

Sunda Wiwitan Baduy Syncretism

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Abstract

This study aims to discuss the study of religion and locality in the realm of Sunda Wiwitan syncretism theory in the Baduy community. This research method is qualitative with literature study, by reviewing library sources such as books, articles, and scientific research results about Sunda Wiwitan, with a descriptive analysis approach which will emphasize more on reviews related to the themes that have been determined and then described to explain the history of the origins. Baduy and Sunda Wiwitan and examines the syncretism contained in Sunda Wiwitan theology, and the results are summarized briefly and clearly. The discussion of this research covers the history of the origin of Baduy and syncretism in Sunda Wiwitan theology. This study concludes that the Sunda Wiwitan belief is a form of syncretism, namely a mixture of Islamic and Hindu values, so that it eventually becomes a belief held by the Baduy community in Kanekes Village, Banten. Although Sunda Wiwitan has a belief in spirits, gods. However, Sunda Wiwitan also has a monotheistic belief, namely belief in Allah, which is evidenced by the creed of the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy as well as their belief in the Prophet Muhammad and the creation of the Prophet Adam. In addition, the Sunda Wiwitan religion also has absolute guidelines or views of life called Pikikuh and Buyut which contain taboos or prohibitions that need to be obeyed and practiced in the daily life of the Baduy community.

Keywords: Baduy; Sunda Wiwitan; Syncretism

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan membahas tentang kajian agama dan lokalitas dalam ranah teori sinkretisme Sunda Wiwitan dalam masyarakat Baduy. Metode penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan studi pustaka, dengan menelaah sumber pustaka seperti buku,

artikel, dan hasil penelitian ilmiah tentang Sunda Wiwitan, dengan pendekatan analisis deskriptif akan lebih menekankan pada review terkait dengan tema yang sudah ditentukan dan kemudian dideskripsikan untuk menjelaskan tentang sejarah asal usul Baduy dan Sunda Wiwitan serta menelaah sinkretisme yang terdapat dalam teologi Sunda Wiwitan, serta hasilnya disimpulkan secara singkat dan dan jelas. Pembahasan penelitian ini meliputi sejarah asal usul Baduy dan sinkretisme dalam teologi Sunda Wiwitan. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa kepercayaan Sunda Wiwitan merupakan suatu bentuk sinkretisme, yakni pencampuran antara nilai-nilai Islam dan Hindu, sehingga akhirnya menjadi suatu keyakinan yang dianut masyarakat Baduy di Desa Kanekes, Banten. Meskipun Sunda Wiwitan memiliki kepercayaan terhadap roh-roh, dewa-dewa. Akan tetapi Sunda Wiwitan juga memiliki kepercayaan yang monoteis yaitu percaya pada Allah, yang dibuktikan dengan syahadat Sunda Baduy Dalam dan Syahad Baduy Luar serta kepercayaannya terhadap Nabi Muhammad dan penciptaan Nabi Adam. Selain itu agama Sunda Wiwitan juga memiliki pedoman atau pandangan hidupnya yang bersifat mutlak yang disebut Pikikuh dan Buyut yang berisi tentang tabu atau larangan-larangan yang perlu ditaati dan dipraktikan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Baduy.

Kata Kunci: Baduy; Sinkretisme; Sunda Wiwitan

Introduction

Indonesia's plural culture, including the religious or belief system adopted by the people in each region (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007), is a legacy for Indonesia's wealth (Wahid, 2011). Prior to the advent of official religions, various religious systems had grown in Indonesia that were believed by local communities. Local religion is a term for the original beliefs of the traditional people of the Nusantara. (Muttaqien, 2013). Local religion is a belief in the idea of God, gods, and spirits (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007). One of the local religions is Sunda Wiwitan. This religion is still preserved and upheld by the Baduy people, in Kanekes Village, South Banten. Sunda Wiwitan is a local belief adopted by the Baduy people to respect the spirits of their ancestors or what is commonly called *karuhun* (Permana, 2006). According to the P.A.A. Djajadiningrat, Sunda Wiwitan, the Baduy people

believe in Animism, but have been infused with elements of Hinduism and Islam (Miharja, 2019) Wahid, 2011).

Many previous studies examined the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy, as used in this research literature review. Toto Sucipto and Julian Lembing (2007), in their book entitled "*Studi Tentang Religi Masyarakat Baduy Di Desa Kanekes Provinsi Banten*," published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of Belief in God Almighty. This book contains an explanation of the Baduy people from Kanekes, regarding geographical location, history, culture, livelihood systems, social systems, settlements, special clothing, language, knowledge and religious systems of the Baduy people, as well as the relationship between people, nature and God. The focus of the discussion in this book is to discuss the beliefs of the Baduy indigenous people which are local beliefs that have been adhered to for a long time, the local beliefs of the Baduy indigenous people are what is called Sunda Wiwitan (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007).

Masykur Wahid (2011), in his research entitled "*Sunda Wiwitan: Agama Penjaga Alam Lindung Di Desa Kanekes Provinsi Banten*," published by the journal *HIKMAH*, this article explains that Baduy is the name for the Kanekes indigenous people. The Baduy people believe in God under the auspices of the Sunda Wiwitan religion. Sunda Wiwitan is the result of Islamic and Hindu syncretism. Sunda Wiwitan has its own creed which is then practiced by asceticism and guarding the ancestral heritage. The practice of the Baduy people is guided by pikukuh and customary rules by obeying great-grandfathers and taboos (Wahid, 2011).

Furthermore, Ali Thaufan Dwi Saputra (2017), in his article entitled "*Menyelisik Kepercayaan Masyarakat Sunda Wiwitan Baduy Dalam Di Kanekes Lebak Banten*," this article discusses the beliefs of Sunda Wiwitan in Kanekes Banten. For Sundanese Wiwitan adherents in the area, their belief in Sang Hyang Keres a will provide prosperity in their lives, they also believe in the prophet Adam. But apart from that, the Sunda Wiwitan people also believe in supernatural spirits. Sunda Wiwitan is a belief held by the former Sundanese. So that the Sunda Wiwitan divine concept of the Baduy people has two goals, namely having the One God, and worshiping ancestral spirits (Saputra, 2017).

Various previous studies were valuable for the preparation of this article. In the report of the Controller Afdeeling in Lebak in 1907, stated that in his area there were 40 families who were Hindus (Edi Ekadjati, 1995). Meanwhile, Islam was first known approximately 300 years ago by the Baduy community in the village of Cicakal Girang (Wahid, 2011). The majority of the Baduy people reject Islam, but provide a place for those who

want to embrace Islam in the Cikakal Girang area. Therefore, Sunda Wiwitan is the result of the syncretism of Islam and Hinduism which is adhered to by the Baduy people to this day. (Wahid, 2011). This syncretism is a process of mixing original cultural elements with foreign cultures which creates new cultural patterns (Putra & Shri, 2006). The Baduy people still practice syncretism and mysticism. But basically the entire life of Sunda Wiwitan is aimed at maintaining the balance of the universe (Pongsibanne, 2017). In this regard, it is necessary to make efforts to reveal about the beliefs of Sunda Wiwitan in the Baduy community, to enrich the body of knowledge of religious studies regarding the local religion, namely Sunda Wiwitan which is adhered to by the Baduy people.

Referring to the explanation above, a writing formula was prepared, namely the formulation of the problem, questions, goals (Darmalaksana, 2020a) and research methods. The formulation of this research discusses the syncretism of Sunda Wiwitan in Baduy society. The research questions are the history and origins of the Baduy and Sunda Wiwitan, what do the Sunda Wiwitan people believe in, and how do the Sunda Wiwitan worship. The purpose of this study is to discuss the history and origins of Sunda Wiwitan, and syncretism in Sunda Wiwitan theology. This research method is qualitative with literature study (Darmalaksana, 2020b), by examining literature sources such as books, articles, and the results of scientific research on Sunda Wiwitan, using a descriptive analysis approach will emphasize more on reviews related to predetermined themes and then describe them according to the formulation, and the results are summarized briefly and clearly (Wibisono et al., n.d.).

Results and Discussion

1. Baduy Geography and Demography



Figure 1. Baduy Location Map. Source: *kaos-banten.com*

a. Geography of the Baduy

The Baduy people live in the Kanekes customary/customary area, to be precise, in the Kendeng mountains, Leuwidamar, Lebak, Banten. Kanekes is part of the Kendeng Mountains with an altitude of 300–600 meters above sea level. It has a hilly and undulating topography with an average slope of 45o, which is volcanic soil (in the north), sedimentary soil (in the middle), and mixed soil (in the south) with an average temperature of 20oC. Regional Regulations Lebak Regency No. 32 of 2001, records the area of Kanekes village as $\pm 5,101.85$ hectares. Its area consists of community settlements covering an area of 2,101.85 hectares and absolutely protected forest (taneuhban) covering an area of 3,000 hectares. Their settlement is around the Cijung and Cikanekes rivers. Kanekes Village is about 17 km south of the town of Leuwidamar District. About 38 km south of the city of Lebak Regency, 65 km south of the capital Serang, and 172 km west of the capital Jakarta. The distance is about 9 hours, both driving and walking (Miharja, 2019).

As for the boundaries of the administrative area: North side is bordered by Bojong Menteng Village, Cisimeut Village, and Nayagati Village, Lewidamar District; South side is bordered by Cikateu Village, Cijaku District; West side is bordered by Parakan Beusi Village, Kebon Cau Village and Karangnunggal Village, Bojongmanik District; East side is bordered by Karangcombong Village and Cilebang Village, Muncang District (Miharja, 2019).

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b. Demographics of the Baduy

The population of the Baduy community is 10,879 people, 5,465 men and 5,414 women, based on Census data on 28 February 2008. Population growth is 1.79% per year. In Regional Regulation No. 23 of 2001, administratively the Baduy community is divided into two: the Outer Baduy (*Panamping*) and the Inner Baduy (*Kajeroan*). The Baduy *Panamping* have a total of 9,826 people, occupying land inhabited by 57 villages and 5 villages. As for the Baduy *Kajeroan*, there are only 1,053 people living in three villages, namely Cikeusik, Cikertawa and Cibeo (Miharja, 2019).

Then there are Baduy villages which are considered as *titipan karuhun* land (land of ancestral inheritance). This deposited land or great-grandfather's land is called *Tanah Dangka* and the village is called *Kampung Dangka*, which is managed by a Bedouin family with the title *Jaro Dangka* (old village of Dangka). There are 6 shallow lands, namely *buyut Padawarsa's* land (Cibengkung village), *buyut Sindangnyair's* land (Nunggulan village), *buyut Wereg/Panunggulan's* land (Kamancing Village), *buyut Saingang Asuh's* land (Garehong village), *buyut Sirah Dayeuh's* land (Cihandam village), and land of *buyut Inggung's* (Kampung Panyaweuyan) (Miharja, 2019).

2. Baduy History

The origins or historical background of the Baduy people can be said to be unclear. According to Pleyte, Baduy came from the Bogor area, namely from Padjadjaran (Pleyte, 1910). Meanwhile, Jacob and Meijer argue that the Baduy people fled from the influence of Islam led by Maulana Hasanudin who came from the North Banten area (Jacobs & Meijer, 1891). Then there is another opinion which argues that the Baduy people are native Bantenese who claim to be descendants of Padjadjaran who were pressured by Maulana Hasanudin in the 16th century (1579-1580) (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007).

The term Baduy appeared after Islam entered the North Banten area in the 16th century, around 1522-1526 (Garna, 1987). According to Soera Di Radja, they are called Baduy, because they live on the edge of Cibaduy (Radja, n.d.). Another view is that this term is a mockery of Muslims who identify these refugees with the Bedouins in Arabia. The belief in Kanekes Village is known as the Jati Sunda or Sunda Wiwitan kabuyutan. From this, the Baduy people themselves call their religion Sunda Wiwitan, the First Sunda (Sam, 1986). Wiwitan means origin, first, and principal (Miharja,

2019). Thus, Sunda Wiwitan means "original Sundanese" or "original Sundanese" (Saputra, 2017).

3. Syncretism in Sunda Wiwitan Theology

The God that the Sunda Wiwitan people believe in is Allah, as stated in the Baduy creed (Sam, 1986), they call Him Batara Tunggal (God Almighty), Batara Jagat (Ruler of Nature) and Batara Seda Niskala (The Unseen) (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007). However, they believe that the highest Power is in Sang Hiyang Keres a (The Almighty) or Nu Ngersakeun (The Willing One) who resides in Buana Nyungcung, it is also believed that all Hindu religious gods are subject to Batara Seda Niskala (Edi Ekadjati, 1995).

The believed prophets are Prophet Adam (Senoaji, 2010), and Prophet Muhammad. The Sundanese Wiwitan people also carry out the rituals of worshiping the Sunnah of the Prophet, namely circumcision or circumcison (Djoewisno, 1987). The circumcision rite is believed to be nyelamkeun, Islamizing, for boys at the age of 4-7 years and for girls, and also carrying out the ritual of fasting kawalu, Eid. This fast is done only one day in the first, second and third month once a year (Sam, 1986).

The pronunciation of Allah's name is contained in two kinds of Baduy creed: the Baduy Kajeroan syahada and the Baduy Panamping creed. (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007).

First, the sentence of the Baduy Kajeroan syahada, as follows:

*Asyhadu syahadat Sunda
jaman Allah ngan sorangan
kaduanana Gusti Rosul
ka tilu Nabi Muhammad
ka opat umat Muhammad
nu cicing di bumi angaricing
nu calik di alam keueung
ngacacang di alam mokaha
salamet umat Muhammad"*

It means:

asyhadu syahadat Sunda
Allah is only one
the two Apostles
the three Prophets Muhammad
four people of Muhammad
who live in a crowded world

who sits in the realm of fear
explore the world of lust
congratulations to the people of Muhammad

Second, the sentence of the Baduy Panamping syahada, as follows:

*Asyhadu Alla ilaha illalah
wa asyhadu anna Muhammadda Rasulullah
isun netepkeun ku ati
yen taya deui Allah di dunya ieu
iwal ti Pangeran Gusti Allah
jeung taya deui iwal ti Nabi Muhammad utusan Allah*

It means:

Asyhadu Alla ilaha illalah
wa asyhadu anna Muhammadda Rasulullah
I set it in my heart
that there is no God in this world anymore
apart from Pangeran Gusti Allah
and there is none other than the Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger
of Allah

The Baduy syahada is the Sundanese Wiwitan syahada which was conveyed to Puun, as in the early Islamic period, that the shahada must be conveyed to the Prophet Muhammad. Meanwhile, the Baduy *Panamping* shahada is an Islamic syahada that is recited when an Islamic marriage is held. The Sundanese Wiwitan adherents say that "*kami mah ngan kabagean syahadatna wungkul, hente kabagean sholat.*" That they only obtained the creed, while the other pillars of Islam were never obtained (Sam, 1986).

There is a myth about the creation of the universe according to the Sundanese Wiwitan belief, which explains when the world was created initially it was still empty, until God brought soil from the earth which then created Adam from that soil, and from Adam's ribs created Eve. Apart from that, God also created the Seven Batara, namely: Batara Tunggal, Batara Ratu, Dalem, Puun, Putri Galuh, Menak, and Prophet Muhammad who were sent down in Mecca (Wahid, 2011). So from this myth, Sundanese Wiwitan adherents believe that humans were created for the first time on earth in Kanekes as the core of the earth/*pancer jagat*. Because of that, they carry out worship rituals at Sasaka Domas as a tribute to the spirits of the

ancestors, the ancestors. They also believe that their religion is Sunda Wiwitan, not Hinduism or Islam (Wahid, 2011).

Prophet Adam is believed by the Sunda Wiwitan people as a symbol of the creation of the first human being in Sasaka Domas. Beliefs like this are also found in the religion of the Javanese people who still respect the kings, their ancestors. Ahimsa Putra (Putra & Shri, 2006) explained that between the Prophet of Islam, Batara Hindu and the king of Java there is a genealogical relationship, as set forth in the opening of the book Babad Tanah Jawi (Sudibjo, n.d.), who explained that the history of Javanese kings came from the Prophet Adam, then had a son named Prophet Sis. The Prophet Sis has the son of Nurcahya. Nurcahya has son Nurasa. Nurasa pretended to be Sang Hyang Wening who later had a son, Sang Hyang Tunggal. Sang Hyang Tunggal had a son named Sang Batara Guru. The Batara Guru has five sons, namely 1) Batara Sambo, 2) Batara Brama, 3) Batara Dhewa, 4) Batara Wisnu, and 5) Dewi Sri. Batara Wisnu, who was the fourth child, had a kingdom on the island of Java, which was called Suralaya (Sudibjo, n.d.).

The *pikukuh* or customary rules are the way of life of the Sundanese Wiwitan people. *Pikukuh* are rules and ways of how one's life journey should be carried out according to the mandate of the ancestors, the ancestors. This *pikukuh* is the orientation, concepts and religious activities of the Baduy community. Until now, the Baduy *pikukuh* has not experienced any changes, as stated in the great-grandfathers (abstinences, taboos) left by their ancestors. (Permana, 2006).

The *Pikukuh* of the Baduy people are known as the *Pikukuh Sapuluh*, as follows:

Teu meunang binasa ka sasama
Teu meunang maling
Teu meunang ingkar jangji, ngabohong atawa nipu batur
Teu meunang nginum nu ngamabokeyun
Teu meunang ngaduakeun hate atawa nyandung
Teu meunang dahar tas panonpoe surup
Teu meunang dangdan, diwedak, sabun atawa make seuseungitan
Teu meunang sare tibra teuing
Teu meunang ngawih lantaran senang
Teu meunang make barang mahal atawa rarangken : kongkorong, suweng,
ali jeung geu/ang

Meaning:

It is forbidden to destroy others (living things, including animals)
Do not steal
Do not break promises, lie or cheat
Intoxicating drinking is prohibited
Polygamy is prohibited
It is forbidden to eat after sunset
It is forbidden to preen, use cosmetics, soap, or use perfumes
Do not sleep too deep
It is forbidden to sing for pleasure
It is forbidden to wear expensive items or jewelry: necklaces, earrings, rings and bracelets

Abstinence/taboo/prohibition in Baduy terms is *buyut*, in common Sundanese it is called *cadu* or *pamali* (forbidden). Great-grandfather is an act that violates *pikukuh*, which is closely related to belief, so the meaning of great-grandfather is the same as "haram" in Islam. Great-grandfather has several meanings. The first meaning is the same as sacred and taboo, which contains the meaning of a number of things that are forbidden/should not be done. Another meaning is guidance (Pongsibanne, 2017).

The Baduy people have many great-grandfathers, the great-grandfathers are related to one another. The punishment for great-grandmother's violations can be exile, or the implementation of a *panyapuan* (cleansing) ceremony. Exile means placing or transferring someone from the Inner Baduy to the Outer Baduy, or being allowed to leave the Baduy area. The cleansing ceremony, according to Geise, is meant to cleanse the holy land from the stains of the transgressions committed (Pongsibanne, 2017).

Buyut Titipan by the ancestors of the Baduy people, including:
Buyut nu dititipkeun ka puun (buyut who was entrusted to puun)
nagara satelung puluh telu (thirty-three countries)
bagawan sawidak lima (river sixty five)
pancer salawe nagara (the center of twenty-five countries)
gunung teu beunang dilebur (mountains cannot be battered)
Lebak teu meunang diruksak (the valley must not be tampered with)
larangan teu meunang dirempak (taboos should not be broken)
buyut teu meunang dirobah (customary standards may not be changed)
lojorteu meunang dipotong (length may not be cut)
pondok teu meunang disambung (short can not be connected)
nu lain kudu dilainkeun (others must be looked at differently)

nu ulah kudu diulahkeun (what is prohibited must be prohibited/what is not allowed is not allowed)
nu enya kudu dienyakeun (what is right must be justified)
mipit kudu amit (take must say goodbye)
ngala kudu menta (take must ask)
ngeduk cikur kudu mihatur (taking kencur must inform the owner)
nyokel jahe kudu micarek (gouging ginger should tell)
ngagedag kudu bewara (shaking the tree so that the fruit falls must tell/ask first)
nyaaur kudu diukur (speaking must be thought first)
nyabda kudu diunggang (said must be thought so that it does not hurt)
ulah ngomong sageto-geto (do not speak carelessly)
ulah lemek sadaek-daek (do not speak casually)
ulah maling papanjangan (do not steal even though lacking)
ulahjinah papacangan (do not commit adultery and date)

Buyut are always obeyed and incarnated/practiced in the daily life of the Baduy people because they are afraid of the consequences that will arise. Possible consequences include:

matak burungjadi ratu (can fail to become queen / leader)
matak edan jadi menak (can be crazy to be a boy/nobleman)
matak pupul pangaruh (influence can be lost)
matak ham bar komara (can lose authority)
matak teu ma hi juritan (can lose a fight)
matak teu jaya perang (can lose the war)
matak eleh jajaten (can lose / lose courage)
matak eleh kasakten (can lose / lose supernatural powers)

Thus, the Baduy are very modest and always try to obey pikukuh and grandparents, which is reflected in the daily life of the Baduy people who seem to unite with nature. Disputes between residents are relatively rare, even the environment/nature around them is considered as a friend whose sustainability is always maintained to avoid natural disasters which are considered a form of dispute with nature (Pongsibanne, 2017).

Conclusion

The Sunda Wiwitan belief is a form of syncretism, namely the mixing of Islamic and Hindu values, so that it eventually becomes a belief held by the Baduy community in Kanekes Village, Banten. Although Sunda

Wiwitan has belief in spirits, gods. However, Sunda Wiwitan also has monotheistic beliefs, namely believing in Allah, as evidenced by the Sundanese Inner Baduy Syahada and Outer Baduy Syahada as well as their belief in the Prophet Muhammad and the creation of the Prophet Adam. In addition, the Sundanese Wiwitan religion also has absolute guidelines or views on life called *Pikikuh* and *Buyut* which contain taboos or prohibitions that need to be adhered to and practiced in the daily life of the Baduy people.

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