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The Encounter Between the Baduy and Muslims and its Influence on Sunda Wiwitan

This chapter introduces the Baduy and some aspects of their life very briefly. By proposing a linguistic perspective, this chapter supports the view that the Baduy are hermits. More importantly, this chapter shows the encounter between the Baduy and Muslims from the 16th century onwards and how this encounter influences the Baduy's religion Sunda Wiwitan. For example, in the Baduy land there is a village inhabited fully by Muslims. In this village a Muslim official (*āmil*) lives to whom the Outer Baduy proclaim the *shahāda* before they marry. Because of the *shahāda* and also circumcision, the word “Slam” from “Islam” is added to the name of the Baduy's religion and becomes “(I)Slam Sunda Wiwitan”. Later these connections would be used by Muslim preachers to do da'wa activities and counter Christianization.

A. Introducing the Baduy: Asceticism as Identity

1. Name

The Baduy are called in Sundanese “*urang Baduy*” or the people of Baduy (the Baduy). They live in the *desa* of Kanekes, the sub-district (*kecamatan*) of Leuwidamar, Lebak regency, Banten Province. According to Spanoge the word Baduy is from the word “Buda” or the river of Cibeduyuk. Blume also guesses that the word “Baduy” is from “Buddha” and the river of Cibaduy which separates the areas of the Baduy and Muslims (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 10). Van Hoëvell (1845: 360) and Coolsma (1913: 40) state that the name ‘Baduy’ was

given by Muslims of Banten to associate the people with the Bedouin people in Arabia who did not want to accept Islam. Jonathan Rigg (1862: 31) states that the Baduy are called so because of two reasons: Muslims associate the Baduy with the Bedouin people and the Baduy associate themselves with the river of Cihaduy in their land. The Baduy are also named so because, in terms of seeking for livelihood, they move from one field to another (Garna 1988: 39). Garna (1987: 37, 62) argues that the name of “Baduy” started to be used firmly after Islam was established in Banten. Before the term “Baduy” was used, they were called the people of Sunda Wiwitan (Garna 1988: 288, 369). To make more specific, the Baduy sometimes refer themselves to their villages like *urang* (Sundanese: the people of) Cibeo, *urang* Cikertawana, *urang* Cikeusik and so on (Garna 1988: 1). However, people in Ciboleger, a Muslim village that becomes the main entrance to the Baduy land, rarely use “the Baduy”. The Muslims call the Baduy *urang tonggoh* (the people of the highland) and the Baduy call the Muslims *urang landeuh* (the people of the lowland).¹

Subagio (1976: 94) and Garna (1988: 41) explain that “the Baduy” are only one of many groups who reside in the *desa* of Kanekes, precisely in the northern villages which are close to the Baduy hill and the riverbank of Baduy, while the people who live in the southern villages were called “the people of Kanekes”. They were called so because they live in the riverbank of Cikanekes. And the people who lived in the most southern villages were called “the people of Rawayan”, because their residence was located on the riverbank of Cirawayan. The people who lived in western villages were called “the people of Sabrang” (literally means “the people who live beyond the border”). To the people who live outside Kanekes, those groups called themselves “the people of Kanekes”, referring to the whole area of their residence. Because the Baduy group was the most popular, the outsiders then called the entire groups as Baduy. Such a naming system, namely by referring to something important and identifiable such as a river or a mountain in their villages, makes sense because it is the way Sundanese people commonly name the people and their villages (Garna 1988: 40).

Rarely the Baduy are also called Rawayan, a word taken from the Baduy’s Sundanese which means a bridge. Besides, *rawayan* also means noble (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 12). Odjoh (1967: 44) argues that “Rawayan” only refers to bridges in Cikeusik, not to all of the bridges in Kanekes. Two Muslim Baduy² who reside in Palopat explain that “Rawayan” is a Baduy Sundanese word for “bridge”, not specifically to those of in Cikeusik. The use of

¹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 2 May 2017.

² Interviews with Musa and Eman on 04 June 2017.

Rawayan as a name of the people, they said, is humiliating. The term denotes that the Baduy are stepped on. Also, some writers (e.g.: Lubis et.al. 2006, 104; Sucipto and Limbeng 2007: 54) remind that “the Baduy” is also an inappropriate term and tends to be humiliating because by that name the Baduy are associated with the Bedouin. My visits to their *adat* land and conversations with the people, however, show that they do not mind with the call “Baduy”. The term is also common in daily conversations when speaking about the people. Books and journalistic reports also use the term ‘the Baduy’. Therefore, I deploy the term ‘the Baduy’ in the whole discussion without attempting not to respect the people if such a differentiation (still) exists. Besides, I utilise the latest spelling rather than Badoej (e.g.: J. Jacobs and J.J. Meijer 1891 and F.S. Eringa 1939), Baduj (Undang Odjoh 1967), and Badui (e.g.: Robert Wessing 1977 and A. Bagoes P. Wiryomartono 1993).

2. *Origin: A New Consideration*

At least four narratives try to explain the origin of the Baduy: the narratives of Majapahit, Pajajaran, Banten, and *mandala*³. The Baduy themselves reject the first three narratives and challenge anyone who holds those views to provide hard evidence (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 87, 89, Garna 1988: 33-34, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 19-26). The first view suggests that the Baduy are the descendants of the Majapahit people. It says that Majapahit was attacked by Raden Patah (1455–1518) causing the people to run away to many places. According to this view, Tengerese people in East Java, Samin people in Central Java, the people of Indramayu in West Java, and the Baduy in Banten were the descendants of the people who escaped from Majapahit (Nuryani 1985: 27-28).

The second narrative explains that the Baduy were the descendants of the Pajajaran people who escaped from the attack of the king of Banten Molana Yusuf in 1579. They ran into the current area because they did not want to accept Islam (Jacobs and Meijer 1891, Pennings 1902, van Tricht 1929a and 1929b, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986, Garna 1988, Persoon 1994). Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 87-89) explain why some Pajajaran people probably have escaped to Kanekes and joined the Baduy: (1) the story of Lutung Kasarung which is sung by Baduy chanters mentions the story of Pajajaran, (2) the legend of Batu Goong in Pandeglang narrates that in the past the people of the area left for the spring of Ciujung (Sirah Dayeuh) when they were attacked by the

³ *Mandala* (Sanskrit: “circle”) is a Hindu-Buddhist concept representing the universe and its relation with gods and humans. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2016. Web. 04 Jul. 2016. <<http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/361533/mandala>>.

sultanate of Banten. Sirah Dayeuh is now called Cihandam and the Baduy believe that it was a city. In Sundanese *dayeuh* means a city, (3) the *adat* communities in Bayah, Cisolok, Cigudeg and Cipanas are called *kaum pangawinan*. They admit that they are the descendants of Pajajaran people, (4) the myth of seven *batara* show that some of the Baduy's ancestors lived outside of Kanekes. It is logic when they were in hardship the Baduy in Kanekes would provide a refuge, (5) in Bogor there was a story of Pajajaran people who left the court. They were led by Prabu Anom Kean Santang who was then called Batara Cikal. They arrived in Lemah Bodas. One of the Baduy's ancestors was called Batara Cikal and there is also an area in Kanekes which is called Lemah Bodas, and (6) there is an account saying that the real Baduy live in Cikeusik, while people in Cikertawana came from Sumedang and people in Cibeo came from Pajajaran.

The third narrative is similar to the second one, saying that the Baduy were Bantenese people who did not want to accept Islam. They chose to move away to the current land of the Baduy (Garna 1988: 9). This view is based on an oral history about the political succession from the kingdom of Pajajaran to the sultanate of Banten. The chronicle of *Sajarah Banten* accounts that Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah) and his son Molana Hasanuddin from the Sultanate of Cirebon, supported by the Sultanate of Demak, attacked the kingdom of Banten Girang. Molana Hasanuddin went to Mount Pulosari where 800 Hindu *ajar*⁴ lived. The *ajar* then converted to Islam. Pucuk Umun who was the power holder of Banten and therefore the leader of the *ajar* knew that there was no longer king in the kingdom of Pajajaran, except *bupati*⁵. The coming of Molana Hasanuddin reminded him that the power would immediately change (Djajadiningrat 1983, Pudjiastuti 2010, Guillot et al. 1996).

Molana Hasanuddin asked Pucuk Umun to convert to Islam. Pucuk Umum said that he would convert to Islam if Molana Hasanuddin was able to defeat him. Pucuk Umun created a cock made magically from metal, magnet and mercury, and he named it Jalak Harupat. Molana Hasanuddin's cock, Jalak Putih, was the embodiment of a jinn. Jalak Putih defeated Jalak Harupat and made it return to its original materials. But Pucuk Umun did not keep his promise. He changed himself into a *beo* (parrot) and flew to the south and joined the people in

⁴ As this word is still used in Indonesian, *ajar* means (1) "communication, information, announcement; teaching, training", (2) "hermit, member of a hermitage-community (usually male, cf ubon); prob. One who exerts (trains) os. in a life of detachment" (Zoetmulder 1982: 31). The meaning of *ajar* in the *Sajarah Banten* refers to the second definition.

⁵ *Bupati* or *bhūpati* is a Sanskrit word which means king. The area in which the king possesses power is called *kabhupatin* or *kabupaten* (Zoutmoelder 1982: 275). In modern Indonesia *bupati* and *kabupaten* equal to regent and regency respectively. In other words, Banten was a *kabupaten* in the kingdom of Pajajaran. When this region was taken over by the sultanate of Cirebon, Banten became one of its *kabupaten* (see Djajadiningrat 1983).

Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikertawana. Later on, witnessed by Dalem Jagat Terus Alas, Dalem Lumaju, Dalem Cakraita, Dalem Karohe, Dalem Sekarbon and Dalem Cinangka, Molana Hasanuddin made a border separating the people's villages (Saputra 1959: viii-13-14, Djajadiningrat 1983: 34, Lubis et al. 2006: 87-89, 103-104, 106).

The fourth is the *mandala* narrative which states that the Baduy are hermits who live in a *mandala* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986, Garna 1988, Bakels 1989, Persoon 1994). For the Baduy, being hermits means that they take care of Kanekes as a sacred area which becomes the centre of the world. Although the term "hermit" tends to be religious, in fact, for the Baduy there is no separation between the worldly and religious matters. For example, working is a worldly and religious matter at the same time (Garna 1988: 274, 276).

Danasasmita, Djatisunda, and Bakels are among who believe that Kanekes is a *mandala* and therefore the Baduy are hermits. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 2-5) base their argument on the manuscripts of Kropak 630, Kropak 632 and Carita Parahyangan which mention the terms "*tapa di mandala*" (being hermits in the *mandala*) and "*tapa di nagara*" (being hermits in the state). The manuscript of Carita Parahiyangan mentions that Sanghiyang Darmasiksa (in the 13th century) from the Sunda Kingdom created some *kabuyutan* (places of taboos, places of ancestors). Danasasmita and Djatisunda relate the task of *tapa di mandala* to the Baduy who become hermits in Kanekes. Because the Baduys are hermits they have to limit their standard of life. The Baduy say: "to sleep is only to get rid of drowsiness, to drink is only to get rid of thirst, to eat is only to get rid of hunger, don't live excessively" (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 5-7). Like Danasasmita and Djatisunda, Bakels (1989) supposes that the Baduy community is one of the *adat* or *mandala* communities in West Java. She relates the Baduy community to the *adat* communities of Karang, Guradog and Citorek. While the other *adat* communities have changed and converted to Islam, the Baduy experienced less change and Islamisation.

With some notes, I agree with this *mandala* view. We will look at the view from a linguistic perspective which is neglected by many when studying the Baduy. This approach will give a new perspective on who the Baduy are. The Baduy have words that are uncommon in Sundanese in general such as *batara*, *dalem*, and *dangka*. These words are from Old Javanese which got much influence from Sanskrit. The Baduy state that their ancestors are called *batara*. Zoetmulder (1982: 224-225) defines '*batara*', from the Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāraka*, as:

"noble lord (only lex.); bhaṭṭāraka, a great lord, venerable or worshipful person, used of gods and of great or learned men) god, the deity; (often before the

name of a god) the lord...’ without following name it is often the one regarded as highest god (Siwa, Buddha); in kid. Usual for the king.”

The ancestor of the Baduy was Batara Tunggal who had seven children: Batara Cikal⁶ who lives in Jampang, Batara Hyang Niskala (Kala) in Jasinga, Batara Brahma in Sajra, Batara Wiswara⁷ in Bongbang, Batara Wisnu⁸ in Karang, Batara Patanjala in Kanekes, and Batara Mahadewa. Batara Patanjala and Batara Mahadewa maintained to be hermits in Kanekes and Mount Medang Kamulan respectively. It is Batara Patanjala who becomes the ancestor of the Baduy. One generation after the *batara*, the ancestors of the Baduy are called *dalem*. For example, Batara Patanjala has seven children: Dalem Janggala, Dalem Putih Sidahurip (the ancestor of Cibeo), Dalem Lagondi (the ancestor of Cikertawana), Dalem Sarana (Sorana), Nyi Ujunggaluh/ Bujang Galuh (the ancestor of Kumpul), and Dalem Bungsu (Saputra 1959: viii-2-3, viii-14- viii-15, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 80, Bakels 1986: 138, Garna 1988: 126).⁹ Moreover, the Baduy community has villages which are called *dangka* villages. These villages are located outside the Baduy land. Zoetmulder (1982: 363) defines that *dangka* is “a hermit’s abode (or other kind of building with religious purpose, sanctuary”.

Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 25) mention that the meaning of the *dalem* is noble(s) or man/people of the court. As it is still used today in the position *abdi dalem*, *dalem* means “inner part, interior; inner part of the kraton” (Zoetmulder 1982: 352, see also Garna 1988: 157). Atsushi (2006: 234-235) notes *abdi dalem* in the sultanate of Banten had a task “to offer food for the palace”. Dalem Panyumpit who was sent by Molana Hasanuddin to hunt animals and accidentally found “the invisible people” also had a *dalem* designation (Saputra 1959). It would not be wrong if Garna (1988: 275) believes that there was a connection between the *puun* of the Baduy and the sultans of Banten through these *dalem* or the nobles.

⁶ *Cikal* in Sundanese means the first son.

⁷ Zoetmulder (1982: 2303) assumes that the word *wiswara* has the same meaning as *wiswasa* which means (1) “a person in whom one puts one’s trust (has faith), on whom one relies; trusted servant, confidant;” (2) “feeling confident, feeling safe (tranquil, fearless), suspecting no danger.” This literal meaning of the name of the *batara* probably could give us an insight into his role.

⁸ Guillot (2008: 17) explains that a number of statues were found at Mount Pulosari and one of them was the statue of Batara Wisnu.

⁹ Unlike Saputra, the regent of Serang Achmad Djajadiningrat (1996: 3-4) states that Batara Tunggal has five, not seven, children: Batara Cikal, Batara Patanjala and three other *batara* who ruled the 25 Lands (*Salawe Nagara*). Batara Patanjala has several sons. The last one is Batara Bungsu who is the ancestor of the *puun* of Cibeo. In addition, Saputra and Garna have a different order of the *batara* and *dalem*.

Van Tricht (1929a: 2-3) believes that these *dalem* were historical personalities who lived in the 16th century when “Mohammedanism” started to come to Banten. He assumes that the Baduy are “probably from the most pious, and noblest of the old inhabitants of the country, who had grown more devoted still as a consequence of the persecutions they suffered.” He adds that the Baduy are the descendants of people who “fled to the mountains” to avoid conversion to Islam. Van Tricht says that this process of Islamisation is remembered by the Baduy as disturbance causing the disappearance of their dreamland.

Besides *batara*, *dalem* and *dangka*, another word which can shed light on the Baduy’s past is the word “real”. To meet the top leaders of the Baduy (*puun*), visitors have to bring money in the currency of real. A Baduy who breaks the *adat* has to repent and is required to pay a ransom in the forms of “a kris, a sheet of white cloth, one real of money, a *kati* of incense and a bowl of betel leaves”.¹⁰ Besides, he will be exiled into another village (Garna 1988: 379, also see Hasman and Reiss 2012, 7). In fact, people no longer use the currency of real. Atsushi (2006: 236) states that what is meant by the currency of real in the history of Banten was Spanish real, “which was the most conspicuous coin in commercial activities in Banten at that time.” Guillot (2011: 134-5) also mentions many times that people in Banten in the 17th century utilised the currency of real in their economic life. For instance, the sugarcane plantation of the Chinese Muslim in Banten Whitton (Gouwsamcoe) suffered from drought as much as 5,000 Real.¹¹

I conclude that the Baduy, as they believe, are the descendants of religious learned people or the ascetics/hermits. I think that the Baduy are more or less the same as the *ajar* who lived at Mount Pulosari as narrated by the *Sajarah Banten*. The Bantenese ruler Pucuk Umun and his followers probably escaped to South Banten to look for a refuge from the ascetic Baduy. In addition, the *Sajarah Banten* and the Baduy’s tradition confirm that some of their ancestors were *dalem* or the people of the inner circle of the palace. What probably happened is that the Bantenese nobles who did not want to convert to Islam, as stated by van Tricht (1929a, 1929b), walked away and joined these learned people in South Banten. I assume that the Inner Baduy are the ascetics while the outer Baduy were the descendants of Pucuk Umum and his people. That another name of Pucuk Umum was Ratu Ajar Domas (Lubis *et al.* 2014: 35) could give us a clue about this possibility. As will be discussed in this chapter that one of the

¹⁰ Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

¹¹ Don Hasman and Fiolemana Reiss (2012: 7) mention that the currency of real is the currency of Saudi Arabia, riyal, which is similar in its Indonesian pronunciation to that of real. But Saudi Arabia as a country was just formed in 1932 and there is no connection between the country and the Baduy.

sanctuaries of the Baduy is Sasaka Domas which means the inheritance of Domas. A Muslim Baduy who has visited this sanctuary several times explains that in the area of Sasaka Domas there are rocks which resemble kitchen wares.¹² Likewise, in the site of Sasaka Bombang there were an *angklung* instrument, a rifle, a *gong* and a stick, but they were stolen by people (Bakels 1989: 360).

3. *Social Groups and Their Villages*

a. *Inner Baduy*

The Baduy are divided into two groups: the Inner and Outer Baduy. Besides these two, there are the Dangka Baduy who are often grouped into the Outer Baduy.¹³ The Inner Baduy are called “the inner” because geographically they live the inner side of Kanekes *desa*. They are also called *Baduy Tangtu* (the fixed Baduy) or *Baduy Tangtu Tilu* (the three fixed Baduy) because this group lives only in three villages: Cibeo (Tangtu Parahyang), Cikertawana (Tangtu Kadukujang), and Cikeusik (Tangtu Pada Ageung). Because the villages are in the upstream (Sundanese: *girang*) of the Ciujung river, the Inner Baduy are called *urang girang* (the people of the upstream). The number of the inner villages is believed to have never changed since the start of their existence. They live very strictly implementing the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan and therefore they are higher in sanctity, religiosity, and nobility than the second one (Garna 1988: 124, 232).¹⁴

There is a belief that there are only 40 houses in the Inner Baduy villages. This assumption has existed for more than a century ago. The assumption is not strange because it is held by the Baduy as well. Two Muslim Baduy whom I interviewed asserted that there were 40 houses in each Inner Baduy village. If there is a new family, they said, the Inner Baduy may make only a *sobong* as the extension of the existing house. The new families are not permitted to build a new house separated from the 40 houses.¹⁵ The Baduy leaders Ayah Mursid and Jaro Daenah think that it might come from the Dutch officials who asked about the number of the Baduy. Then the people who were asked answered that there were about 40 houses. Ayah Mursid and Jaro Daenah state that it is a big mistake and need to be corrected. In 2010 alone, there were 330 houses in the Inner Baduy villages with 1,170 people (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 34-37, 71). It is

¹² Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

¹³ The Baduy villages can also be divided into two: the East Baduy (*Pajaroan/ Tangkesan*) and the West Baduy (*Sabrang Barat/ Dukuh Barat*). The West Baduy includes, for instance, Cicakal, Cipater, and Leuwibuleud.

¹⁴ The difference between the Outer and Inner Baduy in terms of housing, clothing, kitchenwares, music instruments, and religiosity, read Kurnia and Sihabuddin's *Saatnya Baduy Bicara* (It is the Time for the Baduy to Speak Up) (2010: 29-33).

¹⁵ Interviews with Iman and Mura on 4 June 2017.



Drawing 2.1: “*Boeren oft landtluyden*” van achter Bantam (Badoej’s?)” or “farmers or people of back Banten (the Baduy?)”. Source: Willem Lodewyckz., *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman Vol. 1*, (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), pp. xx and 128(2).

also possible that the *adat* limits the Inner Baduy villages to have only 40 houses in total, but the population growth pushes them to break the *adat*. When Jacobs and Meijer researched the Baduy in the 1880s and Garna in the 1980s, the number of the houses in each village of Cibeo, Cikertawana and Cikeusik was 40 (Garna 1988: 51).

The Baduy, especially the Inner Baduy, are believed by many people to experience no changes. Some authors (Garna 1988: 5, Djajadiningrat 1996: 3, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 27) even suggest that the Baduy community represents the life of Bantenese people in the earlier period. A sketch from the 16th century of Banten with the caption “*Boeren oft landtluyden*” van achter Bantam (Badoej’s?)” or “farmers or people” from behind Banten (Baduy?)¹⁶ shows the style of clothes worn by the Bantenese/ the Baduy people is more or less the same as that of the Baduy (Rouffaer and IJzerman 1915: 128(2)). Guillot (2011: 159) comments about the sketch as non-Muslims from Mount Karang.

¹⁶ Because ‘Banten’ refers to the city of Banten in the northern coast of Banten, which is now called Banten Lama, *achter Bantam* must refer to South Banten.

Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, we will see how the people have changed, contrary to the common belief, at least since the 1950s.

b. Outer Baduy

The Outer and Inner Baduy are an inseparable unity in all regards, but the Outer Baduy are permitted to live more modern. Persoon (1994: 366) mentions that the Outer Baduy community becomes the shield to protect the Inner Baduy. Like Persoon, Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 27-28) argue that the Outer Baduy exist to support the Inner Baduy to filter modern influence, to bridge the interests of non-Baduy (e.g.: the government) and the Baduy, and to participate in the state's programme (e.g.: general election). In 2010 there were 55 villages, 2,645 houses, and 10,002 people in the Outer Baduy villages (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 69-72). Unlike the Inner Baduy villages, the number of Outer Baduy villages keeps increasing and their people are allowed to live more modern. They even have used modern products such as radios, smartphones, and solar lamps. How the Baduy adopt modernity and development will be discussed further in chapter 3.

The Outer Baduy villages are also called *panamping* means periphery. They are periphery because geographically their villages surround the inner Baduy villages. Besides, *panamping* also means a place of exile as it happens when the inner Baduy break the taboo they are exiled into the *panamping* villages (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 13, 98). The villages of Sorokokod, Batara, Babakan Panyarangan, Rancakonolang, Cisaban, Leuwihandam, Babakan Picung, and Kaneungay are examples of villages to exile the Baduy from Cibeo. The villages of Kaduketug, Babakan Cipondok, Cihulu, Kadujangkung, Karahkal, Cigula, Gajeboh, Cobongkok, Cicatang, and Citopeng are places to exile the Baduy from Cikertawana. And Cicakal Hilir, Leuwibuleud, Copaler, Cipit are the example of villages whose residents are from Cikeusik.

c. Dangka Baduy: the Baduy outside the Desa of Kanekes

Dangka villages are Baduy villages outside of the *adat* land. The word *dangka* in Old Javanese means the residence or sanctuary of hermits (Zoetmulder 1982: 363). Books on the Baduy often mention that the *dangka* villages are the places where the *adat* breakers are exiled (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 14-15, Persoon 1994: 331, 319). The number of the *dangka* villages changes. Initially, there were nine *dangka* villages. They included Cibengkung (Padawaras), Kompol (Garukgak), Kamancing (Warega/ Sanghyang Panunggulan), Panyaweuyan (Inggung), Nungkulan (Sindangnyair), Cilenggor (Sanghyang Asuh), Cihulu, Cihandam (Sirahdayeuh), and Kaduketug. But now there are only two, namely

Kompol and Cibengkung. The other *dangka* institutions have been integrated with the villages in the *adat* land because the *dangka* villages have disappeared. They were, among others, taken forcibly the surrounding farmers (Persoon 1994: 321-322). The *dangka* villages were also a sign that the size of the Baduy land was much larger than today's (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 15).

The Baduy in the *dangka* villages have a familial relation with the Baduy in other villages. For example, the Baduy in Cibengkung were the descendants of Dalem Janggala, Cipatik of Dalem Karohel (Parahiyang), Panyaweuyan of Dalem Batunagara (Kadukujang), Kompol of Nyi Ujung Galuh (Cikeusik), Cihandam (Dalem Sangkan), Kamancing of Dalem Panunggulan (Cibeo), and Kaduketug (a *dalem* of Parahiyang) (Van Tricht 1929b: 74, Saputra 1959: viii-15 – viii-16, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 14-15, Garna 1988: 51, 137-138, 141, 232).¹⁷

Located in the *desa* of Sangkanwangi, the sub-district of Leuwidamar, the *dangka* village of Kompol covers an area of about 25 hectares, inhabited in 2008 by 423 people or 174 families. The Baduy believe that the ancestor of Baduy in Kompol was Nini Hujung Galuh who moved from Cikeusik (Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 74-77). Because the *dangka* villages are located outside the *adat* land and are surrounded by non-Baduy (Muslims), many Baduy in the *dangka* villages have a wide contact with the non-Baduy and their life has changed. For example, they wear t-shirts and have an electricity network and motorcycles.

Many people believe that the size of the Baduy land was much larger than today's. Garna (1988: 140) opines that the borders of the Baduy land was moved to the south or shrunk by the sultanate of Banten in the 18th century. Before it was shrunk the southern side reached the south beach and the north border included Desa Leuwidamar, around 6 kilometres away from the current border (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 110-111). The Muslim Baduy Edo also believes that in the past the size of the Baduy land was much bigger than today. He assumes the *dangka* villages were the border of the Baduy land. But now the *dangka* villages are located far from the border of their *adat* land. Even some *dangka* villages have disappeared because they were taken, sometimes by force, by the *desa* leaders. They argued that the land of the villages did not have a certificate. In 1974/5 the Baduy in the *dangka* village of Cihandam were forbidden by Muslim locals to live there. The Muslims claimed that the village belonged to them. They said that they would permit the Baduy to continue to live in the *dangka* village if they converted to Islam. If the Baduy resisted, their

¹⁷ Interview with Edo on 18 November 2018.

houses would be burnt. The Baduy chose to move to Kaduketug. The same threat appeared in 1983/4 where Muslim locals claimed that the *dangka* village of Cihandam belonged to them. A Baduy family who lived there to guard a protected forest in the *dangka* village was driven out unless they wanted to convert to Islam. The family decided to move to Kaduketug. After those incidents, the Baduy collected money to manage the certificates of their *dangka* villages.¹⁸ In addition, the people of Bojongmanik and Leuwidamar also trespassed Cibeo and Cikeusik “to take trees and forest products” (Garna 1988: 96, 179, 193, 306, 376, see also Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 112).

4. Social-Political Structures

The Baduy community is managed by two systems: the *adat* (Arabic: custom) structure and the *desa* one. The *adat* structure is called *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*, consisting of two sections, namely *Tangtu Tilu* (the Fixed Three) and *Jaro Tujuh* (Seven Jaro). *Tangtu Tilu* refers to the three *puun* of Cibeo, Cikertawana, and Cikeusik. Each of these villages has a leader called *puun*. The *puun* are the leaders of the Baduy community in all respects: social, religious, governmental, etc., but each of them has a specialisation. The *puun* of Cibeo is responsible for the matters of administration and public relations; the *puun* of Cikertawana owes a duty of security, order, and welfare; and the *puun* of Cikeusik manages the religious matters and decides the punishment for the *adat* breakers. Besides, the *puun* of Cikeusik is the highest among the other *puun* and therefore becomes the top leader of the entire Baduy society. To manage practical matters these *puun* are assisted by village leaders (*jaro*) and the *jaro* are assisted by vice-jaro (*jaro parawari*) and *baresan*. The *jaro parawari* help to prepare equipment when there is a ritual or ceremony, while the *baresan* help to make the ritual run smoothly. Equal to the position of *jaro tangtu* is *girang seurat* whose job is to decide when to manage the *adat* farms (*huma serang*) (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 19-23, Garna 1988: 3, 129, 134, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 94-95, 100, 105,).

The second half of *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh* is the *Jaro Tujuh* or the Seven Jaro who are the representatives of the Outer Baduy. They are called the seven *jaro* because their number is seven. This group of *jaro* is led by two additional leaders *Jaro Tanggungan Dua Belas* and *Tangkasan*. *Jaro Tanggungan Dua Belas* functions as witnesses and *Tangkasan* is to advise the Seven Jaro. *Tangkasan* also gives recommendations to the *puun* for pointing or dismissing a man from his position in the *adat* structure. Because of this function, he is influential in

¹⁸ Interview with Edo on 24 November 2018.

society.¹⁹ Like in other Baduy villages, the Baduy who live in the *dangka* villages also have leaders who are called *jaro dangka* (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 19-23, Garna 1988: 3, 136, Permana 2010: 36-37, 42).

Besides having *adat* leaders, the Baduy also have a *desa* government as the extension of the Indonesian government. This structure is believed to just exist when the sultanate of Banten was dismissed by the Dutch. To bridge the interest of the Dutch and the Baduy, the *adat* leaders made this structure in Cihulu. Afterwards, the Indonesian government utilises this structure as a *desa* government (Saputra 1959: viii-15-16; Garna 1987: 26; Garna 1988: 132, 378, Garna 1990: 92, Persoon 1994: 318, 334-335, Kurnia and Sihabudin, 2010: 116-117). The structure of this *desa* is the same as that of other *desa* in Indonesia, except the names of the *desa* leader and of *rukun warga* which are respectively called *jaro pamarentah* (or in the past *jaro piagem*, *jaro gubernemen*) and *panggiwa*. The *jaro pamarentah* only manages general matters, not the *adat*. The position of *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (the Body of the Desa Representative) which exists in the other *desa* is delegated to the *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*. Also different from the other *desa*, the *jaro pamarentah* is appointed and dismissed by the *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*, not by the people (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 22, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 95-96).

Among the *jaro pamarentah*, Dainah was the most popular among the Outer Baduy because he was very open to modernity. Different from the previous *jaro*, Dainah deemed the *adat* leaders as his partner. The Muslim Baduy Sidi²⁰ gives an example: when the non-Baduy or the government gave him money, he did not tell the elderly group (*baris kolot*) from where the money was. He just said that he got sustenance and wanted the *baris kolot* to enjoy it. Every time the *adat* leaders checked the obedience of the Baduy to the *adat*, especially to the abstinence of the modern products, Dainah told the *baris kolot* not to do it. He said that he was responsible for the task. Dainah then asked his people to hide the modern products they had. Because of this policy, he was considered as a hero by his people, but as a traitor by the *adat*. Moreover, the *jaro pamarentah* is assisted by a *carik* (secretary). Because this *jaro* is the bridge connecting the Baduy and the outer world (e.g.: government), the *jaro* needs a literate person. Therefore, most of the *carik* are non-Baduy (Garna 1988: 133, Persoon 1994: 331-332).²¹

¹⁹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018.

²⁰ Interview with Sidi on 24 November 2018.

²¹ Interview with an ex-secretary of the Kanekes *desa* Jusen on 2 May 2017.

5. *Calendar and Activities in the Life of the Baduy*

There are twelve months in a lunar year: *Safar, Kalima, Kanem, Kapitu, Kadalapan, Kasalapan, Kasapuluh, Hapit Lemah, Hapit Kayu, Kasa, Karo*, and *Katiga*. Initially, the number of months was 10 where each month consisted of 30 days. Because they knew that the stars appear and disappear every 359 days, then they added two other months which are called *Hapit Kayu* and *Hapit Lemah*. Actually, the first month is *Kasa*. Because they start farming activities in the fourth month they put the month *Kapat* (which means “the fourth”) as the first month in the calendar (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 37-39). The life of the Baduy is scheduled in this calendar.

Table 2.1: Calendar and Activities of the Baduy Community

Months	Economic Activities	Adat activities
1. Kapat	Cutting the bushes in the future fields	<i>Seba</i>
2. Kalima	Clearing the fields	Venerating the Sasaka Pada Ageung, marriage ceremonies
3. Kanem	Cutting the branches of tress, burning the bushes that were already cut	Marriage ceremonies
4. Katujuh	Burning the bushes that were already cut, planting rice in the fields of <i>serang</i> .	Playing the music of <i>angklung</i>
5. Kadalapan	Planting rice in the <i>puun</i> 's fields	
6. Kasalapan	Planting rice in the Inner Baduy's fields	
7. Kasapuluh	Planting rice in the Outer Baduy's fields	
8. Hapit kayu	Managing the rice plants	
9. Hapit lemah	Managing the rice plants	
10. Kasa	Harvest in the fields of <i>serang</i>	<i>Kawalu mitembey</i>
11. Karo	Harvest in the <i>puun</i> 's fields	Kawalu tengah
13. Katiga	Harvest in the Inner and Outer Baduy's fields	<i>Kawalu tutug</i> and <i>ngalaksa</i>

Source: Garna 1988: 84-90.

The core source of the Baduy's livelihood is farming. They manage fields. Based on the ownership the Baduy have five sorts of fields (*huma*): *huma serang*, *huma puun*, *huma tangtu*, *huma tuladan*, and *huma panamping*. *Huma serang* is the fields of the community, managed by the entire Baduy people, and its crop is for the *adat* ceremonies, the elderly, the widows, and the orphans. The *huma serang* are located in Cibeo, Cikertawana, and Cikeusik, but Djoewisno (1987: 56-57) adds that besides in the villages, another *huma serang* exists outside the inner villages. *Huma puun* are the fields of the *puun*. *Huma tangtu* are the fields which belong to the *tangtu* or the inner Baduy. *Huma tuladan* belongs to the Outer Baduy community and like *huma serang* its crop is for the *adat* ceremonies. The *huma* are located in Cihulu, Cipondok, Kaduketug, Cibengkong, Gajeboh, and Cihandam. *Huma panamping* are the fields for the *panamping* or the outer Baduy. Like the *huma tangtu*, the size of the fields for each family ranges from 0.5 to 1.5 hectares (Djoewisno 1987: 49, Garna 1988: 192, Permana 2010: 52-55).

When the Baduy have harvested the crops, they will leave the fields and find a new one to manage. They will return to the previous fields after a while. In the 1980s the Baduy could return to them after 5-7 years. Because the population increases, they return to the previous fields after a shorter period (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40). To cope with this problem more and more Baduy manage non-Baduy's fields in the surrounding areas. They stay there for years and it makes the Baduy farther from the surveillance of the *adat* leaders. They also opened their *adat* land as a tourist destination which, eventually, invites new challenges from tourists. A further discussion about how the Baduy face the problem of access to land will be discussed in chapter 3.

6. Religion of Sunda Wiwitan

Blume thought that the Baduy were Buddhist (Bakels and Boevink 1986: 46), whereas *Het Koloniaal Verslag* (The Colonial Report) mentions that the Baduy were Hindus. The Report (1907: 738) states there were 1,245 Hindus in Lebak. Achmad Djajadiningrat (1996:3) who was the regent of Serang refused the report by saying that they were not Hindus, but Baduy. Afterwards, in the same year Djajadiningrat was asked by the Dutch government to investigate the people. A year later *Het Koloniaal Verslag* (1908: 169) revised that what was meant by Hindus was the Baduy. Because worshipping the highest deity Batara Tunggal, venerating Arca Domas (Sasaka Domas), and believing the power of their ancestors' souls (*lelembut*) Djajadiningrat (1996: 3) concludes that the religion of the Baduy is animism-spiritism. He continues:

"The Baduy represent the Sundanese culture in the past. Although their view

about general things is not known very much by us due to their isolation, it can be ensured that they are not the people of Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Hinduism, nor Buddhism” (Djajadiningrat 1996: 3).

The vice *jaro* of Cikeusik Ayah Mursid states that the religion of the Baduy is Slam Sunda Wiwitan. He explains:

“The religion which the Baduy society embraces is Slam Sunda Wiwitan and its prophet is Adam Tunggal. In the belief of Sunda Wiwitan we are not obliged to perform the prayers as our [Muslim] brothers and sisters because our duty is to maintain the balance of nature. We do not have a sacred book because its teaching is embedded in nature. It is why Slam Sunda Wiwitan is only for the Baduy.” (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 139).

The word “Slam” in Slam Sunda Wiwitan, according to the current *jaro pamarentah* Saija²², refers to the practices of the *shahāda* and circumcision. It is why Suhada (2003: 72), for example, does not write Slam Sunda Wiwitan, but Islam Sunda Wiwitan. Sunda refers to the Baduy’s ethnic Sunda and Wiwitan means the original or the first. Thus, Slam Sunda Wiwitan means Islam of the first Sunda.

Sunda Wiwitan teaches the Baduy to believe in a single God²³ and the power of their ancestors’ souls which are called *wangatua* or *lelembut*. Sunda Wiwitan also teaches the Baduy that humans, based on their duties in the world, are divided into two: those who become hermits/ ascetics and those who manage the world. The Baduy play the first role and therefore they have to detach from development and modernity and to live in harmony with nature. This is the core religious concept of the Baduy. As the expression of asceticism, the life of the Baduy is full with taboos (*buyut*). The word *buyut* means great-grandfathers and great-grandchildren (Zoetmulder 1982: 280), but it also means something forbidden to do (Garna 1988: 279). The most popular taboos can be seen in these phrases:

<i>Buyut nu ditiitipkeun ka puun</i>	The taboos which are entrusted to the <i>puun</i> (are)
<i>nagara satelung puluh telu</i>	33 countries
<i>bangawan sawidak lima</i>	65 rivers

²² Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

²³ Their God is called with different names such as *Batara Tunggal* (Djajadiningrat 1996: 3), Allah (Iskandar 2012: 142-143), *Nu Ngersakeun!* Who Has the Will and Sang Hiyang Keresa (God who has the will) (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 75, Garna 1988: 291).

<i>pancer salawe nagara</i>	the centre of 25 countries
<i>gunung teu meunang dilebur</i>	mountains may not be destructed
<i>lebak teu meunang dirusak</i>	valleys may not be destroyed
<i>buyut teu meunang dirobah</i>	taboos may not be changed
<i>lojor teu meunang dipotong</i>	length may not be cut
<i>pondok teu meunang disambung</i>	shortness may not be lengthened
<i>nu lain kudu dilainkeun</i>	which is “no” has to be said “no”
<i>nu ulah kudu diulahkeun</i>	which is “may not” has to be said “may not”
<i>nu eunya kudu dieunyakeun</i>	which is “yes” has to be said “yes”

Moreover, led by their *puun*, the Baduy have to (1) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Pusaka Buana* in Cikeusik, (2) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Domas* in *Parahyang/ Cibeo*, (3) *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak*, (4) *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* (5) *kalanjakan kapundayan*, and (6) *ngukus ngawalu muja ngalaksa* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 8, Garna 1988: 127, 233, 294-302, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 28). Let us look at them further. The first task of the Baduy is *ngareksakeun Sasaka Pusaka Buana* or to protect the centre of the world which is Sasaka Pada Ageung in Cikeusik. Since Sasaka Pada Ageung is the most sacred area in the Baduy land, it becomes the centre of their religious life (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 24, Garna 1988: 4, 180).

The second is *ngareksakeun sasaka Parahyang* or to protect Sasaka Parahyang. The word *Sasaka* probably comes from *saka* which means a pillar or an origin of something (Zoetmulder 1982: 1602). One who is responsible to protect Sasaka Parahyang is the *puun* of Cibeo. Parahyang itself is another name of Cibeo (Garna 1988: 295-296).

The third task is *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak* or to take care of the kings and to guide the nobles. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 26-28) and Garna (1988: 366) assume that this task is related to, initially, the kings and the nobles of Pajajaran Kingdom. When the kingdom disappeared and was changed with the Sultanate of Banten, the practice of *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak* continued, even up to nowadays, in the form of *Seba*. I disagree with this view because the literal meaning of *Seba* is to visit, not to submit. As the word is still used by the Sundanese, *seba* or *saba* (or its verbal form *nyaba*) is a visit which is conducted commonly by a younger brother/sister to his/ her older brothers/ sisters.

In my view, the *Seba* is rooted in the story of Raden Wirasoeta a son of a *puun* of Cibeo. Wirasoeta disliked living in the Baduy land because it was too small for him. He asked his father to permit him to work for the sultan of Banten Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651–1683). His father permitted him. Wirasoeta then came to and worked in the sultanate of Banten. Later on, he wanted to return to the

Photograph 2.1: “Elderly people from Cikeusik (left) and from Cibeo (right) in a discussion with probably Achmad Djajadiningrat, the regent of Serang”.

Source: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:805421>.

Achmad Djajadiningrat became a regent of Serang from 1901-1924.



Baduy land but he was not permitted by the Baduy leaders because he had been exposed to the outer world. As the exchange, the Baduy visited him in the palace. As it is common in the Sundanese society, the Baduy visited (*seba*) Wirasoeta by bringing crops. Wirasoeta himself was appointed as a prince and married a daughter of the sultan. In 1663 he fought against a rebellion in Lampung which caused his hand cut off. After he died he was known as Pangeran Astapati or the Prince whose hand died (Djajadiningrat 1996: 4).²⁴ After Wirasoeta died the habit of visiting him was continued by visiting his descendants, including Achmad Djajadiningrat who became the regent of Serang from 1901 until 1924. Djajadiningrat himself confirms that Wirasoeta was his ancestor who originated from the Baduy land.

This story of Wirasoeta corresponds with the phrase '*ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak*'. The word "*menak*" (Sundanese: nobles) refers to Wirasoeta and his descendants. Garna (1988: 139, 233) equates *menak* with *dalem* which both mean the nobles. And the task "to take care of the kings and to guide the nobles"

²⁴ The Christian Baduy Kokom also heard this story from Jaro Samin. Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

becomes the responsibility of, or done by, the *dangka* of Cilenggor which is called Sangyang Asuh. This *Seba* is conducted every month of Safar. In 2017, around 1,658 Baduy joined the *Seba*.²⁵ The Department of Culture and Tourism of Banten organises the *Seba* as a yearly tourism festival that attracts thousands of visitors and gets wide coverage of media (see also Persoon 1994: 333).

The fourth task of the Baduy is *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* (33 settlements, 65 big rivers, and the centre of 25 states). So far, there is no satisfying explanation of this phrase. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 28) explain that the phrase *nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe Nagara* refers to Kanekes. In other words, this task says that the Baduy become hermits in Kanekes. Garna (1988: 234, 299) equates *bangawan* as *bagawan* or *begawan* which means hermits or sacred people. Likewise, the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* translates *begawan* as hermits, pastors (*pendeta*), happiness, and sacred men.²⁶ But translating *bangawan* as hermits in this phrase seems improper because it does not agree with *nusa* and *nagara* which both of them refer to places. Like Danasasmita and Djatisunda, Garna (1988: 297-298) also translates *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* as to become hermits in Kanekes.

The fifth task of the Baduy is to do *kalanjakan kapundayan* which means to catch lesser mousedeads, deers, squirrels, and fish. The animal catching is led by the *puun* of Cikeusik and Cibeo and followed by the Baduy. The *puun* of Cikertawana is not permitted by the *adat* to join the animal catching and eat the meat. Afterwards, the animals are smoked and served in the *kawalu* ceremony (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 30, Garna 1988: 299).

And the last task is *ngukus, ngawalu, muja* and *ngalaksa*. *Ngukus* means to burn fragrance. *Ngawalu* means to perform the *kawalu* ceremony where rice which is just harvested is stored in the barns (*leuit*). This ceremony is performed three times on 17 *Kasa*, 18 *Karo*, and 17 *Katiga* of the Baduy calendar. Staring from the night of the *kawalu* ceremony the Baduy fast and break their fast in the afternoon of the *kawalu* day. They eat meat and fish that they have caught in the *kalanjakan* and *kapundayan* activities. *Muja* means veneration. It is to venerate *Sasaka Pada Ageung* in Cikeusik on 16-18 *Kalima* and *Sasaka Parahiyang* in Cibeo on 7 *Kalima*. And *ngalaksa* means to make a *laksa*, a kind of noodle. This ceremony is conducted from the 21st – 28th days of the month of *Katiga*. Rice to make *laksa* is taken from the community's farm (*huma serang*). The makers or chefs of the *laksa*

²⁵ <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3487805/seba-ke-bapak-gede-suku-baduy-minta-pemerintah-jaga-alam-lestari>, accessed on 5 April 2018.

²⁶ <https://kbbi.web.id/begawan>, accessed on 3 May 2020.

are selected people. During the making of the *laksa* they have to fast. Led by the *puun* of Cibeo, they eat the *laksa*. The *laksa* is also taken and given to the regent and governor in the ceremony of *Seba* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 32-35, Garna 1988: 299-301).

7. *Venerating (Muja) the Sanctuaries*

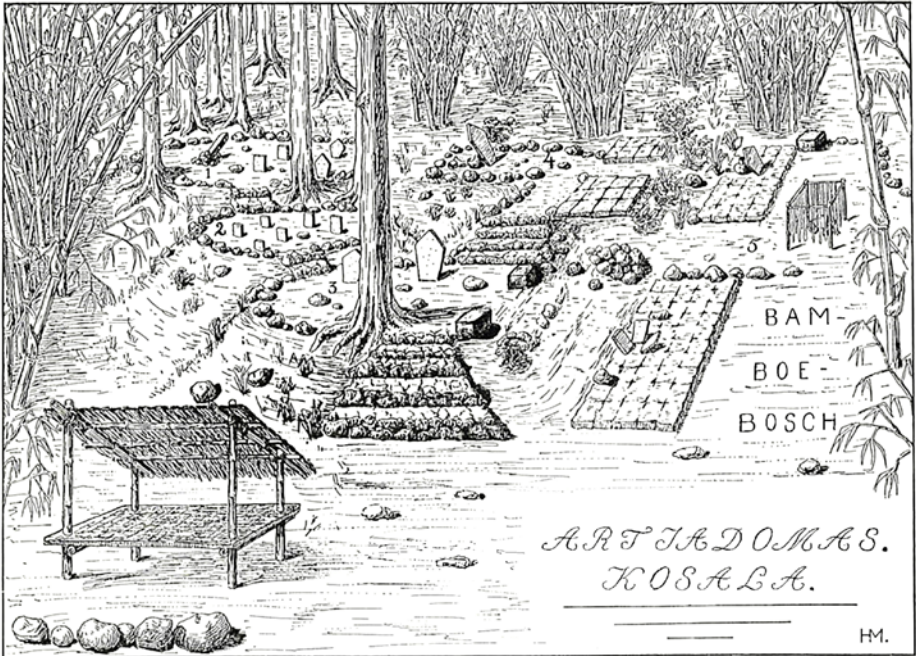
Generally, there are two sanctuaries in the Baduy land: Sasaka Pada Ageung (Sasaka Pusaka Buana) in Cikeusik and Sasaka Parahyang in Cibeo.²⁷ Sasaka Pada Ageung is the centre of the Baduy's spiritual life. It is located in the jungle at the upstream of the Ciujung River. It is why sometimes the Baduy call Sasaka Domas as *girang* which in Sundanese means an upstream. To know whether a Baduy man has visited Sasaka Domas, one can ask this question: "*Enggeus ilu ka girang?* Have you visited the upstream?" Among the non-Baduy who have visited the sanctuary of Sasaka Domas were Blume (1845), Van Hoëvel (1845), Koorders (1864), Koolhoven (1932), Djoewisno MS (1986), and Danasasmita (1989: 85), with or without Djatisunda).²⁸

Djoewisno (1987: 32-33) states that what he found in the sanctuary was more or less the same as what Koorders described. It is located 32 kilometres away or takes around 6 hours from Cikeusik, on an area between the springs of Ciujung and Ciparahyang Rivers. On the area of 0.5 hectare there are scattered stones covered with green moss, a pyramid with seven terraces facing to the south, dolmens, and menhirs (standing stones). About three metres from the pyramid there is a hut and ten metres from it there is a cliff. There is also a cave which its diameter is about two metres. Because of its darkness, the depth of the cave could not be known.

The first description of Sasaka Domas probably comes from Koorders (1869: 336). This description is then quoted by other researchers such as by C.M. Pleyte (1909), Van Tricht (1929b), and Djoewisno (1987). For instance, Koorders (1869: 333) states that Arca Domas is a sacred cemetery with 13 terraces (Petak 13). The squares or terraces themselves are separated by stacks of stones. The first square, about 20 metres, is a graveyard consisting of eight graves. The second, about 12 square metres, is empty. In the third square, about 24 square metres, are five graves. In this square there is a leaning standing stone, about two metres in

²⁷ Van Tricht (1929b: 54) mentions that there are six sanctuaries. They are Sasaka Kadukujang, Sasaka Parahyang, Sasaka Batara Bungsu, Sasaka Cimerak, Sasaka Dangka and Sasaka Bongbang. Bakels (1989: 360) also mentions the existence of Sasaka Bongbang.

²⁸ Garna and his assistants would visit Sasaka Pada Ageung in 1972 but on the way they were found and forbidden by the Baduy. To respect the Baduy community they cancelled the plan (Garna 1988: 307). Compare C.M. Pleyte 1909: 497 and Wessing and Barendregt 2005: 6.



Drawing 2.2: *Arca Domas Kosala*. B. van Tricht, *Levende Antiquiteiten in West-Java*, (Batavia – Soerabaja: G. Kolff & Co., 1929). This sketch is on an un-numbered page between pages 44-45.

height, faces the sacred grave called Kebojong. The fourth and fifth squares, about nine square metres, are vacant. The sixth square, beside the hut, is nine square metres. In the middle of it is a water container made of rock which its diameter and its height are 40 cm and 60 cm respectively. From the 7th to the 13th, the squares are empty. About 10 metres from the last square there is a cave and stones that resemble the forms of buffalo, cow, duck, and chicken (Koorders 1869: 333, 336, C.M. Pleyte 1909: 497-498, Van Tricht 1929b: 53-54, and Djoewisno 1987: 34-39).

The Muslim Baduy Odo²⁹ says that he has visited Sasaka Domas several times before he converted to Islam. He explains that there are many stones in Sasaka Domas. Some of them have a resemblance with kitchenwares such as a teapot. Because of this resemblance, the Baduy are not permitted to have such kitchenware. There are also rocks like a floor, a stair and a bathtub. Odo assumes that they were crafted by men. At one side of the sanctuary, in a lower part, there is a cave. Furthermore, Odo rejects the assumption that there are statues at the site. People believe the existence of statues because Sasaka Domas is occasionally

²⁹ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

called Arca Domas which means eight hundred statues (Zoetmulder 1982: 121, 413, Djoewisno MS 1987: 32, Djajadiningrat: 1996, 4). Odo explains that the correct one is Sasaka Domas, not Arca Domas. According to him, Sasaka means *pusaka* (heritage) and Domas is medication. Zoetmulder (1982: 413, 1602), however, defines Sasaka from *saka* which means a post or a pillar and *domas* means eight hundred. Therefore, Sasaka Domas means eight hundred posts or pillars.

The missionary Silitonga who ran into a Baduy jungle when escaping from people's pursuit identifies a site in a jungle as Sasaka Domas. After capturing him, Baduy leaders told him that it was a forbidden area and cautioned him to never visit it again. He describes the site as follows:

"There are so many stones like gravestones. In the upstream, there is a spring that comes out from the bottom of a great rock wrapped by brownish white cloth which makes the author curious. It is evidently a sculpture which is similar to that of Hinduism. ... And the sculpture wrapped with the white cloth is the god that the Baduy worship, while the gravestones around it are the cemetery of their ancestors" (Silitonga 1998: 90-92).³⁰

Furthermore, there is no single Baduy man who is brave enough to visit Sasaka Domas unless on the day of the veneration together with the *puun*. If someone does so, he will be punished by working for three months and paying a ransom (*tumbal*) consisting of betel, areca nuts, *gambir* (uncaria), calcium, two metres of white cloth, a kris, and money, to the *puun* of Cikeusik. The *puun* will then explain to the *adat* breaker about the importance of the forest around the sanctuary and ask him not to visit Sasaka Domas again. If he cannot pay for the ransom, he will be exiled. If he comes from Cikeusik, he will be sent to Cibengkung or Padawaras, from Cibeo to Pangawean or Cisaban, and from Cikartawana to Cihulu or Cipatih. If the breaker is from an outer village, he will be exiled to an isolated village. If the breaker is a non-Baduy and not willing to pay for the ransom, he will be asked forcefully to leave the Baduy land as it was experienced by Djoewisno himself (Djoewisno 1987: 34-35).

The existence of Sasaka Domas is believed by the Baduy as part of the creation of the cosmos: the earth comes from the non-existence, *suwung*. From the non-existence comes water. It gradually becomes viscous, condensed and hard. Part of the world that first becomes hard is Sasaka Domas, the most sacred site of the Baduy and is believed as the centre of the world (Saputra 1959: viii-1 - viii-2,

³⁰ This book does not have page numbers. By considering that the first page of the introduction chapter is the page number 1, this description is on the pages 90-92. The original text is in Indonesian.

Danasasmita 1986: 24, Garna 1987: 68-69, 80-82, Garna 1988: 229, 369). The Baduy believe that the first human Adam Tunggal descended onto the world at that area. They also believe that the souls of all humans will return to Sasaka Domas. The souls of the Baduy will reside in the highest terrace and Muslims in the second. The adherents of other religions will occupy the third and lower terraces. Because the terraces for the Baduy and Muslims are close, the Baduy believe that in the hereafter they can meet the Baduy who convert to Islam.³¹ Moreover, the significance of this sanctuary can be seen in the geographical orientations of the Baduy. For example, the position of the Baduy's dead bodies in their graves, the Baduy's houses, and their *leuit* face Sasaka Domas. This position is called *nyulah-nyanda* (Djoewisno 1987: 37, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 134-136).

The veneration to Sasaka Domas is conducted on the 16th, 17th, and 18th days of the fifth month of their calendar. Sources on the Baduy mentions that only few Baduy do the veneration, but the Muslim Baduy Odo mentions that any Baduy, as long as he is pure, is permitted to join. The travel on foot from Cikeusik to Sasaka Domas takes around six hours. Besides being far, the length of the travel is due to the absence of a path to the location. During the visit they are not allowed to bring anything except salt, rice and white pigeon peas. Besides, the people have to speak as little as possible (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 86: 86, Djoewisno 1987: 33-35, Garna 1988: 295).

When the venerators arrive at Sasaka Pada Ageung, first they will make a hut (*talahab*). Afterwards, the *puun* of Cikeusik leads the veneration (see Garna 1988: 295). On the second day, they take a bath in the spring of Cijung River and continue approaching the sanctuary. The *puun* then utters repels. Afterwards, they clean the lower steps of the sanctuary's terrace. On the seventh step which is called Sanghyang Pangumbahan there is a basin. If the water in the basin is much, they believe that there will be a good season and rain. They use the water to wash their faces, hands and feet. They continue the ritual by going up to the top of the terrace to see the statue. If it is covered by moss, they believe the season will be fruitful and vice versa. Afterwards, they take the moss as a blessing and go down. On the second terrace which is called Lemah Bodas (White Soil) they do the last ritual by stating that they would be loyal adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. It is said that the Baduy leaders vow at Sasaka Domas that they will be stick to Sunda Wiwitan and keep a distance from Islam (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 90-91). Odo says that the participants of the veneration could not hear what is said by their leaders.³²

³¹ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

³² Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

After finishing the ritual, two *jaro* from two Inner Baduy villages, as a representative, go down into a hole. Its size is around 4x6 metres square and 2 metres in depth. They take white soil from the hole with a bamboo stick, put it on leaves, and share it with the people joining the veneration. The white soil, which is quite sticky, is believed by the Baduy as one of the ingredients of the earth. They bring and share it with other people who are waiting in Cikeusik in the ceremony of *mapag kolot* (welcoming the elders). The Baduy use the white soil for many purposes such as medication and fertilizer of their plants when doing *ngaseuk* (making a hole for planting a seed). Odo says:

“When I was still in the Baduy land, I was never medicated with modern medicine. *Ambu* (mother) medicated me with the white soil that was boiled. After I became a Muslim, I asked my mother (who is still a Baduy) the white soil. She didn’t give me it because she said that it was not for non-Baduy.”³³

B. The Coming of Islam to Banten and its Influence on Sunda Wiwitan

The history of Banten before the coming of Islam is still not clear yet (see Garna 1988: 26). Some history books (such as by Lubis *et al.* 2014) try to start the history of Banten from the prehistoric period by providing evidence in the forms of, for example, rock terraces and standing stones. Besides the physical descriptions, the authors of the books do not provide enough explanation of what the people lived at that time. A more chronological explanation of the history of Banten comes from Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono. From excavations conducted from 1988 – 1992 at an ex-palace in Banten Girang, they hypothesise that the history of Banten can be constructed from around 932. That year is supposed to be the year of the foundation of a Sundanese Kingdom in Banten where Banten Girang (or Wahanten Girang) was its capital. This kingdom was probably founded by a group of Javanese who came from a kingdom in Central Java which fell in 930. The foundation of the kingdom of Banten Girang was under the permit of the Srivijaya Kingdom and therefore Banten Girang became a vassal of the kingdom (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30).³⁴

³³ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

³⁴ The report was first published in French *Banten avant l’Islam. Étude archéologique de Banten Girang (Java – Indonésie) 932 -1526* by EFEO in 1994. It was then translated into Indonesian and published by Bentang in 1996 under the title *Banten Sebelum Zaman Islam: Kajian Arkeologi di Banten Girang (932 – 1526)*. The short version of this report is included in Claude Guillot, *Banten Sejarah dan Peradaban Abad X – XVII* (Jakarta: KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, 2008).

Afterwards, around 1016 – 1030 Banten Girang was ruined by Srivijaya because it helped a Javanese kingdom attack Srivijaya. The leaders of Banten Girang then fled to the south of Banten. Later Banten Girang was refounded and around 1200 it reached its golden age because of its commercial relationship with China. In 1275 Banten Girang became a vassal of Singasari. Probably this status lasted until the 14th century. Around 1400 Banten Girang was attacked and ruined by Pajajaran. Its commercial centres were moved to Kelapa and the estuary of Citarum River. Around 1500 Banten Girang became an important kingdom again because the power of Pajajaran which controlled Banten Girang eroded (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30). Around 1512 the Portuguese came to Java. Tome Pires, among the Portuguese, mentions the ports of Pontang and Banten—both are in Banten. He says that Banten was a great port and it had a great town, but the port of Calapa (Jakarta) was the best. Banten offered “rice, foodstuffs and pepper” (Corteseo (ed.) 1944: 166-172). Eventually, in 1526 Sunan Gunung Jati, his son Hasanuddin (d.1570), and the convert Ki Jongjo brought Demak soldiers to Banten and attacked Banten Girang (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30). This year is considered as the foundation year of the sultanate of Banten (Lubis *et al.* 2008: 37). But it was just in 1546 Banten became an independent kingdom, no longer as a vassal of Demak (Djajadiningrat 1983: 35, 96, Ota Atsushi 2006: 15-18).

About the Islamisation of Banten, Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud and H. J. De Graaf (1976: 12-13) state that Sunan Gunung Jati (Nurullah) was the man who introduced Islam and founded a Muslim community in Banten around 1525. In 1527 he conquered Sunda Kalapa which was a port of Pajajaran. In the 1550s Sunan Gunung Jati moved to Cirebon, while Banten was handed to his son Hasanuddin who is regarded as the first king of Banten. In 1559 the Masjid Agung (Great Mosque) was built. At the end of the 16th century, the coastal area of Banten was lived by pious Muslims and it attracted ‘*ulamā*’ from “various nationalities” (Atsushi 2006: 33-34).

The *Sajarah Banten* (composed in 1662/3) provides quite detailed information about how the Islamisation of Banten was conducted. It is said that (Molana) Hasanuddin wandered in Banten and became a hermit by staying at Mount Pulosari, Mount Karang and Mount Lor. At Mount Pulosari there were 800 *ajar* (learned and religious people, priests) who were led by Pucuk Umun. The leader knew that Pajajaran as the power centre had disappeared and he had to allow another man, namely Hasanuddin, to take over his power. He left Banten. The 800 *ajar* came to Hasanuddin, converted to Islam and appointed Hasanuddin as their new Pucuk Umun. At that time he was still 20 years old. When Hasanuddin was 27 years old he married a princess of Demak. After four months in Demak

they returned to Banten and Hasanuddin, assisted by Ki Jongjo, continued Islamisation. He converted, for instance, Batara Guru Jampang and Susuk ing Lontar (Djajadiningrat 1983: 10, 33-36).

The founder of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir³⁵, explicates that the Islamisation of the Baduy has started since Molana Hasanuddin. He asked his follower Ki Jongjo to Islamise the Baduy. Both Haji Sarmedi³⁶ and Zainuddin Amir believe that when the envoy(s) of the sultan just introduced the *shahāda* and circumcision to the Baduy, they were called by the sultan to return to the court. Hasanuddin or another sultan of Banten, as is believed by the Baduy, sent his envoy Ki Ahum to the Baduy land. The envoy, who is known as an *āmil*, lived in Cicakal Girang. To this *āmil* the Outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* when they marry.

Pleyte (1909) and Djajadiningrat (1996) mention that Sunda Wiwitan is influenced by Islam (besides by Hinduism and Buddhism), but they do not explain to what extent Islam has influenced Sunda Wiwitan. This section will show the influences of Islam on Sunda Wiwitan in the existence of the village of Cicakal Girang, the declaration of the *shahāda*, the existence of the prophets, the practice of circumcision/ incision, and the utilisation of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) of purification and Arabic-Islamic terminologies. Because of these influences, later Muslim preachers use them to do missionary activities among the Baduys and to counter Christianisation (chapter 4).

1. *Cicakal Girang: a Muslim Village in the Adat Land*³⁷

Cicakal Girang is a special village in the Baduy land where all of its inhabitants are Muslims (see Garna 1988: 143-144). This village has existed since the sultanate of Banten or even earlier (Bakels and Boevink 1986: 67-68). Danasasmitha and Djatisunda (1986: 90) suppose that Muslims in Cicakal Girang were spies of the sultanate of Banten. According to them, it was the existence of the Muslims which made the Baduy reluctant to open information about themselves. The existence of this village is believed to be related to the agreement between the sultanate of Banten and the ancestors of the Baduy. What makes this village special is the existence of the position of *āmil* to whom the Baduy pronounce the *shahāda* before they marry. The Baduy believe that without the *shahāda* their marriage is categorised as adultery. In addition, this village has become a legitimisation for the Muslims to convert the

³⁵ Interviews with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017, 6 June 2017, 21 July 2017, and 2 December 2018.

³⁶ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2018.

³⁷ Unless mentioned differently, this section is based on my interviews with Ahmad Hidayat, Ai Dewi and Armani on 29 March 2017.

Baduy and to counter the Christianisation of the people (see chapter 4).³⁸

The current *āmil* of Cicakal Girang is Armani who succeeded his father-in-law Kalim in 1993. Kalim succeeded Arkawi who had officiated the position for two years. Arkawi left the village when he married a woman of another village outside the *adat* land. Armani admitted that he had an assignment letter issued by the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA*) of Leuwidamar. It is why he sometimes goes to the office to report the marriage of the Muslims and Baduy (see Garna 1987: 70). However, the current head of the KUA, Abdul Muti³⁹, stated that he did not know that the marriages of the Baduy, who are not Muslims, were reported to the KUA. In fact, the KUA is only to register the marriages of Muslims. Non-Muslims' marriages are registered in a Registry Office.

In 1972 Muslims in Cicakal Girang pioneered formal education. They thought that it was important for their children, besides the fact that access to schools was hard because it took hours to reach the schools outside the Baduy land. What they did is to call a man named Jazi who was working as a teacher in Malingping, about 40 kilometres away from Cicakal Girang. Because there was no school building, education was run in a house. In the early 1980s Muhammadiyah of Lebak sent its preachers, Ahmad Hidayat and his wife Ai Dewi, to live in the village. They would manage the school and teach the people Islam. Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Masyarikul Huda, the name of the school, is now managed by Muhammadiyah. The school yielded its first graduates in 1993, 20 years after its foundation. The delay occurred because it had only voluntary teachers. Frequently, the teachers chose to go to their farms rather than to go to school.

To make access to the village easier, in the early 1990s the people of Cicakal Girang arranged stones on the path to make it hard. Knowing this, approximately a hundred Baduy came to Cicakal Girang to protest against the building of the path. They reported the project to the police office in Leuwidamar. The head of the police came and forbade the Muslims to continue the project. The village leader signed the statement not to go on with the project. Nonetheless, he and other people of the village asked for help to university students who were active at the *Resimen Mahasiswa* (Menwa) in Bandung. The Menwa, as it generally existed at universities in Indonesia, was an organisation of students who had an interest in military skills. In 1994 they came to Cicakal Girang and helped the people to improve the path. Looking at the military dress worn by the students, the Baduy were not courageous to protest. However, three months after the path had been

³⁸ Interviews with Armani, Ahmad Hidayat and Ai Dewi on 29 March 2017.

³⁹ Interview with Abdul Muthi on 27 March 2017.

enough improved and the students left the village, the road was blocked by the Baduy. Afterwards, they came to the leader of the village to convey their disapproval.

The village leader of Cicakal Girang explains that more than two decades ago the houses of the Muslims were the same as those of the Baduy, made from wood and bamboo. In 1992 three families started to have houses of which walls were made of concrete. The number of houses at that time was about 15. But according to Persoon (1994: 367) at that time there were around 45 houses, a *madrasah* and a mosque. In 2016 the population was 370 people. Besides, there existed a mosque, four small mosques (*mushala*) and two Islamic schools Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) Masyarikul Huda and Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Cicakal Girang. Later other families followed to build houses from concrete. The Baduy protested again and considered the Muslims rebellious, unwilling to obey the Baduy's *adat*. According to the Baduy, the Baduy's and Muslims' ancestors had an agreement to respect the *adat*. The Baduy called the village leader to come before the *puun*. To the *puun* the village leader insisted that he and his people were not the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan and therefore had the right to build permanent houses and to do or to have something which was deemed as a taboo by the Baduy.⁴⁰

Now many Muslims in Cicakal Girang already have houses with walls made of concrete. They have motorcycles and their village is electrified. Cicakal Girang has also become a place for university students to do service programmes (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata/KKN*). At the beginning of 2018, for example, 21 students from Institut Pertanian Bogor, Universitas Brawijaya, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Universitas Syiah Kuala Aceh, Universitas Negeri Medan, Institut Ilmu Quran Jakarta, IAIN Salatiga, and Universitas Negeri Jakarta came there to teach the villagers Islam.⁴¹ Newcomers such as Jabar, Ujang Suhandi, Dahi, and Kiyai Asid live in the village (Azul 1988: 32-33, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 78-83).

2. *Shahāda*

The Baduy believe that the Islamic *shahāda* is part of their religion. The Outer Baduy come to the *āmil* of Cicakal Girang to declare the *shahāda* when they will marry (Garna 1988: 60). The Baduy Muslim Sarmedi, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and the Muhammadiyah preacher Engkos believe that the declaration of the *shahāda* done by the Baduy is a sign that there was an unfinished process

⁴⁰ Interviews with Armani, Ahmad Hidayat and Ai Dewi on 29 March 2017.

⁴¹ <http://bogor.tribunnews.com/2018/02/23/kunjungi-kampung-baduy-mahasiswa-ajari-anak-anak-agama-islam-pakai-iqropolly>, accessed on 7 September 2018.

of Islamisation of the Baduy community in the past.⁴² Because of declaring the *shahāda*, the current *jaro pamarentah* of Baduy Saija state that they are Muslims, but their Islam is different from other Muslims because the Baduy are not obliged to perform the other pillars of Islam: obligatory prayers, alms, fasting in the month of Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴³ What was said by the *jaro* can be true because Islamic theology states that anyone who declares the *shahāda*, and he believes in it, becomes a Muslim (Dutton 1999: 151-165).

The vice *jaro* of Cibeo Ayah Mursid declares that the Baduy have more or less 20 *shahāda*. Not all of the *shahāda*, he says, can be informed to non-Baduy. The 20 *shahāda* include the *shahāda* of Wiwitan, Tunggal, Samping, Batin, Kangjeng Nabi Muhammad, Bawa, Sunda Iman, Bali, Mesir, Banten, Santen, Sri, Imam Mahdi, Umur, Rahayu, Rasa, Pamuka Alam, Suson, and Bumi Alam (Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 142-143). However, the Muslim Baduy whom I interviewed said that they never knew that the number of *shahāda* in the Baduy community reaches 20. What they knew was just two *shahāda*: the Islamic *shahāda* (the *shahāda* of Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad) and the *batin* (inner) *shahāda*. The Islamic *shahāda* is declared by the Outer Baduy when they will marry, while the inner *shahāda* is known only by the Inner Baduy. Like the Outer Baduy, the Inner Baduy use it when they will marry.⁴⁴

The Outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* in front of a Muslim *‘amil* when they are about to marry.⁴⁵ After reading the *shahāda* the Baduy read its translation in High Javanese of Banten. Javanese of Banten, or commonly called Javanese of Serang (*Jawa Serang*), was Javanese of Cirebon and Demak which later developed in Banten and became distinct from its roots (Chudari 2013: 1-3). From the fact that the Outer Baduy translate the Islamic *shahāda* into Javanese, I believe that the Islamisation of the Baduy community was conducted by a Javanese in the sultanate period. It corresponds with the existence Ki Ahum, the first *‘amil* in Cicakal Girang, who is believed by the Baduy to be an envoy of the Sultan of Banten (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 81-84). The Sultanate of Banten itself was Javanese and initially an extension of the Sultanate of Cirebon. The current *‘amil* of Cicakal Girang Armani showed me how the *shahāda* is read by the *‘amil* and followed by the Baduy. The *shahāda* is in Arabic and is followed by its Javanese translation.

⁴² Interviews with Sarmedi, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and Engkos on, respectively, 24 November 2018, 6 June 2017, and 10 April 2017.

⁴³ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁴⁴ Interviews with Idris, Iman, and Kamran on 04 June 2017.

⁴⁵ Besides that, the Baduy also use this *shahāda* as a prayer. They read it, for instance, when they will plant the seeds of rice.

*A'ūdū billahi min al-šaiṭāni al-rraġim.*⁴⁶ *Bismi al-llahi al-rrahmāni al-rraḥīm.*⁴⁷
*Ašhadu 'an lā ilaha illā al-Lāh wa ašhadu 'anna Muḥammadan rasūlul-lāh.*⁴⁸
*Allahumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā āli sayyidina Muḥammad.*⁴⁹
Isun awuruhi satuhuni ora ana pangeran anging Allah lan isun awaruhi satuhuni
*ora ana nabi anging nabi Muḥammad utusan Allah.*⁵⁰

Raden Djajaperbata (1917:10) writes that the *shahāda* of the Baduy is:

*Ashadoe Allah, ashadoening*⁵¹, *ginggang*⁵² *Batara toenggal, dat rasaning Allah, dat*
*toenggal saking djati, Moekamad oetoesaning Allah.*⁵³

Another *shahāda* that needs to be noted is the *shahāda* of Sunda (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 141-142; Garna 1987: 69-70). This *shahāda* consists of the *ta'awudz*, the *basmala* (the Quran 1:1) and the Islamic *shahāda*. The *shahāda* of Sunda is a combination of Sundanese and Arabic:

Ašhadu saḥadat Sunda. Jaman Allah ngan sorangan. Kaduana Nabi Muḥammad
anu cicing di bumi anggarincing, nu calik calikna di alam keueung, ngacacang di
alam mokaha, salamet umat Nabi Muḥammad. 'A'ūdū bi l-llāhi min aš-šaiṭāni
ar-raġim. Bismi al-lāhi ar-rahmāni ar-rahīm. Ašhadu 'an lā ilaha illā al-Lāh
wa ašhadu 'anna Muḥammadan rasūlul-lāh. Allahumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā
*Muḥammad.*⁵⁴

⁴⁶ This sentence is called *al-isti'adzaḥ* (استعاذ) or *at-ta'udz* (تعوذ), namely the request for protection. It reads 'I ask for protection from Satan the outcast.' This *isti'adzaḥ* exists in the Qur'an 16: 98.

⁴⁷ This part is called the *basmalah*. It says: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." A discussion about the *basmalah*, read Seyyed Hossein Nasr (editor-in-chief), *The Study Quran A New Translation*, (New York: HarperOne, 2015), 5.

⁴⁸ The *shahāda* which means "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God."

⁴⁹ The *ṣalawāt* or sending the greeting to the prophet Muhammad. "O Allah! Exalt our Master Muhammad and the family of our Muhammad."

⁵⁰ The part is the Javanese translation of the *shahāda*.

⁵¹ "*Ashadoening*" should have been written "*ashadoe ning*" or "*ašhadu ning*".

⁵² "*Ginggang*" should have been written "*ing kang*".

⁵³ The translation of these sentences is: "I bear witness [that there is no god but] Allah, I bear witness to Batara Tunggal, namely Allah, the real unique essence, Muhammad is Allah's messenger."

⁵⁴ To make this passage more readable, the writing system of this passage is revised. The translation of this passage is: "I bear witness the *shahāda* of Sunda. In the time of Allah He is alone. The second is Prophet Muhammad who lived in the earth of *anggarincing*, who sit in the quiet dimension, [who] travelled in the dimension of *mokaha*, be safe the followers of Prophet Muhammad. I seek refuge with Allah from the accursed Satan. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God. O Allah! Exalt our Master Muhammad."

Pleyte (1909: 523) also records the *shahāda* of the Baduy as follows “*Asjhadoe anna illallah was asjhadoe Moehammad was asjhadoe ing kang Batara toenggal*”. This *shahāda* consists of two parts: the Islamic *shahāda* and the *shahāda* of Batara Tunggal. Pleyte translates the *shahāda*: “I believe in the God Allah, and I believe in Muhammad and I believe in Batara Tunggal.” If Pleyte understood Arabic, he should have noticed that the Arabic version of the Islamic *shahāda* is corrupt. Besides, he translates the *shahāda* mistakenly. The translation of the *shahāda* should be: “I bear witness that [there is no God] but Allah, and I bear witness Muhammad and I bear witness to Batara Tunggal.” Because the Baduy declared the Islamic *shahāda* in front of an *āmil*, and he would correct it if they made a mistake, what might have happened was that Pleyte did not catch the *shahāda* correctly. Wessing (1977: 294) who refers to Pleyte and quotes the *shahāda* also does not correct the mistake. A similar case happened when the two Dutch voyagers Jacob van Neck and Wybrant Warjick came to the Moluccas. They heard the *ādān* and transcribed it mistakenly (Steenbrink 1993: 32).

Danasasmita and Djatisudan (1986: 71) note that before conducting the marriage the Baduy bridegroom has to memorise *at-ta’udz*, *basmala*, the *shahāda* and *ṣalawāt*⁵⁵ in Arabic and their translations in Javanese of Banten. Garna (1988: 104-105, 161) mentions that the *shahāda* which is declared by the Outer Baduy before marriage is in Arabic and Javanese. Then Garna provides its translation in Malay. The *shahāda* which is quoted by Garna is similar to mine, but there are errors in the *ṣalawāt* and *shahāda*. Which is strange is that his Malay translation is correct, but he does not comment on the errors of the Arabic version. He also makes a mistake when translating “*āl*” (آل) which means “family” as “friend(s)”.

Moreover, the *āmil* Armani said that the *puun* asked him to teach the Baduy the *shahāda* when they were unable to read it. So far, all Outer Baduy who came to him to declare the *shahāda* were conversant. Iras, a Baduy man in Ciboleger, narrated that he had memorised the *shahāda* since he was younger. If he was unable to memorise the *shahāda*, he was worried that he would have not been able to marry his future wife.⁵⁶ After the Baduy declared the *shahāda* in front of the *āmil*, they returned to their villages to perform the marriage in the *adat* way.

The Christian Baduy Laksana questioned why the Baduy proclaimed the *shahāda* which is from Islam. Even though the Baduy proclaimed the *shahāda*, Laksana said, they did not think they were converting to Islam. Laksana himself

⁵⁵ *Ṣalawāt* or *taṣliya* is “the invocation of God’s blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad.” (A. Rippin, *taṣliya*, in EI Vol. X (2000: 358-359) and EI Vol VIII(2000: 935).

⁵⁶ Interview with Iras on 22 July 2017.

read the *shahāda* before he married. At that time he called an *āmil* to come to his house in Kadujangkung. “I realised that the *shahāda* is part of Islam after I moved out from the *adat* land,” he said. Furthermore, Laksana reminded some Baduy not to read the *shahāda* if they wanted to be pure Baduy, but they responded that it was less valid if they did not read it.⁵⁷

3. *Adam and Muhammad: Prophets of the People*

Sunda Wiwitan teaches the Baduy that the first human was Adam Tunggal. He descended onto the earth in the Baduy land. Adam Tunggal brought the religion of Sunda Wiwitan that is intended specifically for the Baduy and not to be disseminated to non-Baduy (Danasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 75).⁵⁸ It also teaches that there were other prophets besides him. Besides, Muhammad is believed by the Baduy as the last prophet (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010, 138-139). The *jaro pamarentah* Saija expressed that Muhammad was believed by the Baduy to have met their ancestors and asked them to help Muslims when they were in hardship. Saija explained:⁵⁹

“Muhammad said to the *puun*, “When our grandchildren, children of the grandchildren, and their descendants are wet when raining, eat less, and don’t have enough food and clothes, please help them.” The *puun* said, “[we are] ready to give, but as the requirements, they have to bring a kris, white clothing, money as much as one (Spanish) *real* and one *ketip*. Please visit the *puun*. Nevertheless, their bodies may not (spiritually) be dirty. They may not smoke opium and do adultery. (Afterwards, they will obtain) the wealth which will not be able to be spent by seven generations. But please take care of the orphans and the poor.”

As religious leaders who have a very special position, the *puun* get visits from non-Baduy who seek for a blessing. Visiting the *puun*, Saija said, has been practised by the non-Baduy far before the 1990s when the non-Baduy came to the land for tourism (see Odjoh 1967: 13). When I conducted my second fieldwork in 2018, Haji Sarmedi, a family from Cilegon and I visited the *puun* of Cikeusik. To the *puun* Haji Sarmedi expressed that the family wanted to be blessed. The father of the family asked the *puun* to pray for the smoothness of his business and the mother complained about her position at the school where she

⁵⁷ Interview with Laksana on 21 December 2018.

⁵⁸ Genealogical connections between a people with Adam in Java seem to be common. See for example *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten* (Djajadiningrat 1983: 17) and *Babad Tanah Jawi* (eds. Damono and Sondakh 2004: 3).

⁵⁹ Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

worked. She said that she should have become the principal of the school, but her friend took the position. Besides, their children asked the *puun* to pray for the success of their state examinations. The *puun* then blessed them.

4. Circumcision/Incision

Baduy boys are circumcised in the house of *pasajen* by a circumcision specialist who is called a *bengkong* (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 204-206). Baduy girls are not circumcised, but they follow the ceremony of circumcision.⁶⁰ They call the process of circumcision as *ngeslamkeun* or *nyelamkeun* (to Islamise) and *ngaberesihkeun* (to cleanse) (Garna 1988: 85, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010, 204-205). These terms are commonly used in the Sundanese society of Banten, including Baduy boys who have not been circumcised yet are called '*encan Islam*' (have not become a Muslim) and deemed dirty. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 67) state that the Baduy are influenced by Islam by calling the practice of circumcision/incision as *ngeslamkeun*. Without explaining his reason, the missionary Silitonga (1998: 76-77) who was active in the Baduy land in the 1980s minds if circumcision/ incision of the Baduy is associated with Islam. Moreover, the removal of the foreskin marks that the circumcised is already an adult, therefore religious duties apply to him. The *jaro pamarentah* Saija explains further that Baduy children who have not been circumcised cannot follow religious activities such as to fast, to join the *Seba*, and to pray. If doing so, the activities are invalid.⁶¹

Muslim Baduy, the *jaro pamarentah*, and his staff whom I interviewed between February and June 2016 explained that the technique of circumcision of the Baduy was called *soplak lodong*.⁶² *Soplak* is a Sundanese word which means that part of something is removed with a special technique to form the letter 'u'. *Lodong* is a container made of bamboo which its length is about one metre. The Baduy and many other people in agricultural areas use *lodong* to take and save spring water and palm water (Sundanese: *cai lahang*). By the technique of *soplak lodong*, the upper side of the penis' foreskin is removed to form the letter 'u' (see drawing 2.3). The *jaro pamarentah* Saija, however, explained the technique of removing the foreskin differently. He said that the upper side of the foreskin was incised (*diturib*). Now many Baduy boys in Cisaban, Kadukohak, and Batara, for instance, are circumcised by Muslim *bengkong*.⁶³

Scholars argue that circumcision in the Archipelago is not purely Islamic.

⁶⁰ Interview with Haji Sarmedia via WhatsApp on 10 January 2020.

⁶¹ Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

⁶² Interviews with Musa, Iman, Saija, Ikmal on 4 and 6 June 2017.

⁶³ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 18 November 2018.

Drawing 2.3: A *lodong* made of bamboo. Look at the upper side which is called *soplak* in the form of the letter 'U'. Drawing by Ade Jaya Suryani.

Circumcision had even been practised before Islam came and developed in the region. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 67) explain that before Islam came to Java, the people, including the Baduy, had practised circumcision. By referring to the works of G.A. Wilken (1847-1891), B.J.O. Schrieke (1890-1945), H. Kraemer (1888-1965) and W.M. Rikin ([1973] 1994) and the connection between the Archipelago and Mecca through fatwas, Kaptein (1995: 287-289) reveals that the technique of circumcision in the Archipelago is influenced by Islam. In addition, Rikin (1994) shows that Sundanese Christians in Bogor were also circumcised.

Hefner (1985: 34, 144) in his study about tradition and Islam in Tengger demonstrates the same finding. Hindu Tengger males, according to a Dutch report in 1785, were circumcised. When Hefner researched Tengger such a practice still continued. Different from what is found among the Baduy, the people of Tengger denied associating circumcision, although it is called *islaman*, with Islam. Even some communities banned the practice of circumcision to refuse the accusation that to be circumcised means to become a Muslim. Therefore, Hefner concludes that the practice of circumcision (and of marriage) in this Islamic manner was only superficial. They did it because they feared and were pressed by Muslim officials.



5. *Marriage and Fiqh on Purification (ṭabāra)*

The Outer Baduy marry in the Islamic and *adat* ways, whereas the Inner Baduy marry only in the *adat* way. Before the marriage, the bridegroom of the Outer Baduy comes to the *ʾāmil* of Cicakal Girang (later of other villages) to proclaim the *shahāda*. The bride stays at home. But if she does not have a trustee (*wālī*), she also has to declare the *shahāda* together with her groom. The Baduy believe that a marriage without the *shahāda* declaration is considered adultery. If a Baduy

does not so, he must be purified through a ritual of flower-bath. If the doer of the adultery dies before he declares the *shahāda*, his descendants will be punished by God.⁶⁴

Also, the Baduy do not have the concepts of polygyny and polyandry. Even the Inner Baduy do not have the concept of divorce because their marriage is bound by the *shahāda* of *batin*. They will be in their marriage until one of them dies. When one of them does, the other half may remarry. Like Muslims, the Baduy women may not remarry before the *'idda* period lasts completely. *'idda* is the period where a divorced woman, either because of the death of her husband or being divorced, must refrain to remarry to make sure that she is not pregnant with a baby of her ex-husband. If the woman is pregnant, the *'idda* period is 40 days. If she is divorced, the *'idda* is 3 months 10 days. This period is the same as when her husband dies.⁶⁵

The Baduy also have the concept of *jinabat* and *nifas* the same as in Islam. Haji Idi explains that he got this information from a Baduy leader. The Baduy leader states that *jinabat* is an impure condition because a man and a woman have had a sexual relationship. To make them pure, they have to take a bath of *jinabat*. *Jinabat* also happens when a man ejaculates. *Nifas*, the Baduy call *ngipas*, is the blood that comes out of the womb after giving birth. Because of *nifas*, a woman has to refrain from a sexual relationship for about forty days.⁶⁶

6. Islamic-Arabic Vocabularies

Darmasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 9) mention that the Baduy have lost their old vocabularies and adopted many Arabic-Islamic words in their language. The most important is the word “Slam” which is added in front of their religion and becomes “Slam Sunda Wiwitan”. The Baduy also use times which are used in Islam to mark the prayer times, such as *lohor* (Arabic: *ṣuḥur*, Sundanese of Baduy: *sandekala*), *asar* (Arabic: *ʿaṣr*, Sundanese of Baduy: *burit*), *magrib* (Arabic: *maḡrib*, Sundanese of Baduy: *sareupna*), and *subuh* (Arabic: *ṣobāḥ*, Sundanese of Baduy: *janari leutik*) (Garna 1988: 262). They also frequently name their God with the designation Allah, for example, in their oath:

“I ask to be witnessed by Guriang Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh. I swear if I lie, [like a tree] at the top I don’t have shoots, at the bottom I don’t have roots, rolling like an egg, being weak like a worm in front of a staring squirrel.

⁶⁴ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁶⁵ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁶⁶ Interviews with Idi on 8 Juli 2017 and 22 November 2018.

Don't give me power by God who has observation, to Allah who provides, to God who has more knowledge, who protects all humans" (Kunia and Sihabudin 2010: 161, 227).⁶⁷

The Arabic-Islamic vocabularies are also used by the Baduy to symbolise the years in a *windu* (a time unit consisting of eight years). The years in a *windu* are labelled with Arabic alphabets. So the years in a *windu* consists of the years of *alif* (ا), *he* (ح), *jim awal* (ج اول), *je* (ج), *dal* (د), *be* (ب), *waw* (و) and *jim akhir* (ج الأخير) (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 150). The events in the chronicle of the *Sajarah Banten* are also put in such a year system (Djajadiningrat 1983). When the Baduy are about to cut branches of trees at the beginning of the planting circle they read a spell which begins with the Islamic phrase "*Allahummal O Allah*" (Garna 1988: 314). In addition, Some Baduy also chant Islamic prayers, mainly the following prayer which is taken from the Qur'an 2:201: "*rabbānā 'ātīnā fi al-dunyā hasanah wa fi al-ākhirati hasanah wa qīnā 'adāba an-nār*".⁶⁸

C. Conclusion

"Baduy" is the common name to refer to the followers of Sunda Wiwitan who live in the *desa* of Kanekes, Banten. "Baduy" itself is the name of a river and a hill in their land. The Baduy believe that humans, based on their duties, are divided into two groups: those who manage the world and those who become hermits. The Baduy believe that they play the second role. Their land, therefore, is called a *mandala*, a place where hermits live. As the expression of being hermits the Baduy must detach their life from development and modernity. From a linguistic approach, the belief that the Baduy are hermits can be justified. For example, the ancestors of the Baduy are called *batara* (learned people) and some of their villages are called *dangka* (a hermit's abode or sanctuary). The leader of Banten Pucuk Umun and his people might have fled to Kanekes and joined the Baduy when Sunan Gunungjati and Hasanuddin brought Islam to Banten in the 16th century. That another name of Pucuk Umun was Ratu Ajar Domas raises speculation about this connection. In the Baduy land there is a sanctuary which is called Sasaka Domas which means the inheritance of Domas.

⁶⁷ "Kami menta disakisan ku Gurian Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh: Aing sumpah, lamun aing bohong, kaluhur ulah pucukan, kahandap aing ulah jangkaran, gurulang gorolong kacara endog, lunglay lingkeuy kacara geureung di tengah bajing cangkilungan. Ulah diberean daya upaya ku Gusti anu nyidikeun, ka Allah anu nganyayakeun ka pangeran leuwih unginga [uninga] anu nantayungan kasakabeh [ka sakabeh] umat..." (Kunia and Sihabudin 2010: 161, 227).

⁶⁸ Interviews with Idi on 8 Juli 2017 and 22 November 2018. The prayer exists in the Quran 2:21 which means: "Our Lord, give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter, and shield us from the punishment of the Fire!" The translation of the prayer or verse is from Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Study Quran a New Translation and Commentary*, (New York: HarperOne, 2015), pp. 88-89.

Furthermore, the encounter between the Baduy and Muslims have affected the Baduy's religion Sunda Wiwitan. The Baduy believe that the *shahāda* is part of their religion's teaching. They also believe circumcision they practice comes from Islam. The Baduy believe that Muhammad once met their ancestors and asked their leaders (*puun*) to help Muslims when they are in hardship. In family law the Baduy are also influenced by Islam where before marrying Outer Baduy men have to declare the *shahāda*, divorced Baduy women may not remarry before their waiting time (*'idda*) lasts, and the Baduy are considered in an impure condition (*jinabat*) after they have a sexual relationship. Besides, the Baduy adopt many terms from Islam. It is not rare, for example, that the Baduy call their God as Allah. Some Sunda Wiwitan Baduy also use Islamic verses in their prayer. These influences are later used by Muslims to attract the Baduy into Islam (chapter 4). But before I discuss that issue, let us see first how the Baduy face the problems of access to land and of the population growth which also lead to conversion.
