HINDUISM, ISLAM AND OTHER TRADITION INFLUENCES OF SUNDA WIWITAN
BADUY: Tradition, Local Wisdom and Sustainability in Desa Kanekes Banten

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Abstract

Hybridization of Hinduism and Islam, as well as Animism, was crystallized in the indigenous religion of the Baduy community. The Baduy community pledged the shahada and then practiced it with an ascetic attitude. With confidence in their original religion, they maintain and preserve the heritage of their ancestors or in Sundanese terms karuhun. Tapa Baduy is working in a rice-field as a practice of religious teachings, marrying a rice goddess with the earth. The activities of the Baduy community are guided by the customary rule called pikukuh, by obeying a great-grandfather or a taboo. The teachings of religion, tapa, pikukuh, and great-grandfather have shaped the Baduy character in preserving the village of Kanekes and protecting nature. While they continue to try to achieve prosperity and peace in a modest way; they can also be felt as a human community. So, how is the belief of the Sundanese Wiwitan? What are their rituals and worship practices? This paper seeks to answer these questions by presenting the religious system and religious ritual of Sunda Wiwitan from a phenomenological perspective and by looking at ideological, political, economic and social aspects. It will show that the the Baduy community’s faith and obedience to God are expressed in their actions to safeguard forests, rivers, and mountains in harmony; not by memorization or interpretation of scripture. Meanwhile, their ritual worship is practiced by working in the fields according to customary rules and taboos for a successful harvest and prosperous community. Sunda Wiwitan can thus be understood as a functional religion with kearifan lokal (local genius) and local knowledge that has the capacity to maintain the natural harmony of nature and social harmony in the village of Kanekes.

Keywords: Baduy Community, Sundanese Wiwitan, syncretism, the ritual of religion, indigenous religion

Introduction

Background

In his scientific article entitled “Religious freedom, the minority question, and geopolitics in the Middle East” (2012), Saba Mahmood poses a number of issues relating to minority religious groups, including indigenous religions. Among these are that the definition and the minority category can help provide protection to the group, but on the other hand, it also creates state divisions into groups. In fact, in some cases, the use of minority issues makes them vulnerable and easily victimized or minorized. Mahmood, for example, mentions, “while certain postcolonial religious minorities can claim international law to protect themselves from discrimination (not all religious minorities), this protection also leaves them more vulnerable. The conditions of their empowerment are also those of their vulnerability “(2012: 446).

Saba Mahmood’s proposition above will be the basis of research on indigenous religion in Indonesia in this article. The issue of religious minorities is also related to the revival of indigenous religions and the conflict between vernacularization of Islam and the universalization of Islam. The contradiction occurred because the dominant religions in Indonesia were all alien religions.
The six “official” religions in Indonesia are sometimes even regarded as the “invaders” religion whose presence has displaced various indigenous/local religions or ancestral religions. Along with their inauguration as an “official” religion, the various local religions are then regarded only as a belief, not religion. They are not deemed worthy or qualified to be called a religion that is defined following the dominant religious criteria.

Second, between indigenization or vernacularization or nativization and universalization. The issues relating to religious freedom are not solely related to religious issues, but also the protection of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and racial identity. Islam, for example, is identified with Arab culture and identity that suppresses the cultural identity of Indonesia. This leads to the conflict between “indigenous Islam versus alien Islam”. Is Javanese Islam such as the Javanese Christian built by Kyai Sadrach? Or is he like Gus Dur’s concept of Islamic indigenization that refers to the three elements of the law, politics or nationality, and culture?

In Mahmood’s proposition, the concept of minorities and religious freedom can indeed help the protection of minorities from discrimination, but sometimes it makes community segregation or even makes this minority more vulnerable to discrimination especially as the current of conservatism rises. There is a minority group that has gained worldwide attention and protection from international law, but there are other groups that increasingly experience oppression. Illustrating the fate of Christians and Ahmadiyya, for example, could keep them protected, but Gafattas and small religious groups could not raise their issues to the world level and therefore they had no defense. So why is the minority concept still used? The reason for adopting this minority concept is well expressed by Hannah Arendt (1979, 275): “Minorities had existed before, but the minority as a permanent institution, the recognition that millions of people lived outside the normal legal protection and needed an additional guarantee of their elementary. The article will propose pluralism to be the framework of religious harmony in Indonesia.

One indigenous religion or local Indonesian society is the religion of Sunda Wiwitan. This original religion is also a local wisdom of local people in maintaining the balance between the Baduy community with God, fellow members of the community and its relation to the universe. With the belief, the Baduy community lives sustainably and peacefully in the midst of dense forests, river heads and peaks of Kendeng, South Banten. Sunda Wiwitan seems to accommodate animism in which the religion of this Baduy community respect the ancestral spirits (karuhun), ancestors that influence the daily life (Permana, 2006: 37). This native religion also preserves myths that allow, this Baduy community consistently adheres to rules and restrictions.

Revealed in terms of etymology, wiwitan the meaning of teak, origin, principal, beginner, first. The word ngawitan, for example, means getting started. Sunda Wiwitan in Carita Parahiyan called Jati Sunda belief. An informant mentioned that there is a syncretism or hybridity in the beliefs of Sunda Wiwitan, in the animistic beliefs of Baduy community there are elements of Hinduism and Islam. In 1907, according to the Afdeeling Controller report, there were 40 Hindu communities in the Lebak region (Ekadjati, 1995: 72). Meanwhile, Islam is first known by the Baduy community in Kampung Cicakal Girang since approximately 300 years ago. So Islam was embraced by the Baduy community in Kampung Cicakal Girang around the 1680s.

What is syncretism? A number of anthropologists argue that syncretism is one of three outcomes of the acculturation process of acceptance, adjustment, and reaction. In Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedia (1953) Beals explains, as Ahimsa-Putra writes,” acculturation is combining origin and foreign traits “ syncretization is the process of combining the original elements with foreign elements that can create a new cultural pattern (2006: 338).

This article will describe the religion of Sunda Wiwitan Community, with more focus on answering two questions, as follows:
Theoretically, the concept of religion can be distinguished from the concept of magic, although in religion certainly there are elements of magic. According to James Frazer, religion substantially emphasizes the expressive dimension, whereas magic emphasizes the instrumental dimension of life. Expressive dimension is a space for expressing and symbolizing certain social and cosmological relations. Meanwhile, the instrumental dimension of magic is the space to achieve specific goals. Not only that, religion also directs itself to the I-Thou relationship, as a personal encounter in serving and praising God or god as long as he himself will be served by Him. Meanwhile, magic in pure form establishes a man-negative relation with nature (Martin Buber in Dhavamony, 1995: 51).

The cultural concept used in this paper follows Geertz’s theory, that culture is “a pattern of historically transmitted meanings embodied in symbols” (Geertz 1973: 89). In this theory, the system of inherited concepts revealed in symbolic forms enables humans to communicate, preserve, and develop their knowledge of life and attitudes toward life. This concept of culture is evident when referred to the worldview of the Baduy community (Weltanschauung). According to Geertz, the worldview that is part of the culture is as “a picture of what reality is, a concept of nature, self, and society” (Geertz 1973: 127).

This article describes Baduy community living in Kanekes Village, Leuidamar District, Lebak District, Banten Province. In this article, the approach of religious phenomenology is used to investigate the history of religion and culture of the Baduy community systematically, as proposed by Dhavarmony, in using the phenomenological approach of classification and grouping of data that is widespread in certain ways. It is intended that a comprehensive view of the content and religious significance contained in the religion and culture of the Baduy community can be clearly described (Dhavamony 1995: 25-26). In addition, the writer also analyzes the phenomenon of religious systems and religious rituals Baduy that occurred both in the area of Kanekes and surrounding areas. Direct involvement in the ethnographic space used to assign prospective informants is actually required (Spradley, 2006: 72), however, for this article, the writer use only several secondary data
Geography and Demography of Baduy Community

The Baduy community lives in the location of customary land (ulayat) located in a rural area between the hills and mountains of Kendeng, South Banten. The location is administratively located in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The position of this village is about 65 km from Serang, the capital of Banten Province. Location Kanekes Village is about 17 kilometers south of the city District Leuwidamar or 38 kilometers south of the city of Lebak regency. While the distance from the capital Jakarta is about 170 kilometers.

According to official records from the local government of Lebak regency as stated in Lebak District Regulation no. 32 The year 2001, the area of Kanekes village is about 5,101.85 hectares. The extent consists of a residential area of 2,101.85 hectares and an absolute protected forest (taneuh) of 3,000 hectares. When compared with the area of villages in the province of Banten, Kanekes Village is the village with the widest area.

The population of the Baduy community is 10,879, 5,465 inhabitants and 5,414 female, based on the Population Census Data of Kanekes Village on 28 February 2008. Based on population growth in previous years, population growth is very fast (1.79% per year). Along with the rapid growth of citizens, the change of the land of residence (territorial) also continues to expand widely and at the same time make the land for rice fields and forests to be reduced. In Local Regulation no. 23 of 2001 based on the position, inside and outside, residences of residents, administratively Baduy community is divided into two: Inner Baduy and Baduy Luar. The Baduy Dalam community totaling 1,053 people occupies the land inhabited by three villages: Cikeusik, Cikertawa, and Cibeo. The outlying Baduy community of 9,826 inhabitants occupies land inhabited 57 villages and five babakan (pemekaran kampung). It should also be noted that the Baduy Luar community has only 45 villages and six babakan.

The Origin of Baduy

Baduy is another popular name for the people of Kanekes Village of Banten. The name Baduy emerged after Islam entered the area of north Banten in the 16th century, 1522-1526 (Garna, 1987: 36). However, the Baduy people actually belong to the Sundanese tribe. Just because they still maintain several customs of pre-Islam compared to other tribes that accept Islam almost thoroughly, then Baduy seems to be a separate tribe. The typical characteristics possessed by Baduy is described briefly by Garna (1987: 16-17) as follows:

“Baduy loyalty to religions inherited from ancestors such as the situation before Hinduism and Islam developed in West Java and the location of the village is not easily attained as if to strengthen the notion that the Baduy people are not Sundanese.”

In 1822, C.L. Blume stated that the Baduy community originated from the Ancient Sunda Kingdom, namely Padjadjaran. They are told to hide inland when the Padjadjaran kingdom collapsed at the beginning of the 17th century, in line with the rapid progress of the kingdom of Islam Banten (Garna, 1993b: 144; Permana, 2006: 26). Here there are ideological and political issues. The ideology and politics of this group have more a common orientation of cultural values and political aspirations to the Hindu Padjadjaran kingdom than to the Islamic kingdom of Banten. This has similarities with the passage of a number of Majapahit people to the island of Bali because of its kingdom collapsed and controlled by Mataram. Asan people still maintain their religious tradition on the island of Bali, do not want to convert to Islam as the official religion of the kingdom of Mataram. So not forever, people follow his king’s religion as the sociological theory of Ibn Khaldun ‘al-din al-rajul, ala din mulukihim’ in his famous book al-Muqaddimah. The case of this Baduy community does not simply reject Islam because
the king who had been their orientation was a Hindu, they even accepted it, however, not embracing all the teachings of Islam. The ideology that does not want to fully accept Islam, at least in the early days of the Banten kingdom that could make the Baduy community ‘run’ and isolate themselves in the village Kanekes. In that way, as a community, they have relatively freely practiced their own way and understanding of God, the Prophet, the afterlife and so on and how to build relationships.

The ideological similarity between the king and the people can indeed strengthen the state. This is also realized by a sociologist like Ibn Khaldun. He referred to it as the Ashabiyah which could be the glue between the king and the community as well as the community groups. Cultivating the ideology of capitalism or communism in certain countries intends to unite the blend of its people to support the mission of the state. The ideology of Pancasila is also grown in this country with the aim of making Pancasila a shared value orientation for the power of this country.

Meanwhile, the historians debate about the Baduy designation, its search can be continued and found in many sources. According to Saleh Danasasmita and Anis Djatisunda, for example, Baduy is a local community that is made mandala (sacred area) officially by the king, because the community is obliged to maintain kabuyutan, place of ancestor worship is not Hindu or Buddhist. Kabuyutan in Kanekes Village is known as kabuyutan Jati Sunda or Sunda Wiwitan. From here, the Baduy community itself calls its religion Sunda Wiwitan, First Sunda (Sam, 1986: 4-5; Permana, 2006: 27). It also explains that the origin of Baduy can be found precisely in the Baduy community itself who firmly preserve the protected nature of the Kendeng mountains before the missioners of Islamic teachings came to change their beliefs.

**Batara Tunggal, God’s Creation**

The main theological element of every religion is the concept of God. Who is God in the religious concept of the Baduy community? According to Sam, God is believed by the Sunda Wiwitan Community is God as conceptualized by Islam but with another name. This can be examined more clearly in the shahadah sentence by the Baduy community (1986: 62). So, they refer to Him as Batara Tunggal or Allah the One (God Almighty) as in the Surah of al-Ikhlas. They also believe in God as Batara Jagat (Ruler of Nature) who in the language of Islam as Rob al-alamin. Furthermore, the concept of God of Baduy community is the Batara Seda Niskala (The Unseen). Furthermore, the similarity of concepts with Islam they also revealed that the God they believe is the Hiyang Keresa (the Almighty) or Nu Ngersakeun (the Desiring) as the holder of the highest power. What is interesting is that God is a manifestation and reality in the conception of God Sunda Wiwitan reside in Buana Nyungcung (Top World), as referred to in Islam as residing on Arash. Indeed there is an element of belief from Hinduism, but the God they believe is Batara Seda Niskala that overcomes or subdues all the gods in Hinduism (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Yama, and others) (Ekadjati 1995: 73). They also believe in the unseen, intangible or invisible to the eye, but can be touched with the heart.

They also believed in the messengers who delivered God’s command. The prophets who believed by this Baduy community are Prophet Adam and Prophet Muhammad. Then what about the belief in destiny which in Islam is the sixth pillar of faith. The Baduy community believes in the drama of life as a deposit, they believe in life, sickness, death and destiny as His provisions. The Sundanese Wiwitan community also runs what the Apostles do and enjoin, ie circumcision or circumcision for men (Djoewisno, 1987: 28). Rite of circumcision is believed as nyelamkeun, words that easily spoken by the Baduy community but it means adalalah Islamize. Apparently, the tradition of circumcision is not only done by men at the age of 4-7 years but also by women. Regarding this tradition in the Baduy community, there is a tradition
of fasting as it is conducted by the Islamic Community in the month of Ramadan? This tradition of fasting is also done by the Baduy community, but not exactly like the Islamic Community general do. They only carry out fasting rituals called kawalu, Lebaran. This fast is done only a day in the first, second and third month of the year (Sam et al., 1986: 64).

The pronunciation of Allah’s name is contained in the two sentences of the creed of Baduy: the creed of Inner Baduy and the shahadah of the Outer Baduy as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: Kalimat syahadat Baduy Dalam:</td>
<td>I: The Inner Baduy’s creed, as follows:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“asyhadu syahadat Sunda jaman Allah ngan sorangan kaduanana Gusti Rosul ka tilu Nabi Muhammad ka opat Komunitas Muhammad nu cicing di bumi angaricing nu calik di alam keueung”. ngacacang di alam mokaha salamet Komunitas Muhammad”</td>
<td>“Asyhadu syahadat Sunda the time of God alone secondly, the Messiah thirdly, Prophet Muhammad fourthly, Muhammadic communities who live in the world of angaricing calik in nature “. did not know it saved Muhammad’s Community “</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: Kalimat Syahadat Baduy Luar</td>
<td>II: Outer Baduy’s Creed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“asyhadu Alla ilaha illalah wa asyhadu anna Muhammad da 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”.</td>
<td>“Asyhadu Alla ilaha illalah wa asyhadu anna Muhammad da Rasulullah I set in my heart that there is no God in this world besides the Prince of God and no more than Prophet Muhammad’s messenger)</td>
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The Baduy Dalam’s Syahadat is the origin of Sunda Wiwitan which is presented to the puun, as the early Islamic period of the Islamic creed, conveyed to the Prophet Muhammad. Meanwhile, the Baduy Luar creed is the Islamic syahadat pronounced when the marriage is conducted in Islam. It is said by the Sundanese Community in the beginning that “we are only partial of the creed only, the kabilah kabolongan”. That is, they only acquire their creeds, while other Islamic pillars like prayers never get them (Sam et al., 1986: 62-63). In view of the phenomenological aspect, this is the fact that the Islamic dakwah in the archipelago is included in the Kanekes hamlet that has not been completed so that only certain aspects of the community are socialized within the targeted community.

Meanwhile, God’s power is understood by the Sundanese Community of Wiwitan as the creator of the universe. In the myth of world creation including the creation of the Baduy community it is said that “the world at the time was created was empty, then God took a handful of earth from Adam and created it. From Adam’s ribs then Eve was created.. God also created Batara Tujuh, namely: (1) Batara Tunggal, (2) Batara Ratu, (3) Puun revealed in Kanekes (Cikeusik, Cikertawana, Cibeo), (4) Dalem, (5) Menak, (6) Galuh and (7) Prophet Muhammad sent down
in Mecca. Batara Tujuh is Sanghyang Tujuh who sits at Sasaka Domasi (Sam, 1986: 64). From this myth of creation, the Baduy community believes that the first human being created on earth is in Kanekes as the core of the earth or the earth. Therefore, they performed the ritual worship rituals at Sasaka Domas in honor of the ancestor’s spirit or ancestor. They also believe in religion with the nickname of Sunda Wiwitan, not Hinduism or Islam.

Adam was believed by the Sundanese community as a symbol of the first human creation in Saska Domas. According to Ahimsa-Putra (2006: 345), this belief is also in the religion of Javanese people who still respect their kings and ancestors. In Javanese cosmology, among the Muslim prophets, Batara Hindu and Javanese kings there is a genealogical relation, as enshrined in the opening of Babad Tanah Jawi, as follows:

“The history of the Javanese rulers began from Prophet Adam as his source. Prophet Adam according to his or her origin brought down Prophet Sis. The Prophet himself was born Nurcahya. Nurcahya drops Nurasa. From Nurasa was born his son named Sang Hyang Wening then lowered Sang Hyang Tunggal. Then Sang Hyang Tunggal collapses the Batara Guru. Batara Guru had five sons, named Batara Sambo, Batara Brama, Batara Maha Dhewa, Batara Wisnu, and Dewi Sri. Batara Guru, the fourth son of Batara Guru, reigned in a kingdom on the island of Java, titled Set of prabu. The Batara Guru’s palace is called Suralaya, where the gods live (Sudibjo, t.t: 7).

“It is understandable that Batara Tunggal, believed by the Sundanese Communist Party, is an ordinary human being who never dies, but the body and spirit of him, disappeared, from this world. They also believe that Batara Tunggal is the one that governs the destiny and human life on this earth. While Dalem and Menak were ancestors, the ancestors of the body and his spirit wailed, disappeared. Therefore, it is believed that Kanekes will not be lost until now, as the hereditary descendants of puun (Sam et al., 1986: 62-63).

Formally-normative, the puun is the leader of the Baduy community custom. To preside over the spiritual aspects of the puja, the puun is assisted by puun devices consisting of baresan (advisory boards), targets (fortune tellers) and auspicious (ritual assistant). In addition to the puun believed to be the supreme leader of custom, it is also a descendant of ancestors, ancestors, who directly represent it in the world. In addition to believing the ancestors, the Baduy community also believes in the existence of guriang, sanghyang and wangatua. Guriang and sanghyang are the manifestations of the ancestors to protect their offspring from all dangers, both from the disturbances of the wicked and the evil beings. As for that, it is the embodiment of the spirit of the mother and the deceased father. These puunese are responsible in preserving ancestral heritage beliefs called pikukuh, so as not to be affected by the process of social cultural change from outside (Permana, 2006: 40). This is the belief that the religion of Sunda Wiwitan becomes steady or has resistance to external elements that can change its originality.

**Sasaka Domas, Baduy Holy Qibla**

As Islam has the Qiblah, the Baduy community also has the worship tradition of Sunda Wiwitan, called Sasaka Domas, or Sasaka Puusaka Buana or Sasaka Ageung. Sasaka Domas is a stacked or terrace-based building of seven levels. To further recognize the worship process undertaken by this Baduy community will be described the procession of worship in order to obtain the blessing. The procession asks the blessing to be done at Cikeusik jaro house. The whole group sat cross-legged on the patio or at the basin, while jaro sat cross-legged in the living room or the imam’s living room. The first interpreter goes into the imah room facing jaro to
introduce himself as well as his group and convey their intentions. While Jaro sits cross-legged on the south side of the imah’s room facing north, the interpreter comes from the north side facing south (jaro). Instantly, the interpreter immediately gave his offer to jaro. After receiving the offerings, jaro picked up a piece of luluy in which jukut komala was included and the body was weak. Next, luluy is given jampi-jampi by jaro, then blown three times and fed to a blessing seeker. Finally, the interpreter excused himself and left the room. The interpreter then invited the members of his group to enter the imam’s room in turns facing jaro. Those who have got blessings soon out of the house jaro. So many of these blessing queues. this procession of blessing often lasts until late at night, sometimes even until dawn (Permana, 2006: 92).

For the Baduy community, the procession of asking for blessings is facing itself to a pilgrimage procession to Sasaka Domas. They are oriented towards facing south because there is a sacred place called Sasaka Domas. Thus, the orientation of the Worshipers of the Sundanese Wiwitan Community to the south, not to the West the khususnya Ka’bah as Indonesian Islam when performing the five-time prayers or to the East as the direction of worship of Sinto religion. The procession of worship in the holy land, Sasaka Domas indeed resembles the procession of pilgrimage in the holy land, Kabah held on 8, 9 and 10 Dhul-Hijjah. On the 9th of Dhul-Hijjah, for example, the Islamic Community which did not perform the pilgrimage fasts known as Arafat fasting. Some of the Indonesian Islamic Community used to spread with rice or rice lontong. Likewise, when pilgrims come in their homes, not a few Muslim communities who come and ask for blessings to people who have performed the pilgrimage. Therefore, clearly differentiating with Islam, the faith and the observance of Sunda Wiwitan to God is contained in its symbolic meaning to keep and preserve the forests, rivers and mountain peaks which are in the ecosystem that provide peace and prosperity in humans, especially the Baduy community.

So this ritual symbolism is actually very functional in maintaining social cohesion. This is what makes the Baduy community very safe because every member of the community is very obedient to the rules of customs and adat leaders. This is related to the strength of a myth (myth) or local wisdom (local wisdom) in a community group characterized by the community.

In regard to describing this community, differentiated from societies, the sociologist who clearly contrasted the two models of social relations was Ferdinand Tonnies in his theory of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. This model is conceived as two ideal types or tendencies in social relationships. Empirically, both do not exist in their pure form. Each model is mixed and dependent on the other. Gemeinschaft is a social formation in traditional societies that is generally referred to as a ‘community’ whose relationship patterns are based on the way of life, work and acting in togetherness (Tonnies, 1974; Cahman and Heberle, 1971).

Tonnies explains that Gemeinschaft’s social formation is based on a relatively different initiative from other social formations. In the Gemeinschaft formation, the underlying is Wesenwille or essential will (natural will) which is a tendency that tends to equate (resemblance) needs and desires, experiences and habits as well as reasoning and memory. This initiative is more guided by the love, understanding, customs, religion, and morals of the community, which then gives way to treat others based on sentiment and conscience (Tonnies, 1974; Cahman and Heberle, 1971). Meanwhile, Gesellschaft is a characteristic of urban society (bourgeois), defined as ‘association’ or ‘society’, that is a pattern of relationship colored by competition and separation individually. This model is constituted by Kurwill or arbitrary will (rational will), that is the tendency of acting based on the calculation of profit and own goals. In this model, someone treats others as a medium to achieve their own goals.

Up to now, it has begun to be clear that social capital at a high level, as it demands more altruistic behavior and collective orientation, can flourish more in the context of more Gemeinschaft
social formation as it does with the Baduy community. Each individual in this community then has relatively the same experience because of daily living in almost the same area. This then gives birth to values, emotions, beliefs, and sentiments that are also relatively similar (Durkheim, 1984: 230).

The above conception shows that the social capital of the community plays an important role in the ethnic dynamics and economic relations of the Baduy community. Therefore, the social capital of this community which includes values, rules, customs and social norms derived from local wisdom or ‘moral community’ in the Durkheim conception, makes it significant in everyday life and becomes a social factor in relations between local communities in realizing social cohesion. The empirical issue of myth, local wisdom and social capital can be further traced in pikukuh as the absolute customary rule as follows.

Pikukuh, Absolute Custom Rules

The world view or weltanschauung of the Wiwitan Sunda Community is guided by the pikukuh or the indigenous customary rules. Pikukuh is the rule and procedure how should (obliged) to travel life according to the mandate of karuhun or ancestor. This pikukuh is a value orientation, concepts and religious activities of the Baduy community. Until now the Baduy pikukuh is steady or not undergone any changes, as set in the great-grandmother (taboo) ancestral titles and has become a separate myth that is held firm as a prohibition by the cultural community stakeholders Baduy. Buyut is anything that violates the pikukuh. Buyut is not codified in the form of text as the major religions with its scriptures but incarnate in the daily actions of the Baduy community in interacting with God, human relation, and the natural environment. Buyut is still steady in regulating the attitude and behavior of Baduy community (Garna, 1988a: 53-54, 1993: 139; Permana, 1995: 38-39; Sam et al., 1986: 47-48):

Each community has a role model or role model for people to easily refer someone in their daily behavior. Also with the Baduy community, they have a puun to be a role model. In the Baduy community, the role model is found in a puun. It is this same order that guards the great-grandmother’s mandate in the life of his community. Therefore, to be a puun is not easy. He must maintain their behavior so that they can be trusted by the people. As noted by Sam et al. (1986: 48),

there are some taboos that a puun should not do:

“Can not have more than one wife
should not eat meat
should not meet with an outsider before reaching the age of 25 years, if a puun at a young age,
should use wooden plates, bamboo cups or coconut shells
no smoking
should not travel outside unless called by the Government, nor can they board a vehicle “

Buyut for this puun is intended to keep his holiness as a puun. He is in charge and responsible for carrying out a great-grandson of the Wiwitan Sunda Community. In practice, Sunda Wiwitan is divided into two types: single and great-grandmother’s. Buyut adam singleton is the main taboo with other small taboos which only applies to Baduy In tangtu community. Buyut nahun is a taboo based on the main points that apply to Baduy community outside companion and dangka. For example, the great-grandfather picukuh cultivate agricultural land into rice fields and grow coffee and clove trees only apply to the Baduy Inhabitant community, but for the Baduy community, escort and Dangka are allowed to plant coffee and clove trees (Permana,
The conduct of the great-grandfather is confirmed by the ritual of sweeping, cleaning, or sanctioning. The purpose of the sweeping ritual is to clean the source of the dirt from the inner violators and the environment. There are two sanctions to be served. First, set aside from the environment everyday life. Second, the status of citizenship is lowered. In addition, there are other very serious sanctions, as follows:

“(1) the great offenders are directly prosecuted, while the volunteer must apply for a retreat to the puun. (2) the great offender is set for the disposal period, usually 40 days. (3) the great offender if judged good and wishes to return to his place of origin will be “diala” after his sentence is exhausted, while the volunteers who want to return to the place all must apply for permission to the puuni “(Danasasmita, 1984: 101).

The pukukuh orientation was carried out by the Sunwing Wiwitan Community for three practices. First, ngabara-tapa-keun, practice tapa towards the core of the universe and the world. Tapa is not doing samadi or tirakat in silence in a quiet place, but doing “a lot of work and little talk”. Therefore, tapa Baduy is working in the fields. Farming is practiced not merely to grow rice, but also as a practice of religion. Secondly, ngare-remo-keun, the practice of sacred honor by way of marrying Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri (Goddess of Rice) with the earth. This second practice is the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan religion which is practiced by all members of the Baduy community, both inside and outside Baduy. Third, the practice perpetuates the pukukuh by practicing all existing rules (Permana, 2006: 40-41).

Pukukuh Sunda Wiwitan above held firm and practiced with local wisdom as the philosophy of everyday life. The life philosophy taught in Sundanese Wiwitan’s local religion is that “human life has been determined in its place and place.” This philosophy of life can explain that man must accept his own nature and occupy a predetermined place. Humans live in this world should not be excessive, especially greedy in the search for pleasure, simply accept the existing course. This is clearly contrary to the philosophy of capitalist society that always seeks to optimum consume and even without limit. Therefore, the purpose of life for the Wiwitan Sunda Community is the goodness that can be achieved by obeying the predetermined curse and given to each of us. Otherwise, life becomes bad that will be felt as torture or hell.

Such life is known in the modern literature as a subsistence way of life. But the wisdom behind this livelihood creates eternal harmony between human beings and the natural environment. The life philosophy of the Baduy community emphasizes that life means narimakeun kana isi (accepting the predetermined destiny and away from the lust of greed). In other words, breathing narimakeun means life to accept what has become its part, thus making it not dare to do or live beyond the prescribed (Rosmana et al., 1993: 88-90). This view of the Dunda Wiwitan community is so simple that has been practiced very long time. Religious ritual worship arranged with pukukuh and obedience to the great-grandfather. Ultimately, the attitudes and behaviors of members of the Baduy community determine the success of the abundant rice harvest and the welfare of the human Community collectively.

Conclusion

Sunda Wiwitan is the ancestral religion or indigenous religion of the Baduy community. But if further explored this religion seems to be the result of a hybrid between Hinduism, Islam, and Animism. Adherents of this indigenous religion are located exactly in Kanekes Village, South Banten. Indeed, the Wiwitan Sunda Community does not have a codified text of the Word of God formally called the holy book, nevertheless, its teachings are incarnate in the practice of tapa, daily work in the fields. Understanding the teachings of religion is immediately practiced in the interaction of members of the Community with nature. Anthropologically and phenomenologically, the Sundanese religion Wiwitan express symbolic meanings in Baduy social-cultural relations and cosmology of nature. His faith in God is not only visible in the
claims of his shahada, but also in the practice of religious rituals by referring to pikukuh, adat rules, and obedient not to break the rules in the rule of the great-grandmother whom they believe is a taboo in their lives. Their faith is highly functional because it is applied in their daily life in the spirit of preserving forests, rivers and mountains and living in harmony with others. The cult in Saska Domas, the holy land of the Baduy community is a symbolic expression to preserve social cohesion which in Islamic terminology is hablun min al-nas and hablun min Allah or Tri Hita Karana in the vocabulary of the Hindu tradition or as myth, local wisdom and social capital in the academic language.

Thus, the identity of Sunda Wiwitan is a syncretic religion. This religion provides a worldview to the Community to live simply and accept what it is, just to be able to work in the fields, to plant rice, peacefully and prosperously. This worldview constructs the obedience of Baduy’s personalities in preserving Kanekes. This religion becomes a shield of self-aversion from greed in a highly hedonistic and accumulative capitalistic economy. This community lives subsistently because the economic activity for them is enough just to meet the daily needs, not the unlimited desires of hedonistic lifestyles. In addition, this religion is capable of presenting sustainable natural environments and social harmony from generation to generation to reaching social harmony and their own understanding of prosperity.

Sunda wiwitan is an indigenous religion of local tradition that is functional in maintaining social cohesion and sustainability of their surrounding nature that needs to be acknowledged indiscriminately by the state through the pluralism. It is based on pluralism, all religion can be grown in full expression that precisely guaranteed and treated equally in the frame of Pancasila democracy.

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