

Sunda's Women in the Past, Present, and Future In Literary Anthropology Studies

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ABSTRACT

Keywords:

Sundanese Women,
Literary Anthropology,
Cultural Representation,
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Sundanese Literature

Positive and negative values are assigned; exchanged; dialectic zed; rules are agreed upon and established, boundaries are created, thoughts are institutionalized, definitions are imposed by one group of people to regulate another group of people. This study examines a selection of Sundanese literary works that specifically reflect cultural ideas concerning Sundanese women. Drawing from both direct and indirect observations of the representation of Sundanese women and the cultural values associated with them, the research employs an inductive and comparative literary anthropology approach, presented through descriptive and ethnographic methods. The data collection techniques include documentation, interviews, analysis, and interpretation. The research utilizes both transcribed oral literary works and written literary texts that are considered representative of the various phases in the periodization of Sundanese literature. The findings lead to several conclusions that can be developed into conceptual insights regarding: (1) the portrayal of women in Sundanese literary works, and (2) the roles of female authors and their contributions to the preservation and development of Sundanese culture.

INTRODUCTION

There are many stereotypes that have developed in depicting women. These include notions such as: (1) "women are more complicated than philosophy," (2) "women are always right," (3) "women are unstable," (4) *awewe dulang tinande* (women feed yet remain unappreciated), (5) *awewe beuki leweh; deet cimata* (women easily cry), (6) "women are waste containers," (7) "women love wealth," (8) "women are men's playthings," (9) *perempuan jalingkak; balakasikang* (women are cunning and shameless), and (10) "women are oppressed by men," among many others, almost all with negative connotations.

However, there are also numerous positive idioms portraying women, aimed at building their mental strength, granting them recognition, motivating them, and making them a source of inspiration. Examples include: (1) "a woman is a mother," (2) "a mother is the first school (*madrasatul ula*) for her children," (3) "women are multithinking and multitasking," (4) "a strong woman," (5) *munjung mah ka indung, muja mah ka bapa* (honor the mother, revere the father), (6) *indung nu ngandung, bapa nu ngayuga* (the mother who carries the child, the father who supports), (7) "a woman (*per-empu-an*) is one who masters; a woman (*wanita*) is one who dares to be guided," (8) "women are the pillars of the nation," (9) "a woman is the queen of the household," and other expressions that highlight women's virtues and strengths.

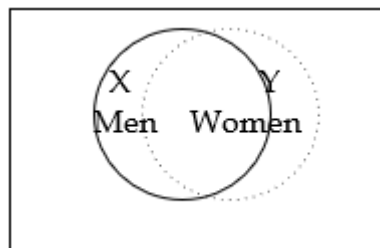
In Sundanese culture, these idioms, both positive and negative, are not merely linguistic expressions but reflections of societal attitudes toward women. They reveal the coexistence of respect and marginalization, empowerment and restriction, within the cultural narratives that have shaped the perception of Sundanese women over time.

Are you aware that the language used to describe women is born from thoughts, rules, social structures, and cultures that make it a product that settles, floats, overflows, sticks, then becomes an experience and is passed down from generation to generation? Positive and negative values are assigned; exchanged; dialectically debated; rules are agreed upon and established, boundaries are set, thoughts are institutionalized, definitions are imposed by one group of humans to regulate another group of humans. In some systems,

it is even believed that women have no voice, that they are a silent group unable to articulate themselves. Their voices are merely imitations of the dominant group. In the shadow of men, their consciousness is depicted not as a clear line but as disconnected dots. This is according to anthropologists Shirley and Edwin Ardenener regarding the group referred to as women.

Showalter (1985) later adopted the term “silent group” for women and “dominant group” for men from these anthropologists. Showalter (assessed that the term was very suitable for application in the world of literature. Because in the world of literature, the concepts of perception, silence, and suppression are also central to the discussion of women's participation.

The Ardener diagram showing the silent group and the dominant group is as follows:



(Ardener diagram, Showalter 1985).

The silent circle Y is located at the boundary of the dominant circle X. This means that, metaphysically or in terms of consciousness, women do not have full consciousness (because their circle is made up of dots) in their relationship with men, while all of men's consciousness is contained within the full circle as the dominant group. This male consciousness is easily accepted by women because women know what the male crescent is even if they do not see it, which is of course because men are in the dominant female domain.

In the diagram, it can be seen that the Y crescent is outside the dominant X boundary; this is called the wild zone. This zone is the female domain spatially, experientially, and metaphysically.

Spatially, it can be interpreted as women being outside the male domain; a place forbidden to men, where women are free to be themselves. In terms of experience, this wild zone encompasses aspects of women's lifestyles that are entirely separate from and different from those of men. Conversely, men are unaware of women's metaphysical wild zone and do not understand all the uncertainties of women because the dominant group deems it unnecessary to know the silent group.

Such conditions have persisted for centuries, explicitly and implicitly recorded in literary works that document the journey of human life. As a cultural record, literature preserves cultural patterns in presenting the female gender group. Fortunately, in the Sunda region, Islam, which is one of the foundational pillars of Sunda culture, plays a highly significant and compassionate role. The principles of the relationship between women and men are transformed into rules of moderation, which undoubtedly stem from the principles of Islam, built on justice and moderation, so that Muslims are referred to as the moderate community (Quran, *Surah Al-Baqarah*, verse 143).

In Sundanese literature, the discourse on women is built on the dynamics of cultural integration, particularly the configuration of existence and value orientations, alongside patterns, functions, and interests that are both changing and enduring. Furthermore, the understanding of Sundanese women's discourse in literature involves enculturation, not merely cultural assimilation. These dynamics are highly intriguing to examine through a literary anthropology approach.

Literary anthropology is based on two fields of study, namely anthropology and literature. These are two very old fields of study. When combined into literary anthropology, they bring new concepts that cannot be separated but reinforce each other, with only the object of study being different. The object of study in anthropology is real humans and the culture that they leave behind. The object of study in literary anthropology is the human being (character) who exists within the text and the cultural content transmitted through the causal elements of literature, thereby enabling the literary logic to be traced. According to Endawara (2013), there has been an expansion of the object of study in literary anthropology, which now includes literary anthropology of authors, literary anthropology of literary characters, and literary anthropology of readers.

Literary anthropology as an approach was first coined by Turner in the 1960s-1970s. Similarly, Poyatos (1988) used the term literary anthropology and defined it as the study of literature based on cross-cultural research. Endaswara refers to it as reciprocal research between literature and culture (2013). Another scholar, Benson (1993), calls it the anthropology of poetry, all of which utilize literary works in seeking and tracing humans and their traces, especially their thoughts (Keesing, 1981a; Ihromi, 1990).

The material objects of anthropology studied in literary works include: (1) customs or patterns or traditional practices, (2) beliefs or religiosity, (3) ethnographic or cultural elements, and (4) cultural symbols recorded in literary works (Suwardi, 2013). From the summary of experts' opinions, anthropology generally studies: (1) universal human behavior patterns and ethnic groups, (2) the position and role of humans, (3) human peculiarities, and (4) various human societal problems. These aspects can also be investigated in literary works.

More simply, the forms and elements of culture synthesized by Koentjaraningrat from his teachers can be used as analytical tools in literary anthropology to identify cultural content in literary works as manifestations of human ideas. These human ideas are emphasized by Keesing (1981a) as the main component in cultural anthropology. This differs from the anthropologist Koentjaraningrat, who concludes that culture in anthropology is the entire system of ideas, actions, and human creations in society that are acquired through learning (Koentjaraningrat, 2015).

Additionally, the principles of human relationships from biological, psychological, and sociological perspectives can serve as other variables in the literary anthropology approach. Therefore, the literary anthropology approach is considered more comprehensive and complements the psychological and sociological approaches to literature in seeking the meaning of a literary.

Sundanese literature is part of world literature that generally preserves the anthropological wealth of the Sundanese people. Sundanese literature is the result of the creativity of the Sundanese people, expressed through language, crystallizing their thoughts and experiences in understanding their lives and culture.

Culture, as a system of thought that gives rise to actions and the results of those actions, is very complex to understand. Understanding culture requires not only understanding language as the key to unlocking the culture itself but also understanding the social order produced by social processes involving the community (Keesing, 1981a). This is reinforced by Geertz's (1992) view that interpreting and understanding cultural meaning requires linguistic understanding.

Language, as stated by Kluckhohn (Ajatirohaedi, 1985; Koentjaraningrat, 1993), has an important function and position for its community, and this is also true for the Sundanese language. The Sundanese language, as a representation of the ideas and thoughts of the Sundanese people, relates to the functional relationships in their community. The Sundanese language, as one of the main manifestations of Sundanese culture, determines the basis of Sundanese people's ideas about the values they embody in their daily lives. The ideas of Sundanese people can be recorded through the literary works they produce, as a manifestation of the superstructure of Sundanese culture.

The Sundanese language continues to be used among the Sundanese people. Sundanese literary works (literature in the Sundanese language) continue to be produced by writers. Through their speech and writings, writers reinterpret and revitalize the basic concepts and values contained in the ideas of the ancient Sundanese people.

Sundanese literature developed from oral literature to written literature. The development of Sundanese oral literature cannot be traced back to its origins with certainty. Nevertheless, I propose the premise that Sundanese oral literature emerged alongside the first recorded mention of the Sundanese people in history. The first Sundanese kingdom recognized by history is *Tarumanagara* in the 4th century CE, but the manuscript of Prince Wangsakerta, though not officially recognized as a primary source, mentions it in the 2nd century with the existence of the *Salakanagara* Kingdom in Pandeglang, ruled by King Aki Tirem Sang Luhur Mulya. From the knight *Dewawarman*, who married *Nay Larasati*, the daughter of *Aki Tirem*, kings were born in *Tatar Sunda* until *Purnawarman*, the King of *Tarumanagara*. If this is used as a reference for the existence of the Sundanese people in history, then it was also during this century that literature developed alongside the Sundanese language of that time. This is the thesis I have developed regarding when Sundanese oral literature originated. That is, if *Aki Tirem* used the Sundanese language in his administration. However, for the development of Sundanese written literature, experts in Sundanese literature, history, and culture agree that the 16th century marks the historical milestone of Sundanese (written) literature (Adiwidjaya, 1954; Atja, 1968; Rusyana, 1968; Rosidi, 1983; Ekadjati, 1985; Danasasmita, 1987; Wibisana, 2000).

The 16th century marks the time when ancient Sundanese manuscripts were transcribed and transcribed into Sundanese or Indonesian. The oldest manuscript is considered to be *Bujangga Manik* (1511 CE). Next is the *Siksa Kandang Karesian* manuscript (1518 CE or 1440 Saka), which mentions the existence of oral Sundanese literature. In this manuscript, the following are mentioned: four pantun stories; titles of folktales; titles of stories from foreign literature (India); types of mantra poetry; types of songs; other stories (Danasamita et al., 1987). From this manuscript, it is known that Sundanese oral literature had already developed long before written literature was discovered.

From the dates of the manuscripts above, it is known that the journey of Sundanese literature up to now has reached an age of five centuries (five hundred years). Therefore,

Wibisana et al. (2000) compiled an anthology titled "*Five Centuries of Sundanese Literature Volume I*," which was planned to be published up to Volume III [Unfortunately, this did not materialize, as he passed away in 2014].

The anthology mentions the phases of Sundanese oral and written literature and the genres of Sundanese literature. Written Sundanese literature is said to consist of two phases, namely manuscript literature and published literature, while Sundanese literary genres are said to consist of 10 types of literary works. The ten genres are as follows: (1) Ancient Sundanese Literature [This type is considered a genre with the main characteristic being the language used in the text (manuscript), namely the Sundanese language, which is a temporal dialect or the language used by the Sundanese people in the past. Examples of this work include: *Bujangga Manik* (1511), *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (1518), *Carita Parahiyangan* (1527), *Carita Waruga Guru* (1705-1709), etc.], (2) *Pantun* or *Carita pantun* [*Pantun* is a story in the form of a narrative that tells of a number of characters set in Sundanese kingdoms, such as *Galuh* and *Pajajaran*.], (3) *Sastra Lagu* [This type is literature in the form of poetry articulated in various songs. The forms of poetry included in this genre are: *ajimantra* "mantra", *papantunan* "songs derived from *pantun* stories", *kakawihan* "folk song", *sisindiran* "pantun", *syair* "a form of poetry originating from Arabia", and *guguritan* "a form of poetry originating from Java".], (4) Fairy tales, (5) *Wawacan* [The term *wawacan* refers to the form rather than the content. *Wawacan* is a story or discussion written in the form of *pupuh* originating from Java, while the content can be fairy tales, *wayang* stories, the history of prophets, historical literature or *babad*, or even new fictional stories. *Wawacan* was very popular among the Sundanese people in the late 19th and 20th centuries], (6) Novels, (7) Short Stories, (8) *Sajak* (free verse), (9) *Gending Karesmen* (Sundanese Opera), (10) Drama Literature (Wibisana, 2000: v-vi).

As is known, novels, short stories, and poetry, as well as (drama) scripts, are modern literary genres that have been influenced by the Western/European world, particularly through the printing industry and the Latin alphabet. In 1853, the colonial government printed and published a number of school books in Sundanese using the Latin alphabet, and by 1921, approximately 150 Sundanese-language books had been published by the colonial government (Moriyama, 2001:41, 47). Thus, the interaction between Sundanese language and literature and modern culture is actually older than in other regions of Indonesia. In fact, the first literary work written using modern literary techniques and genres was published in 1914, namely *Baruang ka nu Ngarora* by DK Ardiwinata, published by *Balai Pustaka*. This colonial government publisher, alongside private publishers, played a role in the life of modern Sundanese literature, as it regularly published books in the Sundanese language.

Alongside *Balai Pustaka*, private publishers published magazines and newspapers in Sundanese. These media became important because, in addition to books, literary works were then published in the form of short stories, free verse, and serialized stories. This form then developed into a new genre that was recognized in Sundanese literature.

This paper presents the scope of research on Sundanese women in literature, changes in configuration and orientation, and the periodization of female writers.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research on literary anthropology uses qualitative methods with the paradigm of literature as art (aesthetics of language) and literature as a cultural product (Endaswara, 2013), which represents the ideas of Sundanese people, both individually and communally, in their time. The research uses an inductive and comparative approach to literary anthropology, while the presentation uses descriptive and ethnographic methods.

Research techniques include documentation, interviews, analysis, and interpretation. Research sources utilize a number of oral literary works that have been transcribed and written literary works, which are considered representative of the periodization of Sundanese literature.

The periodization of Sundanese literature used is the concept of Ajip Rosidi (three periods) and Yus Rusyana (five periods). Thus, when synchronized: *Buhun/Bihari* = *Mangsa kahiji* (...-1600 AD), *Kamari* = *Mangsa kadua* (1600-1800 AD); Third Period (1800-1900 CE); Fourth Period (1900-1945 CE), Present = Fifth Period (1945-present).

During the *Kiwari*=*Mangsa kalima* period, I limited it to the year 2000, because in the following decade, mini-stories called *Sunda fiksmini* (2010) and *Sunda Haiku* (2014) were born. Thus, Yus Rusyana's periodization has expanded to six periods (*Mangsa kagenep*, i.e., 2000-yad) until the rebirth of new literary works at the level of Sundanese literary criticism. Thus, the period becomes as such.

Table 1 Synchronization of Ajip Rosidi and Yus Rusyana's Periodization

No	Periodization of Ajip Rosidi	Periodization of Yus Rusyana
1	Classical Periodization	The First Periodization (...-1600 M)
2	The Past Periodization	The Second Periodization (1600-1800 M) The Third Periodization (1800-1900 M) The Fourth Periodization (1900-1945 M)
3	New Periodization	The Fifth Periodization (1945-2000) The Sixth Periodization (2000- ...)

Revision of Isnendes' Compilation (2017)

Through matched periodization, this research is both synchronic and diachronic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

1) Women in Sundanese literature are presented through: (1) characters and characterization, (2) the dynamics of changes in configuration and orientation, (3) the language used, (4) ideas conveyed through the imagery presented.

2) Women as Sundanese Literary Writers

Discussion

Who are considered Sundanese women? Based on the opinions of several experts (Rosidi, 1985; Saini K.M., 1999; Warnanen, 1988), I conclude that Sundanese women are Sundanese people who utilize Sundanese cultural values, identify themselves and are recognized by others as Sundanese, and who not only use their Sundanese identity intellectually but also emotionally and intuitively (Isnendes, 2017).

Women in Sundanese literature, in this study, have two roles: Sundanese women as literary characters and Sundanese women as literary writers.

Women as Literary Characters are female figures who appear as characters in Sundanese literary works. There has been a shift in the configuration and orientation of female characters in literary works across three periods.

The configuration and orientation of women in ancient Sundanese literature, especially in *pantun* stories, occupy a primary position. Women are symbols of the upper and middle worlds, while men are symbols of the middle and lower worlds. Women are sacred, while men are profane. During this period, women were portrayed as perfect, namely: beautiful, patient, steadfast, loving, loyal, wise, and willing to make sacrifices. Women are believed to be givers of energy, mothers of the gods who give life and create, symbols of compassion, and love in the universe. All the pain and suffering that befalls them strengthens their spirit and sharpens their senses, making them the idols and lovers of the royal people.

The *pantun* stories used as sources are: *Lutung Kasarung*, *Sulanjana*, and *Mundinglaya di Kusumah*. The main character is *Sunan Ambu*. Other characters of equal status to *Sunan Ambu* include *Purbasari*, *Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri Dangdayang Trusnawati Nyi Bibiting Sri*, the mother of *Mundinglaya di Kusumah*, and *Dewi Asri*, the fiancée of *Mundinglaya di Kusumah*.

The language used is archaic and poetic Sundanese from a bygone era, rich with cosmological metaphors of its time. However, in the dialogue between the antagonists and protagonists, there are a lot of insults and curses, especially using the phrase "*tangkurak sia!*" 'your head!' (*Purbararang* to *Purbasari*), which means that *Purbararang* is angry at *Purbasari* for not using her mind when accepting the throne from her father. In *Purbararang's* mind, she is the one who deserves the throne. Meanwhile, *Purbasari* was still young and did not understand desire and power.

The configuration and orientation of women in the literary works of the past shifted toward the negative. The clash of ideas and values manifested in the complex activities of this period greatly influenced the status of women. Islam, which was easily accepted by the Sundanese people when it spread, during the Mataram era and continued with colonization (17th century), especially in *Tatar Sunda*, which caused chaos and disorder, had an impact on religious life.

Various cultural, political, and power interests internally influenced the implementation of Sharia law. The new ideology of Mataram simultaneously spread feudalism, which was then continued by Western colonization, exerting a distinct influence on women, rendering them inferior, stereotyped, and subordinate.

In transitional Sundanese literature, whether in *wawacan* and *sisindiran* "*pantun*", or in expressions and proverbs, women are *dulang tinande*, women are housekeepers, responsible for children, weak in character and prone to crying, physically weaker than men, and a number of other stereotypes. For example, in the satirical *pantun*, female characters are depicted as fond of dressing up and crying, thus reinforcing stereotypes about women.

The same applies to *wawacan*. In fact, many *wawacan* literary works portray women as suffering, oppressed, and objects of men (Rosidi, 1983), for example in *Wawacan Rangka Wulung* and *Wawacan Rusiah nu Kasep*. However, in Sundanese literature of the past, there were also literary works that still adhered to traditional values while blending them with modern ideas, namely placing women as themselves. This *wawacan* genre literary work was written by R. Suriadireja in 1912, titled *Wawacan Purnama Alam*.

This *wawacan* is considered the most representative among the numerous *wawacan* that flood Sundanese literary works. It is regarded as having the highest literary value with extraordinary imagery, including: unique character names, unusual place names, flexible word choice, and verse lengths exceeding those of existing *wawacan*.

The language in this *wawacan* has a fantastic novelty, creating names for places, people, wind-based kingdoms, and others that emerge from Sundanese traditions and the imagination of the Sundanese mind. It is also mentioned that the imagination used is based on *pantun* stories that Suriadireja was familiar with and lived in his heart (Rosidi, 1983).

When examining the Sundanese language used during this period, it can be concluded that Sundanese in literature exists in the form of bound poetry, such as *wawacan*, *sisindiran*, *paribasa*, and other idioms or expressions. Women are also associated with household utensils.

From the analysis of literary works about women, the shift in the configuration and orientation of women in the previous period can be described as a transition from the idealized woman to the woman who is made ideal, meaning that the glorification of the female figure still exists in previous literary works despite the orientation toward devaluation. This glorification is achieved through rationalization.

As for the configuration and orientation of women in the present day, they are women who have "set foot on solid ground" but live in a transitional period. Women in this period are faced with realities and possibilities that become their choices. From ten modern literary works (Sundanese Novel: *Baruang ka nu Ngarora* (1914) by D.K. Ardiwinata, *Lain Eta* (1932) by Moh. Ambri, *Sri Panggung* (1963) by Caraka, *Dedeh* (1968) by Yus Rusamsi, *Pipisahan* (1977) by RAF, *Puputon* (1979) by Aam Amilia, *Kembang-kembang Petingan* (2001) by Holisoh M.E., *Handeuleum na Hate Beureum* (2014) and works by Chye Retty Isnendes. Sundanese short stories: "*Apun Gencay*" (1973) by Yus Rusyana, the Sundanese short story collection *Dua Wanoja* (2014) by Chye Retty Isnendes, women in the present period are presented through two portrayals, namely positively portrayed characters and negatively portrayed characters. These portrayals are presented by both male and female writers.

There is a difference in the portrayal of the author's gender. Male authors depict women as manifestations of their subconscious, granting them the right to live or denying them that right, oscillating between worship and degradation, or as the women of their desires rather than as women who are true to themselves. In contrast, female authors portray women as reflections of themselves, their feelings, thoughts, activities, and potential responses to the challenges they face.

Additionally, during this period, there was an interesting phenomenon, namely the large number of works (novels or short stories) that referred to female identity. These works include: *Tjarita Eulis Atjih*, *Tjarita Agan Permas*, *Neng Yaya*, and *Rusiah Nu Geulis* by Joehana, *Siti Rayati* and *Agan Sari Fatimah* by Muhammad Sanusi, *Istri Pelit* by Moh. Ambri, *Sri Panggung* and *Kembang Rumah Tangga* by Caraka, *Maryamah* by Suwarsih Djojopuspito, *Dedeh* by Yus Rusamsi, "*Apun Gencay*" a short story by Yus Rusyana, *Puputon*, *Sekar Karaton* by Aam Amilia, and *Kembang-kembang Petingan* by Holisoh ME.

The language of female characters in the Kiwari period is no longer subordinate, but rather a language that is its own, generally more daring in freeing itself from silence. Although there is still a semblance of silence (characters speak through inner

monologues), it is considered more open than the Kamari Periodization. This may be due to the influence of the literary genre chosen by the authors, one in the form of prose and the other in the form of bound poetry.

In addition, the language in the Kiwari period is considered to be on par with the Bihari period, but on the other hand, it still indicates feudalism regarding social stratification (*menak-somah*) derived from the socio-political-cultural situation in the middle period (The Past period). This can still be captured through the language attitudes of the characters constructed by the author through dialogue-monologue speech acts, kinesic language, and the diction used by the characters when communicating. The advantage is that women communicate their thoughts and themselves to the world through literary works. This would not be possible without education. The thoughts, consciousness, and actions of the characters are greatly influenced by the vision de monde that is the author's orientation.

Thus, from the above analysis, there is another shift in configuration and orientation, from the perfect woman to the woman who is made perfect and becomes a woman as she is, a woman who has strengths as well as weaknesses as a human being.

From this shift in the position of female characters, there is a common thread connecting them from the ancient literary period to the present literary period, namely the value of women themselves. The value of women as noble and extraordinary human beings is still upheld and portrayed in literary works, albeit with different language.

Women as Literary Writers are Sundanese women who utilize Sundanese cultural values, identify themselves and are recognized by others as Sundanese people who not only use their Sundanese identity intellectually but also emotionally and intuitively, who through their creativity are able to crystallize their thoughts and experiences in understanding Sundanese life and culture, which in this case is expressed through the medium of language. Sundanese women as literary writers are the subjects who determine the world they will create. There are not many Sundanese women writers compared to Sundanese male writers, who dominate Sundanese literature. Indeed, in Sundanese literature, the name Raden Ayu Lasminigrat was recorded in 1875. She was the author of a *macapat wawacan* (poem) titled *Tjarjos Erman* (The Story of Erman), published in Batavia, which was an adaptation of a European story.

However, the ideas of women's independence and equal rights to education, which became the guiding principles for subsequent Sundanese women, originated with Raden Dewi Sartika (born December 4, 1884, four years younger than R.A. Kartini). After Sundanese women began attending school and receiving an education, literary works by these women began to emerge.

From my literature review, there were eight female writers recorded during the period before World War II. The following are listed in order (with the year of publication of their works): Rd. Lenggang Kencana (1912), Nyi Mas Lengkana (1922), R.H. Siti Hadijah (1922), Siti Royati (1923), Neng Hayani (1926), Nyi Rd. Sasmitadimadja Permasih (1926), J. Widasih (1928), and Raden Ayu Dewi Pertama (?) (1930).

Female writers after World War II until now began with Suwarsih Djojopuspito, and so on. I classified the generations of female writers based on the year they published their works. The female writers, who number less than 100, are grouped into four generations, as follows.

- 1) The 1940-1960 generation, represented by Suwarsih Djojopuspito, Suratmi Sudir, and Tini Kartini.
- 2) The 1961-1980 generation, whose writers are: Tien Wirahadikusumah, Atie W.R., Aam Amilia, Hana RS, Yati M. Wihardja, Damarjanti, Ningrum Djulaeha, Etty S, Sukaesih Sastrini, Ami Raksanagara, Naneng Daningsih, En Henri Sinaga, Yooke Tjuparmah, Tetty Suharti, Dyah Padmini, Holisoh ME, Mumun Munayah, Cicih Kurniasih, Sum Darsono, etc.
- 3) Class of 1981-2000, authors from this class include: Tetti Hodijah, Etti RS, Popong Otje Djundjunan, Nita Widiati Efsa, Eulis Hendrayani, Risnawati, Imas Rohilah, Dian Ratnaningsih, Elis Ernawati, Chye Retty Isnendes, Yayah Mariyah, Pipiet Senja, Ruhaliah, etc.
- 4) 2001-2020: Nunung Saadah, Popon Saadah, E.D. Jenura, Senny Suzana, Evi Sulastri, Anita Rohani, Ati Amiarti, Nina Rahayu, Dian Wulan, Dede Rostiana, Firda Aulia, Fitria Puji L., Hena Sumarni, Lely M., Roro Siti Rohmah, Tika Yuanita, Tiktik Rusyani, etc. (data updated, Isnendes, 2017).

The female writers are mostly members of the Sundanese women writers' association *PATREM* (established on November 4, 1982) and its affiliate, *SIRUNG PATREM*. These writers come from various professions: housewives, journalists, politicians, civil servants (teachers, lecturers, provincial employees, city employees, museum employees), entrepreneurs, bakers, etc. The ideas they present address not only domestic issues but also public issues (Isnendes, 2021).

These writers discuss thoughts, feelings, self-existence, the body, sexuality, the struggle for life, nature and the environment, religion, politics, culture, and so on. Many ideas, themes, and creative thoughts are written about. Literary works for women are an expression of their understanding of socio-cultural issues as well as a reaction to these issues within the context of tradition and culture.

However, among the many female writers, there are those who are merely passing through and those who continue to exist and produce works in various media and publish their works. This is according to Ayatrohaedi (1992). According to Duduh Durahman (1991), a Sundanese critic, the contribution of female writers to Sundanese literature is still very small compared to male writers.

The works of female writers who are members of the Sundanese women writers' association are scattered in the Sundanese media and are also compiled in Sundanese short story anthologies. The anthologies that have been published are: (1) *Guriang Tujuh* (Seven ancestors) (1984), (2) *Di Basisir Cijayana* (At Cijayana Beach) (1984), (3) *Surat keur ka Sawarga* (Letter to Heaven) (1999), (4) *Salikur Carpon PATREM* (Twenty-one Short Stories by Patrem) (2017), (5) *Surat Penting Pustakawati* (Important Letters from a Librarian) (2021).

As mentioned earlier, female writers of Sundanese literature are the result of education, as it is women from the upper-middle class who can express their ideas without being overly constrained by classical training (Humm, 2002). Significant differences regarding the roles, lives, and symbolic images of women began to emerge clearly after the 1970s (Keesing, 1981b). This was the result of universal education that was implemented globally after World War II.

Thus, if we look at the names that have emerged in the Women Writers' Generation that I have compiled, they are in the Second Generation (1961-1980), which is very much in

line with *Keesing's* view above. Thus, education is the path to enlightenment and intellectual freedom, enabling female writers to freely express their ideas and thoughts as part of a community of learners, committed individuals, and mediators of cultural documentation.

CONCLUSION

Women in literary anthropology studies are the reading and understanding of anthropological elements in literary works. Literary anthropology studies Sundanese women, meaning it studies the unique characteristics of women in literature that place them in a living environment that is considered more dignified. Sundanese women in literature are facts that refer to literary truth, which can happen, is happening, and will happen.

Sundanese women in literature do not emerge spontaneously; they are rooted in beliefs, whether religious, humanitarian, political, social, or cultural. The characters live in their time, shaping their thoughts, bodies, and selves in sync with the period that forms the backdrop for their creation and serves as the orientation for the author and those who articulate it.

Sundanese women are portrayed positively and negatively as a universal law based on the dichotomy that pulls various interests and the dialectic of ideologies that shape and give meaning to them. In this study, Sundanese women are positioned as literary figures and writers. The figures and female writers who represent their era and strive to draw attention to the dignity of the figure as an important idea in literary anthropology studies.

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