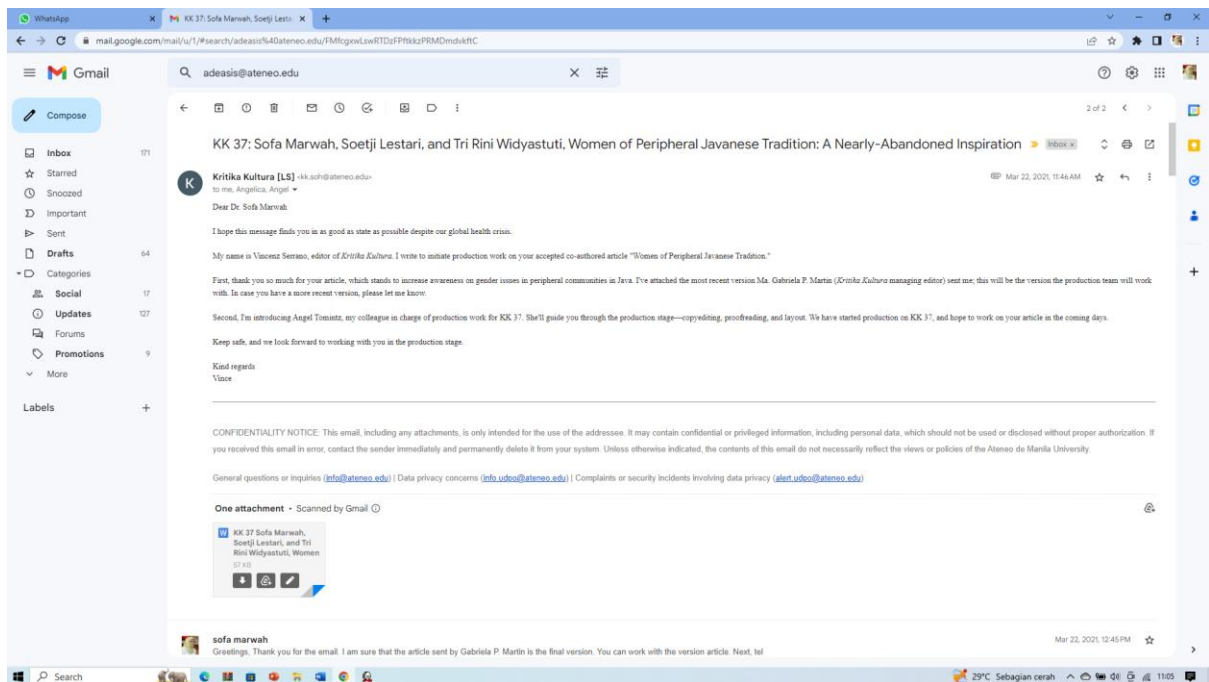
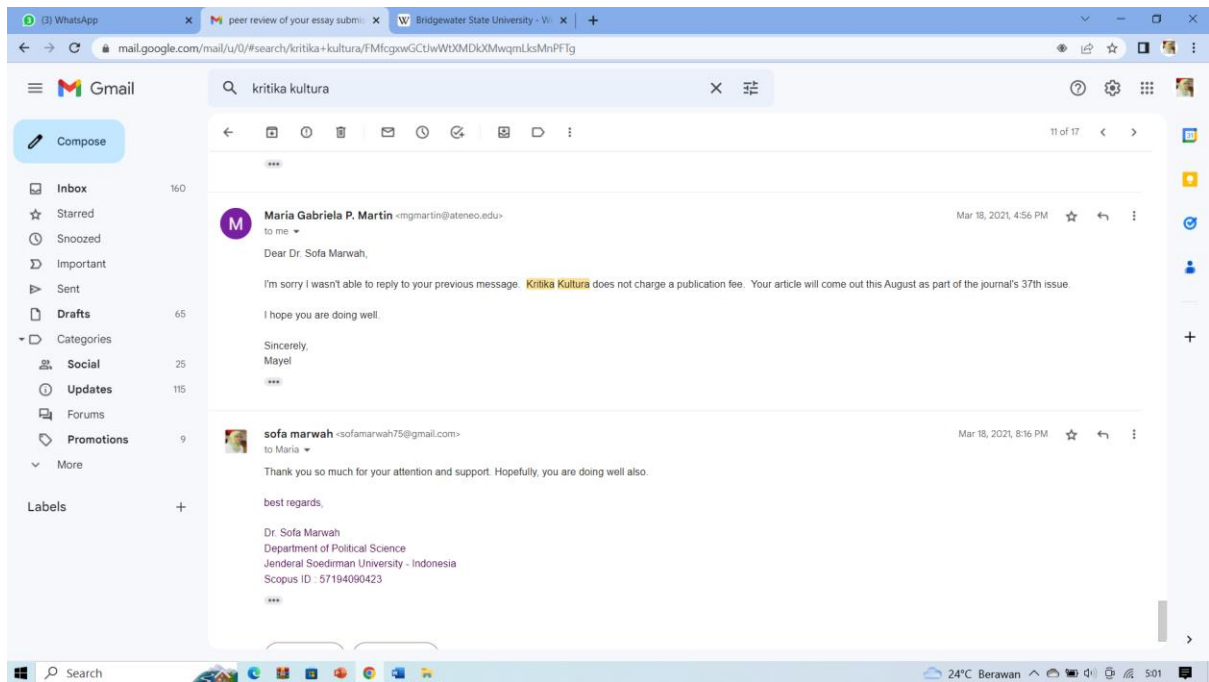
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WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION: A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION

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Abstract:

This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of Javanese community peripherals, Bagelen. It is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. This study was undertaken via library research. Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books and supported by theoretical construction derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that Javanese women as peripherals Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving *dolalak* dance, upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resource for the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords: *Bagelen, contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, women*

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Introduction

This paper aims to identify the women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. The center of power and culture called *negarigung* (central of power) region encompassed Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region has become a peripheral area since the Giyanti Agreement on February 13, 1755, which was fully loaded by Dutch colonial interference. This agreement forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta (Solo) Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. The agreement confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region was also affected by the agreement. Before the Giyanti Agreement, the region belonged to *negarigung*, but it shifted to become *mancanegara* (beyond) region as the power change occurred. As a part of *mancanegara* region, Bagelen always referred to as how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research regards the contribution of women in a Javanese community peripheral. Previous research on the contribution of women in community development was dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. The previous study examined the contribution of women in the development of Javanese society at the center of power, such as Nastiti (2016) studied on the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century; Carey and Houben (2016) studied on the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century; Permanadeli (2015) who studied the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era; Adji and Wintala (2018) examined about women who ruled Java. Moreover, Pangastoeti (2009) addressed marginalized women in human history due to subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing while women in marginal positions are not deemed to provide a pivotal role in the development of society.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news of a Javanese ruler talks about how the greatness of the king, the prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who is dominated by men. Consequently, a lot of knowledge is profoundly produced by men. In contrast, the existence of women became invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely found in women at the top positions: women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women, according to Irwan Abdullah, the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada (in Marwah 2018). This confirms the men dominance that is present as kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, the study of the women's contribution of the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture is expected to provide a crucial contribution to show that women either upper-class women or peripheral ones provide extensive contributions to the social development. To achieve this goal, the study was divided into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely library research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of woman leader in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; in the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion, and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

This study represents library research (Bakker and Zubair 63). Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books, notably those by *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*, without years; Marwah (2018, 2019); Carey and Hoube (1987); Priyadi (2002); Nastiti (2016), as well as other books, supporting documents, articles or other information. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. The data are then analysed by explaining, checking, comparing, conceiving, and categorizing. Through these processes, many assumptions used to explain phenomena are questioned and explored to obtain the findings

Women Leader in Bagelen Community in The Past

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower strata which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* (ordinary people), and the upper strata is *gusti/penggede* (the higher social) (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different hierarchical powers. People who have a higher social hierarchy must be respected. As for Bagelen culture as peripheral Javanese culture, Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite much upper-class in the Bagelen region, the social order that is formed does not reflect strong feudalistic values.

To see the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. Several versions explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo* (without years), the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* (inscriptions) later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the *prasasti* were in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription described the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are male-dominated rulers who do not involve women's contributions. In this case, we can assume that prosperity and order cannot be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community was Nyai Ageng Bagelen. In Indonesia, the term “Nyai” has various meanings. Indeed, the term

“Nyai” is often attached to a concubine of Dutch soldiers who came from indigenous women during the colonial period. Pramoedya Ananta Noer (2005), for example, describes it in the story of *Bumi Manusia*. In the story, Nyai Ontosoroh becomes a strong and clever woman, even though her fate has ended in bad luck. Another study by Tineke Hellwig (2007) also describes the bad luck of “Nyai”, an indigenous woman who became a concubine of Dutch soldiers. However, the term “Nyai” is also synonymous with the honorific call for the wife of an Islamic religious leader (Kyai) in Indonesia. Even for the people of West Java, the term “Nyai” is a general term for adult women. However, for Nyai Bagelen, “Nyai” means honor because of her position as a leader in the suburbs during the ancient Javanese era. The term peripheral, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, refers to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture. Javanese's cultures as it is known are Solo and Yogyakarta.

Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen is the ancestor of the Bagelen community who is described as a resilient farmer. In terms of names, the address “Nyai Bagelen” with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognized her identity with her name, without relying on the husband's name. It was likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and free than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of men and women through one's name. Identity as men will be signified as a men group, and become a marker of difference from the “confronted” group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself was recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the figure of Nyai Bagelen, however, was reduced to the issue of gender bias. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah in Marwah 2018), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to its gender bias. In this case, Mulder’s study (1996) can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people, have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles in terms that men in the family have role in public affairs while woman plays her role in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* (men are in the front, women are behind, lit.). The basic principle of this division is complimentary. In the context of equality discourse, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary, as society develops, the women's contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being “placed behind,” to complement the “front party”. As a result, the involvement of women increasingly worn out and unknown to the wider audience.

In the context of Nyai Bagelen figure which experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public, Abdullah (in Marwah 2018) stated that the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced what so-called appropriate where a female leadership became invisible to the public that prevents the knowledge of Nyai Bagelen as a local female figure from the spotlight. The existence of Nyai Bagelen figure is more symbolized by mythical matters which obscure its real virtues. The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raise livestock, and the weave is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm and assertive woman are somehow abandoned by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mystical. Her presence as a leader in the peripheral of Java increasingly does not place her recognized in the historical development of

a society dominated by men and popular figures. Even history writers are also mostly filled by male figures. Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019), the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's findings that the key role of women in Javanese history is the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced history discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has more been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group is also an effort to place women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentrism, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly subordination to women (Budianti 2007). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community group often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity (Shiva 1997). Shiva is putting women who at first as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured (Kleden 1987).

Bagelen Women as Preservers of Tradition

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko*/low, *madya*/middle, *krama inggil*/high) while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless the social strata. Of course not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, the dominant community structure is cooperation and prioritizes common interests. In its development, farmers are still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. Some hilly areas of Bagelen are commonly used by residents for plantations including the wide variety of fruits.

In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely *batik*. The local batik production named Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and

Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency. The variety of *batik* patterns produced by the two districts can be widely used by people. In terms of coloring, the Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and *batik* designs varying that reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the *batik* designs characterize which class the wearer of *batik* is. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo *batik* in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti *batik* in Kebumen Regency characterizes egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

The local language used in the Bagelen community has shown that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, traditional *batik* in the area also has a variety of colors and patterns that show people who have characteristic more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely *dolalak* dance.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen from *dolalak* dance that lived and developed in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. The history of the *dolalak* dance is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. The indigenous soldiers who were required to join the military by the Dutch spent their spare time dancing, singing and dancing that gradually, *dolalak* dance developed. Yet the existence of *dolalak* dance is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* dance along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasized that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say that the arts were born among ordinary people and the initiation was still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, moreover for women in the peripheral regions.

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers then it developed that was dominated by women. The shift from male *dolalak* dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santoso (2013) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. For example, the development of *dolalak* in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the center of *dolalak* dance development in Purworejo Regency. The development of *dolalak* dance by women according to one of the arts managers in the village said that the *dolalak* dance played by women made the dance more interesting. The *dolalak* dance group in Kaliharjo Village has many members, but women who play *dolalak* are not only dancers who are members of an art group, but also almost all women in the village (Marwah 2019).

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santoso above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah in Marwah 2018). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing *dolalak* dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Historians are also dominated by men, so the narration about the contribution of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view if the one writing history about *dolalak* may be a woman, then the interpretation that emerges may be "more

impartial" that the development of *dolalak* is mixed and the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve *dolalak*, said by Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019).

In part it can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social strata that is not strong, a colloquial language that shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism, then, in fact, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of *dolalak* dance, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing as important as men, even when the development of *dolalak* dance is precisely when performed by women.

Efforts to preserve culture as described above, on the other hand, look like tourism development. This is a necessity. The designation of Kaliharjo Village as a tourism village based on the development of the *dolalak* dance confirms this. On the one hand, it is an effort to preserve customs and culture, on the other hand, it is information on tourism development. In line with this is the development of culture as well as tourism in Bali and Yogyakarta. In Bali, for example, Rai Utama's study (2011) shows that Balinese cultural tourism is tourism developed based on the diversity of local and religious cultures, promoting harmony between tourism development goals so that the goal of sustainable Balinese cultural preservation can be realized. Likewise, cultural preservation in Yogyakarta. A study conducted by Ristiawan (2018) concluded that Yogyakarta tourism in the Kembangarum area also includes cultural products and activities in package attractions for tourist visitors. Therefore it is stated that a tourism village performing traditional local culture as attractions.

Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect the lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. Even the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among farming communities is also recognized in Pasundan Land.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from an agrarian environment situation and later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered Hinduism and Buddhism, and later Islam. When the Hindu-Buddhist development period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embrace Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

In regard to the Islam development in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque (*Office of Tourism and Culture Purworejo* 2008). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* (the head) made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* (pyramid) roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islam development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background related to the mosque is the King of Mataram, namely

Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, namely 1613-1645 AD. The mosque also became the oldest mosque in the Bagelen region. Bagelen Mosque was established based on the instruction of Sultan Agung's wife. The order was intended to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung was reinforced by the number of 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. There is unclear general knowledge that women also contribute to spreading Islam in the Bagelen region. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency for example, always refer to the men contribution who develop Islam in the region. We never knew how women were present in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas including Kebumen Regency also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region were also confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role in spreading Islam in Java through *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) or *wayang golek* (wooden puppet) was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this was a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region was manifested by the embodiment of religious symbols in *wayang kulit*; *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* (pray for the Prophet Muhammad); *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling the women involved as important as men in reciting *sholawat*, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art are hardly known and placed by the public as a form of women involvement in broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo began to occur before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* (local term for Muslim) later known as Kyai Sadrach, became the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term "*santri*" can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz (2017) conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* (peasants), and *priyayi* (nobleman). Kyai Sadrach was a *santri* who later converted to Christianity even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent

in coloring the development of criticism at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen was indeed scarce, yet it did not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they were not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past, namely Nyai Bagelen, Begelen women are also able to preserve art and culture, and Bagelen women are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and production. His leadership figure should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of *dolalak* dance. Local women also cannot be separated into religious activities. Indeed, there is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

Note

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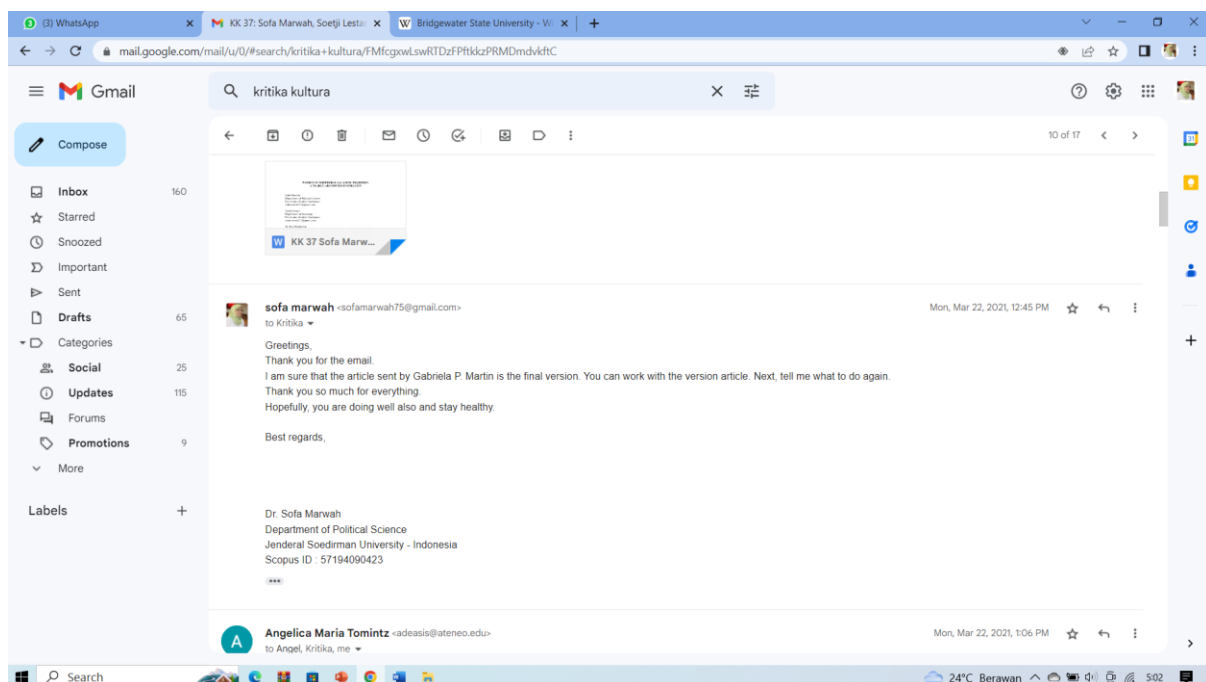
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Angelica Maria Tomintz <aadeasis@ateneo.edu>
to Angel, Kritika, me

Mar 22, 2021, 1:06 PM

Dear Dr. Sofa Marwah,

I am pleased to e-meet you. I will just echo what Dr. Serrano said. Looking forward to working with you in the production stage.

Best regards,
Angel

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Kritika Kultura [LS] <kk.soh@ateneo.edu>
to me, Angel, Angelica

Mar 22, 2021, 1:15 PM

Dear Dr. Sofa Marwah thank you for your quick reply:

My colleague Angel will begin prod. work (copyediting, proofreading, and layout) and update you the soonest.

Kind regards
Vincenz Serrano

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sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com>
to Angelica, Kritika, Angel

Mar 22, 2021, 1:26 PM

Thank you so much.

sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com>
to Angelica, Kritika, Angel

Jun 5, 2021, 10:05 PM

I hope this message finds you in good and healthy
Let me ask about the progress of the work concerning my article (KK 37). I hope it has progressed to the production stage.
Keep safe and well.

Regard,

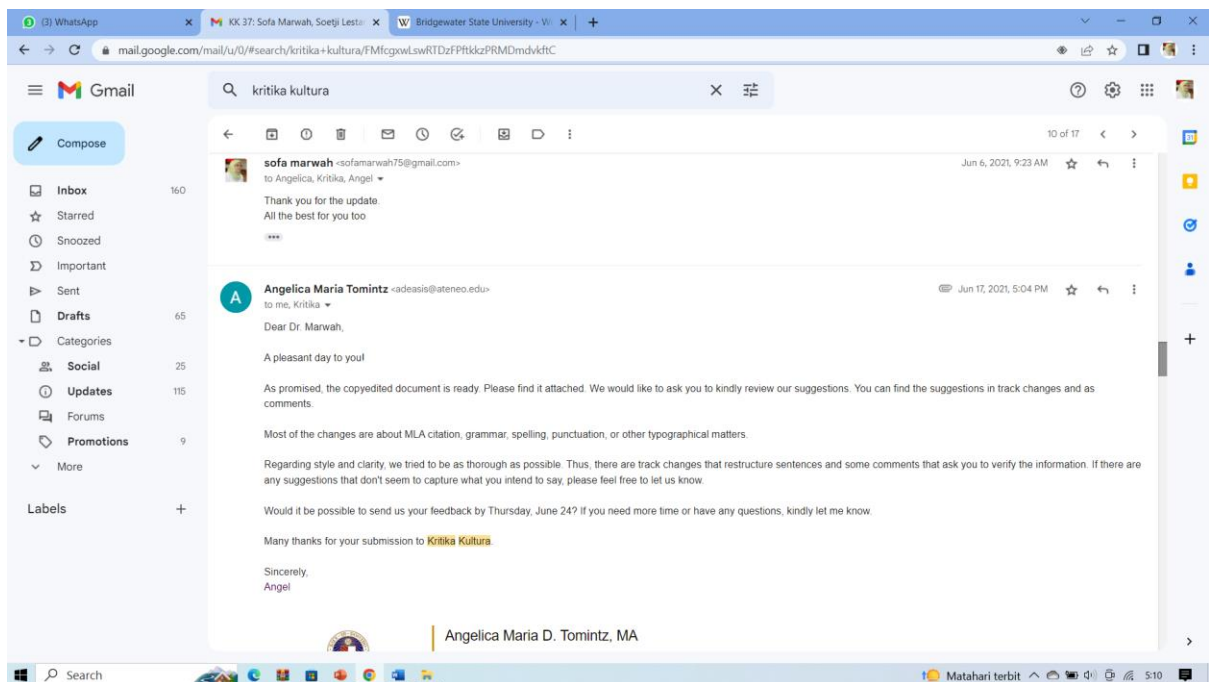
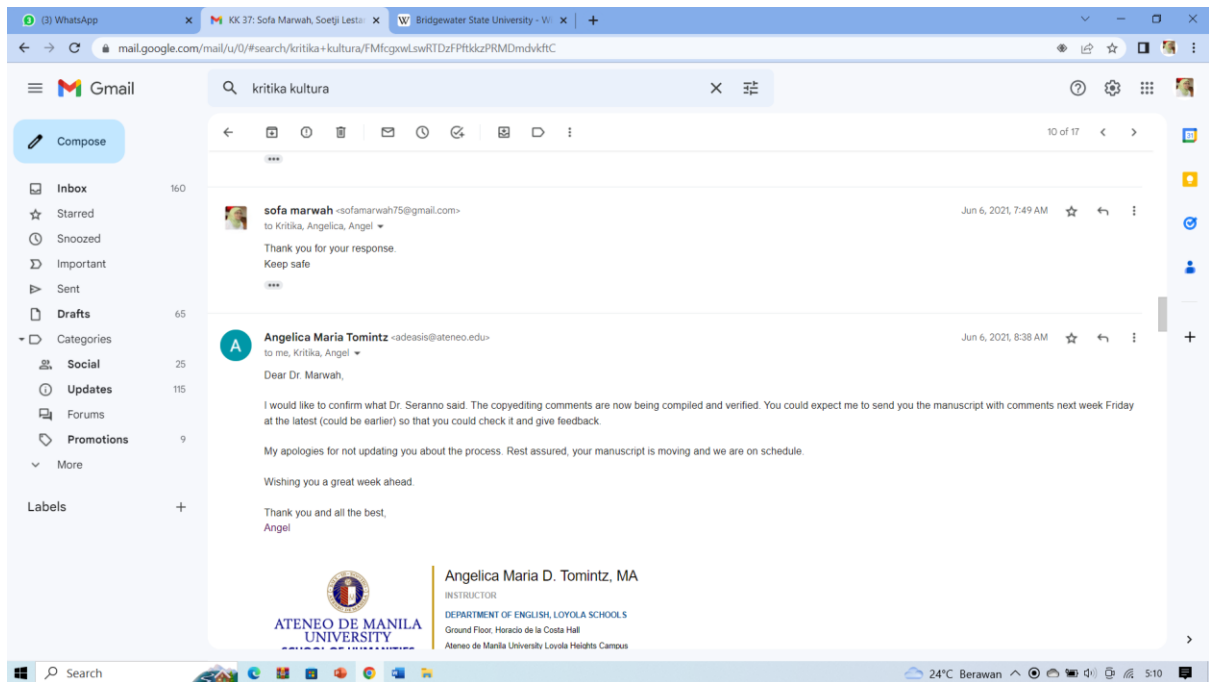
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Kritika Kultura [LS] <kk.soh@ateneo.edu>
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Jun 6, 2021, 7:34 AM

Dear Dr. Sofa thank you for your query. If I'm not mistaken your article has been sent to the copyeditor, and is now in the production stage.

Kind regards



WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION: A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION

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Abstract

_____ This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of Javanese ~~peripheral~~ community ~~peripherals~~, Bagelen. ~~This research~~ It is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. ~~Library research develops this study. This study was undertaken via library research.~~ Hence, the ~~authors collect data data collection is conducted~~ via research books and ~~supported by~~ theoretical construction ~~that are~~ derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that ~~Javanese women as peripherals~~ Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving "~~dolalak~~" dance,

upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resources ~~offer~~ the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords

Bagelen, women's contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, Javanese
women

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Introduction

This paper aims to identify ~~the~~ women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. ~~Bagelen is a Javanese subculture that is not part of the central Javanese culture.~~ Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. ~~It is considered a Javanese subculture, not part of the central culture.~~ The ~~locuse~~center of power and culture called *negarigung* (~~"central of power"~~) region, ~~which could aptly be translated as center of power,~~ ~~encompass encompasses ed~~ Surakarta ~~or (the Principality of Solo)~~ and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region, ~~has-however, has only~~ becomes a peripheral area since ~~the Giyanti Agreement on~~ February 13, 1755, ~~when the Giyanti Agreement,~~ which was ~~rife with~~ ~~fully loaded by~~ Dutch colonial interference, ~~took effect.~~ This agreement ~~has~~ forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta ~~(Solo)~~ Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. ~~The agreement~~ ~~confirms med~~ ~~It has~~

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likewise confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned over half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region, formerly belonging to negarigung, has become part of mancanegara as the power change occurred. is was also affected by the agreement. Before the Giyanti Agreement, the region belonged to "negarigung", but it shifted to become mancanegara ("beyond") region as the power change occurred. As a now part of "mancanegara" region, Bagelen always referred to as how power is implemented from "negarigung."

This research regards the contribution of women in a peripheral Javanese community peripheral. Previous research on the contribution of women toin community development is was dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. The previous study examines ed the contribution of women in the development of Javanese society at the center of power, such as These include Nastiti (2016) studwho studies ed on the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century; Carey and Houben (2016) studi who study studies ed on the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century; Permanadeli (2015) who studies ed the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era; and Adji and Wintala (2018) examines ed about women who ruled Java. Moreover, Pangastoeti (2009) addresses the marginal position ascribed to women in the area of development due to the subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing. d-marginalized women in human history due to subjectivity in male dominated historical writing while women in marginal positions are not deemed to provide a pivotal role in the development of society.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news aboutof a Javanese rulers talks about the king's greatness how the greatness of the king, the

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Is there a particular study being referred to? Or does this pertain to the collective research that has been done on the topic thus far? I think it is the latter. If so, please apply my suggested changes.

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MLA style: For all in-text citation that are highlighted in yellow, we would suggest following either the author-page format or, if you are discussing the overall argument instead of citing a particular point or passage, kindly mention the title of the work. So for this instance, instead of the year 2016, the title of Nastiti's work could me mentioned. The same applies to all citations highlighted in yellow.

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prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who ~~subscribes to male dominance-is dominated by men~~. Consequently, ~~men profoundly produce a lot of knowledge. a lot of knowledge is profoundly produced by men~~. In contrast, the existence of women ~~becomesbecame~~ invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely ~~aboutfound~~ ~~in~~-women at the top positions—women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women—, according to Irwan Abdullah, ~~anthe~~ anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada (~~in-in~~ Marwah 2018). This confirms the ~~maleen~~ dominance that is present ~~throughas~~ kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, ~~studying the study of the~~ women's contribution ~~toef~~ the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture ~~expects is-expected to offerprovide~~ a crucial contribution ~~by showingto-show~~ that women—either upper-class ~~women~~ or peripheral—~~ones~~—provide extensive contributions to ~~the~~-social development. To achieve this goal, the study ~~is was-divided divided~~ into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely library research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of woman leader in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; ~~in~~-the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion_{is}; and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

This study represents library research (Bakker and Zubair 63). Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books, notably those by *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*, ~~without years~~; Marwah (2018, 2019); Carey and Hoube (1987); Priyadi (2002); Nastiti (2016), as well as other books, supporting documents, articles, or other similar information sources. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. The data are then analyzed by explaining, checking, comparing, conceiving, and categorizing. Through these processes, many assumptions used to explain phenomena are questioned and explored to obtain the findings.

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Women Leader in Bagelen Community in The Past

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower stratum which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* ("ordinary people"), and the upper ~~stratum~~ ~~is~~ ~~as~~ *gusti/penggede* ("the higher social") (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different hierarchical-powers based on their position in the heirarchy. People who are in the ~~have a~~ higher social hierarchy must be respected. ~~As for~~ ~~With~~ Bagelen culture ~~being as~~ peripheral Javanese culture, ~~it~~ Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite much upper-class in the Bagelen region, ~~feudalistic values do not strongly reflect the formed social order. the social order that is formed does not reflect strong feudalistic values.~~

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To see the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. Several versions

explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo* (~~without year~~), the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* ("inscriptions") later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the "*prasasti*" ~~are~~ *were* in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bagra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription describes ~~ed~~ the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are ~~male_dominant~~ ~~ated~~ rulers who do not involve women's contributions. ~~In this case, we can assume that prosperity and order cannot be~~ separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community ~~is~~ ~~was~~ Nyai Ageng Bagelen. In Indonesia, the term "Nyai" has various meanings. Indeed, the term "Nyai" is often attached to a concubine of Dutch soldiers who came from indigenous women during the colonial period. **Pramoedya Ananta Noer (2005)**, for example, describes it in the story of "*Bumi Manusia*". In the story, Nyai Ontosoroh becomes a strong and clever

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To verify: We assume that your emphasis is on the male influence or control as in ideologically (male-dominant) instead of the men outnumbering the women (dominantly male). That's why we are keeping it to male-dominant. Kindly confirm if this is correct.

Angel Tomintz
Missing link: There seems to be a leap from the idea in the last sentence to this one. Since this sentence uses the verb "assume," then inferring from the presented data is implied. But then the data from which an inference could be made is the absence of relevant information about women.
The problem and subsequent solution could be any of the following:
1) Instead of "assume," the verb should be "posit" or "propose."
2) Instead of "cannot" (implying that it is not possible at all to separate), perhaps the right word is "should not" (implying that it has been separated but such separation is wrong).
3) Instead of going straight to "In this case, we can assume" perhaps we could add a sentence before it to contextualize. Consider adding: Despite the absence of information on women, it should not be assumed that they have no contributions. In the case of Bagelen, prosperity and order cannot actually be separated from... That might also make for a good transition to the role of Nyai Ageng Bagelen.
Please let me know which of the suggestions best capture your idea.

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woman, even though her fate ~~ends~~ in bad luck. Another study by Tineke Hellwig (2007) also describes the bad luck of "Nyai", an indigenous woman who became a concubine of Dutch soldiers. However, the term "Nyai" is also synonymous with the honorific call for the wife of the "Kyai" or thean Islamic religious leader (Kyai) in Indonesia. Even for the people of West Java, the term "Nyai" is a general term for adult women. However, for Nyai Bagelen, "Nyai" means honor because of her position as a leader in the suburbs during the ancient Javanese era. The term peripheral, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, refers to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. ~~IrBagelen is a Javanese subculture, that is not belonging to part of~~ the central Javanese culture. Javanese's cultures as it is known are Solo and Yogyakarta.

Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but ~~through~~ the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen is the ancestor of the Bagelen community ~~who is described as a resilient farmer~~. In terms of names, the address "Nyai Bagelen" with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognized her identity with her name, without relying on the husband's name. It ~~is was~~ likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and free than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of ~~both~~ men and women through one's name. Identity as men ~~is will be~~ signified as a men group, and becomes a marker of difference from the "confronted" group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself ~~is was~~ recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

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For clarification/verification: Who is described as a resilient farmer?
If it is the Bagelen community who is a resilient farmer, keep the sentence that way. It is correct.
If it is Nyai Bagelen, we could change it to: Nyai Bagelen, who is described as a resilient farmer, is the ancestor of the Bagelen community.

As time goes by, the gender bias issue has reduced the figure of Nyai Bagelen. figure of Nyai Bagelen, however, was reduced to the issue of gender bias. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah in Marwah 2018), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to ~~its~~ gender bias. In this case, Mulder's study (1996) can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people, ~~have~~ have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles, ~~in terms that m~~ Men in the family ~~have take on~~ roles in public affairs while ~~women~~ woman plays ~~her~~ roles in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* ("men are in the front, women are behind, lit."). The basic principle of this division is complementarity-complimentary. In the context of equality discourse, however, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary purpose, as society develops, the women's contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being "placed behind," to complement the "front party". As a result, the involvement of women has increasingly worn out and come to be unknown to the wider audience.

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In the context of The Nyai Bagelen figure ~~which~~ experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public, As Abdullah (in Marwah 2018) ~~states~~ stated, ~~that the figure of Nyai Bagelen it is a case of~~ experienced what so-called appropriate where a female leadership becoming became invisible to the public. Specifically, for Nyai Bagelen, the public's lack of knowledge about her prevents her from taking the spotlight as a local female figure. that prevents the knowledge of Nyai Bagelen as a local female figure from the spotlight. Mythical matters much more symbolize theis existence of the Nyai Bagelen figure although it obscures its real virtues. The existence of Nyai Bagelen figure is more symbolized by mythical

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~~matters which obscure its real virtues.~~ The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raises livestock, and ~~the~~ weaves textile is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm, and assertive woman are somehow ~~abandoned~~ by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mystical. Her presence as a leader in the peripheral of Java ~~denies her a recognition increasingly does not place her recognized~~ in the historical development of a society dominated by men and popular figures. ~~Male figures also dominate even the field of history writing. Even history writers are also mostly filled by male figures.~~ Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019), ~~an~~ the anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural, and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's ~~which argues findings~~ that the key role of women in Javanese history is ~~being~~ the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women's contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced

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Consider the following alternatives: cast aside, forgotten, disregarded. Please let us know which among these alternatives seems most appropriate to capture your thoughts. You may also already replace the word abandoned with your chosen alternative.

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My suggestion is to us "an" instead of "the." Unless, of course, Ahimsa Putra is the only anthropologist in the university in whichcase it should indeed be "the." Please confirm.

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historically discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has more been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus, the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group strives to establish women as a center for is also an effort to place women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentricism, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly the subordination of women (Budianti 2007). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community group often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity (Shiva 1997). Shiva is putting women, who are at first considered as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured (Kleden 1987).

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Bagelen Women as Preservers of Tradition

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko* "low", *madya* "middle", *krama inggil* "high") while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless of the social strata. Of course, not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, cooperation dominates community structure, and it prioritizes common interests. the dominant community structure is cooperation and prioritizes common interests. In its development, farming is ~~ers are~~ still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, in the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. There are also some hilly areas in Bagelen that the residents use for plantations of wide variety of fruits. ~~Some hilly areas of Bagelen are commonly used by residents for plantations including the wide variety of fruits.~~

In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely "batik". The local batik production names Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti "batik" in Kebumen Regency. The two districts produce variety of batiks patterns that can be widely used by people. The variety of batik patterns produced by the two districts can be widely used by people. In terms of coloring, the The Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and varying "batik" designs ~~varying~~ that reflect more egalitarian

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values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the "batik" designs characterize the class from which the wearer belongs which class the wearer of "batik" is. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo "batik" in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti "batik" in Kebumen Regency characterizes egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

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The local language used in the Bagelen community shows has shown that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, traditional "batik" in the area also has a the variety of colors and patterns of their traditional batik that show is indicative of the Bagelen people's who have characteristic more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely "dolalak" dance.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen infrom "dolalak, a dance" dance that lived and developed and endured in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. The history of the "dolalak" dance Its history is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. Dolalak traces its development from the singing and dancing of indigenous solders who were required by the Dutch to tjoin the military. The indigenous soldiers who are were required to join the military by the Dutch spent their spare time dancing, singing and dancing that gradually, "dolalak" dance developed. Yet the existence of "dolalak" dance is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

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In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of “dolalak” dance along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasizes that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say, that the arts ~~are~~ were born among ordinary people and ~~the initiation is~~ was still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, even more so moreover for women in the peripheral regions.

“Dolalak” dance was originally carried out by male dancers, but it evolved to become ~~then it developed that was~~ dominated by women. The shift from male “dolalak” dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santoso (2013) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. ~~For example, One example is~~ the development of “dolalak” in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the centers of “dolalak” dance development in Purworejo Regency. According to one of the arts managers in the village, the development of dolalak by women has made the dance more interesting. The development of “dolalak” dance by women according to one of the arts managers in the village said that the “dolalak” dance played by women made the dance more interesting. The “dolalak” dance group in Kaliharjo Village has many members, but women who play “dolalak” are not only including almost all women in the village and not just dancers who are members of an art group, but also almost all women in the village (Marwah 2019).

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Please clarify what is being initiated. I assume it is the initiation into the arts. Is that correct? If so, please let us know so that we can apply the changes to make it more specific.

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The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santoso above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah in Marwah 2018). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing "dolalak" dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Men also dominate the writing of history. Historians are also dominated by men, so the narration about the contribution of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view may emerge if the one writing history about "dolalak" may be is a woman. As stated by Ahimsa Putra, then the interpretation then that emerges may be "more impartial", that the development of "dolalak" is mixed and in the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve the traditional art form "dolalak", said by Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah 2019).

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consider breaking this unto two-sentence

In part it can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social stratum that is not strong, a colloquial language that shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism, then, in fact, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of "dolalak" dance, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing and as important as men, even when the development of "dolalak" dance is precisely when performed by women.

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Efforts to preserve culture as described above, on the other hand, look like tourism development. This is a necessity. The designation of Kaliharjo Village as a tourism village based on the development of the "dolalak" dance confirms this. On the one hand, it is an effort to preserve customs and culture, on the other hand, it is information on tourism development. In line with this is the development of culture as well as tourism in Bali and

Yogyakarta. In Bali, for example, Rai Utama's study (2011) shows that Balinese cultural tourism is ~~tourism~~ developed based on the diversity of local and religious cultures, promoting harmony between tourism development ~~and goals so that the goal of~~ sustainable Balinese cultural preservation ~~can be realized. In such manner do they try to realize the latter.~~ Likewise, ~~The same applies to~~ cultural preservation in Yogyakarta. A study conducted by Ristiawan (2018) concludes~~d~~ that Yogyakarta tourism in the Kembangarum area also includes cultural products and activities in package attractions for tourist visitors. Therefore, ~~it is stated that~~ a tourism village performing traditional local culture as attractions ~~is part of~~ cultural preservation efforts.

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Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect ~~the~~ lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. ~~Pasundan Land also recognizes the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among its farming communities. Even the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among farming communities is also recognized in Pasundan Land.~~

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from ~~itsan~~ agrarian environment situation ~~thatand~~ later developed~~sed~~ into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered ~~to~~ Hinduism and Buddhism, and later ~~to~~ Islam. ~~DuringWhen~~ the Hindu-Buddhist ~~development~~ period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embraced~~d~~ Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

~~In regard to~~ Regarding the ~~development of~~ Islam ~~development~~ in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque (*Office of Tourism and Culture Purworejo 2008*). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* ("the head") made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* ("pyramid") roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islamic development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background ~~of the mosque is related to~~ ~~related to the mosque~~ ~~is~~ the King of Mataram, namely Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, ~~specifically~~namely 1613-1645 AD. The mosque ~~is~~ also ~~becomes~~ ~~ame~~ the oldest ~~mosque~~ in the Bagelen region. ~~The establishment of Bagelen Mosque is based on the instruction of the wife of Sultan Agung. The wife of Sultan Agung instructs the establishment of Bagelen Mosque. Bagelen Mosque was established based on the instruction of Sultan Agung's wife.~~

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The order ~~intends is was intended~~ to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung ~~is was~~ reinforced by the ~~inscription of the number of~~ 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. ~~Even the women's contribution to the spreading of Islam in the Bagelen region remains unclear to the public knowledge. There is unclear general knowledge that women also contribute to spreading Islam in the Bagelen region.~~ The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency, for example, always refer to the men ~~who contributed to the development of contribution who develop~~ Islam in the region. We never ~~hear about women's presence knew how women are were present~~ in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas, including ~~the~~ Kebumen Regency, also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen ~~is was~~ indeed scarce, yet it ~~does did~~ not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region ~~are were~~ have also ~~been~~ confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as

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Perhaps a short background information explaining who Kyai Baidlowi is would help.

entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role, for instance, in spreading Islam in Java through *wayang kulit* ("leather puppet") or *wayang golek* ("wooden puppet") was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this is was a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region manifests through was manifested by the embodiment of religious symbols in the puppet theater "wayang kulit," in "dolalak," art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* ("pray for the Prophet Muhammad"), and in "jamjaneng" and "rebana" art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art.

In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling the how women-involved are as important as men in reciting "*sholawat*", singing Islamic verses through "*jamjaneng*" and "*rebana*" art, are hardly known and these forms of women involvement are rarely pereivedplaced by the public as ways of a form of women involvement in broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo has started began to occur before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* ("local term for Muslim"), later known as Kyai Sadrach, is became the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term "*santri*" can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of **Geertz (2017)** conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* ("peasants"), and

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priyayi ("nobleman"). Kyai Sadrach is was a "santri" who later converted to Christianity, even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding of their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of criticism at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen is was indeed scarce, yet it doesid not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they are were not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute to and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past, namely: Examples include Nyai Bagelen, the Bagelen women who are also able to preserve art and culture, and the Bagelen women who are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Angel Tomintz

The word criticism comes as a surprise as the discussion was about women's contribution to religion, culture, arts.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and doing production. ~~His~~ As a leadership figure, she should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of "dolalak" dance. Local women also cannot be separated ~~from~~into religious activities. Indeed, there is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

Note

- * Special gratitude is expressed to Penelitian Berbasis Kompetensi (Competency-based Research) 2018-2019, funded by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education.

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The screenshot shows a Gmail interface with two emails from 'sofa marwah' to 'Angelica, Kritika'. The first email, dated Jun 17, 2021, 10:37 PM, says 'Noted with thanks. Thanks you, Angel and team'. The second email, dated Jun 24, 2021, 9:29 PM, is a detailed response to suggestions, mentioning 'abandoned', 'forgotten', and 'Part 1 and Part 2'.

WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION: A NEARLY-ABANDONED INSPIRATION

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of Javanese peripheral community, Bagelen. This research is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. Library research develops this study. Hence, the authors collect data via research books and theoretical construction that are derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that peripheral Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving *dolalak* dance, upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resources of the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords

Bagelen, women's contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, Javanese women

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Introduction

This paper aims to identify women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. It is considered a Javanese subculture, not part of the central culture. The locus of power and culture called *negarigung* region, which could aptly be translated as center of power, encompasses Surakarta or the Principality of Solo and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region, however, has only become a peripheral area since February 13, 1755, when the Giyanti Agreement, which was rife with Dutch colonial interference, took effect. This agreement has forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. It has likewise confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned over half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region, formerly belonging to *negarigung*, has become part of *mancanegara* as the power change occurred. As now part of *mancanegara*, Bagelen always refers to how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research regards the contribution of women in a peripheral Javanese community. Previous research on the contribution of women to community development is dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. These include Nastiti's work entitled *Perempuan Jawa: Kedudukan dan Peranannya dalam Masyarakat Abad VIII-XV*. She studies the position and role of ancient Javanese women of the VIII-XV century. Beside it, Carey and Houben wrote a book entitled *Perempuan-Perempuan Perkasa di Jawa Abad XVIII-XIX*. Both of the researchers described the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century. Adji and Achmad also examine women who ruled Java in the book, *Perempuan-Perempuan Tangguh Penguasa Tanah Jawa*. Different from the previous books, Permanadeli

studies the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era in *Dadi Wong Wadon, Representasi Sosial Perempuan di Era Modern*. Moreover, Pangastoeti's article, "Perempuan yang Terpinggirkan Dalam Penulisan Sejarah ", addresses the marginal position ascribed to women in the area of development due to the subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news about Javanese rulers talks about the king's greatness, the prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who subscribes to male dominance. Consequently, men profoundly produce a lot of knowledge. In contrast, the existence of women becomes invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely about women at the top positions—women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women— according to Irwan Abdullah, an anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada (in Marwah's research report part-1 68) . This confirms the male dominance that is present through kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, studying women's contribution to the Bagelen community as a representation of peripheral Javanese culture expects to offer a crucial contribution by showing that women— either upper-class or peripheral—provide extensive contributions to social development. To achieve this goal, the study is divided into several sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely library research supported by theoretical construction based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of

woman leader in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion; and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

This study represents library research (Bakker and Zubair 63). Hence, the data collection is conducted via research books, notably those by *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*; research report part 1 and part 2 namely *Konstruksi Posisi Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Bagelen : Sudut Pandang Budaya, Agama dan Politik* by Marwah; *Perempuan-Perempuan Perkasa di Jawa Abad XVIII-XIX* by Carey and Hoube ; *Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Masyarakat Kebumen* by Priyadi; *Bagelen dan Mataram Kuno* by Penadi, as well as other books, supporting documents, articles, or other similar information sources. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. Referring to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. The data are then analyzed by explaining, checking, comparing, conceiving, and categorizing. Through these processes, many assumptions used to explain phenomena are questioned and explored to obtain the findings.

Women Leader in Bagelen Community in The Past

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower stratum which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* (“ordinary people”), and the upper stratum is *gusti/penggede* (“the higher social”) (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different powers based on their position in the hierarchy. People who are in the higher social hierarchy must be respected. With Bagelen culture being peripheral Javanese, it has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite much

upper-class in the Bagelen region, feudalistic values do not strongly reflect the formed social order.

To see the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community, it starts with a discussion of the origin of Bagelen. Several versions explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*, the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* (“inscriptions”) later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as sculpted in the “prasasti” are in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription describes the people of the Bogowonto River valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are male dominant rulers who do not involve women's contributions. Despite the absence of information on women, it should not be assumed that they have no contributions. In the case of Bagelen, prosperity and order cannot actually be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community is Nyai Ageng Bagelen. In Indonesia, the term “Nyai” has various meanings. Indeed, the term “Nyai” is often attached to a concubine of Dutch soldiers who came from indigenous women

during the colonial period. Ananta Noer, for example, describes it in his novel, namely "*Bumi Manusia*". In the story, Nyai Ontosoroh becomes a strong and clever woman, even though her fate ends in bad luck. Another study by Hellwig entitled *Citra Kaum Perempuan di Hindia Belanda* also describes the bad luck of "Nyai", an indigenous woman who became a concubine of Dutch soldiers. However, the term "Nyai" is also synonymous with the honorific call for the wife of the "Kyai" or the Islamic religious leader in Indonesia. Even for the people of West Java, the term "Nyai" is a general term for adult women. However, for Nyai Bagelen, "Nyai" means honor because of her position as a leader in the suburbs during the ancient Javanese era. The term peripheral, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, refers to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Iris is a Javanese subculture, not belonging to the central Javanese culture. Javanese's cultures as it is known are Solo and Yogyakarta.

Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but through the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen, who is described as a resilient farmer, is the ancestor of the Bagelen community. In terms of names, the address "Nyai Bagelen" with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognizes her identity with her name, without relying on the husband's name. It is likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and freer than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of both men and women through one's name. Identity as men is signified as a men group, and becomes a marker of difference from the "confronted" group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself is recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the gender bias issue has reduced the figure of Nyai Bagelen. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah in Marwah's research report part-1

68), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to gender bias. In this case, Mulder's work, *Inside Indonesia Society Cultural Change in Java*, can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles. Men in the family take on roles in public affairs while women play roles in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* ("men are in the front, women are behind, lit."). The basic principle of this division is complementarity. In the context of equality discourse, however, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary purpose, as society develops, the women's contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being "placed behind," to complement the "front party". As a result, the involvement of women has increasingly worn out and come to be unknown to the wider audience.

The Nyai Bagelen figure experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public. As Abdullah (in Marwah's research report part-1 73) states, it is a case of female leadership becoming invisible to the public. Specifically, for Nyai Bagelen, the public's lack of knowledge about her prevents her from taking the spotlight as a local female figure. Mythical matters much more symbolize the existence of the Nyai Bagelen figure although it obscures its real virtues. The capability of Nyai Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raises livestock, and weaves textile is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm, and assertive woman are somehow forgotten by people.

Till present, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mystical. Her presence as a leader in the peripheral of Java denies her a recognition in the historical development of a society dominated

by men and popular figures. Male figures also dominate even the field of history writing. Ahimsa Putra (in Marwah's research report part-2 24), an anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural, and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's which argues that the key role of women in Javanese history is being the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women's contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing the term's Abdullah) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced historical discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the Diponegoro War or the Java War is over (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus, the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group strives to establish women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentric, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly the subordination of women (Budianti 207). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral

culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity, referring to Shiva's book, *Bebas dari Pembangunan*. Shiva is putting women, who are at first considered as the main object of change, as the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated with the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured, referring to Kleden's book, *Sikap Ilmiah dan Kritik Kebudayaan*.

Bagelen Women as Preservers of Tradition

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko*/"low", *madya*/"middle", *krama inggil*/"high") while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless of the social strata. Of course, not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River valley. As a farming society, cooperation dominates community structure, and it prioritizes common interests. In its development, farming is still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, in the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. There are also some hilly areas in Bagelen that the residents use for plantations of wide variety of fruits. In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts; the community has local handicrafts, namely batik.

The local batik production names Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti batik in Kebumen Regency. The two districts produce variety of batik patterns that can be widely used by people. The Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and varying batik designs that reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the batik designs characterize the class from which the wearer belongs. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo batik in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti batik in Kebumen Regency characterize egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

The local language used in the Bagelen community shows that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, the variety of colors and patterns of their traditional batik is indicative of the Bagelen people's more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely *dolalak*.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen in *dolalak*, a dance that developed and endured in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. Its history is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. *Dolalak* traces its development from the singing and dancing of indigenous soldiers who were required by the Dutch to join the military. Yet the existence of *dolalak* is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

In reality, there are not sufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasizes that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say, the arts are

born among ordinary people and the initiation into the arts is still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, even more so for women in the peripheral regions.

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers, but it evolved to become dominated by women. The shift from male “dolalak” dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santosa (237) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. One example is the development of *dolalak* in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the centers of *dolalak* dance development in Purworejo Regency. According to one of the arts managers in the village, the development of *dolalak* by women has made the dance more interesting. The “dolalak” dance group in Kaliharjo Village has many members, including almost all women in the village and not just dancers who are members of an art group (Marwah’s research report part-2 34).

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santosa above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah in Marwah’s research report part-1 68). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing “dolalak” dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Men also dominate the writing of history, so the narration about the contribution of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view may emerge if the one writing history about *dolalak* is a woman. As stated by Ahimsa Putra, the interpretation then may be "more impartial": that the development of *dolalak* is

mixed and in the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve the traditional art form (in Marwah's research report part-2 31).

It can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social stratum that is not strong, a colloquial language shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism. However, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of *dolalak*, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing and as important as men, even when the development of dance is precisely performed by women.

Efforts to preserve culture as described above look like tourism development. This is a necessity. The designation of Kaliharjo Village as a tourism village based on the development of the "dolalak" dance confirms this. On the one hand, it is an effort to preserve customs and culture, on the other hand, it is information on tourism development. In line with this is the development of culture as well as tourism in Bali and Yogyakarta. In Bali, for example, Balinese cultural tourism is developed based on the diversity of local and religious cultures, promoting harmony between tourism development and sustainable Balinese cultural preservation (Rai Utama 6). In such manner do they try to realize the latter. The same applies to cultural preservation in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta tourism in the Kembangarum area also includes cultural products and activities in package attractions for tourist visitors (Ristiawan 20). Therefore, a tourism village performing traditional local culture as attractions is part of cultural preservation efforts.

Bagelen Women as Religious Upholders

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the

story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the figure and relatively different forms of worship. Pasundan Land also recognizes the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among its farming communities.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from its agrarian environment situation that later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered to Hinduism and Buddhism, and later to Islam. During the Hindu-Buddhist period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embraced Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

Regarding the development of Islam in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque in “Sejarah Kabupaten Purworejo”. Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* (“the head”) made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* (“pyramid”) roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islamic development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background of the mosque is related to the King of Mataram, namely Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, specifically 1613-1645 AD. The

mosque is also the oldest in the Bagelen region. The establishment of Bagelen Mosque is based on the instruction of the wife of Sultan Agung. The order intends to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. According to Penadi's work, *Bagelen dan Mataram Kuno*, Kyai Baidlowi is a local Islamic figure who developed Islam in the Bagelen region. He also contributed to helping the Mataram Kingdom defeat the Dutch colonials in the Bagelen region. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung is reinforced by the inscription of the number 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. Even the women's contribution to the spreading of Islam in the Bagelen region remains unclear to the public knowledge. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency, for example, always refer to the men who contributed to the development of Islam in the region. We never hear about women's presence in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part of Bagelen areas, including the Kebumen Regency, also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen is indeed scarce, yet it does not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region have also been confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role, for instance, in spreading Islam in Java through wayang

kulit (“leather puppet”) or *wayang golek* (“wooden puppet”) was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this is a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region manifests through the embodiment of religious symbols in the puppet theater *wayang kulit*, in *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* (“pray for the Prophet Muhammad”), and in *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling how women are as important as men in reciting *sholawat*, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art, are hardly known and these forms of women involvement are rarely perceived by the public as ways of broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo has started before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* (“local term for Muslim”), later known as Kyai Sadrach, is the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term *santri* can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz, *Agama Jawa*, conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* (“peasants”), and *priyayi* (“nobleman”). Kyai Sadrach is a *santri* who later converted to Christianity, even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding of their religion is not

well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Christianity at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen is indeed scarce, yet it does not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Conclusion

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they are not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute to and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past. Examples include Nyai Bagelen, the Bagelen women who are also able to preserve art and culture, and the Bagelen women who are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and doing production. As a leadership figure, she should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of *dolalak* dance. Local women also cannot be separated from religious activities. Indeed, there

is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

Note

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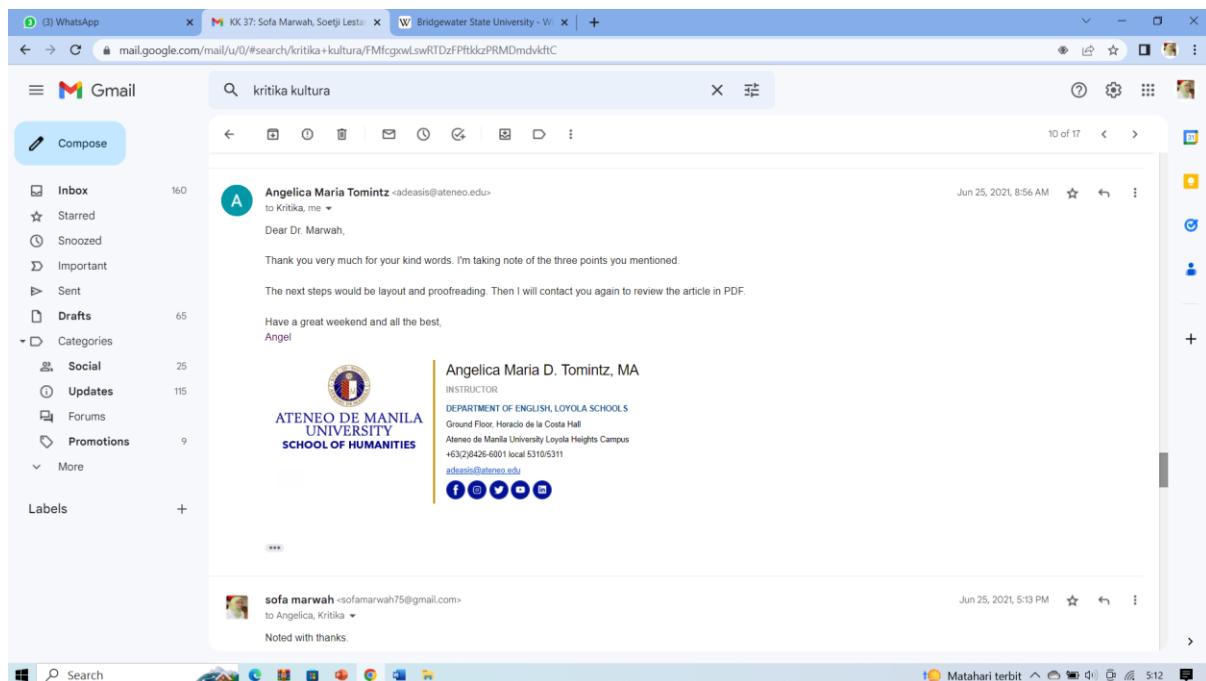
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WOMEN OF PERIPHERAL JAVANESE TRADITION

A Nearly-Forgotten Inspiration

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the women's contribution to the development of a peripheral Javanese community, Bagelen. This research is vital due to relatively scarce information about women's contribution in this area. So far, knowledge of community development is predominantly occupied by men or noblewomen. Library research develops this study. Hence, the authors collect data via research books and theoretical construction that are derived from relevant historical documents. The results reveal that peripheral Javanese women instead of central Javanese significantly contribute to preserving tradition and religion. In the past, the area was once led by a woman, namely Nyai Bagelen. However, the existence of women's leadership in the past didn't inspire the progress of women today. Then, the contribution of Bagelen women in preserving *dolalak* dance, upholding religious verses through Islamic verses and songs, is almost acknowledged by the public as a woman's effort in standing up for tradition and upholding their religion due to the prevailing hegemony. Hence, the knowledge should provide space to prove that the women's contribution is significant to the resources of the community so that community development is persistently inspired by its localities.

Keywords

Bagelen, women's contribution, knowledge, peripheral Javanese, tradition, Javanese women

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INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to identify women's contribution to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. Geographically, Bagelen culture covers the southwestern part of Java. It is considered a Javanese subculture, not part of the central culture. The locus of power and culture called *negarigung* region—which could aptly be translated as center of power—encompasses Surakarta or the Principality of Solo and Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 25-27). The Bagelen region, however, has only become a peripheral area since February 13, 1755, when the Giyanti Agreement, which was rife with Dutch colonial interference, took effect. This agreement has forced the Mataram Kingdom under Sunan Pakubuwana to be divided into Surakarta Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate. It has likewise confirmed the power of Sultan Hamengkubuwana in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta who reigned over half of Central Java (Ricklefs 149). The Bagelen region, formerly belonging to *negarigung*, has become part of *mancanegara*, which means “beyond,” as the power change occurred. As now part of *mancanegara*, Bagelen always refers to how power is implemented from *negarigung*.

This research regards the contribution of women in a peripheral Javanese community. Previous research on the contribution of women to community development is dominated by research on Javanese women at the center of power. These include Nastiti's work entitled *Perempuan Jawa: Kedudukan dan Peranannya dalam Masyarakat Abad VIII-XV*. She studies the position and role of ancient Javanese women from the eighth to the fifteenth century. In addition, Carey and Houben wrote a book entitled *Perempuan-Perempuan Perkasa di Jawa Abad XVIII-XIX*. Both of the researchers described the powerful women in Java in the XVIII-XIX century. Adji and Achmad's book *Perempuan-Perempuan Tangguh Penguasa Tanah Jawa* also examines women who ruled Java. Different from the previous books, Permanadeli studies the social representation of Javanese women in the modern era in *Dadi Wong Wadon: Representasi Sosial Perempuan di Era Modern*. Moreover, Pangastoeti's article “Perempuan yang Terpinggirkan Dalam Penulisan Sejarah,” addresses the marginal position ascribed to women in the area of development due to the subjectivity in male-dominated historical writing.

The history of community development is indeed subject to the ruling authority. A king will assign his letterman to write according to the king's wishes. Generally, the news about Javanese rulers talks about the king's greatness, the prosperity of the people as evidence of the king's success, the conquest of a region, and so on. The development of society and power has an orientation to the center of power while the power is held by the king who subscribes to male dominance. Consequently, men profoundly produce a lot of knowledge. In contrast, the existence of women becomes invisible in community growth.

The study of the women present in the development of society is largely about women at the top positions—women as queens, royal women, or upper-class women—according to Irwan Abdullah, an anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada (qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 1* 68). This confirms the male dominance that is present through kings or princes, to whom the journey of human history and public knowledge is attached and continues to be produced from time to time.

Hence, this investigation of women's activities in the Bagelen community—a peripheral Javanese culture—adds to the growing literature of the role of gender in Indonesian society and shows how women, either upper class or marginalized, can provide extensive contributions to social development. This study is divided into six sections: the first part shows the significance of research on the contribution of women in the traditions of peripheral societies; the second part presents the research method used, namely library research supported by theoretical constructions based on Bagelen historical sources; the third part describes the whereabouts of women leaders in Bagelen in the past; the fourth part explains the Bagelen women as preservers of art and culture; the fifth part reveals Bagelen women as upholders of religion; and the last section presents the conclusions of this study.

This study is grounded on library research (Bakker and Zubair 63). Hence, the materials were sourced from books such as *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo; Konstruksi Posisi Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Bagelen: Sudut Pandang Budaya, Agama dan Politik* by Marwah, et al.; *Perempuan-Perempuan Perkasa di Jawa Abad XVIII-XIX* by Carey and Hoube; *Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Masyarakat Kebumen* by Priyadi; and *Bagelen dan Mataram Kuno* by Penadi. Moreover, other books, supporting documents, articles and other similar sources were used in the study. This study also uses theoretical constructs based on related literature, such as chronicles, legends, and other historical and cultural documents. According to Suseno (4), theoretical constructs in modern science are built based on intuitive certainty to achieve logical clarity. The data are then analyzed by explaining, checking, comparing, conceiving, and categorizing. Through these processes, many assumptions used to explain phenomena are questioned and explored to obtain the findings.

WOMEN LEADER IN BAGELEN COMMUNITY IN THE PAST

In central Javanese culture, society has two social strata, namely the lower stratum which is filled by *wong cilik/kawulo* ("ordinary people"), and the upper stratum is *gusti/penggede* ("the higher social") (Moertono 19-20). In the Javanese view, each person has different powers based on their position in the hierarchy. People who

are in the higher social hierarchy must be respected. With Bagelen culture being peripheral Javanese, it has a more open and loose social structure, unlike central Javanese culture (Priyadi 191). Despite the presence of the upper class in the Bagelen region, feudalistic values do not strongly reflect the formed social order.

A discussion of the origin of Bagelen can reveal the position and contribution of women in the early development of the Bagelen community. Several versions explain the origin of Bagelen people. However, this paper uses official sources of the Purworejo Regency Government. According to *Sejarah Hari Jadi Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Purworejo*, the origin of the Bagelen people cannot be separated from *prasasti* ("inscriptions") later known as Prasasti Kayu Ara Hiwang or Prasasti Boro Tengah (823 AD). The events as inscribed in the "prasasti" are in the period of Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the era of Sri Maharaja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung during the Hindu Mataram rule in Java.

In the inscription, there is no information about women. The figure in the inscription is Dyah Sala Putra Sang Raja Bajra, a senior officer of the Hindu Mataram Kingdom. This inscription describes the people of the Bogowonto River Valley living in prosperity, order, good religious life, with an orderly and authoritative government, and community cooperation. No information explains whether women have an important contribution to maintaining community prosperity and order at that time. The absence of information about women shows that those who produce knowledge are dominant male rulers who do not recognize women's contributions. Despite the absence of information on women, it should not be assumed that they have no contributions. In the case of Bagelen, prosperity and order cannot actually be separated from the dimensions of feminine traits attached to the women's capability to contribute significantly to fulfilling family needs and creating order and peace in the community.

In the history of Bagelen, the female figure attached to the Bagelen community is Nyai Ageng Bagelen. In Indonesia, the term "Nyai" has various meanings. Indeed, the term "Nyai" is often attached to a concubine of Dutch soldiers who came from indigenous women during the colonial period. Ananta Toer, for example, describes it in his novel *Bumi Manusia*. In the story, Nyai Ontosoroh becomes a strong and clever woman, even though her fate ends in bad luck. Another study by Hellwig entitled *Citra Kaum Perempuan di Hindia Belanda* also describes the bad luck of Nyai, an indigenous woman who became a concubine of Dutch soldiers. However, the term "Nyai" is also synonymous with the honorific call for the wife of the "Kyai" or the Islamic religious leader in Indonesia. Even for the people of West Java, the term "Nyai" is a general term for adult women. However, for Nyai Bagelen, "Nyai" means honor because of her position as a leader in the suburbs during the ancient Javanese era. The term peripheral, as mentioned at the beginning of this article,

refers to a peripheral Javanese community, namely Bagelen. This is a Javanese subculture—not belonging to the central Javanese culture, which is known to be located in Solo and Yogyakarta.

Unfortunately, the source of historiography about Nyai Bagelen is not provided in an inscription or chronicle but through the form of folklore passed down over the generation. Nyai Bagelen, who is described as a resilient farmer, is the ancestor of the Bagelen community. In terms of names, the address “Nyai Bagelen” with its name also shows cultural recognition of the important position of women. In this case, the woman recognizes her identity with her name, without relying on the husband’s name. It is likely influenced by the peripheral Javanese culture which is more egalitarian and freer than the central Javanese culture (Yogyakarta-Solo). That is, the identity of the female character itself is recognized and respected in the past. This identity is constructed in the context of both men and women through one’s name. Identity as men is signified as a male group, and becomes a marker of difference from the “confronted” group namely women (Woodward 2). The identity of Nyai Bagelen as herself is recognized by the community and her descendants, not hidden.

As time goes by, the gender bias issue has reduced the figure of Nyai Bagelen. When the community becomes a source of knowledge (Abdullah, qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 1* 68), the knowledge that is perpetually reproduced will also confront ideologies that prioritize men over women which causes the greatness of female characters to fade away due to gender bias. In this case, Mulder’s work, *Inside Indonesia Society Cultural Change in Java*, can help clarify the situation of gender bias. Mulder points out that Javanese people have a well-maintained share of symbolic roles. Men in the family take on roles in public affairs while women play roles in domestic affairs, as shown in Javanese expressions: *wong lanang nang ngarep*, *wong wedok nang mburi* (“men are in the front, women are behind, lit”). The basic principle of this division is complementarity. In the context of equality discourse, however, it does not refer to the same position as men. Despite its complementary purpose, as society develops, the women’s contribution is increasingly invisible and unknown to the public for persistently being “placed behind,” to complement the “front party.” As a result, the involvement of women has increasingly worn out and come to be unknown to the wider audience.

The Nyai Bagelen figure experienced a history gap in terms of knowledge by the public. As Abdullah (qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 1* 73) states, it is a case of female leadership becoming invisible to the public. Specifically, for Nyai Bagelen, the public’s lack of knowledge about her prevents her from taking the spotlight as a local female figure. Mythical matters much more symbolize the existence of the Nyai Bagelen figure although it obscures its real virtues. The capability of Nyai

Bagelen as a local leader who manages agricultural fields, raises livestock, and weaves textile is not widely exposed. Likewise, the traits of Nyai Bagelen as a determined, firm, and assertive woman are somehow forgotten by people.

Until now, the name Nyai Bagelen is still well-recognized in the Bagelen community, especially in Purworejo Regency. However, the public memory of Nyai Bagelen is only limited to the past figure that is closely related to magic and mysticism. Her presence as a leader in the periphery of Java denies her recognition in the historical development of a society dominated by men and popular figures. Male figures also dominate even the field of history writing. Ahimsa Putra (qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 2* 73), an anthropologist from Universitas Gadjah Mada, emphasizes that everything in the development of society depends on who writes what. In this case, perhaps Nyai Bagelen as a past leader is also not recognized as a formidable woman. The figure of Nyai Bagelen should also be presented as a figure capable of taking care of agriculture, animal husbandry, and weaving, which can inspire the Bagelen community. The competence of Nyai Bagelen as a political, agricultural, and industrial leader remains unexplored.

This finding is actually more profound than Carey's which argues that the key role of women in Javanese history is being the validator or preserver of the dynasty. If women's contribution is only understood so superficially, it is difficult to develop public knowledge (borrowing Abdullah's terms) that women have an important history in the human journey. In this context, scientists need to develop a scientific attitude towards the order of customs and other cultural heritage. When the figure of Nyai Bagelen experienced historical discontinuation, the scientific study of the women character in the past is expected to encourage gender and cultural studies especially regarding the character of local women. Moreover, Carey's study shows that since the conclusion of the Diponegoro War or the Java War (1825-1830 AD), Javanese culture, as tamed by the colonials, has been like a museum culture so that those who live today do not know the greatness and character of local women in the past.

Thus, the study of the women's contribution to the journey of a community group strives to establish women as a center for comprehending cultures as a whole. Such conditions occur because the fields of science are androcentric, a construction dominated by male interest and power either through political or economic order which causes directly or indirectly the subordination of women (Budianti 207). This makes the presence of women in the history of a community often out of sight. The effort to examine the women's position in a peripheral culture is part of demonstrating the importance and necessity of knowledge based on women's ways of knowing or ways of producing knowledge based on the principle of femininity, referring to Shiva's book, *Bebas dari Pembangunan*. Shiva is putting women, who

are at first considered as the main object of change, at the center of the process of change and knowledge creation. Science will be well-implemented if it is accepted and integrated within the given cultural systems. If science, in contrast, does not produce something important and meaningful for a community group, then it has not been successfully cultured, referring to Kleden's book, *Sikap Ilmiah dan Kritik Kebudayaan*.

BAGELEN WOMEN AS PRESERVERS OF TRADITION

Bagelen lies between two cultures, Javanese culture in the east and Banyumas in the west. Therefore, Bagelen shows a transitional culture. This can be seen from its vernacular language. Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages. The influence of the Javanese language can be seen in some people who apply Javanese speech level (*ngoko*/"low," *madya*/"middle," *krama inggil*/"high") while the Banyumas language dominates the daily speech which has no speech level regardless of the social strata. Of course, not all places in the Bagelen area use this dialect since some people also use Javanese.

The origin of the Bagelen community is an agricultural society largely relying on livelihoods from the Bogowonto River Valley. As a farming society, cooperation dominates community structure, and it prioritizes common interests. In its development, farming is still one of the main livelihoods of the community, especially in the lowlands such as the Bogowonto River valley. Meanwhile, in the Bagelen regions in the coastal area, either Purworejo or Kebumen Regencies, the local people make a living as fishermen. There are also some hilly areas in Bagelen that the residents use for plantations of wide variety of fruits. In both Purworejo and Kebumen Districts, the community has local handicrafts, namely batik. The local batik production names Adipurwo in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti batik in Kebumen Regency. The two districts produce a variety of batik patterns that can be widely used by people. The Bagelen society is free to create bright colors and varying batik designs that reflect more egalitarian values they hold. In contrast, in the central Javanese tradition, the batik designs characterize the class from which the wearer belongs. Thus, the traditional Adipurwo batik in Purworejo Regency and Gemeksakti batik in Kebumen Regency characterize egalitarian values because they can be worn by all groups of people.

The local language used in the Bagelen community shows that Bagelen culture has a more open and loose social structure, unlike the central Javanese culture. Besides, the variety of colors and patterns of their traditional batik is indicative of the Bagelen people's more egalitarian values. However, does society have egalitarian

values for women and loose social structure? Let's look at the involvement of Bagelen women in traditional dance, namely *dolalak*.

The figure of women in Bagelen can be seen in *dolalak*, a dance that developed and endured in this region until now, particularly in Purworejo Regency. Its history is related to the Dutch colonial period when the Dutch built military forces in the Purworejo area for the center of defense. *Dolalak* traces its development from the singing and dancing of indigenous soldiers who were required by the Dutch to join the military. Yet the existence of *dolalak* is then closely related to the habits of the local community, especially about folklore or local legend (Santoso 239-240).

In reality, there are insufficient sources discussing the origin of *dolalak* along with its cultural system. The dance is believed to have formed around 1915 when Dutch colonialism was still firmly entrenched in this country. In this context, Carey (xii) explains that the Dutch archives generally reflect the reality of male-dominated colonialism. Carey emphasizes that at that time Javanese elite women were entangled in a narrow space. Needless to say, the arts are born among ordinary people and the initiation into the arts is still dominated by men. Since the historical reality during colonialism (in this case the Dutch colonial occupation) shows male dominance, the contribution of women is not apparent, even more so for women in the peripheral regions.

Dolalak dance was originally carried out by male dancers, but it evolved to become dominated by women. The shift from male *dolalak* dancers to female dancers made the existence of these traditional arts increasingly developed in the community. The study conducted by Santosa (237) shows that women play a central role in promoting traditional arts. Women are behind the success of a performing art either traditional or modern. One example is the development of *dolalak* in Kaliharjo Village, which is called one of the centers of *dolalak* dance development in Purworejo Regency. According to one of the arts managers in the village, the development of *dolalak* by women has made the dance more interesting. The *dolalak* dance group in Kaliharjo Village has many members, including almost all women in the village and not just dancers who are members of an art group (*Laporan Penelitian Bagian 2* 34).

The description affirms that in terms of arts and tradition, women's contributions cannot be underestimated. The study conducted by Santosa above is part of an effort to show that women also fill the public knowledge space (Abdullah, qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 1* 68). In this case, it is necessary to re-explore history, related to the contribution of women in discovering and developing *dolalak* dance, to uncover hidden narratives that did not become public knowledge. Men also dominate the writing of history, so the narration about the contribution

of women as preservers of art and culture becomes invisible. A different point of view may emerge if the one writing history about *dolalak* is a woman. As stated by Ahimsa Putra, the interpretation then may be “more impartial”: that the development of *dolalak* is mixed and in the hands of female figures who work hard to always dance and preserve the traditional art form (qtd. in *Laporan Penelitian Bagian 2* 31).

It can be seen, when the Bagelen community has a social stratum that is not strong, a colloquial language shows the values of freedom and egalitarianism. However, such values do not apply to see the position and position of women. Through the art of *dolalak*, it can be seen that women are not recognized as equally contributing and as important as men, even when the development of dance is precisely performed by women.

Efforts to preserve culture as described above look like tourism development. This is a necessity. The designation of Kaliharjo Village as a tourism village based on the development of the *dolalak* dance confirms this. On the one hand, it is an effort to preserve customs and culture, on the other hand, it is information on tourism development. In line with this is the development of culture as well as tourism in Bali and Yogyakarta. In Bali, for example, Balinese cultural tourism is developed based on the diversity of local and religious cultures, promoting harmony between tourism development and sustainable Balinese cultural preservation (Rai Utama 6). In such manner do they try to realize the latter. The same applies to cultural preservation in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta tourism in the Kembangarum area also includes cultural products and activities in package attractions for tourist visitors (Ristiawan 20). Therefore, a tourism village performing traditional local culture as attractions is part of cultural preservation efforts.

BAGELEN WOMEN AS RELIGIOUS UPHOLDERS

This section explores the contribution of peripheral women in religious affairs. Permanadeli's study (250) shows that women in Javanese mythology are symbols of living things that protect lives. Javanese women are represented as those who always move to fight for the living. Javanese women hold their power to balance real-world life. In this regard, the story that contains the cosmological order infertility myths is known throughout Java. The fertility symbol in Javanese belief is in the figure of Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. The story related to Dewi Sri contains teachings about rice cultivation and fertile life. Pamberton (280) shows that the story of Dewi Sri exists throughout Java, along with the various versions of the

figure and relatively different forms of worship. Pasundan Land also recognizes the story of Dewi Sri as a symbol of fertility among its farming communities.

The Bagelen community is basically a religious agricultural society. This can be observed from its agrarian environment situation that later developed into an animistic society. The religious characteristics can be discovered from animistic beliefs, then people adhered to Hinduism and Buddhism, and later to Islam. During the Hindu-Buddhist period, they glorified Lord Shiva (Hinduism) and mixed it with Javanese culture. Some local people also embraced Buddhism. The Bagelen community is also best known as a religious society that lives side by side between people of different religions. In this case, religious leaders have a special position in the lives of local people.

Regarding the development of Islam in the Bagelen region, there are three main sites that display the early development of Islam in the past, namely Petilasan Sunan Geseng, Sunan Geseng Mosque, and Santren Mosque ("Sejarah Kabupaten Purworejo"). Petilasan Sunan Geseng is on a hill located in Bagelen Village, Bagelen District. The name Sunan Geseng is also used for the Sunan Geseng Mosque. Sunan Geseng Mosque was built in the 19th century during the reign of Tumenggung Cokronegoro. The mosque has overlapping roofs, one and above there are *mustaka* ("the head") made of clay. It consists of the main room and *limasan* ("pyramid") roofed porch.

Another site that signifies the Islamic development in this region is the Santren Bagelen Mosque. The historical background of the mosque is related to the King of Mataram, namely Sultan Agung who ruled the Mataram Kingdom at its peak, specifically 1613-1645 AD. The mosque is also the oldest in the Bagelen region. The establishment of Bagelen Mosque is based on the instruction of the wife of Sultan Agung. The order intends to reward the services of Kyai Baidlowi. According to Penadi's work, *Bagelen dan Mataram Kuno*, Kyai Baidlowi is a local Islamic figure who developed Islam in the Bagelen region. He also contributed to helping the Mataram Kingdom defeat the Dutch colonials in the Bagelen region. The connection of Bagelen Mosque with Sultan Agung is reinforced by the inscription of the number 1618 in one of the tombs which indicates the reign of Sultan Agung.

The explanation above shows that the presence of women in the early development of Islam in the Bagelen region was not apparent. Even the women's contribution to the spreading of Islam in the Bagelen region remains unclear to the public knowledge. The sites of the greatness of Islam in Purworejo Regency, for example, always refer to the men who contributed to the development of Islam in the region. We never hear about women's presence in the early days of the development of Islam in the region. The leaders of the spread of Islam in another part

of Bagelen areas, including the Kebumen Regency, also refer to the figure of men such as Sheikh Asnawi, Anom Sidakarsa, and Abdul Awal, who spread Islam in the southern coastal region of Java. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Islam at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Islam did not involve women. One proof is the order of Sultan Agung's wife to build the Santren Bagelen Mosque as a reward for the support of Kyai Baidlowi towards Mataram. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Islam in Bagelen is indeed scarce, yet it does not mean that the contribution did not exist. Further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

Like other regions in Java, the introduction and development of Islam in Bagelen region have also been confronted by the strong local traditions close to pre-Islamic beliefs. The tolerance that is built towards these conditions is not in the form of art as entertainment, nor as a form of worship. Walisongo's role, for instance, in spreading Islam in Java through wayang *kulit* ("leather puppet") or wayang *golek* ("wooden puppet") was an attempt to make Islam easily accepted at that time. Graaf's study (in Raap xx) shows that this is a secularization of art because the local art developed into show material rather than a strong local religious ritual. The development of Islam in the Bagelen region is more prominent in the southern coastal region of Java. Islamic tolerance for traditional practices before Islam entered Bagelen region manifests through the embodiment of religious symbols in the puppet theater wayang *kulit*, in *dolalak* art in Purworejo accompanied by traditional songs and *sholawatan* ("pray for the Prophet Muhammad"), and in *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art in Kebumen that combine traditional and Islamic art. In this context, the women involvement in religious services in the traditional arts of the Bagelen community is hardly exposed publicly. Narratives telling how women are as important as men in reciting *sholawat*, singing Islamic verses through *jamjaneng* and *rebana* art, are hardly known and these forms of women involvement are rarely perceived by the public as ways of broadcasting Islam.

Apart from Islam, another quite rapidly developed religion in Bagelen region is Christianity, especially in Purworejo Regency. The development of Christianity in Purworejo has started before the three decades of the 20th century, which made Purworejo the center of zending Dutch Protestant churches. A former *santri* ("local term for Muslim"), later known as Kyai Sadrach, is the pioneer of the early history of Christian development in the region. The term *santri* can be harmonized with the mapping of Javanese people in the phenomenal study of Geertz, *Agama Jawa*, conducted in 1955 by making the scheme of Javanese cultural maps into three classes: *santri*, *abangan* ("peasants"), and *priyayi* ("nobleman"). Kyai Sadrach is a *santri* who later converted to Christianity, even taking a position as a missionary.

Unfortunately, the historical writing about the role of Kyai Sadrach in spreading Christianity does not include the contribution of Bagelen women in developing Christianity in the area. Again, the contribution of women's maintenance and upholding of their religion is not well known by the next generation. Community knowledge about the spread of Christianity in the Bagelen region always refers to the male figure, namely Kyai Sadrach. The public does not place women who also contributed to carrying out their religious duties. Are women thus absent in coloring the development of Christianity at that time? It seems impossible that the spread of Christianity did not involve women. Information about the involvement of women in the early days of the development of Christianity in Bagelen is indeed scarce, yet it does not mean that the contribution did not exist. Indeed, further investigation is needed to show the public about the contribution.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the history of particular community groups, women are frequently in a marginal position, as if they are not present in the development of society. Seemingly most people agree. Identifying women's position in peripheral societies is part of a scientific effort to show that in the course of a society's history, women also contribute to and inspire people's journey in the past and should also inspire the next generation. The results of this study indicate that Bagelen women have been leaders in the past. Examples include Nyai Bagelen, the Bagelen women who are also able to preserve art and culture, and the Bagelen women who are also an inseparable part of religious development in the region.

Nyai Bagelen is the leader of the Javanese tradition and religion, maintaining dynasties, managing agriculture, and doing production. As a leadership figure, she should be able to inspire society today, that women have an important position and contribution to the development of society, thus encouraging the advancement of women today. Local women are also able to maintain traditions and culture, among others illustrated in the development of *dolalak* dance. Local women also cannot be separated from religious activities. Indeed, there is not much literature that writes about it, and there is not much public opinion that acknowledges it.

The implication of the research, the writing of a multidimensional society journey particularly focusing the knowledge on female leaders is, of course, expected to produce a deeper narrative about society. Writing the society journey would be incomplete if it only tells the story of a great person or leader rather than from the side of the people including female figures in the peripheral areas. Culture must have its mechanism to face the modernity current. That is, deepening

thought based on culture is needed to avoid using only external parameters to measure change. Modernity must consider the cultural dimension as the social identity of every society. Hence, the study of women's contribution to the journey of peripheral communities is part of the issue so that the locality is always a source of enforcing inspiration.

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Gmail interface:

- Search: kritika kultura
- Compose button
- Left sidebar: Inbox (160), Starred, Snoozed, Important, Sent, Drafts (65), Categories, Social (25), Updates (115), Forums, Promotions (9), More, Labels (+)

Email list:

- sofa marwah** <sofamarwah75@gmail.com> to Angela Aug 24, 2021, 3:59 PM
- sofa marwah** <sofamarwah75@gmail.com> to journals.its, Angela Aug 26, 2021, 8:34 AM

Content of the second email:

Dear Angela and team,

I want to express my high appreciation for all your work and the team. A few things I would like to say:

- On p.4, in the third paragraph, in the third sentence, the correct one is ...Masyarakat **Bagelen**.
- On p.8, in the first paragraph, in the last sentences, please add... referring to Kleden's book, *Sikap Ilmiah dan Kritik Kebudayaan and Setiadi's article (65)*.
- On p.8, in the second paragraph, in the third sentence, please add... Bagelen dialect is a mixture of Javanese and Banyumas languages, referring to Hanifan's work entitled *Bahasa Jawa di Kabupaten Purworejo: Kajian Geografi Dialek*.
- On p.10, in the last sentence, Pamberton is wrong, the correct one is Pemberton; on p.17 (Works Cited) is correct.
- On p.16, I have checked it. Ludi's work cited is an undergraduate thesis. If you have a suggestion about it, I will approve it.
- I'm okay with your suggestion to the subheading: INTRODUCTION: ARCHIVAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES; and CONCLUSION: WOMEN'S CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN PERIPHERAL COMMUNITIES.

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(underline name of Corresponding Author)	Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia
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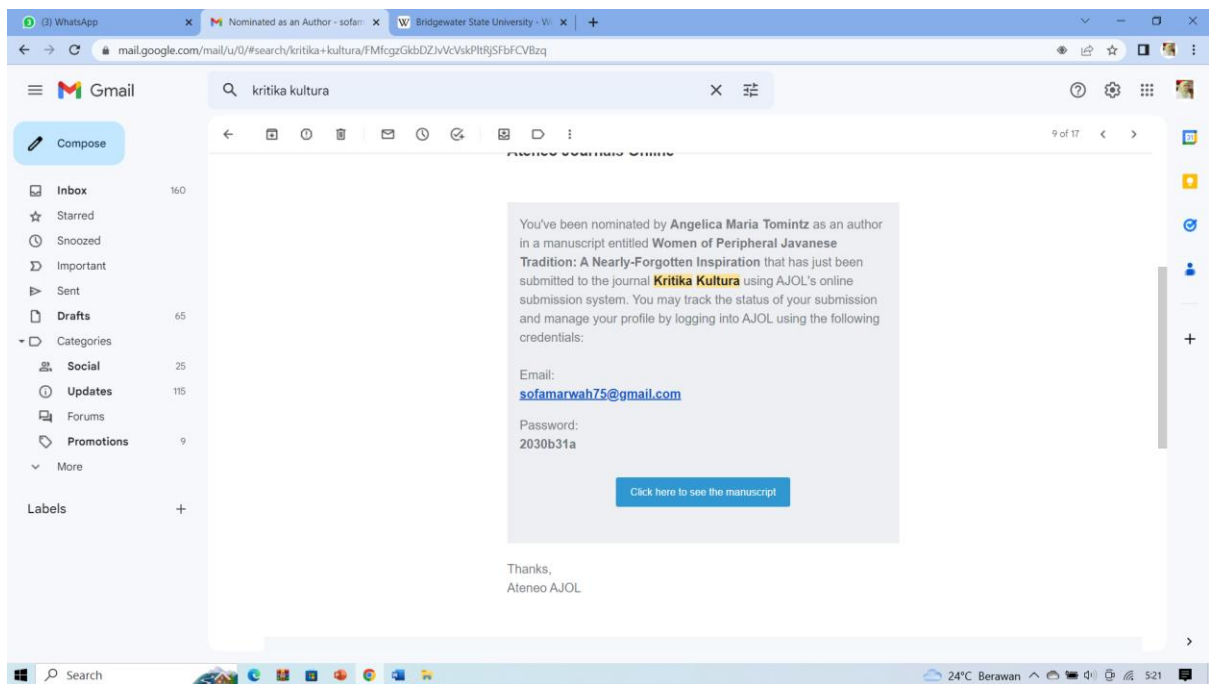
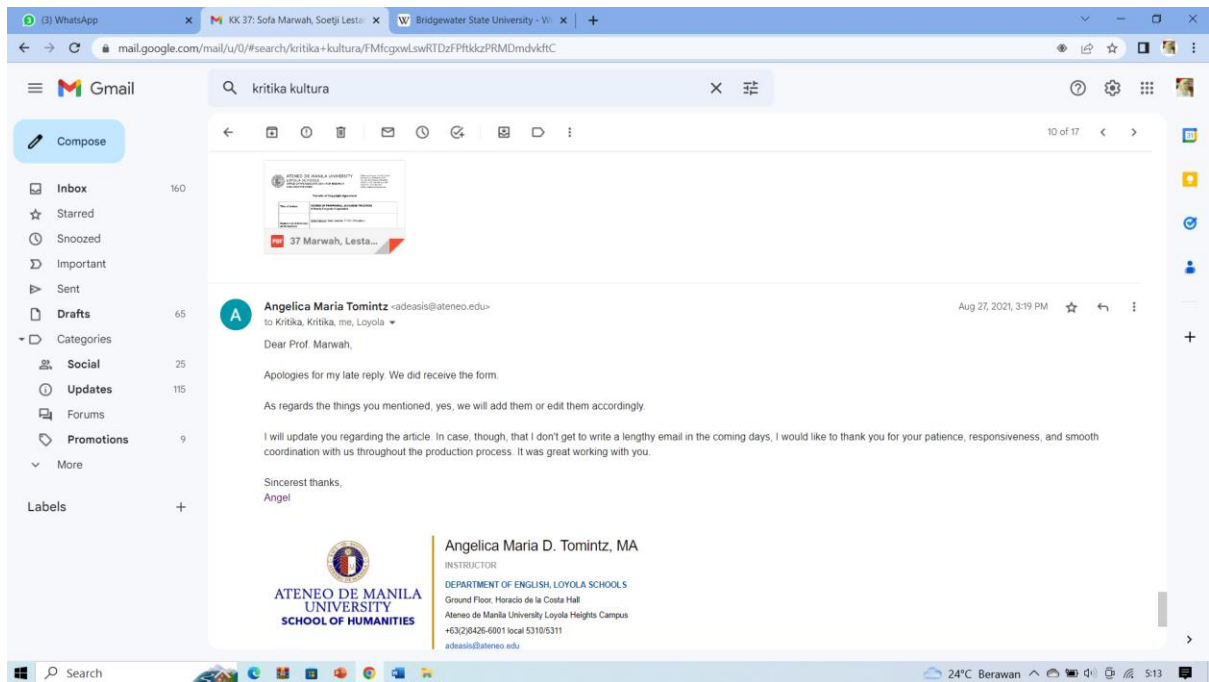
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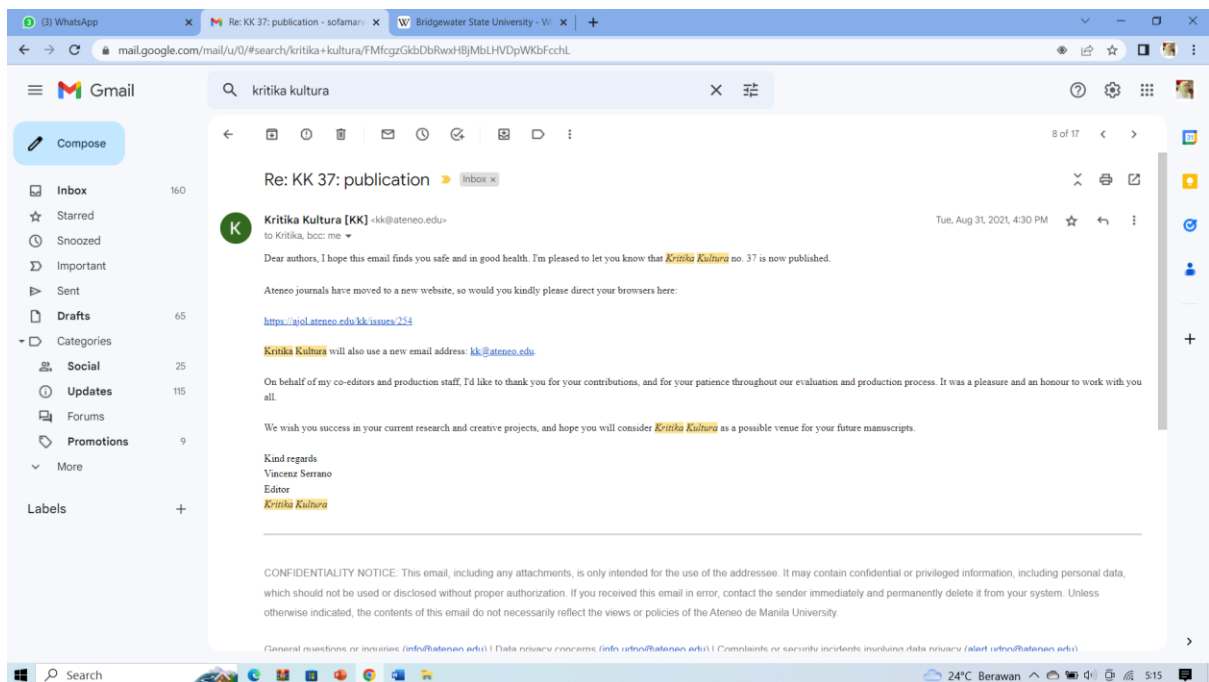
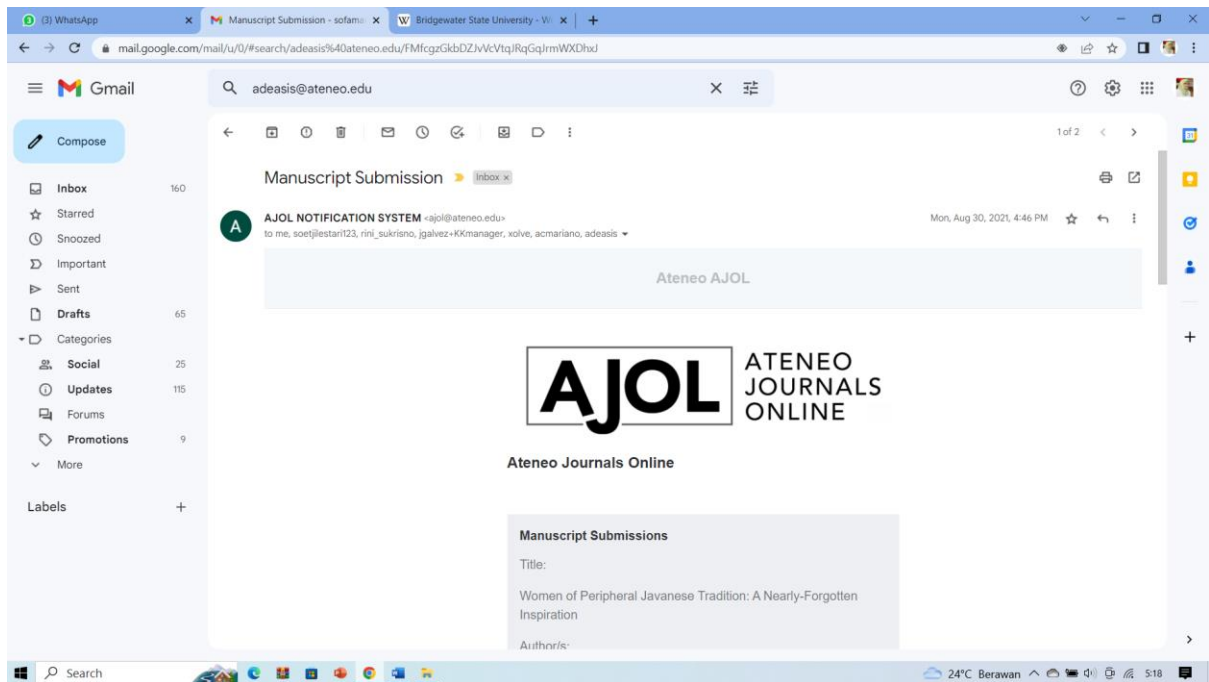
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Stay safe and healthy.

Best regards,

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