

COSMOS MATRIMONY BETWEEN KEBO WULAN AND PWAH APSARI JABUNG ON KAWIN CAI

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ABSTRACT

Kawin Cai was a worship ritual toward water and land conducted by the people in Jalaksana, Kuningan. The ritual based on a myth of the wedding of Kebo Wulan and Putri Pwah Apsari Jabung. Pwah Apsari was a very beautiful princess that makes Kebo Wulan fell in love with. But, he didn't have the heart to marry her. However, they change into *Kebo Bule* (white buffalo) and *Kijang* (deer) so that they was able to marry. They bore the reincarnation of *Sang Hyang Sri* named Pwah Bungatak Mangaleale. It was pointed as a sacred spot which was signed by the *Kawin Cai*. It was the ritual of combining water from the place of Kebo Wulan (Cikembulan) and Pwah Apsari Jabung's bathing place (Tirtayatra). *Kawin Cai* was then turned into a site called *Batu Kawin* which was located in the area of *Balong Dalem*. The site and the ritual were now believed as the source of God blessing and the symbol of fertility. The belief was a paradox unity between male and female on the upper world (between abode of the gods) and the human beings in the middle one. It was considered as a cosmos matrimony by the Sundanese society. The study was based on cultural analysis to reveal the paradox issues, either related to the site, the person, or the ritual appliances in the life of the old society through the aesthetic of paradox itself.

Keywords: Kawin Cai, cultural analysis, the aesthetic of paradox

ABSTRAK

Air merupakan sumber utama yang dibutuhkan oleh Masyarakat Agraris. Tanah dan air menjadi media bagi kehidupan mereka. Oleh karena itu, pemujaan terhadap air dan tanah dilakukan masyarakat sebagai upaya untuk melangsungkan kehidupan mereka. Salah satu kegiatan tersebut adalah "Kawin Cai" oleh masyarakat Kecamatan Jalaksana, Kuningan. Upacara secara turun temurun dilakukan berdasarkan kepercayaan mereka tentang berkah dari air dan tanah bagi kelangsungan pertanian.

Kawin Cai berasal dari mitos perkawinan antara Kebo Wulan dan Putri Pwah Apsari Jabung. Begawan Resi Makandria atau Kebo Wulan dari Cibulan, sedang bertapa di hutan, di sekitar wilayah Tirtayatra selama bertahun-tahun untuk mendapatkan seorang istri. Permintaan tersebut dikabulkan oleh Sang Resi Guru Manikmaya (ayah dari putri Pwah Apsari Jabung). Kebo Wulan diminta untuk menikahi putrinya. Pwah Apsari merupakan bidadari sangat cantik sehingga Kebo Wulan tidak sampai hati menerimanya menjadi istri. Keduanya mengubah diri menjadi Kebo Bule dan Kijang sehingga terjadi perkawinan dan menghasilkan keturunan (titisan Sang Hyang Sri) dengan nama Pwah Bungatak Mangaleale. Peristiwa ini dikeramatkan dengan upacara Kawin Cai, yaitu dengan cara menyatukan air dari tempat Kebo Wulan (Cikembulan) dan tempat mandi Pwah Apsari Jabung (Tirtayatra). Peristiwa perkawinan tersebut mewujud menjadi Situs Batu Kawin di area Balong Dalem. Situs dan peristiwa ini dipercaya dapat memberikan keberkahan dan kesuburan. Kepercayaan ini merupakan perwujudan penyatuan paradoksal, antara laki-laki dan perempuan dari dunia atas dan dunia manusia yang dipercayai oleh masyarakat Sunda sebagai perkawinan kosmos. Analisis budaya digunakan untuk mengkaji hal yang paradoksal dalam kehidupan masyarakat lama melalui estetika paradox, baik dari situs, pelaku, sarana upacara, maupun tatacara yang dilakukan dalam upacara tersebut.

INTRODUCTION

Kawin Cai was a ritual of combining water from two water springs: Cikembulan (Cibulan, Desa Manis Kidul) and Tirtayatra (Balong Dalem, Desa Babakan Mulya, Kecamatan Jalaksana). Cikembulan water springs consisted of seven sacred springs because of the trail/site of Prabu Siliwangi: 1) *Sumur Kajayaan*, 2) *Sumur Kasalametan*, 3) *Sumur Pangabulan*, 4) *Sumur Kamulyaan*, 5) *Sumur Cisadane* (holy water), 6) *Sumur Cirencana*, dan 7) *Sumur Kemudahan*. They were all believed as the source of God luck and bless.

Those Cikembulan seven springs located in Cibulan, was part of the ritual that was believed as a symbol of the groom while Tirtayatra springs in Balong Dalem was symbol of the bride. Such assumption came from the position of Kebo Wulan (from Cibulan) as a male while the position of Tirtayatra springs—as angel bathing spot (Pwah Apsari Jabung)—was symbolized as his bride. Those belief of the different sexual categories between men and women had longtime been strengthened by Batu Kawin site and were symbolized by phallus and yoni there. Anyway, Balong Dalem was a big container that was symbolized as big womb after the wedding of Pwah Apsari Jabung dan Kebo Wulan. The water stream then flowed into some rivers or waterways for agricultural purposes on Jalaksana surroundings. Besides, the society then believed that Balong Dalem had sacred function as connector between human with the upper world or ancestral spirits. The sanctity itself was long pointed Balong Dalem as a right place for holding the rite of Kawin Cai, as a part of water tribute.

The procession of Kawin Cai had done by Sundanese as a traditional tribute for upholding their ancestral heritage: combining or marrying two springs with strength and sanctity. It was a way to avoid water shortage so that It might be maintained and maintained. Besides, it were ways of bringing solidarity, ethical, cultural, and religious

values to the God. Kawin Cai was a form of community hope for His Blessing in fulfilling their needs watering through the stream of rivers and waterways to the villages. Simply, the rite created a harmonious human relationships and their nature. The rite was held once a year on Thursday, Friday night Kliwon of September—October.

THE SACRALITY OF KAWIN CAI

The phenomenon of water sacrality was the focus of this paper. Water was so meaningful and very important in human life, both individuals or in groups. Ecological conception was strictly stress on sacred of water. It was equal to *kabuyutan* which was consisted of upstream water, forest, human habitation, and also many sacred goods of the kingdom. The sacredness of *kabuyutan* itself was not caused by its magical power, but because of its vitality for human life. Inside the manuscript of *Siksa Kandang Karesian* (630, abad XV), in Danasasmita (1987), had been said below.

Ini pakeun urang ngretakeun bumi lamba, caang jalan, panjang tajur, paka pridana, linyih pipir, caang buruan. Sangkilang di lamba, trena taru lata galuma, hejo lembok tumuwuh sarba pala wo(h)wohan, dadi na hujan, landung tahun, tumuwuh daek, maka hurip na urang reya (par. 4).

(This is the way) of the welfare of in human's life, all of life's backs: grass, trees, creepers, shrubs, lush greens grown all sorts of fruits, lots of rain, and tall trees because they had grown and given life to the people.

One way of preserving water is expressed in old songs like below.

Rumpaka Danding (the lyric of Danding)	Translation
<i>Cikeruh Ulah Rek Kiruh, Kuduna Canembrang Herang Nya leu Sirah Cai Cisempur, Kudu Dirumat Sangkan Hirup Makmur Didieu Tapak Sasaka, Sirah Walungan Jadi Pusaka Lamun Hirup Hayang Nanjung, Piara leu Sirah Cikapundung leu Sasaka Jadi Amanat, Sirah Cai Kudu Dirumat Ciri Bakti ka Lemah Cai, Ku Miara leu Sirah Cai. Gunung-gunung di barubuh, Tatangalan di tuaran, Cai Caah babanjiran, Buana marudah motah.</i>	Cikeruh may not to be murky It must be clean and clear This is Cisempur upstream It must be well treated for prosperity Here are traces sasaka/relics Upstream as a heirloom If all wants prosperity Keep this Cikapundung upstream Sasaka is a mandate Upstream must be well-treated As a devotion to the homeland By maintaining this upstream Mountains are torn down Trees are cut The Flood causes flooding The earth is overflowing

Table 1. The lyric of Danding and its translation (Sumber: Danasasmita, 1987)

Sirah Cai Kudu Dirumat sangkan hirup makmur; Lamun hirup hayang nanjung piara ieu sirah Cikapundung; Sirah cai kudu dirumat ciri bakti ka lemah cai. The message on such rumpaka shew that we had to take care of the springs in prosperously purposes while becomes our devotion to the motherland. People then applied it into their daily lives, including Tirtayatra, Balong Dalem, Cikembulan, Cibulan springs maintaining. Water has very important in their lives. That was because it determined the sustainability of creatures on earth. The act of upstream maintaining included preserving the environment while preventing disaster factors. The pattern of old society had strong ties with the natural environment so as they had to keep it so properly: water sharing system and maintenance of the surrounding forest.



View 1. Balong Dalem and Batu Kawin (Stone Marriage) Sites, Babakan Mulya village, Kec. Jalaksana, Kuningan District (Sumber: Retno Dwimarwati: 2017)

PROCESSION OF KAWIN CAI

The procession of Kawin Cai began with the sacrifation of sheep at seven o'clock in the morning, on Tuesday or Friday Kliwon in front of Batu Kawin as a beginning of combining (Kawin Cai). It was a gratitude towards the God. Then, there are series of pray reading: a salvation pray, *hadrot* (sending a pray for ancestors) led by the head of Desa Babakanmulya. Those were aimed to ask God's blessing into the life of the people. The relationship with nature was realized by the exclusion of various sources of life, such as springs, protected forests, plant species, proper water distribution, and land utilization.

Before the sacrifation, one had to be say the pray for their ancestor and Desa Babakanmulya people salvation. The sheep was being well-tightened on the trunk of the nearest tree around Batu Kawin (stone marriage) sites. It was well-preserved—being cleaned and hair-cut. It was also gave a mirror. The aim of them were for its relaxing before the sacrifation. Having cut, it took into the head of the village house for next cooking and serving steps. Kind of food that had to be served were series of satay (both lamb and potatoes), decorated rice, some traditional dessert (*kue tangtang angin, leupeut, and cucur*), banana, dan seven varian flowers. Those called *sarandu* that should be done by the elders accompanied by young women.

Wujud pertunjukan [prosesi] yang masih menyediakan sesajen dan syarat-syarat lain mengisyaratkan bahwa pelaku seni pertunjukan tidak berani mengubah syarat-syarat karena takut melanggar. Hal ini menunjukkan sisa-sisa kepercayaan lama yang dapat mengakibatkan musibah pada pelakunya. (Sumardjo, 2014: 99).

The form of the procession was still provided offerings and other strings implied that performers didn't dare to change the strings because of their fear of the infringement. This shew the rest of old beliefs that cause disasters on the perpetrators.

Furthermore, at 1 PM, the water picking has begun. They took the water from Tirtayatra springs, began with shouting *adzan*. The water was then taken to Cibulan for being prayed together with the same from Cikembulan springs. Both combining were then taken back to Tirtayatra to be married through the praying ritual by the elders of Balong Dalem. Both were then being united Tirtayatra, and then, being streamed into Cijingjing river flow towards Balong Dalem back. There was well-united water distribution from Balong Dalem into the right side through Ambit canal. It was then being streamed into seven parts around Jalaksana area: dams (such as Lame, Salam Desa Jalaksana, Jeungjing, and Cibulakan), and villages (such as Desa Nanggerang, Desa Pada Menak, and Desa Ciniru (Situ Cibasir). While on the left side, the distribution had started from Balong Dalem into Sadamantra village.

The procession was comprehensively by the making of decorated *nasi tumpeng* and other offerings that was well-composed as what had ancestors been done before. At the sacrification, the sarandu was placed in front of Batu Kawin, as a *nasi tumpeng* and the complimentaries (seven kinds of beverages: bitter coffee, sweet coffee, fresh tea, sweet tea, *selasih* water, *bandrek*, and pure water), a comb, dan little mirror, incense, *hio*, seven dessert (*cara*, *apem*, *cucur*, *leupeut*, *kupat*, *koecang*, *tantang angin*, *kue lapis*, and *fried banana*), dried fish (*Pepetek* and *Tanjan*), seven flowers (*kantil*, *kenanga*, roses, *soka*, *pandan*, bougenville, and *bunga najis (kuning)*). Those *sarandu* or offerings had to be served to complete the placing sacred water insed the water claypot. The next procession of Kawin Cai was shouting *adzan* at the Tirtayatra and Balong Dalem springs along the matrimony being held. Having marrying the water, the people were being together: praying and, as the ending, they do eating. It symbolized their greetings to the Creature.

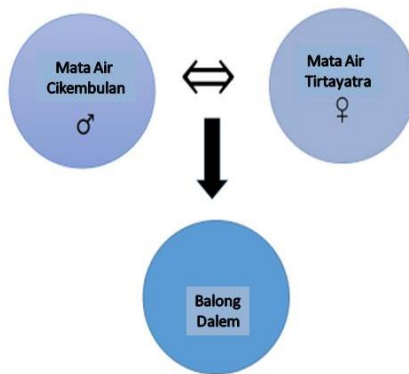


Table 2. The Wedding of two spring water that accomodated into Balong Dalem

Sundanese had long believed that their philosophy had to be well-considered human-God relationship, inter-human relationship, human and self relationship, and human-nature relationship. Suryalaga (2010:6) described Sundanism by their six morality phylosophy (*sadrasa kamanusiaan*), which was well-reflected on humans life, both with their God, self, other people, nature, time, waktu, and their both physically or psychologically welfare. Warnaen (1987:1) had also saw the view Sundanese view reflected on Sunda oral tradition and literature through human’s sight as by themselves, human by the people, human by the nature, human by the God, human on pursuing their own outward progress and inner satisfaction.

ANALYSIS

The wedding of two spring water signified that there was a belief of cosmic wedding between masculinity of Kebo Wulan (earth creature), that inhabited the Cikembulan springs, and femininity of Pwah Apsari Jabung (the angel) that inhabited the Tirtayatra springs. The wedding itself signified the people’s fertility, welfare, and properousity. The wedding symbol might be seen on Batu Kawin (stone marriage) that signified the unity of both masculine and feminine stone (*lingga* and *yoni*). Therefore, the people firmly hold the ritual of *Mapag Cai* or Kawin Cai to inherit the tradition for the blessing of watering at the region of Kuningan. Balong Dalem as female symbol, signified the womb to accommodate the output of the wedding. Then, the water was well—treated as original water to be streamed throughout Jalaksana. While, *sarandu* servings by the people of Kuningan had been well-served by its own way, among other those were commonly similarity.

a. *Tumpeng*

Tumpeng was coned-reversed-shaped rice. It resembled Mandala, the connector between human and the goddess/ancestors. The top of the rice called *pucuk manis* resembled the highest achievement of human towards balancing, health, salvation, and

prosperous. Tumpeng was usually completed with those complimentaries-Kuningan had its own rule that those were composed on the different plates, such as lamb satay (four legs animal as sacrificed earth creature). On the earlier periods, the head of the lamb was buried as fertility symbolism. The flash then was well cooked on the festive: lamb satay. Besides, there were also potatoes satay. Potatoes were sprinkled with some spices, then being stabbed simply like satay. The vegetable was symbolized under world. Some, it was complemented by fried vermicelli, tofu, tempe, and fried chicken. The vermicelli was made of rice flour, tofu and tempe was made of soya resembling the middle earth. Chicken resembled poultry and winged animal as the citizen of the upper world symbol. The union of the third world (lower—middle—upper world) was the most important thing in gaining the cosmic harmonious and balance. Therefore, the people hold firmly to keep the three aspects to save their own lives.

b. Dishes

Dishes that could be found on *sarandu*, amongs other, were *tantang angin* and *rangginang* (symbol of male (rectangular) and female (round-shaped)), *Bubur beureum* *bubur bodas* (sweet and salty cereal that was resembling the harmonious unity of both two differences); *kupat keupeul*, *leupeut*, and *kucang* resembling wrapped food by banana leaves, *janur* (young coconut leaves), and *hanjuang* with different shapes that were symbolized the various paradoxes in human harmony.

c. Beverages

Beverages consisted of *Cai herang* (pure water), *kopi pahit* (bitter coffee), *sweetened coffee*, *tea*, *sweetened tea*, *Selasih* water, dan *bandrek*. The water resembled of having good intentions and never expected a reward and only surrender to God. The beverages must be seven because that are sacred numbering in Sundanese tradition

d. Rurujakan

Rurujakan was many foods resembling the anatomy of human body: body, sense, and soul—those had to be harmonized, such as: *rujak cau raja*, *rujak kalapa*, and *rujak asem*.

e. Seven flowers

Those seven flower consisted of *kantil*, *kenanga*, *rose*, *soka*, *pandan*, *bougenville*, dan *bunga najis (kuning)*. Those resembled human parts that should be more aromatic for having good impressions.

f. *Seupaheun*/kapur sirih, mixed betel, gambier, and a little calx composed into a mixture that produced red color as results of chewing. It resembled the power of human body that was consisting of bones, flesh, and blood.

g. Tobacco and other various cigarettes resembled a connector between human and souls of their ancestors. It made from high quality tobacco leaves as a reward towards the power and the rank of those ancestors.

The offerings of Kawin Cai were symbols of human relationships with nature, and the Creator. As Sumardjo mentioned below.

"Snacks or food, fruits, tobacco or cigarettes weren't meant to be the food of the metaphysical spirits presented during in the show, but rather to be cosmic symbols. The symbols of natural objects and cultural objects in them could be read as cosmic male-female couples. These macrocosmic symbols of the universe were juxtaposed in harmony in the human world (microcosm). The union itself, of both microcosm and macrocosm, could present metachosmos (2014: 93).

Then, Sumardjo gave the description below.

Primordial religy of most Indonesian tribes believed that there were a cosmic unity between God's nature, universe, and earth. The human salvation, beside her/his own efforts, also it depended on some deity transcendental energy. The trancendetal itself was born onthose immanent to fulfill the human needs. Those were relationship patterns that shaped the building structures. (2014:99).

The availability of all the ritual complementaries was sought by the community to avoid from rules breakings that had been long-outlined by their ancestors for cosmos harmony sake. If there was now tourism office supports in ceremony packages, it was an enlivening to the event. But, essentially, they kept the aims of

Kawin Cai as an effort to maintain the water as one of God blessings. Nature harmony was very important to keep the cosmos as a comprehenship cosmic union amongst God, human, and nature. The community was not aware of fulfilling the offerings, but the pattern was long hereditary and continuously served by them as a strictly rules.

CONCLUSION

The ritual of respecting water as a life source served consciously by the community. The ceremonial managements or applications had been done in everyday life. The ritual complementaries were well-prepared together through fundraising a year earlier. The rite had taught people on sharing, respecting each other, and be fair in sharing water distribution on rice fields irrigating, adjusting usage schedules, taking and using water effectively, not polluting or destroying water ecosystems, cleaning water sources if it was dirt, and other ancestral teachings. Kawin Cai indirectly taught us about the local wisdom: respecting, nurturing nature, and balancing of the nature for human survival sakes.

Therefore, local philosophy, *sad rasa kamanusaan*, was tightly kept by the Sundanese during these days. The Sundanese religiosity had deeply rooted in life. Even, others said that the relationship between human-God-nature maight be applicated on improving the relationship of inter-human, self, and also in achieving inner or outer happiness.

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