

A photograph of a Baduy musical ensemble in Western Java. Several men and children are shown playing large bamboo instruments, likely suling or similar. The scene is set outdoors, and the lighting is warm, suggesting a sunset or sunrise. The instruments are made of bamboo and are held vertically. The people are dressed in traditional or simple clothing. The overall mood is serene and cultural.

Music of the Baduy People of Western Java

Singing is a Medicine

Wim van Zanten

BRILL

Music of the Baduy People of Western Java

Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

Edited by

Rosemarijn Hoefte (KITLV, *Leiden*)
Henk Schulte Nordholt (KITLV, *Leiden*)

Editorial Board

Michael Laffan (*Princeton University*)
Adrian Vickers (*The University of Sydney*)
Anna Tsing (*University of California Santa Cruz*)

VOLUME 313

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/vki

Music of the Baduy People of Western Java

Singing is a Medicine

By

Wim van Zanten



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

Cover illustration: Front: *angklung* players in Kadujangkung, Kanékés village, 15 October 1992. Back: players of gongs and xylophone in *keromong* ensemble at circumcision festivities in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, Kanékés, 5 July 2016.

Translations from Indonesian, Sundanese, Dutch, French and German were made by the author, unless stated otherwise.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2020045251>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1572-1892

ISBN 978-90-04-42440-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-44447-8 (e-book)

Copyright 2021 by Wim van Zanten. Published by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag. Koninklijke Brill nv reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface	IX
Orthography and Maps	XIII
List of Illustrations	XVI
List of Tables	XXI
Audio-Visual Examples (AV)	XXIII
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Baduy People of Kanékés Village and Their Music and Dance	2
1.1.1 <i>The Name of the Indigenous Group</i>	10
1.2 Overview of Baduy Music and Dance	11
1.3 Outline of the Book	17
2 Social Organization and Economic Situation	22
2.1 Socio-Political Organization and Major Spiritual and Secular Officials	23
2.2 <i>Dangka</i> Hamlets and Their Role in the Delineation of Baduy Culture	30
2.3 Agricultural Land, Non-Irrigated Fields and Religion	39
2.4 Relations with Indonesian Authorities and Cultural Tourism	44
2.4.1 <i>Hand Phones</i>	47
2.4.2 <i>Séba</i>	50
2.5 Non-Governmental Organisations: Trust, Social Justice and Environment	55
2.6 Weaving, Clothes and Production of Textiles for Sale	60
2.7 Production of Other Goods	62
2.7.1 Palm Sugar (<i>gula kawung</i>)	63
2.7.2 <i>Knives</i>	65
3 Methodological Issues and Theoretical Starting Points	72
3.1 Historical Sources and Earlier Publications on Music and Dance	74
3.2 Restrictions for Researchers and Other Methodological Issues	81
3.3 Visits to the Holy Places in Kanékés between 1822 and 1931	88
3.3.1 <i>Blume (1822)</i>	90
3.3.2 <i>Van Hoëvell (1845)</i>	91
3.3.3 <i>Koorders (1864)</i>	93
3.3.4 <i>Criticism by Jacobs and Meijer (1891) and Pennings (1902)</i>	94
3.3.5 <i>Koolhoven (1931)</i>	96
3.3.6 <i>Van Tricht (1928)</i>	97

- 3.4 Fieldwork Periods Present Author 98
- 3.5 Some Theoretical Issues and Definitions 102
- 4 Seasons for Music and Major Rituals 107
 - 4.1 Agricultural Calendar and Musical Seasons 107
 - 4.2 Angklung Music for the Engagement Ritual of the Goddess of Rice 113
 - 4.3 Circumcisions and Weddings 119
 - 4.4 Circumcision in Kadujangkung 123
 - 4.5 Circumcision in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud 127
 - 4.6 Weddings and Other Rituals; Some General Observations 131
- 5 Tone Systems, *angklung*, *keromong*, Dancing and Gender Aspects 135
 - 5.1 General Musical Concepts: Tone Systems, Modes and Styles of Playing 136
 - 5.1.1 *Transcription of Music for Analysis* 136
 - 5.1.2 *Tone Systems* 138
 - 5.2 *Angklung* for Rituals and for Entertainment 145
 - 5.3 *Keromong* (gamelan) 157
 - 5.4 The History of a Baduy Gamelan between 1976 and 2019 162
 - 5.4.1 *Commentary* 170
 - 5.5 Dancing 173
 - 5.6 Gender Aspects and *Gendék* Ceremonial Pounding of Rice 176
 - 5.6.1 *Musicians and Gender* 178
 - 5.6.2 *Gendék* 180
- 6 Carita Pantun Storytelling 181
 - 6.1 Baduy Oral Literature in the Larger Sundanese Context 181
 - 6.2 Baduy *Pantun* Stories 185
 - 6.3 *Pantun* Texts and Audio-Visual Recordings since 1905 190
 - 6.4 Own Recordings and Observations of *Pantun* Storytellers 195
 - 6.4.1 *Direction that the Pantun Performer Should Be Facing* 197
 - 6.5 Recited Text and Performing Aspects of *Pantun* Recitation 202
- 7 Song Texts in Music for Entertainment 216
 - 7.1 Earlier Publications of Song Texts 216
 - 7.2 Formal Aspects of the Song Texts 219
 - 7.3 Song Texts Used in Performance by Female Singer Raidah in 2003 221
 - 7.3.1 *Kidung Rahayu* 222

7.3.2	<i>Tepang Sono</i>	223
7.3.3	<i>Daun Hiris</i>	223
7.3.4	<i>Jalan</i>	224
7.3.5	<i>Gunjaér Mundur</i>	224
7.3.6	<i>Kacang Asin</i>	224
7.3.7	<i>Bayu-Bayu</i>	225
7.3.8	<i>Poho Kabalik</i>	225
7.3.9	<i>Kapergok</i>	225
7.3.10	<i>Daun Puspa</i>	228
7.3.11	<i>Ucing-Ucingan</i>	228
7.4	Major Themes in Other Song Texts	230
7.4.1	<i>Moral Advice</i>	230
7.4.2	<i>Hurt by Outsiders</i>	230
7.4.3	<i>Dirty Words</i>	231
7.4.4	<i>References to Music and Dance</i>	231
7.4.5	<i>False Instruments and Social Order</i>	232
8	Wind, String and Other Instruments	234
8.1	<i>Kumbang</i> Flute	236
8.2	<i>Tarawélét</i> Flute	245
8.3	<i>Lamus</i> Flute and <i>Elét</i>	250
8.3.1	<i>Elét</i>	254
8.4	String Instruments	258
8.4.1	<i>Kacapi Pantun</i>	258
8.4.2	<i>Siter and Falsetto Voice</i>	261
8.4.3	<i>Rendo</i>	261
8.4.4	<i>Viol</i>	264
8.4.5	<i>Rebab</i>	264
8.5	Xylophones and Jew's Harp	265
8.5.1	<i>Gambang</i> or <i>Gambang Kayu</i>	265
8.5.2	<i>Calung</i>	267
8.5.3	<i>Karinding</i>	267
9	Concluding Remarks	272
9.1	Negotiating Rules and Mutual Respect	272
9.1.1	<i>The 2003 UNESCO Convention on Living Culture</i>	276
9.2	Safeguarding, Cultural Tourism and Future Research	278
Appendix 1	A Map of Kanékés and a List of Its Hamlets	283
Appendix 2	The Baduy Calendar	304

Appendix 3	List of People Interviewed and/or Recorded	310
Appendix 4	Song Texts for Entertainment	324
Glossary		357
References		372
Index		384

Preface

This book is based on fieldwork with the indigenous Baduy group in West Java, Indonesia, between 1976 and 2016. It is in the first place meant for those who are interested in the study of music and dance of small ethnic groups. A selection of my audio and film material is published with this book and becomes available on the Internet. The original fieldwork recordings were donated to and can be consulted in the Leiden University Libraries.

Baduy leaders have always encouraged me to document their music and dance. On 27 March 2003, one week after the invasion of Iraq by the United States of America and their allies, this was demonstrated in a very special way. The secular village head told me that it would be nice if my film on Baduy music would be shown on Dutch television: much better than images of the just started Iraq war, with dead people. In this way he also expressed the general feeling that the performing arts play a positive role in their society. The positive attitude of the leaders of the community encouraged me to make my knowledge more widely available in this publication.

Like all visitors to the Baduy, I was not allowed to freely record any ritual with music and dance. There are limitations to what can be published too. And thirdly, what does the 'prior informed consent' of the Baduy leaders mean, as they cannot read publications in foreign languages? Also, intellectual property rights were developed for individuals and not for communities. To a large extent it remains a question of trust between researcher and community.

Up to the present day the spiritual leaders of the Baduy community do not allow their children to go to school. However, we may expect that the Baduy's ability to read and write will increase rapidly, for instance, because of the availability of hand phones, which are officially still forbidden by the spiritual leaders, but nevertheless widely used. Also, there is an increasing number of people of Baduy descent, who left their village Kanékés and no longer live a life according to the Baduy ancestral rules. Their children receive formal schooling; some even have a university degree. At some point these people may become interested in their past and appreciate this documentation of their music and dance.

There is a second reason which stimulated me to write this book. In 2002 I became involved in the preparatory work for what would become the 2003 UNESCO 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage'. In this convention the role of the communities, groups and individuals is emphasized: they determine what belongs to their intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and they should be involved in safeguarding processes. The Baduy are

a good example of the problems, which may occur in the interaction between local communities and regional, provincial and national authorities.

The cultural policies of Indonesia have changed in the period since the declaration of independence in 1945. Nowadays the authorities are well aware of their responsibility for a special community in Kanékés village. The strength of a democracy is reflected in the way the majority deals with minority groups in their society. Keeping the Baduy community with its music and dance sustainable will require wise policies. I hope that my book will supply useful information to the local and national authorities finding their way in this complex issue.

My first contact with the Baduy group was in 1976. My wife and I then lived in Jakarta; I was involved in a joint teaching project of the faculties of social sciences of the Universitas Indonesia and Leiden University. Initially I planned to make a gramophone record with Baduy music, in cooperation with the late Bernard Suryabrata (1926–1986). For several reasons that did not materialize. In the early 1990s I realized that some of my audio and film recordings were in fact unique, as the Baduy did not easily allow researchers to enter their area and record their music. Thereafter I made an effort to systematically fill the gaps in my knowledge about Baduy music and dance, and I wrote some articles on these topics. In 2013–2016 I made three more trips to Kanékés village and found the time to order the fieldwork materials and to concentrate on writing this book in the following years.

For my fieldwork in the Baduy area I got assistance from several people, and I would like to express my great appreciation to the good companions of that time: Uk Sukaya (in 1976), Enip Sukanda (in 1992) and Mumu Zaéna Mutaqin (in 2003, 2013, 2014 and 2016). Uk Sukaya was a musician who cooperated with Bernard Suryabrata at the Fakultas Seni, Universitas Nasional in Jakarta. Enip Sukanda and Mumu Zaéna Mutaqin were attached to Bandung University for Indonesian Arts (STS1: *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia*, now called ISBI, *Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia*). In 1992 Enip Sukanda was staff member of the Music Department. In 2003 the Rector of STS1, Professor Saini K.M., selected the young theatre student Mumu, who was raised in South Banten, to assist me during my visit to Kanékés. Mumu has been very dedicated to me and my work, was interested in the Baduy and their music, and he was a great and joyful companion.

The Baduy have always received us well and I felt at home in Kanékés. In 1976 my major Baduy informants were Talsim (Talpin, Talfin) from Gajéboh and Péi from Kumpul, and many others, like the zither player Yanci and the flute player Yati. Unfortunately, many of them passed away. Another great supporter was the (non-Baduy) village secretary Ukang Sukarna, who lived in the

nearby hamlet Bulakan in Cisimeut village. Since 1992 the secretarial work of Ukang Sukarna was gradually taken over by *haji* Sapin. Sapin was born as a Baduy, but his family belonged to the first people to migrate in 1978. He has also been very helpful for my research.

From 1992 onwards I mostly stayed with the secular village head in Kanékés. In 1992 that was *jaro* ('head') Asrab in Kadujangkung. In 2003, 2013 and 2014 it was the late *jaro* Daénah and in 2016 it was *jaro* Saijah, who were both living in the official residence established in Kaduketug Jaro/Kaduketug 1. I am very grateful that they were willing to look after me. During my visits after 1992 I still regularly met with *jaro* Asrab and I occasionally stayed in his house. I probably also met with other important Baduy officials whom I did not always recognise as such. I had enlightening discussions with father and son Saidi, who both were/are *tanggung* *jaro duabelas*, that is, head of the group of most important Baduy leaders responsible for safeguarding the Baduy customs and rules inherited from the ancestors. During my last fieldwork trips I also regularly met with the Inner Baduy Mursid, who is one of the official Baduy spokesmen.

I interviewed and recorded many musicians, too many to be mentioned here by name; but see Appendix 3. However, I single out a few of them here. From 2003 to 2016 Ayah Karamaén from Cibéo supplied information about especially Inner Baduy music and he also made two *karinding* (Jew's harps) for me. In 2014 I recorded him on film and audio when he played the *kumbang* and *tarawélét* flutes. In 2014 and 2016 the *pantun* storyteller Anirah supplied information on text and music of the *pantun* stories. He also looked after spiritual matters concerning the gamelan that I had returned to the Baduy community in 1979.

A few people in the resettlement hamlets deserve mentioning. In 1992 I met Nalim and Narja, sons of *jaro* Samin († 1991). *Jaro* Samin and 80 other families had left Kanékés and resettled in Cipangembar in 1978. My discussions with his sons and with Usman, Samin's son-in-law, gave me much insight in the Baduy. Moreover, Usman proved to be very knowledgeable on Baduy music. Further I am grateful to the social worker in the Baduy resettlement project Muchsim († 2001), who lived in Cipangembar since 1978, for sharing his experiences with me. My discussions with him were very useful for understanding the resettlement policies.

Many publications quote the Baduy saying 'what is long should not be shortened, what is short should not be lengthened' (*lojor teu meunang dipotong, pondok teu meunang disambung*) and give it as an example of Baduy resistance to change. In my opinion this saying concerns not so much the outside manifestations (*lahir*), such as the rules about clothing, the use of hand phones and dancing with music, but rather the essence (*batin*) of Baduy ascetic life. This

book will necessarily mainly discuss the outside manifestations of Baduy life and music and the Baduy's struggle with the many temptations leading them away from their ascetic path. I hope it does not reveal anything that should have remained secret.

All photographs were taken by the author, unless stated otherwise, and are published with permission. The subtitle of this book, 'Singing is a medicine', was taken from the beginning of the *Lutung Kasarung pantun* story recited by Sajin and recorded in January 1977: '... Singing is a medicine to calm down ...' The audio-visual examples are based on field recordings by the author. All recordings were made with prior informed consent of the individual musicians and the Baduy leaders. Mostly the participating musicians were paid a lump sum for their performance. At rituals recordings were generally not allowed. If allowed, contributions were made in cash for food, sweets and cigarettes. The audio-visual examples supply part of the Baduy soundscape and were also used for the transcription and/or analysis of the music. Some music examples were not included after consultation with the Baduy leaders. They apparently found that these examples disclosed too much of their ascetic life and should not be shown to the general public with limited knowledge of Baduy life (see Section 3.3).

I am grateful for the stimulating discussions with teachers, colleagues and pupils about Baduy issues. First of all there was Bishop Geise, who wrote a pioneering book on the Baduy in 1952; he granted me an interview in Bandung in November 1976. At an early stage, July 1978, I also had the fortune of meeting Anis Djatisunda in Sukabumi for an interview on the Baduy. Further, I appreciate Yudistira Garna's trust in me: in October 1992 he gave me permission to copy his 1988 (unpublished) anthropological PhD dissertation on the Baduy. This book is still a very important source of information.

In later years I enjoyed discussions about Baduy and Sundanese performing arts with Randal Baier, Sarah Andrieu, Dody Satya Ekagustdiman and many others. In the Netherlands there have been several anthropologists who stimulated me by their own research on the Baduy: Jet Bakels, Wim Boevink, Gerard Persoon, Bart Barendregt and Robert Wessing. Clara Brakel shares my interest in the performing arts of Indonesia and her suggestions were always useful for my work on the Baduy. Both anonymous reviewers of an earlier version of this book were very helpful with their encouraging and critical remarks.

My wife Ellen assisted me on the first two fieldwork trips to the Baduy in 1976. Also, she has been very supportive during the long period of writing this book.

Wim van Zanten

Aarlanderveen, The Netherlands, January 2020

Orthography and Maps

I follow the present-day spelling rules as used in dictionaries, except for people's names. In particular, Sundanese *é* is pronounced as *e* in 'set' in English or '*mais*' in French; it used to be written as *e* or *è*. Sundanese *e* is pronounced like *e* in 'given' in English or '*le*' in French; it used to be written as *ě*. This indication of the different pronunciations of *é* and *e* is only used in dictionaries and some scientific works; elsewhere both speech sounds are spelled 'e'. The Sundanese vowel *eu* is pronounced as *ö* in German, but more backwards; *eu* is sometimes written as *ö* and by Sundanese people often by *e*. Vowels may be doubled, but must then be pronounced separately, with a glottal stop in between. For instance, *puun* is pronounced as *pu'un* and *keueung* as *keu'eung*. See more detailed information in the 'Notes on orthography and Sundanese language' in Van Zanten (1989: xi–xii).

The Baduy language is a variant of Sundanese spoken in southern Banten. The spelling of names and some technical terms has not been standardized. Occasionally the village secretary Sapin made useful comments on how to spell names. He suggested, for instance, that I should write the name of the female vocalist mentioned in Van Zanten (1995: 531, 542; 2004: 124) as Raidah, not Raida. Similarly, I write Saijah for the name of the present secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*), instead of the spelling commonly used in newspapers: Saija.

I have sometimes transcribed a sound as 'é', whereas others transcribed this sound as 'i'. For instance, the name of the former secular village head Daénah (1997–2015) is often spelled as Dainah. Further, there is ambiguity about using 'c' or 'j'; for instance, the name of the storyteller Sajin is also given as Sacin. When 'n' is followed by letter 'd' + vowel, quite often the letter 'd' is left out; for instance, in *gendék/genék* (communal pounding of rice). Similarly, when the letter 'm' is followed by a letter 'b' + vowel, the letter 'b' may be left out, for instance, in *lambus/lamus* (bellows). Further, there is ambiguity about using 's', 'f' or 'p', especially after another consonant; for instance, I write 'Talsim' for one of my main informants in the 1970s, where others say it should be 'Talpin' or 'Talfin'. Words ending on a vowel are often, but not always, written with a final 'k' or 'g', like the hamlet Kaduketug/Kaduketuk. Compare also the section 'problems of transliteration' of Old Sundanese manuscripts in Noorduynd and Teeuw (2006: 19–23).

Plural forms of words are mostly written in the singular form and sometimes doubled: *kacapi-kacapi* (zithers), like in Indonesian.

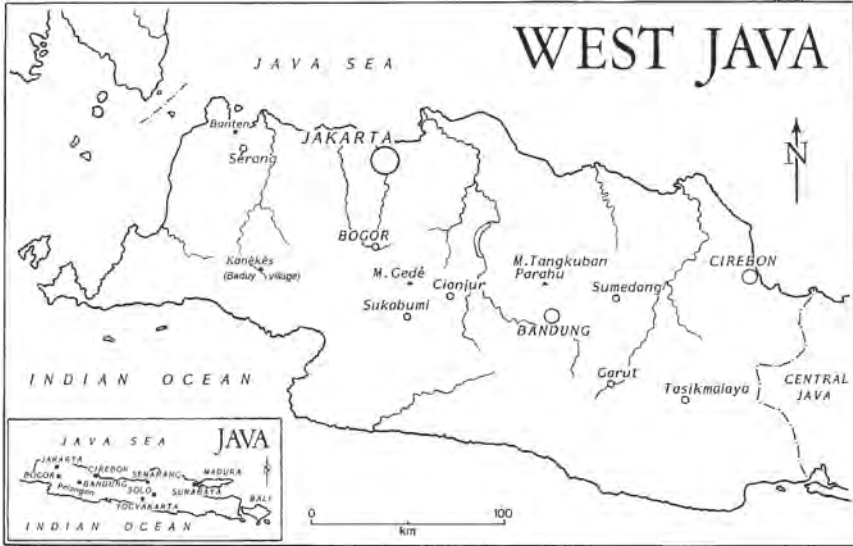


FIGURE 1 Map of West Java with location of village Kanékés, about 80 km south of Sérang
SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM A MAP BY HANS BORKENT IN VAN ZANTEN (1989: XIII)

Illustrations

Figures

- 1 Map of West Java with location of village Kanékés, about 80 km south of Sérang. Adapted from a map by Hans Borkent in Van Zanten (1989: xiii). xiv
- 2 Map of Kanékés village with most hamlets and rivers. Adjusted map, based on Koolhoven (1932), Geise (1952) and on recent satellite photographs. See also Appendix 1. xv
- 3 Talsim with his wife and children, including Pulung with white shirt, near his house in Gajéboh, Kanékés, 12 June 1976. 2
- 4 Concrete structure with text 'Welcome to the region with collective land rights of the Baduy community' at one of the west entrances to Kanékés village at Nangerang, 16 July 2016. 4
- 5 Inner Baduy men and women (left side) at the house of the secular village head, waiting to be attended by the personnel of the visiting health clinic. Kaduketug 1, 10 December 2013. 7
- 6 The secular village head Daénah, wearing official clothing when addressing a group of secondary school children before they start on an excursion to Cibéo. Kaduketug, 15 December 2013. 8
- 7 Shop along the main street in Kaduketug 1, Kanékés, with woman customer in modern clothes, most likely someone from outside Kanékés. 12 December 2013. 9
- 8 *Go-goongan* ensemble with three *celempéng* idiophones, *viol*, and *siter*; the *rendo* hanging in the middle was used in other pieces. On the front-right: leader Kurdi. Rehearsal in Cipondok, 1 July 2016. 14
- 9 *Kolécér* propeller fixed on a tree and producing sound described as 'music to entertain the children of the rice goddess', Nyi Pohaci Déwi Asri. Northern Kanékés, 11 December 2013. 15
- 10 Office of the Kanékés secretariat in Cibolégér, about 100m from the residential house of the secular village head in Kanékés. 21 July 2016. 27
- 11 Yard in front of the secular village head's house, newly paved for the expected visit of president Joko Widodo. The centre back shows the white building of the Kanékés secretariat in Cibolégér. Kaduketug 1, 16 July 2016. 28
- 12 Baduy officials with visiting representatives of an indigenous community in Riau at the official residence of the secular village head in Kaduketug 1. Second from left is spokesman Mursid with Inner Baduy clothing and fourth from left is Daénah the secular village head, 12 December 2013. 29

- 13 Map of the seven *dangka* hamlets outside and the two *dangka* hamlets inside Kanékés (▼), based on Van Tricht (1929: after p. 72). ‘[Batubeulah]’ indicates the position of this hamlet in 1929 (compare Figure 2). 31
- 14 Clean water used to be transported by gutters made of lengthwise cut bamboo. This is gradually replaced by a system of PVC pipes lying on the ground. Path near Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013. 41
- 15 Irrigated rice fields (*sawah*) of Muslims living in the hamlets of Cicakal Girang in Kanékés are officially forbidden, but nevertheless tolerated by the Baduy leaders. Cicakal Girang, 2 June 2014. 44
- 16 Boy dancing on *keromong* (gamelan) music during a circumcision in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016. This dancing (*topéng*) is officially forbidden, but tolerated for Outer Baduy. 46
- 17 Children playing cards on the veranda of the village head in Kaduketug 1, 29 May 2014. The text on the shirt means: ‘As from a young age we have to enjoy reading’. 48
- 18 In the right-background is a Base transceiver station (BTS) enabling communication by hand phones, Cibolégér/northeast of Kanékés, 14 December 2013. 49
- 19 A few types of cloth woven in Gajeboh and sold by Ambu Icot, wife of Aki Nasinah, 24 March 2003. 63
- 20 Outer Baduy woman in sarong of black-blue printed batik (*mérong*) and blue T-shirt next to cloths in modern colours for tourists. House of Arwan in Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013. 64
- 21 Baduy boy weaving on a veranda in Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013. 64
- 22 The production of palm sugar from juice (*lahang*) to half balls of sugar. Kadujangkung, 1979 and 1976. 66
- 23 Knives and agricultural utensils made by Baduy smiths. Below Aki Daénah with knives in the house of his son, the village head, talking to my assistant Mumu. Kaduketug 1, 13 December 2013. 68
- 24 Boy carrying a piece of wood from the place where a house is broken down and rebuilt. Kaduketug 1, near house secular village head, 21 July 2016. 77
- 25 Drawings of several types of cars and other objects in the soil between houses in hamlet Cijangkar, 2 June 2014. Presumably drawn by Baduy children. 77
- 26 Children swimming and playing in the Ciujung river near Gajeboh, 13 July 2016. 78
- 27 Feed-back session of showing the 2007 version of my film ‘Baduy life and music’ in Kaduketug, 12 December 2013. 87
- 28 Boys fishing in Dangdang Ageung lake. 14 December 2013. 92
- 29 The position of Arca Domas (*Artjadomas*) or Sasaka Pusaka Buana, according to Koolhoven (1932: 67). 98

- 30 Major periods of fieldwork that roughly cover the different musical seasons. The short periods (one day/night) in September 1976 and January 1977 indicate recordings in Jakarta; the other periods include visits to Kanékés. 101
- 31 Baduy resettlement hamlet Sukatani in Jalupang Mulya village, north of Kanékés that had just been officially opened on 21 September 1992; photo taken in October 1992. 104
- 32 The *huma tuladan* field near Cicakal Hilir, morning of 23 October 1992. The procession had just reached the field and the rice would be planted there between about 8.45 and 9.45. 117
- 33 The position of the *keromong* stage used during the circumcision ritual, when looking in southern direction from the house of the head (RT) of Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, midday 4 July 2016. 128
- 34 *Angklung* instruments of Rasudin in Kaduketug 1, 10 December 2013. 149
- 35 Three drums that accompany the nine shaken bamboos of the *angklung* set owned by *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah. From left to right: *bedug*, *talinting* and *ketuk*. Kaduketug 1, 1 July 2016. 150
- 36 Baduy *angklung* played by boys and young men. Rehearsal in Kadujangkung, 15 October 1992. 150
- 37 Instruments of the Baduy *keromong* recorded in Gajéboh, Kanékés on 12 June 1976. 159
- 38 Children on stage with the *keromong* ensemble playing on the second day of the three-day circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, noon time, 4 July 2016. 160
- 39 *Keromong* instruments, two *caning*, one *panerus* and two *gambang*, played on last morning of the three-day circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016. 160
- 40 *Keromong* instruments playing on the last morning of the three-day circumcision ritual with sound amplification in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016. 161
- 41 Agreement/contract about the gamelan returned to the Baduy community by the present author in July 1979. 165
- 42 The *bendé* small gong, just returned to Kanékés from Cipangembar, Gunung Tunggal, and shown by Ayah Anik and his daughter at his house in Kadujangkung, 2 July 2016. 169
- 43 Woman and children at the *gendék* ceremonial pounding of rice. Gajéboh, 13 June 1976. 179
- 44 Hands of Yanci from Cikadu, Kanékés, who is playing *kacapi* zither when recorded in Kompol by the author, 27 July 1976. 193

- 45 Position of the *pantun* bard Sajin on the floor under a white 'baldachin', facing east-south-east when recording the *Lutung Kasarung* story. Jakarta, 8–9 January 1977. 196
- 46 Campaka hamlet on the day of inauguration in the evening, 4 June 2014. 201
- 47 Making of *wajik* sweets from glutinous rice flour, bought in plastic bag, coconut milk and sugar for the coming inauguration ritual (*nukuh lembur*) in Campaka, 30 May 2014. 201
- 48 The *pantun* storyteller Anirah looks at a mobile phone in his house near the rice fields in Cikapék, outside Kanékés, 16 July 2016. 210
- 49 From L to R violin player Arib, his wife and female vocalist Raidah and the zither player Satra, interviewed by Mumu during their performance in Kaduketug, 26 March 2003. 222
- 50 On the right Salim, who 'broke in' at Raidah's performance with *alok* singing; on the left is Satra playing the *kacapi siter*. Kaduketug 1, 26 March 2003. 226
- 51 Young woman and girl in the audience of the performance by Raidah et al., Kaduketug 1, 26 March 2003. 229
- 52 The four types of Baduy flutes. From top to bottom: two *elét*, one *suling lamus*, three *tarawélét* and two *suling kumbang*. 235
- 53 The position of the left hand in relation to the two strings of the *rendo*. Player Asmali from Nagrék (now called Cepakbungur or Cibungur?), recorded in Kompol, 26 July 1976. 262
- 54 Old violin with white cross to avoid calamities; in the background a violin, bow and flute in construction by Sardi from Cikarého, Kompol, 26 May 2014. 265
- 55 *Gambang* (*kayu*) with ten keys lying over a wooden trough in one piece, played by Injal from Gajéboh in Jakarta, 9 September 1976. 266
- 56 *Calung* xylophone with 16 keys played by Sarjai from Gajéboh in Jakarta, 9 September 1976. 268
- 57 Two *karinding* Jew's harps with resonator made by Karamaén from Cibéo in 2003. The upper instrument is in the correct position and the lower one upside-down, as seen from the player. 269
- 58 Baduy men building a new entrance post at Kaduketug 1, Kanékés, when entering from Cibolégér on the right. On the blue sign on the right visitors are asked to keep the environment clean from garbage. Kaduketug 1, 6 July 2016. 275
- 59 Rice barns (*leuit*) built across the Ciujung river and thereby separated from the houses of Gajéboh. 11 December 2013. 292

Music Transcriptions

- Tr 1 Graphical notation of *pantun* singing by Sajin 1977, produced with the computer programme PRAAT. Listen to first 20s of <AV12> 140
- Tr 2 Melodic structure of *Randa Ngéndong* by the Gajéboh *angklung* group, as played by the instruments *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*, and accompanied by the 4-beat patterns of the other six instruments, 8–9 September 1976. Listen to <AV01> 154
- Tr 3 Melodic structure of the *angklung* piece *Randa Ngéndong* by the Gajéboh group, as played by the instruments *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*, September 1976. <AV02> 155
- Tr 4 Melodic structure of the *angklung* piece *Ceuk Arileu* by the Gajéboh group, as played by the instruments *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*, September 1976. Two ways of transcription. Listen to <AV03> 156
- Tr 5 Beginning of *rajah* in *pantun* recitation by Sajin, 8–9 January 1977. Listen to <AV12>; see translation of text in Table 13 212
- Tr 6 Sajin's *pantun* recitation of text about the false gong, Jakarta, January 1977. Listen to <AV17> 213
- Tr 7 *Susualan 1, 2, and 3* of song *Kapergok*, as sung by Raidah and Salim in Kaduketug, 26 March 2003. Listen to <AV19> 227
- Tr 8 *Noong Sosog* played on *kumbang* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. <AV20> 243
- Tr 9 *Pileuleuyan* played on *kumbang* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. <AV21> 243
- Tr 10 PRAAT picture of piece 1 played on *kumbang* flute by Sarjai, Gajéboh, 20 July 1976. <AV22> 244
- Tr 11 *Kumbang* piece 1 played by Sarjai, 20 July 1976; see also Music Transcription Tr 10. Listen to <AV22> 245
- Tr 12 *Noong Rangda* played on *tarawélét* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. Listen to <AV23> 249
- Tr 13 *Kembang Beureum* played by Yati on *suling lamus*, Gajéboh, 19 July 1976. Listen to <AV25> 254
- Tr 14 *Tumpak Sadok* played by Péi on *elét* flute, Kompol, 25 July 1976. Listen to <AV26> 259

Tables

1	Ritual names of <i>dangka</i> hamlets, location of the <i>dangka</i> land, residence of the <i>jaro dangka</i> , and connection of the <i>dangka</i> hamlet to an Inner Baduy hamlet	33
2	Number of Baduy from 1822–2016 The numbers in square brackets [...] are my estimates	40
3	Prices of some goods sold by the Baduy 1976–2016	69
4	Major periods of fieldwork in and around Kanékés and recordings in Jakarta	100
5	Calendar with major agricultural and musical activities	110
6	Names of the different shaken bamboos and drums of the <i>angklung</i> ensemble	147
7	The interlocking playing by the three pairs of lowest Baduy <i>angklung</i> instruments	152
8	Direction that the <i>pantun</i> performer is facing in relation to the night on which he is performing for planting rice and curing the rice from diseases	198
9	Beginning of <i>raja</i> as recited by Enjum (Bandung) in the <i>Lutung Kasarung</i> story, 5 September 1981	203
10	Start of <i>raja</i> recitation <i>Lutung Kasarung</i> by Sajin, January 1977	205
11	<i>Raja</i> of Paksi Keuling by Sawari, May 2003	206
12	Lying when telling a <i>pantun</i> story (Sajin 1974: 10)	208
13	Metaphor of the false gong (compare Van Zanten 1989: 194, listen to <AV17>)	209
14	Words for ending a <i>pantun</i> story	211
15	Words for continuing a <i>pantun</i> story after a temporary end	211
16	Tuning of Sajin's <i>kacapi</i> with 11 strings (1977)	214
17	Measurements of two <i>kumbang</i> flutes in cm	238
18	Production of notes on <i>kumbang</i> flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014	240
19	Approximate Western notes produced on four <i>kumbang</i> flutes	242
20	Measurements of three <i>tarawélét</i> flutes in cm	247
21	Approximate Western notes produced by the three <i>tarawélét</i> listed in Table 20	249
22	Péi's scheme for finger holes in units b (circumference) and relation to length of <i>lamus</i> flute (8½ b)	252
23	Measurements of <i>lamus</i> flute in cm	252
24	Production of notes on <i>lamus</i> flute by Nasinah, Gajéboh, March 2003	253
25	Measurements of <i>elét</i> flutes in cm	257
26	Approximate Western notes produced on two <i>elét</i>	258
27	Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects	285

28	Different names for the three Inner Baduy hamlets from 1822–2016	293
29	Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016	295
30	Alphabetical list of hamlets in Kanékés and the seven <i>dangka</i> hamlets outside Kanékés, July 2016	301
31	Correspondence between Baduy and Western calendars since 1970s	308
32	Date of the start of the <i>séba</i> ceremony and number of participants between 2003 and 2019	309

Audio-Visual Examples (AV)

None of these recordings were made in the Inner Baduy area, Kanékés.

The audio-visual files are more or less ordered according to the major section in which the music is treated in this book (last column). See the examples on Figshare.com <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.c.5170520>

File number; type, duration	Description; place and date recording; source	Transcription music/text, etc.	Section
AV01; audio, 16s	<i>Angklung</i> Gajéboh 1976 – <i>Randa Ngéndong</i> 1; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998714> Jakarta, 8–9 September 1976; B15#4, 2:12–2:28	Tr 2	5.2
AV02 audio, 2:42	<i>Angklung</i> Gajéboh 1976 – <i>Randa Ngéndong</i> 2; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998777> Jakarta, 8–9 Sept 1976, B15#4, 0:00–2:43	Tr 3	5.2
AV03 audio, 1:29	<i>Angklung</i> Gajeboh 1976 – <i>Ceuk Arileu</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998810> Jakarta, 8–9 Sept 1976; B16#1, 0:00–1:29	Tr 4 (first 49")	5.2
AV04 audio, 1:10	<i>Angklung</i> Gajeboh 1976 – ngagubrugkeun <i>Ceuk Arileu</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998813> Jakarta, 8–9 Sept 1976; B16#1, 4:09–5:19	-	5.2
AV05 film; 2:44	<i>Angklung</i> Kaduketug 1992 – evening rehearsal with 3 drum players + 2 dancers; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998819> Kaduketug, 24 October 1992; film SVHS 1992-2-2m44s	-	5.2

File number; type, duration	Description; place and date recording; source	Transcription music/text, etc.	Section
AV06 film; 2:30	<i>Keromong</i> Kompol 1976 – <i>Kembang Beureum</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12998831> Kompol, 25 July 1976; Super-8 film cassette 24	-	5.3
AV07 audio; 1:49	<i>Keromong</i> Gajeboh 1976 – <i>Kembang Beureum</i> <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12998837> Gajeboh, 12 June 1976; B02#3, 0:00–1:49	-	5.3
AV08 film 2:39	<i>Keromong</i> Kompol 2014 – try out for playing at wedding; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12998840> Kompol, 1 June 2014; DV2014-1	-	5.3
AV09 audio; 0:34	<i>Keromong</i> Cicakal Leuwi Buleud – playing during circumcision; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998858> Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016; D2016-06 (0705_070915_1)	-	5.3
AV10 film, 2:30	<i>Gendék</i> : communal ‘pounding’ without rice by women; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12998876> Kompol, 25 July 1976; Super-8 film cassette 26	-	1.2, 5.6
AV11 Audio, 1:01	<i>Gendék</i> (?) Communal pounding rice by women: preparation for planned visit President Widodo; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12998996> Kaduketug, 18 July 2016, D2016-17	-	1.2, 5.6
AV12 audio, 1:45	<i>Pantun rajah</i> (start) by Sajin; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999008> Jakarta, 8–9 January 1977; LK1	Tr 1, Tr 5; Table 10; Table 16	5.1, 6.5
AV13 audio 2:15	<i>Pantun – cimbay</i> way of singing by Anirah; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999017> Cikampék, 16 July 2016; D2016-15	-	6.5

File number; type, duration	Description; place and date recording; source	Transcription music/text, etc.	Section
AV14 audio, 0:23	<i>Pantun</i> – pada ramé singing in <i>pantun</i> by Anirah; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999047> Cikampék, 16 July 2016; D2016-15	-	6.5
AV15 audio, 0:23	<i>Pantun</i> – voice of Kai Lurah Pajajaran by Anirah; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999059> Cikampék, 16 July 2016, D2016-15	-	6.5
AV16 audio, 0:11	<i>Pantun</i> – voice wife of Kai Lurah Pajajaran by Anirah; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999077> Cikampék, 16 July 2016; D2016-15	-	6.5
AV17 audio, 0:31	<i>Pantun</i> – <i>Goong sosorogan</i> recited by Sajin; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999080> Jakarta, 8–9 Jan 1977, LK4 5m28s	Tr 6; Table 13	6.5
AV18 audio, 0:50	<i>Susualan</i> singing by Raidah: stanza 7 of song <i>Jalan</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/ m9.figshare.12999086> Kaduketug Jaro, 26 March 2003; MD2003#4	Appendix 4	7.2
AV19 audio, 1:37	<i>Susualan</i> singing by Raidah and Salim: three stanzas of <i>Kapergok</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999104> Kaduketug Jaro, 26 March 2003; MD2003#9	Tr 7; Appendix 4	7.3
AV20 film, 1:02	<i>Kumbang</i> flute played by Karamaén: <i>Noong Sosog</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999110> Cicampaka, 5 June 2014; DV2014-2, c. 25’-26’	Tr 8	8.1
AV21 audio, 0:46	<i>Kumbang</i> flute played by Karamaén: <i>Pileuleuyan</i> ; <DOI:10.6084/m9.figshare.12999119> Cicampaka, 5 June 2014; D2014-c. 27’-28’	Tr 9	8.1

File number; type, duration	Description; place and date recording; source	Transcription music/text, etc.	Section
AV22 audio, 0:46	<i>Kumbang</i> flute by Sarjai: 'Piece 1'; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999122> Kompol, 20 July 1976; B5#9	Tr 10, Tr 11	8.1
AV23 film, 1:20	<i>Tarawélét</i> flute played by Karamaén: <i>Noong Rangda</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999128> Cicampaka, 5 June 2014; DV2014-2, c.31'	Tr 12	8.2
AV24 film, 2:25	<i>Lamus</i> and <i>élet</i> flutes by Nasinah: playing and circular breathing; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999239> Gajéboh, 23 March 2003; DV2003-01, start c. 16'20"	Table 24	8.3
AV25 audio, 0:43	<i>Lamus</i> flute by Yati: <i>Kembang Beureum</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999293> Gajéboh, 19 July 1976; B5#4	Tr 13	8.3
AV26 audio, 1:35	<i>Élét</i> flute by Péi: <i>Tumpak Sadok</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999311> Kompol, 25 July 1976; B5#20	Tr 14, Table 26	8.3
AV27 film, 0:29	<i>Kacapi</i> by Yanci, <i>rendo</i> by Darmin, <i>lamus</i> by Ojél?: song <i>Ngadu</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999323> Kadujangkung, 8 November 1992; DV92-3, c. 27:19–27:48	F 33, F 40, F 41	6.3 8.4
AV28 audio, 2:05	<i>Gambang kayu</i> by Injal: <i>Reundeu Beureum</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999338> Jakarta, 9 Sept 1976, B16#9	F 43	8.5
AV29 audio, 2:33	<i>Calung</i> xylophone by Sarjai; song <i>Aceuk</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999344> Jakarta, 9 Sept 1976; B16#4	F 44	8.5

File number; type, duration	Description; place and date recording; source	Transcription music/text, etc.	Section
AV30 film, 0:47	<i>Karinding</i> – two players playing together; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999353> Gajéboh, 20 July 1976; Super-8 cassette #3	F 45	8.5
AV31 audio, 1:10	<i>Kacapi siter</i> with falsetto singing by Sawari: song <i>Budak Bagus</i> <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999359> Cipangembar, 12 October 1992; DAT92#7	-	8.5
AV32 audio, 1:50	<i>Go-goongan</i> excerpt of song <i>Buah Gedang</i> ; <DOI: 10.6084/m9.figshare.12999386> Cipondok, 1 July 2016; D2016-01, c. 1:02:30–1:04:20	F 6	1.2, 8.5

Introduction

In April 1976 a man called Talsim came to Jakarta to sell a gamelan. He was the first Baduy I met. We met at the Faculty of Arts of the National University, where I was taught to play the Sundanese *kacapi* zither. It was obvious that Talsim came from a rural area: he had short black trousers, a black shirt, a black-and-blue head cloth and he was barefoot. Although I had no intention to do anything with this gamelan, I bought it.

Talsim turned out to be a fascinating man with a strong character. Two months later we met again at his home in Kanékés village (Figure 3) to record music. Talsim's young son, Pulung, was very interested in the recording. I hope this book will stimulate the interest of present-day and future young boys and girls like Pulung in their culture.

The Baduy practise asceticism and they do not easily give permission to do research in their land, which is sacred to them. This is an important reason why so little has been written on their music. During my first two visits in 1976 they only allowed me and my companions to stay in their village for a few days. That had changed in 1992, when the Baduy authorities allowed me to stay in Kanékés for three weeks and also to record music during the ritual for planting rice. On the whole, the Baduy encouraged me to record their music and dance for documentation purposes.

In their small village in West Java, Indonesia, Baduy musicians perform elements of their identity, their culture, and their long history during a time of rapid change. Social and economic developments affect their ascetic life, in which they grow rice on non-irrigated fields and make music during the rituals according to the rules passed on by their ancestors.

In January 1977 the Baduy storyteller Sajin recited the text 'Singing is a medicine ...' (see Section 6.5). This book can be seen as an attempt to understand what the Baduy mean by these words. What is the symbolic meaning and what is the role of music and dance in the life of the Baduy? How is music used to prevent and cure people as well as rice plants from illnesses?

In the present book Baduy music and dance are described in their cultural context, with limited attention for technical analysis. The first four chapters are anthropological. They include a description of the Baduy indigenous group, their music for rituals and entertainment and their relation to the outside world, and some methodological issues, such as reflections on European visitors in the 19th century. Chapters 5 to 8 contain more detailed information



FIGURE 3 Talsim with his wife and children, including Pulung with white shirt, near his house in Gajéboh, Kanékés, 12 June 1976

on music practices: music and dance for rice rituals, weddings and circumcisions; storytelling and music for entertainment, with some song texts; music with two rarely heard flutes in particular. The final Chapter 9 summarizes the earlier chapters and provides some suggestions for future research.

The following two sections of this chapter provide a short overview of Baduy life and their music and dance practices. Section 1.3 gives a more detailed outline of the book.

1.1 The Baduy People of Kanékés Village and Their Music and Dance

The people of Kanékés village are an indigenous group in Banten Province of western Java. They are usually called Baduy, which is also the name that they prefer themselves nowadays. In July 2016 the Baduy population numbered about twelve thousand people. They live in a hilly area of 51 km² that lies, in bird-flight, approximately 80 km southwest of the centre of Jakarta: see map in Figure 1. The northern part of Kanékés is about 400m above sea level and the most southern part about 800m. Especially the southern parts of the Kanékés area are difficult to access. Baduy speak a Sundanese dialect, like the people

living around them, but their social organization and religion differ from those of the surrounding Sundanese Muslims.

Nowadays the Baduy call their religion *Sunda wiwitan* and this denomination was mentioned on their identity cards between around 1972 and 2011. *Sunda wiwitan* means ‘the beginning, the origin of Sunda’, the ‘original’ Sundanese belief system that is supposed to date back from the Hindu kingdoms and earlier, and definitely before Islam established itself in the coastal areas of west Java around 1300. In the Dutch literature of the 19th and 20th century, the Baduy belief system was mostly described as Hindu-Buddhist.

There are no other groups living in Kanékés village except the Baduy and that has been the case for at least two hundred years. In 2001 the authorities of the Lebak Regency (seated in Rangkasbitung) in Banten Province recognized the Baduy as an indigenous community (*masyarakat adat*) with collective land rights (*hak ulayat*) in Kanékés village: see Figure 4 and *Kabupaten Lebak* 2001. The Baduy only consider the people taking part in the ritual life of Kanékés village to belong to their indigenous group. Hence in the area around Kanékés we may find people who were born as Baduy but are no longer considered as such, because they do not live according to Baduy rules.

Baduy life is regulated by many prohibitions and regulations, as handed down by the ancestors. One very important regulation is that in Kanékés the rice and other agricultural products should be grown on non-irrigated fields (*huma*, also called *ladang*) with shifting cultivation. This is in contrast with the surrounding areas, where mostly irrigated rice fields (*sawah*) are used. Further, the Baduy are not allowed to use chemical fertilizers or pesticides, to have water buffalos, horses, sheep, goats, or fishponds. They are only allowed to keep chicken and you will find chicken near or under almost every house that is built on poles of about 40-50cm high. Baduy are also not allowed to grow, for instance, cloves or tea. Baduy are monogamous, but allowed to divorce and to marry again. The people of Kanékés are supposed to live in a very modest way. They should be ritually pure, as they ‘consider themselves as the guardians of the forest, sources [of rivers], and the soil, and at the same time they hold themselves responsible for the destiny of the world’ (Berthe 1965: 216–8). Thus, the Baduy ascetic way of life is for the well-being of the world. The essence of their way of living has often been described as *tapa di nagara*, ‘asceticism in the kingdom’, or *tapa di mandala*, ‘practising asceticism in the holy region’ (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 5–7; Garna 1988: 180, 221; Bakels 1989; Van Zanten 1989: 9, 72, 79).¹ ‘Practising asceticism’ means in the first place that the

1 Whereas Danasasmita and Djatisunda, Garna and Bakels speak of *mandala* communities that used to be more common in west Java in the past, Dinda S.U. Budi speaks of eleven



FIGURE 4 Concrete structure with text ‘Welcome to the region with collective land rights of the Baduy community’ at one of the west entrances to Kanékés village at Nangerang, 16 July 2016

agricultural work on the *huma* fields is done properly, that is, according to the ancestral rules.

Some of the Baduy music is closely linked with the Kanékés rituals and the agricultural year. Making music is one of the ways to practise asceticism: it should be done in a ‘proper’ way, because it affects the harmony of human beings and the cosmic balance: ‘all individual actions have to be judged in the context of society and in relation to the cosmic order’ (Van Zanten 1997: 41; see also Van Zanten 1994: 87–88, Permata 2001: 71 and Budi 2015: 25–26).

The prohibitions and regulations concerning Baduy life are not all cast in iron: during the forty years between my first visit in June 1976 and last visit in July 2016 to Kanékés, the boundaries between what is allowed or not have been shifting. For instance, the Baduy are not allowed to go to school, nor to have electricity, radio, television or hand phone and are not allowed to wear shoes or

Kasepuhan that still exist near Halimun mountain, including *Kasepuhan* Ciptagelar, *Kasepuhan* Cibedug and *Kasepuhan* Citorék.

long trousers. Nevertheless, in current practice almost every adult in the hamlets of the northern part of Kanékés has a radio and a hand phone and so far this has been tolerated by those responsible for enforcing the customary rules. The common use of hand phones also means that many Baduy have learned to read and write in a non-formal way.² According to the rules, during darkness palm-oil lamps should be used for lighting, but lamps using batteries that can be re-charged in the sunlight and used at night are common. In December 2013 and June 2014 I observed some solar panels for producing electricity on the roofs of houses in Kanékés. In July 2016 I even saw electricity wires going from Cibológér, just outside Kanékés, to a house in Kaduketug about 100m from the border. Since about 2010 the Baduy use amplification systems for the *keromong* (gamelan) music that is used for weddings and circumcisions. Currently many young Baduy men possess a motorbike and in 2016 it was said that at least one Baduy has a car. Because motorbikes and cars are not allowed to enter Kanékés and the spiritual leaders do not allow Baduy people to possess a motorbike or car, these vehicles are stored outside Kanékés. Hence in practice some of the rules of the ancestors (*pikukuh*) are strictly observed and others are hardly followed. Some people living in and around Kanékés village therefore describe the Baduy as hypocritical: they say to obey the ancestral rules, but do not act accordingly.

There are three groups of Baduy:

1. About 1200 people living in the three *tangtu* or Inner hamlets, (*urang tangtu*, or Inner Baduy – (*urang kajeroan*; *urang girang*, the upstream living people), who are, to the North, East, and West, surrounded by
2. About 10.000 Baduy living in the about 61 *panamping* hamlets³ of Kanékés village (*urang panamping*, or Outer Baduy), and
3. About 600–700 Baduy, mainly living in Kompol and Garéhong, so-called *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, who follow the Baduy regulations and prohibitions and take part in their ritual life.⁴

2 In 1986 Sam, Abdurachman and Zarkasih (1986: 16) already pointed out that for Outer Baduy ‘the use of radio, the use of medicine from outside [...] food in tins and Supermi, etcetera, were already common and not strange to them.’

3 See Appendix 1 for more information on the map of Kanékés and a list of hamlets in Kanékés in 2016.

4 On *dangka* hamlets, see further Section 2.2 below. In June 2014 the secretary of Kanékés village, Sapin, did not know the exact number of Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, but he estimated the number in Garéhong between 150 and 200, in Kompol between 450 and 500, and in Cibengkung and Nungkulan only a few people. Compare also Sam, Abdurachman and Zarkasih (1986: 12) and Van Zanten (2004: 126–127).

The Inner Baduy should follow the prohibition orders much more strictly than the Outer Baduy and the Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets, and there are also more restrictions for them. For instance, the Inner Baduy should always travel by foot, whereas nowadays the Outer Baduy are allowed to travel by car or train outside Kanékés village. Inside the borders of Kanékés village everyone has to travel by foot, including important visiting officials and tourists. Similar restrictions also hold for music. For instance, the Outer Baduy are allowed to play *lamus* and *elét* flutes and gamelan (*keromong*) and that is not allowed to the Inner Baduy.

Cloths and clothing are very important in the Baduy community. Both the Inner and the Outer Baduy men and women may be recognized from their special clothing that uses the basic colours white and black/blue. The most important difference in clothing between Inner and Outer Baduy men is that in daily life the Outer Baduy men have a head cloth made of printed batik with blackish-blue patterns and short black trousers (Figures 8, 12); the Inner Baduy men wear a white woven head cloth and never trousers, but a dark blackish-blue woven waist-cloth or sarong (Figure 5). The sarong is kept in place by a white waist-belt.

The daily dress of Outer Baduy women is mostly a printed batik sarong, in dark blue on a bright blue background, and a dark blue or dark brown long-sleeved blouse or a T-shirt (Figures 47, 51). Outer Baduy women may also wear a dark blue woven sarong. Inner Baduy women wear a black woven sarong and a white or black long-sleeved shirt (Figure 5). Generally speaking there are no clothes, colours, or other clear symbols that distinguish a leader from other Baduy people. However, compare Hasman and Reiss (2012: 12, 74), who mention 'high-status hip cloth' worn only by 17 Inner Baduy men, and remark 'The size and the distance between stripes [of the *samping aros* sarong] differs from cloth to cloth and according to a man's position in the social hierarchy. The *samping* of the *puun* and other high officials have white stripes which are further apart'.

Inner Baduy only wear clothes made from cloth woven in Kanékés (Bakels 1991: 17; Reiss 2012: 74–78). Nowadays the daily clothes for Outer Baduy men and women are mostly produced outside Kanékés: printed batik with dark blue on bright blue patterns (*mérong*; since 2015 also called Batik Lebak; see further Section 2.6) and plain black cloth is used for these purposes. On special occasions the Outer Baduy tend to wear clothes made of cloth woven inside Kanékés (Figure 6). See for more information on clothing and the symbolic meaning of the colours Section 2.6 below, Bakels (1991; 1993) and Reiss (2012: 74–87).



FIGURE 5 Inner Baduy men and women (left side) at the house of the secular village head, waiting to be attended by the personnel of the visiting health clinic. Kaduketug 1, 10 December 2013

The increase of the number of people living in Kanékés and the interaction with the modernising outside world has put the Baduy way of life under great pressure. Baduy social organisation, their religion and their music making are greatly affected by the developments in the last decades. 'In 2003 the Baduy ascetics seem to have given in to some of the many temptations that the surrounding world is offering them' (Van Zanten 2004: 125–26). Baduy life is changing and it may be faster than we sometimes think. For instance, when in June 1976 there were no shops in Kanékés, in 1992 I found a few hidden shops. In 2003 shops were still forbidden in the whole of Kanékés, but I saw many Outer Baduy hamlets with a 'shop', in which you could buy cigarettes, bottled drinks, salt, soap, noodles, and the like (Van Zanten 1995: 521; 2004: 128). In December 2013 the shops could not be missed in Kaduketug, Gajéboh and Kadujangkung and almost everything is sold there that may also be obtained in a shop outside Kanékés (see Figure 7). In July 2016 I was told that at that time there also were shops in the Inner Baduy hamlet Cibéo. The rule that a Baduy may not become a trader of goods, but only sell products that have been produced in Kanékés (except rice), has already been violated many times and in



FIGURE 6 The secular village head Daénah, wearing official clothing when addressing a group of secondary school children before they start on an excursion to Cibéo. Kaduketug, 15 December 2013

practice it seems no longer a rule for the Outer Baduy. However, most Baduy in Kanékés still earn their living mainly or exclusively as farmers and not as traders. This book shall pay attention to these processes of change that also affect Baduy music and dance.

Indonesian authorities advertise Kanékés as a village for ‘ethnic tourism’ or ‘cultural tourism’ (*wisata budaya*)⁵ and today the indigenous group of the Baduy is well known in and outside Indonesia and there are quite a number of publications about them. However, little has been published on Baduy music. On the whole, the publications from the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century are useful for socio-cultural information about the Baduy,

5 In a newspaper article of 16 March 2015 a member of the regional parliament of the Lebak Regency, Emuy Mulyanah, is quoted as saying that the ‘touristic object of the Baduy customary way of living [...] could become known to the world and visited by tourists from foreign countries [...] Until now the potential of the this touristic object has not been exploited maximally.’ See newspaper *Kompas* <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/03/16/123000727/Obyek.Wisata.Baduy.Bisa.Mendunia> [last access 28 January 2019].



FIGURE 7 Shop along the main street in Kaduketug 1, Kanékés, with woman customer in modern clothes, most likely someone from outside Kanékés. 12 December 2013

but much information about the described musical instruments is inaccurate and music-technical descriptions are almost absent. Moreover, if music and recitation of narratives were discussed, the focus was mostly on used language and the content of the texts. There is also little information on Baduy performing arts to be found in the Old Sundanese manuscripts of earlier centuries that have been transliterated and translated into Indonesian, Dutch or English.

Hopefully this book will contribute to a better understanding of the music making and dancing in Kanékés. The book is the result of short periods of fieldwork on the music of the people of Kanékés village, starting in June 1976 and ending in July 2016. In Section 3.4 my fieldwork will be treated. Further, the book discusses the social context of the music, music-technical information on the instruments and some of the music, and presents recorded song texts with an English translation. This book should be considered to be a first attempt to describe Baduy music in some detail. All researchers of the Baduy community face the problem that they are not allowed to stay in Kanékés village for any length of time, and that there are restrictions on their presence at rituals (Van Zanten 1995: 519–22). Moreover, foreigners are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy area, so my own fieldwork data are only based on observations

in the Outer Baduy area. This affects the quality of the research and this will be discussed in Chapter 3 on methodological issues.

1.1.1 *The Name of the Indigenous Group*

In the literature and daily practice several names have been used to describe the people, who now live in Kanékés village that is part of the Indonesian administrative system. In this book the most common names are used: Baduy or Kanékés people. The name Baduy, sometimes spelled 'Badui', seems to be derived from a small tributary Cibaduy of the Ciujung river and/or the Baduy hill in the north of Kanékés (see map in Figure 2). Some authors mention that the use of the name Baduy was considered to be an insult: it was a term of abuse.⁶ Barendregt and Wessing (2008: 551, footnote 2) followed others who preferred the name *urang* Kanékés, 'people of Kanékés', 'since Kanékés is the unit that encompasses their various hamlets'. This argument is not very strong, because also the name of the village Kanékés is connected to a small tributary of the Ciujung River, Cikanékés, which runs in the northern part of the village, south of Kaduketer and Gajéboh (Figure 2).

We should be aware that words and names may get a different connotation over time: see on this issue also Wessing and Barendregt (2003). Van Tricht (1929: 64) reported that the Baduy people prefer to be called 'Kanékés people', 'Rawayan people' or 'Parahiang people'. Currently the name 'Parahiang people' is no longer used and the name 'Rawayan people' that is occasionally used is considered to be a term of abuse. On former maps (for instance, in Geise 1952, after page 266) there is a small river Cirawayan that runs into the Ciujung river near the Inner Baduy hamlet Cikeusik and a small river Ciparahiang that runs into the Ciujung river near Cikartawana and Cibéo (see map in Figure 2). In December 2013 the dislike of this name 'Rawayan' was confirmed when the village head Daénah of Kanékés showed me a document from the provincial authorities in Sérang that also described the Baduy as 'Rawayan people'. The village head was not amused. The Sérang authorities may have used this name, because Anis Djatisunda used it in the title of a report that he made for the province of West Java: 'Baduy Rawayan urang Kanékés' (Djatisunda 1992).

Most important is how this group of people themselves would like to be called nowadays. I never experienced negative reactions to the name 'Baduy'. This was also confirmed by Erwinantu (2012: 13) who quotes Ayah Mursid (born

⁶ See, for instance, Van Tricht (1929: 64), Koolhoven (1932: 66), Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 1).

around 1965), an Inner Baduy from Cibéo with an important status, in saying that ‘Baduy’ was their identity, not Kanékés. In fact, also Pleyte (1912: 218–219) already mentioned that using the name Baduy was accepted by the Baduy themselves: his assistant Dastjin (Dascin, later called Japar) from Baduy descent ‘talking about himself and his fellow-villagers, always used the name Baduy, although this was generally considered to be a term of abuse’. It seems that the Baduy themselves have had no problems with this name for the last hundred years. Hence the name Baduy will be used for the group of people living in Kanékés village.

1.2 Overview of Baduy Music and Dance

The music and dance of the Inner and Outer Baduy are not exactly the same, as there are different restrictions to what they are allowed and not allowed to play. Before comparing the present situation to what has been reported earlier I shall give a short overview of Baduy music, mainly based on my own observations. As a foreigner I never visited the Inner Baduy area (see also Chapter 3), and my observations are based on what I saw in the Outer Baduy area and around Kanékés. I published an earlier overview of Baduy music in Van Zanten (1995: 522–529). Most of the instruments and music used by the Baduy can also be found in the surrounding Sundanese area, be it sometimes under a different name and often in a slightly different form.

The music of the Inner Baduy consists of:

1. *Angklung* music, produced by a set of nine shaken bamboo idiophones with one or two drums (see Figures 34–36; <AV01> to <AV05>);⁷
2. Recitation of an epic narrative (*carita pantun*: *pantun* story) with or without the accompaniment of a *kacapi* zither made of white *lamé* wood, and nowadays mostly with 11 or 12 strings (Figure 44; <AV12> to <AV17>);
3. Playing of two different types of side-blown flutes, both with two finger holes and a mouth hole: *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét* or *taléot* (Figure 52; <AV20> to <AV22>, <AV23>) and
4. A Jew’s harp (*karinding*); (Figure 57, photograph in Van Zanten 1995: 526; <AV30>).

7 For the whole list of audio and film examples (AV) I refer to the Contents. Note that I never entered the Inner Baduy area, and that all these audio-visual recordings refer to similar music in the Outer Baduy area.

Apart from singing a *pantun* story, Inner Baduy men also sing with *angklung* music. For entertainment they also play the *kacapi* (*pantun*), *suling kumbang*, *tarawélét*⁸ and *karinding* instrumentally.

All the music allowed to the Inner Baduy may also be played by the Outer Baduy, although in current practice the *suling kumbang*, *tarawélét* and *karinding* are almost unknown in the Outer Baduy area. Further, there are some differences; for instance, the Outer Baduy may use three drums in the *angklung* ensemble, instead of one or two. In addition the Outer Baduy have the following music, which is forbidden to the Inner Baduy:

5. Set of bronze idiophones *keromong/kromong* (Indonesian: gamelan, also called *goong* or *lénong*; see Figures 37–40; <AV06> to <AV09>) and including other instruments like the *gambang* xylophone (Figures 39, 55), and the four-string violin (*viol*, *biola*; Figure 54). Before about 1980 the two-string bowed lute *rebab* was used (Van Zanten 1995: 527) instead of the violin, but that is not allowed in current practice;
 6. The two-string bowed lute *rendo*, like the *kacapi pantun* made of white *lamé* wood (Figure 53; <AV27>);
 7. The about 60cm long six-finger hole end-blown flute *suling lam(b)us* (Figure 52; <AV24>, <AV25>);
 8. The about 20cm long five-finger hole end-blown flute *elét* (Figure 52; <AV24>, <AV26>);
 9. The *calung* (or *calung gambang*) bamboo xylophone (Figure 56; <AV29>).⁹
- Outer Baduy may also play a flat zither with twenty strings (*kacapi siter* (Figure 50) for entertainment, instead of the *kacapi pantun* zither that is made of the white *lamé* wood. When reciting a *pantun* story the *kacapi pantun* (see Figure 44) may be used for the accompaniment; the flat *siter* cannot be used for this accompaniment. Instruments like the *calung* and *gambang* xylophones,

8 In 2014 Karamaén from Cibéo said that the Inner Baduy only play the two side-blown flutes *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét* in a shed in the fields (*saung huma*) and not in the hamlets (*lembur*). Reiss (2012: 82–85) describes that during a wedding party she attended in Cibéo she went to a shelter in the fields (*saung huma*) about one kilometre away from Cibéo, where the bride was waiting with close friends. As the party accompanied the bride back to the hamlet '[t]wo boys played haunting bamboo-flute music'.

9 In 1864 Koorders wrote in his field notes that the *calung* (bamboo xylophone) and *suling* [*lamus*] are musical instruments, forbidden (*buyut*) to the Inner Baduy people living in Cikeusik (Cisamodor). However, the *angklung* idiophones that he later saw in Cibéo and *kacapi* zither were allowed and much loved. That is also how it is today. The only thing that was different then is that Koorders wrote that in Cikeusik the *tarawangsa* (*rendo*?), although not present, was allowed to be played (Meinsma 1869: 330–331). Nowadays the *rendo* is forbidden to the Inner Baduy.

the *kacapi* zither, the *suling lamus* and *elét* flutes, and the *rendo* and *viol* string-instruments may be played on their own, as will be discussed in Chapter 8. Apart from singing with the *angklung* music, singing may also be accompanied by *keromong* or a *kacapi* with a *rendo* and/or *viol*. Further, some instruments may play together, like in an instrumental ensemble of *kacapi*, *rendo* and *suling lamus* (<AV27>).

Most instruments are played by boys and men. However, women also play some musical instruments. The Outer Baduy consider the ceremonial ‘pounding of rice’ (*gendék*, *genék*) by a group of 8–20 married women as ‘music’. In this case each woman has a pestle (*halu*) and through the pounding, with no rice in a 7 to 8-metre-long mortar (*lesung*), rhythmic patterns are produced (<AV10>, <AV11>).¹⁰ This communal pounding of rice may also be found in the Inner Baduy area (Ojél, A1992-1: 37). Outer Baduy women may sing with accompaniment of the *keromong* ensemble or a *kacapi-viol-suling lamus* trio. Women also play the *karinding* Jew’s harp, especially in the Inner Baduy area. In the Inner Baduy area the *karinding* music is considered to entertain the children of the rice goddess Déwi Asri. However, an unmarried woman may also use her *karinding* playing to attract the attention of an unmarried boy. Also young men may use *karinding* playing when courting (see also Section 7.4). See Section 5.6 for more discussion on gender issues.

Outer Baduy individuals and groups experiment with music from outside Kanékés. In July 2016 I recorded a *go-goongan* ensemble in Cipondok that had been established in 2013–2014 by Kurdi (<AV32>). It consisted of some instruments that have been around in Kanékés already for some time: Jew’s harp (*karinding*), violin (*viol*), zither (*kacapi*), two-string bowed violin (*rendo*) and *suling* (bamboo flutes). However, the used *celempéng* idiophones of bamboo with an important rhythmic function have not been played in Kanékés before, as far as I know. These idiophones already existed in other Sundanese areas for a long time under the name *celempung*, also called *kendang awi* (bamboo drum); see Figure 8 and also Van Zanten (2017: 94). Outside Kanékés this bamboo idiophone was also used in ensembles similar to the Baduy *go-goongan* ensemble; see Kunst (1973[1934]: 1-369, 11-451) and Soepandi (1995b: 49). See further Section 8.5.3, *karinding*.

There also are instruments ‘blown by the wind’: *kolécér* idiophone and *calintuh* pipes. The *kolécér* is a bamboo propeller, up to about 1 ½ m long, fixed to the top of a high tree, and only to be found in the Outer Baduy area

10 This rhythmic stamping also happens in other parts of West Java and is generally called *gondang* or *tutunggulan* (see also Eringa 1984). See further Section 5.6.



FIGURE 8 *Go-goongan* ensemble with three *celempéng* idiophones, *viol*, and *siter*; the *rendo* hanging in the middle was used in other pieces. On the front-right: leader Kurdi. Rehearsal in Cipondok, 1 July 2016

of Kanékés (Mursid, 2013: 38); it is also found in West Java outside Kanékés (Kunst 1973: 378). Small Baduy boys sometimes run around with a small bamboo *kolécér* propeller as a toy. The *calintuh* consist of *tamiang* bamboo pipes, up to 5 metres long. It seems that in Kanékés only one pipe is used that is not only open at the end, but also with a hole in each compartment (*ruas*) of the bamboo; see picture and description in Alif, Sachari and Sabana (2015: 401–402) and Erwinantu (2012: 62).¹¹ When the wind blows through the holes it will

11 Alif, Sachari and Sabana (2015: 402) mention that the *calintu/calintuh* are made of *tali* bamboo and they also supply another word for the *calintuh*: *sonari*. KUBS (1976) gives for the Sundanese word *sondari* the same as what is written above for the *calintuh*. *Sondari* is also used in the nearby Kasepuhan Ciptagelar (Budi 2015: 17). Eringa (1984) translates *sondari* as ‘windharp’, Aeolian harp, which is less accurate. It should be translated, for instance, as ‘wind-blown pipes’, in contrast to the Aeolian harp that is a chordophone blown by the wind. Kunst (1973: 242–243) uses ‘Aeolus-flute’ for the description of the bamboo aerophones *sundari/sundarèn* in Central and East Java. See for scientific name of *tamiang* and *tali* bamboo Sastrapradja et al. (1977).



FIGURE 9 *Kolécér* propeller fixed on a tree and producing sound described as ‘music to entertain the children of the rice goddess’, Nyi Pohaci Déwi Asri. Northern Kanékés, 11 December 2013

produce sound that is, like the noise of the air screw of the *kolécér*, considered to be music for entertaining the children of the rice goddess Déwi Asri. The *kolécér* are common in the Outer Baduy area: see Figure 9. The *calintuh*, in contrast to the *kolécér*, may also be found in the Inner Baduy area and are less common in the Outer Baduy area.

Currently the hanging wooden slit drum (*kohkol*) is also used in several hamlets for announcing time and calling or alarming people, like in other parts of Java. In October 1992 I was told that there was also ‘music’ played by the water in Kanékés: *kekeplokan*, or *pancurendang/pancureundang* (A1992-1: 26, 40). The instrument is described by Eringa (1984) as a bamboo piece that is placed under running water. After the upper part of the bamboo, until the node, is filled with water, this part moves down and the water runs out. Then the heavier other end moves down again and hits a stone with a clacking sound. This sound-producing instrument is used as a ‘scarecrow’ for wild pigs on the fields and otters in a fish pond.

There are several children’s games (*kaulinan*) that involve music, for instance *iciblungan/icibungan* is the production of rhythmic patterns by tapping

with hands on the surface of the water (while bathing in the river).¹² I have also heard and seen children sing while playing other games. This aspect of Baduy music should still be studied. At an early age of about 6–8 years almost all Baduy boys start learning to play the *angklung* instruments, if there is a set available in their hamlet (Section 5.2). I have also heard women singing softly for themselves, but also this aspect of Baduy music has not yet been investigated sufficiently. We may also ask what the relation is between singing and the ‘weeping for the deceased’ (*ceurik panglayungan*; see Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 72, Ekadjati 1995: 91) or the saying of magic formulae (*mantra, jampé*). However, I have little information on these issues that will not be addressed in detail.

Some Baduy music is strongly connected to their belief system (*Sunda wíwitan*) and takes place in a ritual context, like *angklung* and *pantun*. Other music, like *keromong* and ceremonial pounding of rice is more connected to the life-cycle celebrations such as weddings and circumcisions. It is said that there is music and dance for the rice goddess Déwi Asri and music and dance for human beings. Further, there is music for entertainment and/or playing for your own pleasure: flutes, zither, bowed lute and Jew’s harp. The *angklung* and *keromong* ensemble are not only played in rituals, but also for entertainment. It is said that the repertoires differ according to the context. This needs further investigation.

Baduy do not dance very often. When playing the *angklung* for entertainment Outer Baduy men may dance (*ngalagé*); this dancing is not allowed to the Inner Baduy. Further there is ritual *baksa* dancing of men during two short periods of about 5 minutes in circumcision rituals. I have observed the *baksa* dancing in the Outer Baduy area, and it seems to take place also in the Inner Baduy area. Dancing with *keromong* (gamelan) music, very common outside Kanékés and called *topéng* in Kanékés, is still officially forbidden. However, it is tolerated for Outer Baduy men and women, as I noticed several times in 2016; see Figure 16.

This tolerance of the responsible leaders towards dancing on *keromong* music and other cases of breaking Baduy rules was explained to me in a discussion with one of the most important of them, the (*tanggungan*) *jaro duabelas*¹³

12 See for a short overview of Sundanese children’s games in English, for instance Royce (1972: 144–148), in which he presents a classified list based on Holtzappel’s dissertation from 1952. In footnote 13 Royce (1972: 147) mentions that ‘there are ‘games’ involving noise makers (rattles, etc.) ...’ See for musical instruments/toys for children in Java also Brandts Buys and Brandts Buys-van Zijp (1924 and 1925) and Kunst (1973: 375–376).

13 See Section 2.1, major officials.

Saidi (*putra*, junior), on 15 July 2016 (see A2016-1: 60). *Jaro* Saidi said that it would not help to punish youngsters dancing on *keromong* music, although this dancing remained officially forbidden by the spiritual leaders. If not tolerated in Kanékés, the youngsters would do the dancing outside Kanékés and without the supervision of the Baduy elders, and that would be a greater risk for the stability of their society. In January 2014 Mumu, who had assisted me on two earlier visits to the Baduy, filmed Outer Baduy men and women dancing to *keromong* music during the wedding of the son of the secular village head Daénah. See also Van Zanten 2015 and Section 5.5 below.

1.3 Outline of the Book

One of the purposes of this book is to supply a context for better understanding the audio-visual recordings (films, photographs and audio) that I made of the Baduy in and around Kanékés between 1976 and 2016. Some of the audio-visual material that I used as examples in this book can be heard and seen on the Internet: <Figshare.com ...>. ¹⁴ In the Appendices, I present some materials that are not directly related to the performing arts, or slightly more technical and detailed, but that may be of interest to future researchers.

Major questions I address in this book are the role of music and dance in Baduy society and how the Indonesian authorities have been dealing with the intangible cultural heritage of this indigenous group. Since the war for political independence from the Dutch (1945–1949) the focus of Indonesian cultural policies changed and this affected the Baduy group. Moreover, the Baduy population increased and this caused severe shortage of agricultural land and put pressure on their way of farming with shifting cultivation on non-irrigated rice fields (*huma*). How sustainable is the Baduy way of living, given the religious instructions on farming?

In this book I pay some, but on the whole limited, attention to musical analysis. I rather focus on the social context of the music, because the existing

14 In 2016 I donated the audio-visual field recordings and fieldwork notes from Malawi and Indonesia to the *Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden* (Leiden University Libraries). I am now in the process of making it easier for other researchers to access these materials: digitalizing the many different formats and describing the content in detail. The Indonesian materials include about 250 hours audio and 90 hours film recordings. In the present book the references to these raw materials on audio and film tapes are categorized according to my own system. In Van Zanten (2009: 289–290) I have described the general situation of ethnomusicology recordings in the Netherlands as far from perfect: too little institutional understanding and support for archiving.

literature supplies very limited information on this. However, especially in Section 5.1 I discuss a few musical concepts and in Chapters 5–8 I present some of the transcribed Baduy music. The supplied audio-visual recordings should give other researchers possibilities to start a more music-technical analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction. In this chapter I briefly described the Baduy community of twelve thousand people and the three different groups: Inner Baduy, Outer Baduy and Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. An overview of Baduy music and dance was presented. This chapter will be closed with the present outline of the book.

Chapter 2: Social organization and economic situation. After the present introductory chapter on the Baduy group and their music, Chapter 2 describes Baduy social organization and their economic situation. Section 2.2 is devoted to the *dangka* hamlets that are fairly important for understanding Baduy policies and their position in Indonesian society. Further I give a short account on how the Baduy deal with the Indonesian authorities and non-governmental organizations. Two very important Baduy problems are discussed here: religion and shortage of agricultural land. Further this chapter will briefly discuss means of living, apart from agriculture, including cultural tourism. This chapter also discusses the impact of hand phones on Baduy society since about 2008, when the first telecom station was built in Cibolégér: it offers them material goods, but it also seems a threat to their spiritual life. One may wonder whether this threat is taken seriously enough by the authorities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), let alone the telecom providers.

Chapter 3: Methodological issues and theoretical starting points. Although the approach in this book is mainly descriptive, attention to cultural policies and other problems affecting the Baduy indigenous group in the wider Indonesian context will also be discussed. This chapter will first present some historical sources and earlier publications on music and dance. Then the restrictions for researchers, like the limited period for staying in Kanékés that the Baduy leaders allow them, will be discussed. Further, this chapter will mention some Dutch publications of the 19th and first half of the 20th century to give some historical background on the methodological issues that we face nowadays. The chapter continues with mentioning the present author's short fieldwork periods, the constraints and some major theoretical issues, like sustainable development.

Chapter 4: Seasons for music and major rituals. This chapter deals with the agricultural calendar and the musical activities related to these agricultural activities. Major rituals with music and dance are: circumcision and wedding rituals that I attended in 2016 and the important rice ritual (*ngarérémokeun*)

that I attended in 1992 (Van Zanten 1995). This chapter closes with a brief section on other rituals and the music and dance involved.

Chapter 5: Tone systems, angklung, keromong, dancing and gender aspects. This is the start of the more musical part in the book. It begins with a note on the method I used to transcribe Baduy music for analysis in chapters 5–8 and continues with a discussion on tone systems and ways of playing music in Section 5.1. Then it addresses the *angklung* playing for entertainment of human beings and for entertainment in rituals for the gods, in particular the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri. Next the *keromong* ensemble that can only be found in the Outer Baduy area will be discussed. Section 5.4 is on a gamelan that I bought from a Baduy in April 1976 and returned in July 1979 to the Baduy community; I describe its history thereafter in an attempt to better understand the Baduy community. This gamelan was burnt in a fire that destroyed an entire hamlet on 12 September 2019. This chapter is closed by short sections on dancing, gender aspects and the ceremonial pounding of rice (*gendék*).

Chapter 6: Carita pantun storytelling. The recitation of *pantun* stories is used for several kinds of rituals, like circumcisions, weddings and rice rituals. Some parts of this chapter are based on my article Van Zanten (2016a), but I have included some new results obtained during my fieldwork in July 2016. In particular I also transcribed and translated some more texts and supplied more information on the musical aspects of a performance, including audio examples.

Chapter 7: Song texts in music for entertainment. This chapter is about the singing of *susualan* (or *sisindiran*) poetry with instrumental accompaniment. I also discuss a few earlier publications about song texts, some formal aspects of the *susualan* verses and the way in which they are performed. Section 7.3 is an account of how the song texts were performed by the female singer Raidah and her fellow musicians in 2003 and this section is a major part of his chapter. This performance was recorded and afterwards the song texts were carefully checked with the performers, something that has not always been possible. Section 7.4 is the last one of this chapter and it presents the major themes in the *susualan* texts that I recorded and that may be found in Appendix 4.

Chapter 8: Wind, string and other instruments. In this chapter I present some organological and musical details, because we lack detailed information on, in particular, flutes in South Banten. I describe the two side-blown flutes that Inner Baduy are allowed to play: *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét* and discuss some music transcribed from recordings. Today these two flutes are rare in the Outer Baduy area. Then the two end-blown flutes that are only played by the Outer Baduy will be discussed: *suling lamus* and *élét*. These last two flutes are blown with the circular breathing technique. The following section will discuss the two zithers: *kacapi pantun* and *kacapi siter* and the bowed violins: *rendo*,

viol and *rebab*, of which the *rebab* is no longer allowed in Kanékés in current practice. This chapter will be closed by discussing the *calung* and *gambang* xylophones and the *karinding* Jew's harp.

Chapter 9: Concluding remarks. This chapter summarizes the earlier ones. Further, it discusses the sustainability of the Baduy music culture. The Baduy do not consider themselves to be an isolated community (*masyarakat terasing*). They want to be involved in planning their future. The 2003 UNESCO convention on safeguarding living culture, in 2007 ratified by Indonesia, offers a good framework for this: it requires that nations states involve communities in the planning and management of safeguarding their intangible cultural heritage. Safeguarding living culture is more than looking at just economic development. Cultural tourism may raise financial income, but if the socio-cultural and ecological components are neglected it will not lead to a sustainable future and might even severely harm Baduy music.

Appendix 1: A map of Kanékés and a list of its hamlets. This Appendix supplies information on the historical borders of Kanékés village and how I constructed Figure 2, the map of Kanékés village with the hamlets for the situation in July 2016. After the published maps of Kanékés village with its hamlets in Van Tricht (1929), Koolhoven (1932) and Geise (1952), new maps published were either exactly reproduced from these earlier publications or crude approximations. This frustrated me several times. Moreover, a discussion of the often changing names of hamlets shows some light on how the Baduy society is organized. Within Kanékés a hamlet may be moved for several reasons, like a big fire burning many of the wooden houses (see also Erwinantu 2012: 71), but possibly also because the Baduy spiritual leaders got an order (*wangsit*) of the ancestors, like Budi (2015: 79–83) reported for the nearby Kasepuhan Ciptagelar. My map of Kanékés shows the position of the hamlets in July 2016; I did not systematically check the present names of hills and rivers in Kanékés and just took these from Geise's map.

Appendix 2: The Baduy calendar. The Baduy calendar is complicated, but most Baduy leaders will know the Baduy date and month on a particular day. The calendar follows the yearly seasons and is therefore based on the solar year. However, it is also based on 12 lunar months of 29 or 30 days. Regularly Baduy spiritual leaders make adjustments to fit the shorter lunar year of twelve months, about 355 days, to the solar year of about 365 days. In Appendix 2 this complicated issue is briefly discussed, the names of the Baduy months are given and their correspondence to the Western months since about 1970. In particular, for 2003–2019 a list is given of the corresponding Western date (between the beginning of April to the beginning of June) of the start of the *séba* ceremony that takes place in the beginning of the Baduy month Sapar.

Appendix 3: List of people interviewed and/or recorded. I present a list of the main informants for this book with some background information. A person may have different names in different phases of her/his life, and that makes such list of limited use. The list also reflects that most of my informants were men. Most topics in this book are not very sensitive, nevertheless, in a few cases I did not mention the name of the person who supplied that information to protect his/her privacy.

Appendix 4: Song texts for entertainment. The song texts in this Appendix mostly date from recordings in 2003, when I paid relatively much attention to check the transcribed texts with the performers (see Chapter 7). Almost all the texts are written in *susualan* (*sisindiran*) form, in which the first two lines are the 'rind' alluding to the 'real thing', the 'content' in lines three and four.

Glossary and Index. In the Glossary I briefly described the major Baduy concepts used in this book, and in particular those about music and dance.

Social Organization and Economic Situation

This chapter supplies an overview of the socio-economic situation of the Baduy, which may make it easier to understand the situation in which they play their music. The Baduy have a long history. This oral history is reflected in their stories and song texts. It goes back to the Hindu kingdoms in West Java, that is, the period before the end of the 16th century. Some of the documented history can be found in the Old Sundanese manuscripts. The history in printed books and documents covers only two centuries. An important milestone is a document of around 1800, in which the sultan of Demak describes the borders of Kanékés village (see Appendix 1). As from 1822 Dutch and other European visitors reported in writing about the Baduy and mentioned that this community numbered a few hundred people. This number is said to have increased to about fifteen hundred in 1930 and to around twelve thousand in 2016. Since the 1970s an increasing number of Baduy families migrated, as part of a governmental project or on their own initiative, mainly because of the shortage of farming land in Kanékés.

A few hamlets outside Kanékés (so-called *dangka* hamlets) have played an important role in the delineation of the Baduy community from the other groups in Banten. The Baduy leaders do not have jurisdiction in most of these hamlets, as they are located outside Kanékés. For several socio-political and religious reasons explained below the Baduy gradually abandoned most *dangka* hamlets since the 1940s and returned to Kanékés. This did not help to solve the problems of a growing population in Kanékés and an increasing shortage of farming land. However, it seems that during the 2010s the Baduy community started to more emphatically claim their rights on this *dangka* land, which ‘belonged to their ancestors’, but was not under their jurisdiction.

The population increase in Kanékés village is affecting ideas on the ‘slash and burn’ farming as well. This farming is prescribed by the ancestors, however, it requires more agricultural land than irrigated fields do. There have also been attempts to become more independent from agricultural activities. Over the last decennia selling products like woven cloths and home-made knives to tourists has become an increasingly important source of income. Such cultural tourism has been promoted by the Banten provincial government.

This chapter only presents some of the major socio-economic issues. More comprehensive information can be found in Van Tricht (1929), Geise (1952), Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986) and Garna (1988). A good summary of the

Baduy social organization can be found in Ekadjati (1995). The more recent books by Permana (2001), Erwinantu (2012) and Hasman and Reiss (2012) also offer basic introductions to the Baduy. The last two books include many photographs and Erwinantu's book contains interesting drawings that he made.

Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986) compare the present Baduy ascetic lifestyle to its description in three Old Sundanese manuscripts for the religious *mandala* communities.¹ Geise (1952) and Garna (1988) offer anthropological approaches in which the focus is on agriculture. They also explain the kinship system, and the cosmology and the rice rituals during the different seasons of the agricultural year. Suryani's study ([2020]) supplies valuable information on the attempts to converse the Baduy and people from Baduy descent to Islam or Christianity from 1977–2017.

Section 2.1 below summarizes the literature on Baduy social organization. Over the last few decades the tasks of the secular leaders, like the village head and the 'group of twelve leaders' (*pajaroan*), seem to have increased, as compared to the tasks of the spiritual leaders. The shortage of land for agriculture and religion are addressed in Sections 2.2 and 2.3. Section 2.4 discusses the relation between the Baduy and the Indonesian authorities, and the promoted cultural tourism since the 2000s. Section 2.5 is about the role of a few non-governmental organisations that have been active in matters concerning the Baduy since the 1980s. Sections 2.6 and 2.7 look at some economic aspects of Baduy life, other than agriculture. This includes the weaving of cloths and the making of knives for their own use, but also increasingly for tourists.

2.1 Socio-Political Organization and Major Spiritual and Secular Officials

The Baduy have an organizational structure that deals with both spiritual and secular matters. On the one hand we find the rituals concerning the Baduy religion (*Sunda wivitan*) and customary law (*pikukuh*, Indonesian: *adat*) as handed down by the ancestors (*karuhun*), on the other issues concerning daily life and the interactions with the outside world. Since about 1800 – or possibly earlier – the colonial and Indonesian governments allowed the Baduy a large amount of autonomy within Kanékés village. Being protected by the secular rulers they could live there as ascetics.

¹ These manuscripts are: Amanat dari Galunggung, Sanghyang Siksakanda Ng Karesian and Carita Parahiyangan.

The spiritual centre of the Baduy area is the Inner Baduy area, *tangtu*, with the three hamlets (*tangtu tilu*) Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo, and holy places like Sasaka Pusaka Buana, Sasaka Parahiang and the sacred forest. The size of the Inner Baduy area is almost half the size of Kanékés (see maps in Figures 2 and 13). The greater part of this Inner Baduy area is ‘forbidden land’ (*taneuh larangan*), which, among other things, means that it is not available for agriculture. The number of Inner Baduy living in this area constitutes about one-tenth (1200 people) of the Baduy community. The Outer Baduy, living to the west, north and east of the Inner Baduy area are often described as the ones who protect the sanctuaries and the Inner Baduy way of living from the outside world. One of the Baduy leaders, Ayah Mursid from Cibéo, described the Outer Baduy as a kind of ‘filter’ (*penapis*), protecting the Inner Baduy against the temptations from outside Kanékés (Erwinantu 2012: 36).

The sanctuary Sasaka Pusaka Buana (also called Pada Ageung or Arca Domas) is considered to be the place of origin of the world: the place where the seven sons of the highest god, Batara Tunggal, came down to earth. This sacred place lies near the source of the Cijung River, in bird-flight about 2 km south-east of Cikeusik (see Figures 2 and 29). The spiritual leader (*puun*) of Cikeusik is responsible for keeping this heritage (*sasaka*) in good order (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 24–25; Garna 1988: 280, 294; Ekadjati 1995: 69). The exact position of Sasaka Pusaka Buana is kept secret and it is thought that it was only visited by a few people from outside.

Another sanctuary, Sasaka Parahiang (also called Mandala Parahiang or Sasaka Domas), lies at the source of the Ciparahiang River near Cibéo: see map in Figure 2. This is considered to be the place of origin of the Baduy community: it is the place that was first visited by Batara Cikal (literally: the ‘god eldest one’), the eldest son of the highest god Batara Tunggal. Batara Cikal is considered to be the founder of Kanékés and ancestor of the *puun*. It is believed that Sasaka Parahiang is also the place where the souls of the deceased Baduy will eventually go: back to their origin. The spiritual leader (*puun*) of Cibéo is responsible for keeping this heritage in good order (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 25–26, 72; Ekadjati 1995: 69–70, 91).

In the past the Baduy area was larger than just Kanékés and it included seven so called *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, where Baduy claim some communal land and where they lived together with non-Baduy people, mostly Muslim Sundanese. These *dangka* hamlets lie north of Kanékés and seem to have served as a system of keeping outside influences away from the Inner and Outer Baduy areas (Van Tricht 1929: 71–2; Garna 1988: 140). There also have always been two *dangka* hamlets inside the boundaries of present-day Kanékés: Kaduketug (Gedé) and Cihulu. The *dangka* hamlets also were, and

still are, used as places to which Inner Baduy are temporarily banned, when they are found guilty of breaking the Baduy customary rules.² Depending on the severity of the breach of rules, Inner Baduy may be punished by the village authorities, or sent to a *jaro dangka*, or exiled. Exile means that the spiritual leaders no longer recognize them as belonging to the Baduy community. This may also happen to Outer Baduy. In Section 2.2 I will come back to the important role of the *dangka* hamlets for understanding the Baduy policies as regards other groups in Banten.

The Baduy have had a great deal of autonomy in organizing village Kanékés within the Dutch Indies and Indonesian bureaucratic system. The three Inner Baduy hamlets Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo each have a spiritual leader (*puun*; with honorific title: *girang puun*), a hamlet head (*jaro tangtu*) and a council of elders (*baresan*). In Cikeusik and Cibéo the *puun* is assisted by a *seurat* (with honorific title: *girang seurat*). The main tasks of the spiritual leaders, in particular the three *puun*, has been: (1) to look after and protect the Sasaka Pusaka Buana sacred place near Cikeusik; (2) to look after and protect the Sasaka Parahiang sacred place near Cibéo; (3) to advise the secular rulers in the world about how to rule over their subjects; (4) to live an ascetic life (see Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 24–36; Garna 1988: 294).

Each Outer Baduy hamlet has its head (*kolot lembur*). Nine *jaro dangka*, who are all Outer Baduy, but of Inner Baduy descent (the *kaum dalem/kaum dalem*, Van Tricht 1929: 72–74) assist the Inner Baduy leaders in enforcing Baduy customary law. These *jaro dangka* used to live in the nine *dangka* hamlets, of which seven were outside and two inside Kanékés; see map in Figure 13. For several reasons to be discussed below, currently most (all?) of the *jaro dangka* live in a hamlet in Kanékés, although their *dangka* region outside Kanékés is still claimed as Baduy land.

The *jaro tanggungan duabelas* (- *duawelas*, *tanggungan jaro duabelas*; shorter: *jaro duabelas*) is an Outer Baduy, who leads the group of twelve *jaro* consisting of three *jaro tangtu* and nine *jaro dangka*. Although the three *puun* take the formal decisions, this group of twelve *jaro* (*pajaroan*) has much power in decision making processes and the practical implementations (see also Geise 1952: 23–24, 83–84; Garna 1988: 129–132; Bakels and Boevink 1988: 88). It seems that for the last fifty years or so the power of this group of leaders has

2 Erwinantu (2012: 37) quoted Ayah Mursid from Cibéo as saying that for serious offences against Baduy customary law the *dangka* hamlets were 'adat prisons'. Here the offenders were reformed and instructed by the adat elders of that hamlet. See also Pleyte (1912: 263, 266) and Van Tricht (1929: 72): in the 'tale about the origin of Kanékés' the hamlet Nangkabekung is mentioned as a place of exile.

increased, as compared to the power of the spiritual leaders (*puun* et al.). This needs more investigation.

The *tangkesan* is a seer (*nujum*), astrologer and healer, who has two assistants. These three seers are advisors to the three *puun*. The *tangkesan* lives in an official residence in the Outer Baduy area in one of the hamlets Kaduketer, Cicatang or Cikopéng and his main task is to look after the spiritual well-being of mainly the Outer Baduy (Garna 1988: 374–375; Geise 1952: 24). The *tangkesan* is also the major forecaster and with the three *puun* he is the only one involved in determining the Baduy calendar (Van Tricht 1929: 95; Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 22; Garna 1988: 255).

The *jaro pamaréntah* (or *jaro gubernemen*) is the secular head of Kanékés village. He is an Outer Baduy who mediates between the spiritual leaders (*puun* and others) and the Indonesian authorities and therefore he frequently meets with the sub district head (*camat*) of Leuwidamar, district civil servants, health servants and other non-Baduy officials. The secular village head is not chosen by general elections, like elsewhere in present-day Indonesia. The three *puun* nominate someone to the government, and this nomination is generally accepted. Since 1992 the secular village head has had an official residence in Kaduketug 1 (Kaduketug Jaro) near Cibolégér. Nowadays the secular village head is paid for expenses related to his job (like travel expenses) by the Indonesian authorities. He is assisted by a non-Baduy village secretary (*carik*) and his staff for the administrative work. Since about 2010 the *carik* heads a small office in Cibolégér, just outside Kanékés and about a hundred metres from the official residence of the secular village head (Figures 10 and 11). Further, the secular village head is assisted in his work by the *pangiwa* (or *panggiwa*) the heads of administrative units (RW) and the heads of the hamlets ((*ko*)*kolot lembur*), that is, the equivalent of those responsible for the smaller administrative household units (RT) in the Indonesian system; see Appendix 1, in particular Tables 29 and 30.

Like the power of the group of twelve *pajaroan* leaders, the power of the secular village head seems to have increased during the long office term of *jaro* Daénah (1997–2015).³ Until a few years ago the secular village head did not receive a salary from the Indonesian authorities, although other village heads in Indonesia did (Van Zanten 2004: 129–130). With the increasing grip

3 *Jaro* Daénah left office because he suffered from diabetes; he died 23 March 2019. In 2016 he still seemed to play a very important role behind the scene: his house was about 15m from the official house of the new secular village head Saijah. According to Baduy standards Daénah was rich; he owned a lot of land (more than 100 ha, one informed Baduy said), mainly outside Kanékés and he owned his own *keromong* set of instruments.



FIGURE 10 Office of the Kanékés secretariat in Cibolégér, about 100m from the residential house of the secular village head in Kanékés. 21 July 2016

of the Indonesian authorities on the Baduy community, it may be that this has changed already or that it will change soon. This used to be the same for the village secretary (*carik*). The long-time *carik* Ukang Sukarna (1970–1989 and 1992–2007) was never paid for his job by the Indonesian authorities. However, this changed in 2007, when Sapin became the first secretary to the secular village head who was paid for by the Indonesian authorities and became an official civil servant in the Indonesian administrative system. In 2016 Sapin was replaced by the new secretary Arman, who had been part of the secretarial team before. In 1989 Ukang Sukarna had asked to be replaced as village secretary, because that post involved a lot of work. From 1989–1992 he was replaced by Husein from Cibolégér. As the Baduy leaders were not satisfied with Husein, Ukang was asked to come back as village secretary, from 1992–2007 assisted by Sapin. Whereas before Ukang all secretarial work was done by one secretary, under Sapin the secretariat of village Kanékés expanded to eleven people in 2016.

Much work of the secular village head is concerned with the safety of Kanékés and disputes between Baduy and non-Baduy about land issues. Religion is another important issue to be discussed with the Indonesian authorities: see



FIGURE 11 Yard in front of the secular village head's house, newly paved for the expected visit of president Joko Widodo; the centre back shows the white building of the Kanékés secretariat in Cibolégér. Kaduketug 1, 16 July 2016.

Section 2.3. Further, the secular village head represents the Baduy to official visitors (Figure 12). Currently he is also very much involved in organizing the individuals and groups of (mainly Indonesian) tourists who want to visit the Inner Baduy area (Van Zanten 2004: 145–147; see also Figure 6). On 5 July 2016 the secular village head Saijah told that he is now supposed to charge each visitor according to which place of Kanékés s/he wants to visit and for how long. From this money he should pay tourist taxes to the local government and that amounted to 8 million Rupiah per year (ca. € 552, US\$ 608). Saijah also has plans for building accommodation for tourists just outside Kanékés, near the secretariat's office in Cibolégér. He would like to entertain the guests there with Baduy music and dance and sell Baduy products like woven cloths and knives (A2016-1: 26).

The first secular village head seems to have been Tarpi, who was mentioned by Koorders in his report about his visit to the Inner Baduy in 1864. Before the official job of *jaro pamaréntah/jaro gubernemén* was created, there was the *jaro warega/wrega*, leading activities outside Kanékés, like the *séba* (see below). In current practice the *jaro warega* seems to be the elder person under the *jaro*



FIGURE 12 Baduy officials with visiting representatives of an indigenous community of Riau at the official residence of the secular village head in Kaduketug 1. Second from left is spokesman Mursid with Inner Baduy clothing and fourth from left is Daénah the secular village head, 12 December 2013

dangka (Danasasmitta and Djatisunda 1986: 21). From Koorders' description, it seems that the first non-Baduy village secretary (*carik*) was Tayun. Tayun was born in Kanékés but later expelled and thus became an outsider (Meinsma 1869: 327; see also Section 3.2). The *jaro pamaréntah* became also the one who punishes Outer Baduy when they have breached the rules. Geise (1952: 86–87) mentions that these punishments were sometimes physical and severe.

The positions of *puun*, *jaro tangtu* and some other high posts are hereditary, but not the position of the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*; always an Outer Baduy), the heads of hamlets (*kokolot* or RT) and the heads of a group of hamlets (RW). According to Danasasmitta and Djatisunda (1986: 66) such official positions, hereditary or not, are only for married men who already have a child. After the appointment, an official rarely stays in office during his whole life. One reason may be that he becomes ill and asks to be relieved from office, like secular village head Daénah, who stepped down in 2015 because of diabetes. Another reason may be that the *puun* and other officials may not be happy with the way a particular official carries out his duties and he may then be

removed from office. Also, an official may himself ask for resignation because he becomes (too) old, or he may not like the responsibility of his office. Most village heads since 1945 were about five years in office, although some had two periods in office, like Samin (1966–1968? and 1976–1981).

The Baduy are monogamous and the major officials (*puun*, *jaro*, *girang seur-at*, *tangkesan*) will have to step down when their wife dies. Geise (1952: 67–68) wrote that this rule is ‘quite understandable’ as regards the *puun* and his wife when we look at the ‘functions they have to fulfil as married couple during the big feasts’, and this ‘probably also holds for the *girang seur-at* and *kokolot*, whose wives also have a task at these feasts’. In her book on gender equality in the Baduy world Permana (2001: 73) confirms Geise’s conclusion and adds that ‘Women (wives) are considered to have stabilizing and dynamic influences on the leaders of the group’ (see also Section 5.6 below). In current practice it is customary that a Baduy leader who stepped down from office will keep the title belonging to his former official position (*jaro*, *girang puun*, (*ko*)*kolot*, etcetera).

See further information on the social organization, for instance, in Geise (1952: 22–31) or Garna (1987: 87–90).

2.2 *Dangka* Hamlets and Their Role in the Delineation of Baduy Culture

The role of the nine *dangka* hamlets, seven of which are lying outside Kanékés village, needs to be studied when we want to understand Baduy politics in relation to the outside world. Unfortunately the information on the *dangka* hamlets is not clear and in many cases conflicting. It seems that Van Hoëvell (1845: 361) was the first one to use the word ‘*dangka*’ in print. This happened in the construction *jelma dangka* (*dangka* people), by which he meant the group of the Baduy, distinguishing them from the Muslim Sundanese living around them. Zoetmulder (1982: 363) gives for the Old Javanese word *dangka*: ‘prob[ably] a hermit’s abode or other kind of building with religious purpose, sanctuary?’.

However, as mentioned in Section 2.1 the *dangka* hamlets are already mentioned as places of exile in the stories about the origin of the Baduy community (Pleyte 1912: 263, 266, Van Tricht 1929: 72). Also Spanoghe (1838: 297) mentioned some hamlets used as ‘places of exile’ for Inner Baduy in his field notes dating from 1823. He gave the names of three hamlets for the ‘Badoewienen’ (Inner Baduy) and seven hamlets for the ‘Orang-Kaloearan’ (Outer Baduy). The latter hamlets are clearly the present-day *dangka* hamlets. Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 46) listed seven *dangka* hamlets of which six still exist on more or less the same place; one may have obtained a new name.

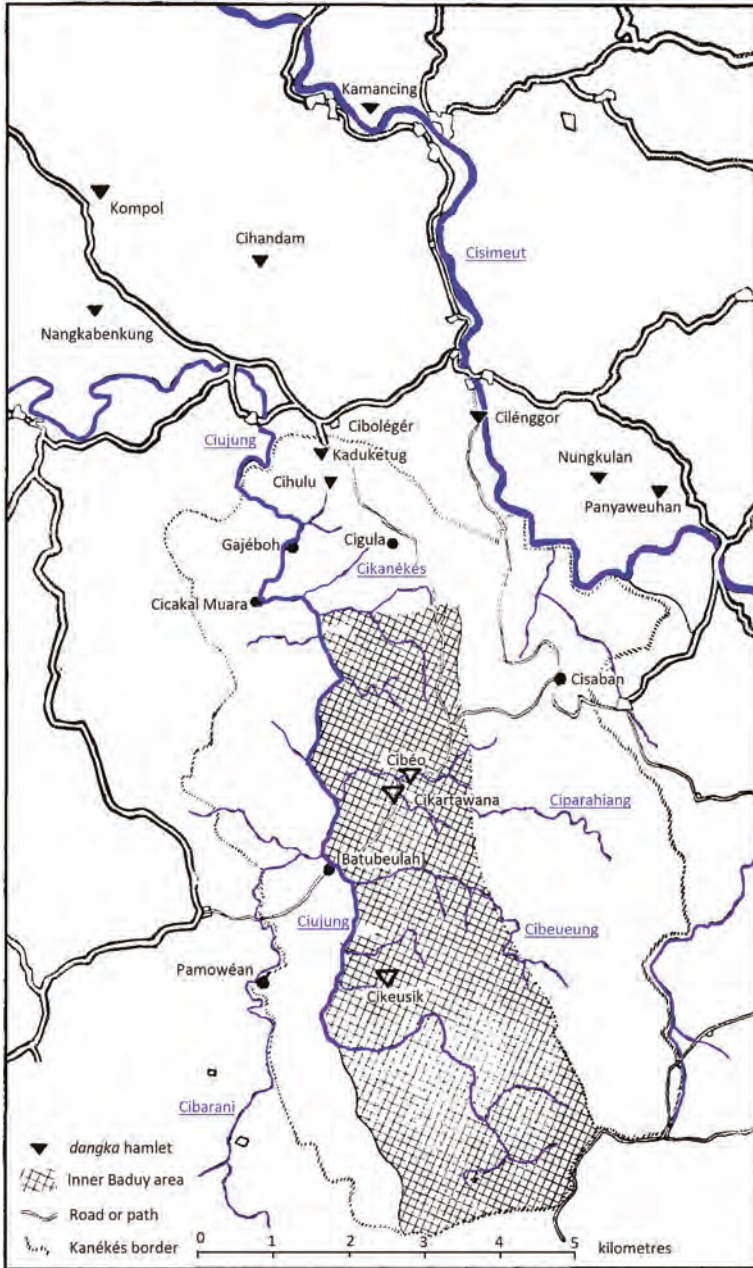


FIGURE 13 Map of the seven *dangka* hamlets outside and the two *dangka* hamlets inside Kanékés (▼), based on Van Tricht (1929: after p. 72). '[Batubeulah]' indicates the position of this hamlet in 1929 (compare Figure 2).

This section will only give a short account on the position of the *dangka* hamlets in the Baduy society. Starting point will be the information given by Van Tricht (1929) and Geise (1952), who supply a fuller account of the situation than the earlier authors. Van Tricht listed nine *dangka* hamlets in 1929, two inside and seven outside Kanékés village: see Figure 13, and Table 1 below. The *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés are – in bird-flight – all within a radius of 5 km from Kaduketug Gedé and north of Kanékés village. The *dangka* hamlets are located in the ‘non-sacred’ northern direction to which individual Baduy are banned after severely trespassing the Baduy rules. The south is the sacred direction, which is also more difficult to access. In the three *tangtu* hamlets of the Inner Baduy the house of each *puun* (spiritual leader) is positioned in the most southern part. See further Garna (1984; 1988: 351–355) and Wessing (2003) on this north-south orientation. See also Section 6.4 on the position of the *pan-tun* performer at circumcisions.

Since about 1940 the Baduy started to abandon the *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés and moved to hamlets inside Kanékés. As the number of people belonging to the Baduy community in Kanékés gradually increased over time and the available agricultural land per family and per person decreased, one would have expected the reverse: a resettlement from hamlets inside Kanékés to *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. Probably in the 1940s and 1950s the Second World War and the subsequent ‘time of political chaos and revolutionary war’ (Horikoshi 1975: 59; see also Van Dijk 1981: 102–108) influenced Baduy in the *dangka* hamlets to return to the safer place Kanékés. It is also possible that the Darul Islam movement in West Java (1948–1962) was not very tolerant towards the Baduy religion and living in a *dangka* village, surrounded by Muslims, became more problematic than before. Moreover, the Baduy may (again) have been cautioned by the attitude of the leader of the Darul Islam movement, Kartosuwirjo. In a letter (‘secret note number 2’, *nota rahasia kedua*) of 17 February 1951 Kartosuwirjo wrote to Sukarno, the first Indonesian president, that he ‘was convinced that a third World War was imminent and that such a war would involve a struggle between the communist and non-communists blocks’ (Van Dijk 1981: 118–119). In his letter Kartosuwirjo subsequently called these two blocks *Komunisme* and *Islamisme* (Boland 1971: 253).

In the literature I found little information on the Baduy in the 1945–1970 period, and in particular not about the influence of the Darul Islam movement on their situation. Most publications that mention the Darul Islam movement of Kartosuwirjo (like Boland 1971, Horikoshi 1975, Van Dijk 1981, and Ekadjati 2003) concentrated on events in the central and eastern part of the Priangan and not the region around Kanékés. However, it is clear that this was a very difficult period for people living in all the rural areas of West

TABLE 1 Ritual names of *dangka* hamlets, location of the *dangka* land, residence of the *jaro dangka*, and connection of the *dangka* hamlet to an Inner Baduy hamlet

The sign + means that the <i>jaro dangka</i> of this hamlet is responsible for taking care of the people expelled from an Inner Baduy hamlet, because they committed an offence according to the Baduy rules (<i>pikukuh</i>); see Geise (1952: 90) and Garna (1988: 140). ^a			
Ritual name of <i>dangka</i> land/hamlet (Geise 1952: 30; Garna 1988:232)	Location of the <i>dangka</i> land (<i>tanah buyut</i>)	Residence of <i>jaro dangka</i> in July 2016	Related to Inner Baduy hamlet (Van Tricht 1929: 74; Geise 1952: 30)
	<i>Outside Kanékés</i> (7)		
Padawaras	+ Cibengkung/Nangkabengkung (Cibungur village)	Inside Kanékés	Cikeusik (Pada Ageung)
Garukgak	Kompol (Cisimeut village)	Kompol	
Werega or Sanghyang Panunggulan	Kamancing (Cisimeut village)	Kamancing; Batara according to Pasya 2008 ^b	
Inggung	+ Panyaweuyan (Karangcombong village, Muncang district)	Cisaban (Pasya 2008)	Cikartawana (Kadu Kujang)
Sindangnyair	Nungkulan (Karangcombong village, Muncang district)	Inside Kanékés	
Sanghyang Asuh	Cilénggor/Garéhong (Cisimeut village)	Inside Kanékés	
Sirahdayeuh	Cihandam (Cisimeut village)	Kaduketug Gedé, Kanékés	Cibéo (Parahiang)
	<i>inside Kanékés</i> (2)		
Cipatih (Cipatik)	+ Cihulu, Kanékés	Cihulu, Kanékés	
Singalayang (= Carungeun?)	Kaduketug Gedé, Kanékés	Kaduketug 1/- Jaro, Kanékés (? since 2016)	

^a Van Tricht (1929: 74) mentions that Inner Baduy from Cikartawana will not be banned to Panyaweuyan, but to Cilénggor/Garéhong. Outer Baduy may also be banned to a *dangka* hamlet, as Geise already reported (Geise 1952: 88–100). ‘Banned to a *dangka* hamlet’ actually means: banned to the hamlet where the responsible *jaro dangka* lives. Currently seven of the nine *jaro dangka* live in Kanékés.

^b See article ‘Implikasi modernisasi pada masyarakat Baduy’ of 27 August 2008 by Gurniwan Kamil Pasya on Internet <https://geocorida.blogspot.nl/2008/08/perubahan-budaya-masyarakat-baduy-2.html> [last access 21 April 2019.]

Java. Boland (1971: 61–62) mentioned that in the early 1950s ‘the Darul Islam in West Java seemed more and more to degenerate into terrorizing and plundering gangs which could not return to normal life in society’. The effects of the Darul Islam movement on the position of the Baduy needs further investigation.⁴

In the 1970s the Indonesian authorities tried to solve the land shortage of the Baduy by stimulating resettlement to areas outside Kanékés and they set up resettlement schemes.⁵ The first resettlement hamlet was at Cipangembar, about 15 km north of Kaduketug, where each migrant received a house and one hectare of agricultural land in 1978 (see below). The resettlement projects of the second half of the 1970s and later were no great success and also Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets kept returning to Kanékés. In the period after 1978 the denigratory attitude of the Indonesian authorities did not support sustainable development: ‘the government considered the “tribal ethnic groups” of lower social consciousness and level of responsibility, and less civilised’. Moreover, the responsible authorities put pressure on the resettled Baduy to become Muslim; that was considered the best solution for the migrants and stability of the social situation (Van Zanten 2004: 130–141).

In 1999 the secular village head Daénah had expressed critical views about the government’s programmes for Baduy resettlement: ‘We never asked for hamlets and new houses, but we get them all the time. Because there is already a project, the building has to continue’. (Van Zanten 2004: 132). This attitude towards resettlement seems to have changed. During the last years the policies of the Baduy leaders as regards the *dangka* settlements seem to have been changing as well. Mainly because of land shortage in Kanékés and the more limited possibilities to find land outside Kanékés, secular village head Saijah and other Baduy leaders encourage Baduy people to move back again to the land in the abandoned *dangka* hamlets, but until now without much success, *jaro* Saijah told me in July 2016 (Van Zanten 2017: 95).

4 Also in some recent literature about the 1945–1950 Independence war, I did not find any reference to the Baduy or the Lebak region. In particular, Rémy Limpach’s well-documented book on Dutch war crimes in this period (Limpach 2016) does not contain any such information. Also Oostindie (2015) lacks information on this.

5 In earlier publications I used the word ‘transmigration’ programmes for these Baduy resettling schemes. Gerard Persoon (*personal communication*, February 2020) reminded me that it would be better to use ‘settlement’ or ‘resettlement’ for the Baduy transmigration hamlets in West Java (Indonesian: *pemukiman/pemukiman kembali*; Sundanese: *pamukiman*). In Indonesia and in anthropological literature about Indonesia the word ‘transmigration’ has been reserved for a resettlement from Java, Bali, Madura to the other islands in Indonesia, like Sumatra and Papua.

Although currently Baduy inhabitants have left most of the *dangka* hamlets, this does not mean that the Baduy have also given up on their rights to use the ancestral *dangka* lands. The Baduy know exactly where the borders of these ancestral lands are. Garna (1988: 414–5) listed the boundaries of the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, except for Panyaweuyan, in May 1970. This Baduy claim on *dangka* land is in conflict with Indonesian law: although the Baduy have been given collective land rights (*hak ulayat*) in the Kanékés area, this does not hold for the *dangka* lands that are under the jurisdiction of the villages to which they belong. For instance, according to the Baduy the *jaro dangka* Padawaras (see Table 1) is responsible for the *dangka* lands (and possible Baduy inhabitants) in Cibengkung/Nangkabengkung. This hamlet is located in village Cibungur, although nowadays its *jaro dangka* is living in a hamlet of Kanékés village. We have to distinguish between the location of the *dangka* lands and the residence of its Baduy head (*jaro dangka*).

The process of abandoning the *dangka* hamlets has been reported already since 1952 and sometimes reasons were given. Geise (1952: 23) reports that there was only one Baduy family living in Kamancing: the family of the head of the *dangka* hamlet (*jaro dangka*). Garna (1988: 138, 224) mentions that in the years 1945–1947 the *jaro dangka* of the four hamlets Cibengkung (*dangka* Padawaras), Kompol (*dangka* Garukgak), Cihandam (*dangka* Sirahdayeuh) and Kamancing (*dangka* Wereg/Sanghyang Panunggulan) moved their seats to inside Kanékés because of problems concerning land and religion; the first three *dangka* heads all moved to Kaduketug Gedé.

Persoon (1994: 331) reported that ‘some *dangka* hamlets have now been moved to Kanékés village, because of the great pressure by the surrounding farmers.’⁶ The Baduy have always been fairly successful in an economic way: they invest in land, gold and other precious objects, and live a modest life. In the *dangka* hamlets this frequently led to jealousy and frictions between them and their Muslim neighbours. Together with the religious frictions this seems to be an important reason for the retreat of the Baduy inhabitants and heads of the *dangka* hamlets to Kanékés. For instance, in July 2016 the *pantun* storyteller Anirah told me that

6 It would have been more precise so say that most inhabitants and the *jaro dangka* of some hamlets had moved to Kanékés and left the *dangka* land that the Baduy still consider to be their communal property. That is the formulation used by Persoon on page 322: ‘... the *dangka* functions and inhabitants of Kamancing and Cihandam were moved to Kaduketug.’ The people moved and, according to the Baduy, the *dangka* land remained where it had been before.

1. Around 1995 the Baduy living in Cihandam (*dangka* Sirahdayeuh) did not want a mosque near their houses and that was the reason that they were chased away from the *dangka* hamlet in Cihandam.
2. In Garéhong (*dangka* Panyaweuyan) a non-Baduy stole rice from a Baduy rice barn (*leuit*). This thief was killed. That was the reason that the Baduy inhabitants had to leave this place: they cannot live in a place where a human being has been killed (Anirah, A2016-1: 64.)

Dangka Cipatih/Cipatik was always located in Cihulu, Kanékés. *Dangka* Singalayang is the other *dangka* hamlet in Kanékés village and it used to be in Kaduketug Gedé. In July 2016 I saw activities of building the official house for the (former?) *jaro dangka* Singalayang near the official house of the secular village head. This possibly means that the *jaro dangka* Singalayang moved to Kaduketug 1, the seat of the secular village head in 2016.

Whereas since 1950 five of the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés have (almost) been abandoned, this does not mean that all Baduy living there moved to Kanékés. For instance, in 1976 there were Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets Kompol and Babakan Kompol, Cisimeut village: I then recorded music in the house of Péi (Sapéi) in Babakan Kompol. Since 2000 it seems that most Baduy living on *dangka* lands are based in Kompol: for 2003 I estimated their number to be around 400 (Van Zanten 2004: 126–27), and according to my information that is still more or less the number in 2016.⁷ Nevertheless, also the abandoned *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés are still considered to be very much related to the Baduy world and history and claimed as communal Baduy ‘property’. It is sacred land (*tanah buyut*), according to one of Geise’s informants (Geise 1952: 30, 187). However, this *dangka* land and also the land that Baduy farmers bought outside Kanékés does not fall under the Indonesian law for collective land rights (*hak ulayat*), like Kanékés village itself.⁸

The history of the *dangka* hamlets still needs to be studied properly, because it may shed more light on Baduy policies towards the outside world. I shall not go into more detail here, as the literature and my own data are not very consistent about the *dangka* hamlets and that includes their names. Geise (1952: 30) already pointed out that, although the Baduy speak about ‘the seven *jaro dangka*’, there are nine: two of them live inside ‘the holy territory of the Baduy community’, that is, in Kaduketug and Cihulu.

7 Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 75) report that there are 423 people living in Kompol at the end of the year 2008 and that the *dangka* land there available for Baduy is about 25 hectare.

8 *Kabupaten Lebak* 2001. See also information by Mr. Bedawi, an official from Tangerang, whom I met unofficially on 8 July 2016 in Kaduketug Jaro (A2016-1: 35–36).

In December 2013 the village secretary, *carik* Sapin, gave me the organizational scheme he had made and which included 7 *dangka* hamlets (instead of 9): Carungeun, Garéhong, Nungkulan, Cibengkung, Cihandam, Panyaweuyan, Cihulu. These were also listed at the secretarial office and the official house of the *jaro pamaréntah* in July 2016. Surprisingly, Sapin did not list Kompol and Kamancing in this scheme. Sapin and the village head Saijah explained that this was, because Kompol and Kamancing fell under the jurisdiction of Cisimeut village, and not of Kanékés. I take this to mean also that in 2016 only the two *jaro dangka* of Kompol and Kamancing had their official residence outside Kanékés and the other seven lived in Kanékés, but this needs further investigation.

My information in 2014 was that there were now five hamlets in what used to be the *dangka* Kompol: Cicengal 1, Cicengal 2, Cikaréo/Cikarého, Cirancak and Lebak Kiara. Erwinantu (2012: 88) lists 4 *dangka* hamlets in the Kompol complex: Kompol, Ceupakbuah, Cikaréo and Cicengal. These last three hamlets have grown out of Kompol, that is, became new settlements (*babakan*) near Kompol. Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 74–5) mention that the Kompol hamlets administratively form 5 RT in the larger RW 08 of Sangkanwangi village, Leuwidamar district, Lebak regency: Kompol 1 (RT 01), Kompol 2 (RT 02), Cikaréo (RT 03), Cepak Buah (RT 04) and Cicengal (RT 05).

Sam, Abdurachman and Zarkasih (1986: 11–12) commented on the conflicting information about the number of inhabitants in *dangka* hamlets. They described the *dangka* land claimed by the Baduy as patches (*kantong-kantong*) considered to be 'land given by the ancestors' (*tanah titipan karuhun*), and that had to be safeguarded (Sam, Abdurachman and Zarkasih 1986: 10–12). They listed seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, as given in our Table 1 and in Figure 13 above, although there were no Baduy living in Cihandam, Kamancing and Panyaweuyan at that time.

Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 14–15) were less clear in their information on *dangka* hamlets. They noted that possibly 'in the beginning' there were 9 *dangka* hamlets, but now there were only two left: Kompol and Cibengkung. However, on page 21 they mentioned the existence of a total of seven *jaro dangka*: five have their residence (*berkedudukan*) outside Kanékés (Cibengkung, Cihandam, Garéhong, Kamancing and Kompol) and two have their residence inside Kanékés (Kaduketug and Cihulu). Adimihardja (2000: 51–52) referred to Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 14) and also mentioned that at one point in time (before 1985) there were seven *dangka* hamlets, of which four were outside Kanékés (Kompol, Cibengkung, Kamancing, Cihandam) and three inside Kanékés village (Nungkulan, Garéhong and Panyaweuyan). This very much contradicts what has been consistently reported since Spanoghe (1838).

The main problem seems that Danasamita, Djatisunda and Adimihardja did not clearly distinguish between the (sacred) *dangka* land that remained fixed during the last few centuries, the residence of the *jaro dangka* that moved in certain periods, and the number of Baduy inhabitants of a *dangka* hamlet that was sometimes equal to zero.

The information on *dangka* hamlets as given by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 114) is even more confusing. In the table 'Name and location of the *dangka* in the Baduy area' Kurnia and Sihabudin gave the 'original seat' (*kedudukan asal*) of five of the nine *dangka* hamlets to be in Kanékés. They did this without referring to the fact that their findings contradict what has been mentioned in earlier literature.⁹

As regards the *dangka* hamlets, the most important point for us is that there still are about 600–700 Baduy living in *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. The official heads of these *dangka* hamlets are called *jaro dangka*. They play an important role in the socio-political system and their main function is to assist the other leaders with enforcing Baduy customary law. As the Baduy face a great shortage of agricultural land, the sacred *dangka* lands will undoubtedly also be an economical issue in the coming years.

The Baduy need for agricultural land and the related position of the *dangka* lands is not unique and it has a long history in West Java. In the 19th and 20th centuries the colonial government had sold much land to private owners and this led to 'excessive demands in taxes and services' on the peasants who protested against this (Kartodirdjo 1973: 21). This is also the theme of the *Max Havelaar* novel by Multatuli that discusses the situation in Lebak in the mid-19th century (Multatuli 1860).¹⁰ Kartodirdjo (1973), writing about the protest movements in rural Java in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, pointed out that land was the main means of livelihood of the peasantry and their

9 The book by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010) offers some interesting data but lacks accuracy and references to existing literature. It is surprising that, without discussion, they list five 'original seats' inside Kanékés, whereas Van Tricht (1929), Geise (1952), Sam, Abdurachman and Zarkasih (1984) and Garna (1988) all stated that there are seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, something that was also confirmed by my fieldwork data.

10 In the 2010s the Lebak authorities started to show interest in Multatuli and his novel about the extortion by colonial and Indonesian civil servants. In 2017 the Multatuli Museum was established in Rangkasbitung and officially inaugurated on 12 February 2018. This indicates a policy change as compared to the reaction to the 1976 *Max Havelaar* film by Fons Rademakers (available on YouTube) that was forbidden in Indonesia until 1987 (see [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Havelaar_\(film\)](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Havelaar_(film))). The Lebak authorities are hoping that the Multatuli Museum will also attract tourists to Banten and Lebak. See also <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/majalah-39137601> and <https://gpswisataindonesia.info/2017/10/wisata-sejarah-di-kabupaten-lebak/> [last access 14 February 2018].

'central demand was for the redistribution of land' (p.6). Kartodirdjo further pointed out that because of their organizational network via *pasantren* (Islamic schools) and *tarékat* brotherhoods and the teacher-student (*guru-murid*) relations '[T]he religious elite, either *hadji* (Mecca pilgrim), *kjai* or *guru* (religious teachers), became a major factor in the development of traditional social movements' (p.7, 70–72). However, in the discussion of the Ciomas (southwest of Bogor) affair in 1886 he stated that the 'long term economic factors eclipsed all other factors, and that these movements – even the apparently religiously-oriented ones – were really concerned to redress economic grievances'. In the Ciomas movement the protests made use of the religious leaders and Muslim ideology, but were in fact based on 'strictly economic claims' (Kartodirdjo 1973: 31–32). The Baduy case should be investigated in this wider context.

2.3 Agricultural Land, Non-Irrigated Fields and Religion

The main problem for sustainable development of the Baduy is the shortage of land for their shifting cultivation on *huma* in Kanékés. Much of the Inner Baduy area consists of sacred forest and cannot be used for agriculture. That was no problem a few centuries ago, but it became a serious problem at least since the 1970s, because the number of Baduy increased rapidly: see Table 2.

In fact, for at least two centuries the Baduy have organized their own yearly 'censuses'. Each year during the (*nga*)*laksa* ritual in the last *kawalu* fasting month at the end of the agricultural year (around March-May) the Baduy make a 'puppet' for each human being in their hamlets, according to the three categories male (*tombak*), female (*anak-anakan*) and 'babies still in the womb' (*téké golér*). The total number of puppets is counted in this annual census and is a source of information for the size of the Baduy population. See Spanoghe (1838: 300–302), Geise (1952: 57–58) and Garna (1988: 336–337); see also clear pictures and a short description in Hasman and Reiss (2012: 30–31).

The recognition of the borders of Kanékés village by the sultan of Demak around the year 1800 (see Appendix 1), and later the colonial Dutch Indies government and the Indonesian government, has been a great help for the Baduy to protect their sacred forest and agricultural land from outside intrusion. They could organize their own institutions and have their own regulations. However, nowadays these borders no longer guarantee sustainable development because of the greatly increased number of Baduy living in Kanékés. It seems

TABLE 2 Number of Baduy from 1822–2016 The numbers in square brackets [...] are my estimates

Year	1822	1888	1899	1928	1966	1983	2004	1 May 2016
Source	Blume 1993 [1822]: 31	Jacobs & Meijer 1891:44–46	Van Tricht 1929: 78	Van Tricht 1929: 71	Garna 1988: 58	Garna 1988: 59	Van Zanten 2004	Secretary Kanékés [1200]
Inner Baduy	188	184	-	140	-	472	[800]	[1200]
Outer Baduy	-	-	-	740	-	4102	[6500]	[10000]
Dangka hamlets	-	107	-	639	-	-	[400]	[700]
<i>Total</i>	-	291	1387	1519 ^a	3935	4574	[7700]	11289 ^b

^a On page 78 Van Tricht gives a total of 1521.

^b This figure is a total for Kanékés village without the 7 *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. The secretary said he did not have figures for Baduy living in the *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. I estimate their number at about 700 in 2016, so that at that time the total number of Baduy was about twelve thousand.

that the major conflicts between Baduy and their non-Baduy neighbours were caused by problems over land ownership. Therefore, in 1978 the Indonesian authorities opened the first Baduy resettlement hamlet Cipangembar in an old rubber estate Gunung Tunggal, in bird-flight about 15 km north of Kaduketug. This resettlement project failed almost entirely and many migrants returned to Kanékés (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 66–121; Garna 1989: 28; Persoon 1994: 309–372; Van Zanten 2004: 130–134). The great pressure for agricultural land remained and was even enlarged by the many *dangka* inhabitants that moved to hamlets inside Kanékés village, as was mentioned in Section 2.2. The Indonesian authorities were getting more grip on the Baduy way of life since the resettlement projects that started in 1978 (Van Zanten 2004).

In the Outer Baduy area there is about 2000 hectare *huma* available for farming and this is not enough for the present population. Moreover, the Baduy way of farming on non-irrigated fields with shifting cultivation requires much farming land. For this ‘slash and burn’ farming without fertilizers and without pesticides,¹¹ the land should only be used for farming one out of five to seven

11 Although pesticides have not been used for rice, vegetables and fruit, in July 2016 I saw a man with chemicals in plastic containers near the house of the secular village head. He told that this was used to spray grass away (A2016-2: 1). During the last decades pollution



FIGURE 14 Clean water used to be transported by gutters made of lengthwise cut bamboo. This is gradually replaced by a system of PVC pipes lying on the ground. Path near Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013

years. Currently the land seems to be used every other year for growing rice. It means that the quality of the agricultural land is decreasing: the land becomes exhausted. This forced many Outer Baduy to work on fields outside Kanékés.¹² They bought the land, or hired it to be used for farming. I have no sound data on how much land the Baduy are using outside Kanékés, but it is fairly certainly more than what they have in Kanékés. In July 2016 *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah told me that the Outer Baduy possess or rent about 3000 hectare farming land outside Kanékés (A2016-1: 59).¹³

by plastic, PVC and batteries also has become a problem, partially because of tourism, but also because materials like bamboo are being replaced by the Baduy themselves (see Figure 14).

- 12 As far as I know Inner Baduy should still have their *huma* exclusively inside the Inner Baduy area in Kanékés and they all obey this rule.
- 13 Confusingly, in December 2013 the secular village head Daénah had told me that Baduy people possess about 700 hectare of agricultural land (*huma*) and hire another 300 hectare *huma* outside Kanékés village (A2013: 30). This is different from what I reported in 2004, namely that in 2003 more than half of the Outer Baduy agricultural

Many Baduy already work on land owned by others and this land lies about one hour travelling by foot and public transport from their homes in Kanékés. In such cases they will build a small house near the fields (*saung huma*) and stay there most days during the week at the time that much work has to be done there. In July 2016 the former secular village head *jaro* Asrab told me that in Cikapéék near Leuwidamar, where his son and several other Baduy have agricultural fields, the price for one hectare land was about 60 million Rupiah, that is, about € 4140, US\$ 4560. A few years earlier his son-in-law and daughter had bought 2 hectare land for 100 million Rupiah in Cikapéék (A2014-1: 21). There also are Baduy families who do not possess or hire any farming land. Those people are forced to find other forms of living, like trading cloths woven in Kanékés, forging knives, etcetera. This is becoming a serious problem, because farming on non-irrigated rice fields has always been a central pillar of the Baduy religion *Sunda wiwitan*.¹⁴ Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 79–80) and Garna (1988: 278) emphasize that Baduy religion is not about what Baduy should believe, but about what they have to do according to the ancestral rules.¹⁵

Geise (1952: 100–101) reported that some Baduy complained that there were *sawah* on the *dangka* fields outside Kanékés. His informant Marceuni (Martjeuni) remarked that it was all right if some regulations on Baduy clothing were changed, but *sawah* should not be allowed to replace *huma*:

fields was located *outside* Kanékés; one third of land in the village Bojong Ménténg belonged to Baduy people (Van Zanten 2004: 131). However, both statements by Daénah point to the fact that Outer Baduy are using a considerable amount of fields outside Kanékés.

- 14 I use 'religion' in the sociological/anthropological way: the hierarchically highest classification system in a society. Therefore, I make no great distinction between the concepts 'religion' (*agama*) and 'belief system' (*kepercayaan*) or 'local religion': both are covered by the term 'religion'. However, this distinction is clearly made by the present Indonesian government. It is not entirely clear when *Sunda wiwitan* was first generally used to indicate one of the (mystic) belief movements in Java (*aliran kepercayaan, aliran kebatinan*) and when the Baduy started to use this term for indicating their own religion/belief system. Mutaqin (2014: 10, 18) states that at the beginning of the 20th century the teacher Madrais had 'formally established a new religion called Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) which later became well known as Madraisism or Sunda Wiwitan' in Kuningan (south of Cirebon), west Java and '... Sunda Wiwitan – the other name for ADS.' Subagyo (1976: 99) used 'Agama Sunda' to describe the Baduy religion and he did not mention 'Sunda wiwitan'.
- 15 Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 288): '... *agamanya [Baduy] tidak menekankan kaidah-kaidah kepercayaan*'. Garna (1988: 278): '... *pikukuh berisi dan menekankan kepada apa yang harus mereka lakukan atau kerjakan bukan kepada apa yang harus dipercayai*'.

For all *jaro dangka* this is forbidden [to have irrigated fields]. It seems that nowadays they violate religion, after it has been crushed by the *jaro pamaréntah*. Because those *jaro* say: 'According to government's order'. Therefore the *jaro dangka* are afraid of them.

Geise continued by saying that he quoted Marceuni's 'sermon' because it underlines how important the restrictions on land use are. 'It is of utmost importance to consider the land, the sacredness of the land and preservation of that land as one of the most important cultural elements of the Baduy, next to the rice ritual'.

This situation did not change since Geise's research: in current practice irrigated rice fields (*sawah*) are strictly forbidden in Kanékés. This also holds for the fields near the hamlets of Cicakal Girang in Kanékés, where Muslim people live. The *sawah* there (see Figure 15) are only tolerated by the Baduy rulers, because they have no power to change this situation. Danasamita and Djatisunda (1986: 90) described the task of the Muslims living in Cicakal Girang in the past as 'spies for the kingdom', that is, for the sultanate of Sérang.¹⁶

One could say that the role of the Muslim enclave Cicakal Girang is to mediate between the Indonesian rulers and the Baduy. Until this day Outer Baduy have their marriage registered by the *panghulu* (Islamic religious village officer) of Cicakal Girang. When married this way the Baduy have no problem in saying, with consent of their spiritual leaders (*puun*), the Muslim creed (*sahadat, syahadat*: 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammed is his Prophet'), mainly because to them this does not mean that they are Muslims (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 92–93). See also Sucipto, Limbeng and Maria (2007: 92). Moreover, Danasamita and Djatisunda (1986: 71) remarked that the *puun* only give permission to marry this way, if the Outer Baduy couple has promised not to become Muslim; see also Section 4.6. In a section about the Muslim enclave Cicakal Girang, Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 78–84) quoted a few important Baduy who all confirmed that this hamlet in Kanékés has been Muslim from the beginning and that it is not a place where Baduy go to become Muslim.

Suryani ([2020]) wrote an interesting section on Cicakal Girang in chapter 4, based on his fieldwork in 2017–2018. See also Mutaqin (2014: 1–2) who wrote about people adhering to the *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS) that he also called *Sunda wiwitan*: 'As a pragmatic response when being repressed, either by religious

16 See also Subagyo (1976: 95) who argues that sultan Maulana Hasanudin of Banten (seat in Sérang) spread Islam with arguments and without using force or harshness. Therefore the Islamic enclave Cicakal Girang could be built in Kanékés as the result of a compromise.



FIGURE 15 Irrigated rice fields (*sawah*) of Muslims living in the hamlets of Cicakal Girang in Kanékés are officially forbidden, but nevertheless tolerated by the Baduy leaders. Cicakal Girang, 2 June 2014

orthodoxy or the state, ADS utilises a “back and forth” conversion tactic. The “front stage” is the pretence of converting to one of the formal authorised religions¹⁷ whilst at the “back stage” they remain true to their beliefs’. Mutaqin (2014: 18–20) gave a few recent examples of how followers of the *Sunda wiwitan* belief system applied the ‘back and forth’ conversion tactic in other parts of Sunda.

2.4 Relations with Indonesian Authorities and Cultural Tourism

The Baduy have always recognized that they were part of a larger system.¹⁸ Their ascetic life is for the well-being of the world and they could live this

17 The six official religions and percentages of the population given by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion are: Khonghucu (0.05%), Buddha (0.7%), Hindu (1.7%), Katolik (2.7%), Protestan (6.9%), Islam (87.2%); see <https://indonesia.go.id/profil/agama> [last access 19 January 2019.]

18 This section includes parts taken from Van Zanten (2017).

life, because the sultans of Banten had guaranteed the borders of their village Kanékés. In return, the Baduy have paid their respect to the sultan of Banten by offering agricultural products (like bananas, palm sugar, *petai* beans) and handicrafts (like woven cloths, kitchen utensils) during the yearly *séba* ceremony after the harvest. Nowadays the Baduy are protected by other 'rulers of the north' than the sultan: in particular the head of the sub-district Leuwidamar, the regent of Lebak in Rangkasbitung, the regent of Sérang and the governor of Bantén Province in Sérang. Although the Baduy have been granted a great deal of autonomy in their village Kanékés, in colonial times and also in the independent Indonesian state, the relation between the indigenous group of the Baduy and the Indonesian authorities showed serious shortcomings with respect to sustainability (Van Zanten 2004).

Around 2001 the Banten provincial government declared the Baduy area an 'object of cultural tourism' (*obyek budaya wisata*) and this encouraged visits from outsiders (Van Zanten 2004: 145–147). Undoubtedly there were some benefits for Baduy: they sold more locally woven cloth and knives made by their smiths to tourists.¹⁹ In 2015 the blue-black printed batik (*mérong*) used by Outer Baduy for the men's head cloth and women's sarong and produced outside Kanékés, was patented as Batik Lebak; see also Figure 16.²⁰

However, these developments also had negative effects. The accommodation of an increasing number of tourists visiting Kanékés village became a burden for the Baduy. For instance, hamlets of about 400 people in Kanékés were sometimes asked to accommodate a group of tourists of the same size for one or two nights. In a newspaper article former minister of Education and Culture, Fuad Hassan was quoted as saying in 2002: 'The Baduy area and the Naga village in Tasikmalaya seem to be only exploited, without any benefit for them'. (Van Zanten 2004: 145–147).

In a newspaper article of 15 June 2009 a Dutch journalist reported that she visited Kanékés with two friends. When in Cibolégér they wanted to be guided by Baduy boys into Kanékés, they were told by other men that they could not 'just take a Baduy guide'; the Baduy could only carry their luggage. The journalist wrote: 'This was also an acquaintance with the local Javanese *preman*: the local scoundrels who have set up a whole business around

19 E-newspaper *Kompas.com* 29 October 2014 [last access 23 May 2017]: <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2014/10/29/194100627/Wisatawan.Mulai.Lirik.Kain.Tenun.Baduy> and *Kompas.com* 28 October 2015 [last access 23 May 2017]: <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/10/28/071200827/Tenun.Tradisional.Baduy.Disukai.Wisatawan>.

20 See a list of the twelve Batik Lebak motifs on <https://batikdarilebak.blogspot.nl/>. [Last access 22 August 2017.]



FIGURE 16 Boy dancing on *keromong* (gamelan) music during a circumcision in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016. This dancing (*topéng*) is officially forbidden, but tolerated for Outer Baduy.

their less mature neighbours'. She was not the only one with this experience and this type of exploitation seems to have become even more problematic nowadays.²¹

One problem that comes with tourism, is that often foreigners, who are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy area, nevertheless do enter and try to meet a *puun*, which is forbidden. Some of the foreigners wrote about this. For instance, the German journalist Thomas Hanitzsch wrote about his visit to the Inner Baduy in September 2000. An Inner Baduy guide, most probably from Cibéo, took him there for a meeting with the *puun*, under the condition that he would cover his white skin and would not take photographs.²² I have heard about and experienced more examples of this. For

21 See Elske Schouten's article 'With a dubious guide to the Baduy' on <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2009/06/15/met-een-dubieuze-gids-naar-de-baduy-a1479226>. [Last access 12 April 2018].

22 See newspaper article 'Die "Baduy" von Kanekes.' *Freitag* 39, 22 Sept 2000, <https://www.freitag.de/autoren/der-freitag/die-baduy-von-kanekes> [last access 21 February 2019].

instance, in July 2016 a Korean Christian preacher was expelled by the Outer Baduy, after giving sweets to Baduy children and telling them to thank God for this. Earlier the preacher had openly told me that he had met the *puun* of Cibéo with his party of about 50 students, including several Koreans (A2016-1: 30–31, 47).

2.4.1 *Hand Phones*

Baduy ascetics are also tempted by new technological developments: motor-bikes, cars and also by hand phones/cell phones (*hapé, ponsel*). Familiarity with these technological developments starts already at a young age, when children watch television just outside Kanékés and play, for instance, card games: see Figure 17. Of these developments I think that the hand phones have a tremendous impact on Baduy society, because they may be very useful. A decade ago Bart Barendregt wrote: ‘Hence, in Indonesia one cannot over-stress the representational value of mobile media’ (Barendregt 2008: 160). Similarly, the impact of hand phones on Baduy society should not be underestimated, not only for ‘representational values’, but also for the practical consequences.

Although officially still forbidden by the spiritual leaders, almost all Outer Baduy grown-ups in the northern part of Kanékés have such hand phone (smart phone) and they carry it with them. It is said that also many Inner Baduy have a hand phone and that they leave it behind in Cibolégér or some other place before entering Kanékés. The hand phones greatly stimulate the Baduy to informally learn to read and send messages, record sound and images on their smart phone, or search the Internet.²³ The phones are, for instance, used for inviting an *angklung* group to play outside Kanékés. The hand phones are also used to make arrangements with tourist groups that want to visit Kanékés. In a newspaper article of 7 February 2019 the journalist wrote that the editorial office had contacted the secular village head Saijah (Saija) for an interview by telephone.²⁴

The history of the hand phones in the Baduy area started around 2008–2009, considerably later than in the urban areas. On 13 May 2009 the general

23 See, for instance also Kompas.com with the 2010 article ‘The Baduy produce independent souls’: <https://tekno.kompas.com/read/2010/03/27/0242138/jiwa.mandiri.bertumbuh.di.baduy> [last access 26 February 2019.]

24 In this interview Saijah announced the dates of the *kawalu* months for ritual cleaning and fasting: between 5 February and 5 May 2019. Kanékés would be closed for tourists at that time, he said. See <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/07/20065791/gelar-ritual-kawalu-kawasan-wisata-baduy-dalam-ditutup-tiga-bulan>. [Last access 10 February 2019.]



FIGURE 17 Children playing cards on the veranda of the village head in Kaduketug 1, 29 May 2014. The text on the shirt means: 'As from a young age we have to enjoy reading'

manager Johnny Swandi Sjam of Indosat Company, a provider of telecommunication, officially opened the first base transceiver station (BTS) in Cibolégér, which made the operation of hand phones in Kanékés possible (Figure 18). The opening happened in the presence of the vice-governor of Banten, Muhammad Masduki. The general manager of Indosat made it clear that this telecommunication tower would stimulate tourism to the Baduy area. It had already been operational since 2008. According to the Internet newspaper *Republika* the general manager said on that occasion:

Our presence in the hamlet Cibolégér that borders the Baduy area again proves Indosat's commitment to opening up the access to services for the people in the rural areas, so that they can develop the potentials of their area, such as tourism in the Outer Baduy area that is known as an area where tourists go, because of its unique tradition and culture they defend until the present day.²⁵

25 See <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/trendtek/telekomunikasi/09/05/14/50119-indosat-perluas-layanan-ke-baduy>. [Last access 24 January 2019.]



FIGURE 18 In the right-background is a Base transceiver station (BTS) enabling communication by hand phones, Cibolégér/northeast of Kanékés, 14 December 2013

The vice-governor of Banten added to this: 'By supplying access to telecommunication in the Baduy area, we hope that we can help to raise the touristic potential of this area'.²⁶ However, there also appeared negative reactions to these developments.

On 28 August 2012 a critical E-newspaper article 'BTS, Baduy, Prometheus and common mistakes' appeared about these hand phone facilities created for the Baduy.²⁷ The journalist Heru Nugroho and his travelling party reported on a telecom tower (BTS) that they had seen in the process of being built in Cijahé, just outside Kanékés, and in bird-flight between 1 and 2km from the three Inner Baduy hamlets Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo (see map in Figure 2). Until then these three hamlets had not been in reach of this telecom network. The tower was built by an Indonesian provider of telecom facilities, most probably Indosat. The journalist and his party were

26 See <http://inet.detik.com/read/2009/05/13/160943/130865/328/indosat-buka-akses-di-pedalaman-baduy>. [Last access 24 January 2019.]

27 See <http://www.wacana.co/2012/08/bts-baduy-prometheus-dan-salah-kaprah/> [last access 24 January 2019.]

surprised to find here such a tower: What did the Baduy gain from this? Had the company carried out a feasibility study that not only included the business components, but also the cultural and social effects? Did the company really think about the implications this telecom system would have for the Baduy community?

It would be interesting to know more details about why Baduy buy hand phones and how they use them. Do they mainly use prepaid cards, how often do they speak on the phone and how often do they send an SMS, make photographs or films, use the Internet, etc.? Further, it would be interesting to know more details about the role of telecom companies in the spread of hand phones. In such study on the telecom facilities supplied by companies the role of NGOs and the local and provincial authorities should be included. I suppose most Baduy users, like many others using this technology, have little idea about the possible misuse of their private data and the spread of fake news when using these telecom facilities.

2.4.2 *Séba*

During the last decennium the authorities of Banten province very much promoted Baduy people to participate in the yearly *séba* ceremony. In this ceremony, taking place after the rice harvest, a delegation of Baduy men travels to Rangkasbitung and Sérang to pay their respect to the local rulers and offer them some of their agricultural and handicraft products. In Sérang they also reconfirm the ritual relation to the rulers: Outer Baduy who for the first time take part in a *séba* take a ritual bath in the Cibanten River; Inner Baduy do so in the Cigowel River.²⁸ The *séba* ceremony fits very well with the policy of making the Baduy an object of cultural tourism. Whereas in 1905 the *séba* delegation consisted of seven Baduy (Pleyte 1909: 494), about a century later its size increased from about 500–600 Baduy participants in 2003 to almost 2000 in 2015.²⁹

In current practice participating Baduy men are paid for taking part in the *séba* ceremony (during the last few years about 50 000 to 100 000 Rupiah, or between 3½ and 7 Euro, or 3.8 and 7.6 US dollars) and the governmental

28 Personal information from Mumu, 26 April 2015. See also *jaro* Saijah, as reported by Bahtiar Rifa'i in DetikNews 20 April 2018 on <https://news.detik.com/berita/3982289/nyeker-seribuan-warga-baduy-jalan-kaki-50-km> and <http://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/05/26/143944427/Seba.Perjalanan.Spiritual.Baduy> [last access sites: 16 March 2019.]

29 This number of *séba* participants also fluctuates for other reasons. If the harvest has been good, there are many participants and it is called a 'great *séba*' (*séba gedé*); if the harvest is not so good there will be less participants and it is called a 'small *séba*' (*séba leutik*). See also Appendix 2.

authorities promote the ceremony to tourists. Already for a few years the authorities arranged transport for the Outer Baduy at the *séba* ceremony. On 20 April 2018 they had arranged for 78 trucks to transport the about 1350 Outer Baduy to Rangkasbitung and Sérang (Mumu, personal communication 25 April 2018).³⁰ In 2019 there were protests against the change of the *séba* meeting with the governor of Banten in Sérang from 9 May 2019 (Thursday) to 4 May 2019 (Saturday). Many Baduy felt that the change of date was ‘forced on them’, and they refused to take part in the *séba*: dates determined by the spiritual leaders cannot be changed easily, just because a Saturday would possibly be better for tourists.

In July 2016 I saw an official letter on the sign board in the Baduy secretariat in Cibolégér, signed by *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah and dated 18 April 2016, announcing the timetable for the coming *séba* ceremony in May 2016. This letter was officially directed to the Governor of Banten Province in Sérang and the Regent of the Lebak Regency in Rangkasbitung. Altogether 1839 Baduy men had registered for participating in the 2016 *séba*: 50 from Cibéo, 11 from Cikartawana, 30 from Cikeusik and 1752 Outer Baduy from the other 62 hamlets. These figures are not entirely consistent and the total number of participants apparently turned out to be much less: 1317, 1300 Outer Baduy and only 17 Inner Baduy participants (see Appendix 2).

In this letter about the 2016 *séba* programme the timetable for the party of participants, based on a decision of the Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh Adat Board of the Baduy community, was given to be:

1. Friday 13 May 2016, 01:30 [13:30]: departure from the office of the village head of Kanékés to the regents’ office of Kabupaten Lebak [in Rangkasbitung].³¹ Presentation of the Baduy *séba* gifts in Kabupaten Lebak on Friday evening (*malam Sabtu*);
2. Saturday 14 May 2016, 07:30: *Séba* participants will depart from Rangkasbitung and go to [the seat of] Banten Province. Presentation of *séba* gifts in Banten Province [Sérang] on Saturday evening (*malam Minggu*);
3. Saturday 14 May 2016, 10:00 until ready: [visit] to the Adat Institute for Séba (*Lembaga Adat Seba*) in Pandeglang Regency;
4. Sunday 15 May 2016, 8:30 in the morning: *Séba* in the Kabupaten Sérang, followed by the return of the *séba* participants to the Baduy area.

30 See also <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/pelaksanaan-dimajukan-seba-baduy-2019-berlangsung-kurang-meriah.html>.

31 Whereas the Outer Baduy may use public transport, the participating Inner Baduy will have to walk from Kaduketug to Rangkasbitung, a distance of about 52 km according to Hasman and Reiss (2012: 33). Therefore this letter was not meant for the Inner Baduy.

During the *séba* the Baduy usually also publicly state what they want the Indonesian authorities to do for them and the world. For instance, the issues of land shortage and religion were raised during the 2016 *séba* and summarized in an article in the Internet newspaper Merahputih.com of 14 May 2016.³² Secular village head Saijah was reported to have asked the regent of Lebak in Rangkasbitung:

1. That on Baduy identity cards (KTP) in the column 'religion' would be written 'Sunda wiwitan', as was the case from about 1972 to 2011 (it should not be kept empty, as has been the case since 2011);³³
2. The Baduy would like to be involved in protecting the sustainability of nature (*dilibatkan menjaga kelestarian alam*) in the Gunung Halimun National Park;
3. To help in obtaining six hectare of land to be used for agriculture, because there is a shortage.

To these questions the Lebak regent Iti Octavia Jayabaya answered³⁴ that her local government, like other Lebak governments before, would support the Baduy request that 'Sunda wiwitan' would appear on their identity card, however, this was a matter under the judicial power of the central government.³⁵ Further, she supported the efforts of the Baduy for sustainable development of nature in Banten. The report in the E-newspaper did not mention how the regent answered to the question of obtaining six hectare of agricultural land for the Baduy.

32 <https://www.jpnn.com/news/masyarakat-baduy-punya-3-permintaan-ini>; last access 28 September 2020.

33 Although the Baduy insist to get 'Sunda wiwitan' back on their identity card, several Indonesians have principally objected against a column 'religion' on the identity card and allowing only six religions to be included (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism), as this may cause discrimination. See, for instance, the 17 May 2016 Internet article at <https://merahputih.com/post/read/kolom-agama-di-ktp-jadi-pemicu-terjadinya-diskriminasi> [last access 9 January 2018]. On the identity card the column 'religion' could be left blanc if a person wishes so, but this does not solve the problems of possible discrimination.

34 See <https://www.jpnn.com/news/masyarakat-baduy-punya-3-permintaan-begini-tanggapan-bu-bupati>; last access 28 September 2020.

35 In 2017 the Constitutional Court ruled that the indigenous religions could be registered on the indentity cards (KTP). This resulted in the possible registration of 'religion' as 'belief in the Almighty God' (*Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan yang Maha Esa*). It did not really solve the Baduy problem: they wanted their religion to be notated as 'Sunda wiwitan' (Suryani [2020]: chapter 7, section E); see also, for instance, <https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1382179/174/4462-warga-baduy-miliki-e-ktp-dengan-kolom-kepercayaan-tme-1551177450> [last access 12 March 2020.]

Religion has always been one of the important issues for the Baduy. In Van Zanten (2004: 137–141; see also Suryani [2020]) I described the difficulties some Baduy experienced when resettling in land outside Kanékés after 1978. The Baduy leaders no longer recognized these migrants as Baduy, because they had ceased to live according to the customary rules. Hence they could not be registered as having the *Sunda wiwitan* religion. Most of these migrants became Muslim and some became Christians and possibly Hindu. Remaining an unbeliever, atheist, agnostic or humanist was no real choice and dangerous, also because most Indonesians still associate unbelievers with communists. This was nourished by the severe social unbalance caused by the army coup of 1965. The ‘systematic attack against the Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI)’ and the committed ‘crimes against humanity’ by the State of Indonesia³⁶ led to a stronger position of Islamic parties and undoubtedly made the position of unbelievers and non-Muslim Baduy more vulnerable.

In Van Zanten (2004: 141) I also mentioned that during my fieldwork in Kanékés in March 2003 the Baduy closely followed the international developments concerning Iraq and a possible invasion by the USA. The war against Iraq started in the early hours of Thursday 20 March 2003. In Indonesia there was little sympathy with the United States of America and the United Kingdom, and the Baduy were no exception. The war was systematically announced as a ‘war of aggression’ on Indonesian television and radio. The Baduy village head Daénah listened several times per day to the radio, Indonesian news, but mostly to the Indonesian broadcast of the BBC World Service. He explained that the Baduy leaders thought, that a Third World War would be a war between religions (*perang agama*). They feared that when this war would start in Iraq, it would also affect them: the surrounding Muslims might then attack the small Baduy group and this would be the end of Kanékés. Section 6.5 will again discuss this issue by looking at some texts of the *pantun* stories.

The Indonesian authorities want the Baduy to integrate as much as possible in the Indonesian nation. This was not yet achieved in 2004: I wrote that the Kanékés people do not pay taxes to the Indonesian government, do not

36 See, for instance the ‘Final Report of the IPT 1965: Findings and Documents of the IPT 1965’, Section C., 1.Findings, item 1, on <http://www.tribunal1965.org/final-report-of-the-ipt-1965/> [last access 9 January 2019.] The International People’s Tribunal (IPT) concluded: ‘The State of Indonesia is responsible for and guilty of crimes against humanity consequent upon the commission and perpetration, particularly by the military of that state through its chain of command, of the inhumane acts detailed below ...’ However, I have no data on how the 1965 army coup directly influenced Baduy society and culture.

vote in general elections, nor send their children to school, which is compulsory for other Indonesians. On the other hand, the secular village head of Kanékés is formally appointed by the Indonesian authorities, with consent of the spiritual leaders of the Baduy, but the Indonesian authorities do not pay him a salary like they do for other village heads. The same holds for the secretary (*carik*) to the village head, who is always a non-Baduy person (Van Zanten 2004: 129–30). Since 2004 certain things have changed. The village secretary became an official civil servant in 2007 with a salary paid by the Indonesian authorities and the Outer Baduy started taking part in the general elections.

Erwinantu (2012: 101–2) reported that Outer Baduy gradually took part in the general elections (*pemilu*) since 1997. The Baduy leaders still do not allow the Inner Baduy to take part in the elections. In 1997 there were just a few hundred Outer Baduy that took part, but in 2004 the participation was much larger and in 2009 about 1500 of the 5000 people with voting rights took part. In the regional elections of Rangkasbitung in 2013 about 5000 of the 7000 Outer Baduy with voting rights actually voted, according to Sapin, the secretary of Kanékés village.³⁷ Thus Baduy became more involved in Indonesian politics. See on this matter also Suryani's dissertation 'From hermits to citizens' [2020], chapter 7; he quotes sources that mention some Baduy participation in general elections in the 1970s and 1980s.

Giving voters the opportunity to elect a governor (*gubernur*), regent (*bupati*) of a regency (*kabupaten*), a mayor of a city, and the president of the country in direct elections was part of the democratization and decentralization process after the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998. In 2005 this became possible for the first time; before that year these officials were appointed by the central government. After the direct elections of several rather 'independent' candidates, that is candidates not closely related to a political party, the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPRI) decided to cancel the direct elections for governors, regents and mayors on 26 September 2014. After this 2 October 2014 change of law (PPU 1/2014 and PPU 2/2014) the president and village heads (*lurah*) will still be chosen by direct elections, but governors, regents and mayors will be elected in an indirect way again, via the parties in the regional parliaments

37 See, for instance, E-newspaper articles Melle Garschagen: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/09/26/woede-in-jakarta-na-democratisch-verraad-1425145-a113484> and Inggried Dwi Wedhaswary (ed.): <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/10/03/09190651/ini.isi.Perppu.Pilkada.yang.Dikeluarkan.Presiden.SBY.This.happened.by.the.law.Tentang.pemilihan.Gubernur.Bupati.dan.Walikota>: see <http://www.bpkp.go.id/uu/file/3/122.bpkp> [all sites last accessed 9 January 2019.]

(DPRD). It seems that after this new law of 2014 the Baduy's interest in the elections decreased again.

The attempts of the Indonesian authorities to increase its grip on Kanékés became also clear from the fact that at the time that the concrete poles³⁸ were used to mark the borders of Kanékés in 1986, the Lebak regency also divided Kanékés in three administrative 'blocks' with one of the *tangtu* hamlets as its centre (Garna 1987: 21–2). Currently this administrative system seems to be the one commonly used; see also Appendix 1. The influence of the Indonesian bureaucratic system on the Baduy society may also become clear by noting that by July 2016 the size of the secretariat of Kanékés village had increased to 11 people, headed by Sapin.³⁹

2.5 Non-Governmental Organisations: Trust, Social Justice and Environment

In some parts of the world Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs, *badan nonpemerintah*, and *lembaga swadaya masyarakat*) or foundations (*yayasan*) have played an important role as mediators between minority groups, the majority groups and the authorities. In this section I would like to discuss the role of some NGOs as regards the relation between the Baduy indigenous group, Indonesian society, and the Indonesian and local authorities. Generally speaking, NGOs have not been very strong in Indonesia, certainly not at the time of Suharto's 'New Order' (*Orde Baru*) between 1966 and 1998. At that time the armed forces had a strong grip on society and they wanted social stability for economic development. With an understatement one could say that they did not encourage independent, critical voices from intellectuals, artists and NGOs.

Since 1970 there was at least one notable NGO that on behalf of the poor people raised its voice against violation of human rights, social injustice and corruption in Indonesia: the *Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* (LBH, Legal Aid Foundation).⁴⁰ However, during the Suharto regime the general political climate in

38 The poles were painted white, that is, in the 'sacred' colour (Bakels 1993: 354).

39 Sapin was village secretary of Kanékés until 1 July 2016; he was replaced by Arman, according to my assistant Mumu, in an E mail dated 18 January 2017.

40 The LBH was founded in Jakarta in 1970 on the initiative of Adnan Buyung Nasution (1934–2015) and it was then supported by the then governor of DKI Jakarta, Ali Sadikin. See, for instance https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lembaga_Bantuan_Hukum_Jakarta [Accessed 27 April 2017.]

Indonesia was not favourable for NGOs. This needs to be kept in mind when discussing NGOs that were involved with the Baduy in this section. Further, I shall only briefly discuss a few of my own experiences concerning NGOs in this context. This topic is worth to be investigated more thoroughly. See Suryani ([2020], in particular chapter 4) for Muslim NGOs involved in the conversion of Baduy, especially in the resettlement hamlets, to Islam.

In the 1980s and 1990s the land around Kanékés became increasingly used for oil palm (*kelapa sawit*) plantations. This was damaging the ecological system of the region and it worsened the problem of finding agricultural land for the Baduy, a problem that already existed for several decades and that also led to the resettlement programme of 1978 that started with resettling 80 Baduy families (see also Sections 2.2 and 5.4). Some NGOs offered to assist the Baduy indigenous group in dealing with the Indonesian authorities and the agricultural business companies. The village secretary of Kanékés, Ukang Sukarna, told me in October 1992 that the pop singer Ulyy Sirgar Rusadi had bought a piece of 16 hectare forest just outside Kanékés and wanted to make this a kind of natural reserve with special trees (A1992-1: 39). It was meant as an environmental protection of Kanékés and carried out by the Yayasan Garuda Nusantara, founded by Ulyy Sirgar in 1985.⁴¹

On 5 November 1992 I visited Ulyy Sirgar in Jakarta. I told her that I had donated money to the village head Asrab for buying about one hectare of land outside Kanékés for communal use by the Baduy (Van Zanten 2009: 295–297). On her part she confirmed that the Garuda Nusantara foundation had bought land near Kanékés on two locations: one piece of 14 hectare and one piece of 6 hectare. This action should prevent the establishment of *sawit* oil palm plantations around Kanékés that were damaging the ecology of the region. The Baduy, also the Inner Baduy, had been very eagerly planting trees on these obtained locations, she said. Ulyy Sirgar also wanted to establish an information centre about the Baduy at that place. Not in Cibolégér near the border with Kanékés, as I had suggested to the village head. Further, she told that the Indonesian government had offered the foundation a subsidy, but that she had refused the offer, so that she could stay more independent (A1992-2: 15–16).

During my fieldwork in July 2016 I raised the issue of mediation by NGOs, also triggered by experiences in the months before that will be discussed below. It became clear that the Baduy leaders were not very interested in NGOs

41 See, for instance, https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulyy_Sigar_Rusady [last access 16 March 2019.]

and did not really trust them, certainly not the NGOs that were subsidized by the Indonesian government. Two Baduy leaders that I had interviewed before in 1992 and 2003 expressed their disappointment: in the 1990s the Garuda Nusantara foundation had bought land in Cihandam but that had in no way been helpful in solving the Baduy's shortage of agricultural land. They said that it had only benefitted the people who had established the foundation (A2016-1: 32, 40). According to Suryani ([2020]: chapter 4, section D and chapter 5, section A-5) in 2017 villagers told him that they thought that Ully Sigar's environmental programme was funded by Christian organizations in the USA. That did not support its trustworthiness.

An important part of the work by the Garuda Nusantara foundation could be described as raising awareness for ecological issues and Intangible Cultural Heritage, like indigenous knowledge systems, as described in the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This is also reflected in, for instance, the efforts to organize symposia on these issues and the production of a film for the general public in 2016: *My Journey Mencari Mata Air* (My journey: In search for the well).⁴² Although the Baduy have always been interested in ecological issues and keeping their environment ritually clean, it seemed that they had little understanding for those more general issues raised by the Garuda Nusantara foundation. There seems to be an important information gap between the foundation and the Baduy leaders.⁴³

In 2016 my interest in the work of NGOs concerning the Baduy had been raised again when I received a short E mail message from the Gerakan Héjo (Green Movement) foundation⁴⁴ on 10 April 2016, a few months before my planned fieldwork in Kanékés. In this message the director Saladin Belhacel told me that his organisation was 'currently working to put the Baduy ethnic minority people on the MAB [Man and the Biosphere Programme] UNESCO's list'. The foundation also wanted Baduy music to be listed on one of the lists of the 2003 UNESCO convention. The director wrote that they would 'be honoured' if I would 'accept to join' them.

42 See, for instance, <<http://www.tribunnews.com/mpr-ri/2016/01/27/kerusakan-lingkungan-jadi-perhatian-mpr-ri>> [last access 16 March 2019.]

43 On the relationship between NGOs and indigenous peoples see also Persoon (1998: 285–286). He gives the example of the WWF (World Wildlife Fund) and remarks that '... principles for partnership with indigenous peoples' organizations are utilitarian and conditional.'

44 Between April 2016 and May 2017 their website was <http://www.gerakanhejo.or.id/>; this site disappeared before April 2019.

I looked at the website of the NGO Gerakan Héjo and found that in the section on the Baduy they had quoted the words of a song, published in my 2004 article.⁴⁵ I further noted that they presented outdated information on this website. Hence I wrote back to the director that they should improve the information about the Baduy on their website and

If the Yayasan Gerakan Hejo wants to help the Baduy by using international listing, for me it is crucial to know what the Baduy themselves think about this. Personally I am not at all convinced that listing (UNESCO) is a solution to the problematic situation of the Baduy. The main problem is in Indonesia itself: not allowing enough room for minorities. Religion is an important factor in this – see my 2004 article ‘Les tentations des ascètes ...’ – and the Baduy are exploited by the touristic industry (and many of them get corrupt).

On 23 April 2016 I received new information from the Gerakan Héjo foundation. This also included a copy of the letter of Gerakan Héjo (Chairman Mr Eka Santosa and director of international relations Saladin Belhacel), dated 9 March 2016 to Prof. Dr. T.A. Fauzi Soelaiman of the Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia to UNESCO in Paris. They wrote that the Gerakan Héjo was apparently interested in putting the Baduy area on the World Heritage list of the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage:

I met the spiritual leader, the Pu'un of Cikatarwana [Cikartawana], who confirmed me that every three Pu'uns from Cibeo, Cike[u]sik and himself, as well as all Jaros are consent to be represented by 'Gerakan Hejo', for to register them on the list of the UNESCO World Heritage.

There were apparently several plans made by the Gerakan Héjo with respect to UNESCO: putting the Baduy area on the World Heritage List, putting the Baduy area on the Man and Biosphere programme and also putting their intangible heritage on a list of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

When I arrived in Kanékés in July 2016, I asked several officials about the activities of the Gerakan Héjo: the village secretary, the secular village head,

45 'Look, I have been wounded for a long time/Which medicine can cure this?/The longer it lasts, the deeper my sorrow/Oh, there are so many temptations!' (Van Zanten 2004: 124; see also the very beginning of Chapter 1).

a member of the Cibéo hamlet council (A2016-1: 40), and also someone close to the *puun* of Cikartawana. None of these important people had heard about this NGO that was going to 'represent' the Baduy to UNESCO. What was striking in this letter of Gerakan Héjo dated 9 March 2016 was the procedure that was followed: apparently Chairman Eka Santosa met with the *puun* of Cikartawana and discussed things with him. However, the first people to consult on such matters related to the outside world are not the *puun*, but, for instance, the secular village head, the *jaro tanggungan duabelas* and the Kanékés secretary. However, these Baduy officials apparently did not care about the activities of the Gerakan Héjo. It seemed that they were used to such situation. It supported the idea that the Baduy are not really interested in NGOs.

The NGO WAMMBY (*Wadah Musyawarah Masyarakat Baduy*, Consultative Association of the Baduy Community) was different. It was established by people of Baduy descent who were living outside Kanékés. I do not have many details about the organisation, but the driving force behind this organization seems to have been Kasmin Saelani, a businessman and local politician of Baduy descent. I guess that WAMMBY was established in the 1990s (A2003-1: 11) and its office is in Rangkasbitung. The main activity of WAMMBY was to promote Baduy products. In 2016 WAMMBY started to sell Baduy products like woven cloths, honey, bags (*koja*) and knives (*golok*) on the Internet.⁴⁶

WAMMBY also supported the Baduy in their fight concerning environmental issues and shortage of agricultural land. According to *carik* Sapin, WAMMBY was also very much involved in obtaining the status of indigenous community (*masyarakat adat*) with collective land rights (*hak ulayat*; A2014-1: 61) for the Baduy, which happened in 2001 (see Section 1.1). Kasmin Saelani has been chairman of WAMMBY for many years, at least until 2015, when he was taken to court and sentenced to a few years imprisonment because of corruption. This corruption case of Kasmin had to do with the local elections for a regent of Rangkasbitung (*bupati* Lebak) in which Kasmin was the Golkar party's candidate for regent. The corruption case also involved the governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, in Sérang and judge Akil Mochtar of the Constitutional Court.⁴⁷

Although he was in prison, the Baduy leaders still showed their respect to Kasmin Saelani. In 2016 I arrived in Kanékés on 1 July, a few days before

46 See <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/586411/wammbby-promosikan-kerajinan-baduy-di-internet>. [Last access 22 January 2019.]

47 See, for instance, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kpk-resmi-jebloskan-dua-tersangka-suap-pilkada-lebak-ke-bui.html>. [Last access 22 January 2019.]

Lebaran/Idul Fitri (starting Tuesday evening 5 July 2016). In the evening of Thursday 7 July secular village head Saijah headed a party of Baduy who travelled by car to Bandung to visit Kasmin in the Suka Miskin prison on this occasion of the Lebaran feast. My assistant Mumu was asked to be the eighth person of the party, because he knew how to find the Suka Miskin prison in eastern Bandung. Initially I had also been asked whether I would join this party, and the former secular village head Asrab had said that I should certainly go. However, I had expressed my concern that as a foreigner who did not know Kasmin personally it would be better for everyone if I would not go into the prison building (A2016-1: 29–31, 33) and subsequently *jaro* Saijah also thought that it would be best if I stayed in Kanékés.

An organization like WAMMBY is apparently trusted by the Baduy leaders, whereas other NGOs are not entirely trusted. The kinship relations between the people involved are important. Migrated Baduy regularly attend marriages and circumcisions taking place in their family in Kanékés. It seems to me that a further study of the NGOs could shed more light on the policies of the Baduy rulers towards the outside world.

2.6 Weaving, Clothes and Production of Textiles for Sale

As mentioned above cloths and clothing are very important for the Baduy community. Since about 2000 there has been a shift in the use of colours used for the woven cloths. Before the major colours were blackish-blue, white and dark-red, and gradually colours like light-green and yellow were added, I presume mainly for trying to sell it to tourists and the outside market (see Figure 20 below).

Already in 1822 Blume mentioned that the Baduy have to make their own clothes. The raw cotton needed for the weaving of the cloths was obtained from 'small markets' around Kanékés. According to Blume the raw cotton and other products from outside (like salt, silver ear rings and bracelets) were exchanged for rice from Kanékés. The '*Girang puun*' was responsible for these transactions and now and then the *puun* visited the markets with some elders to exchange rice for cotton (Blume 1993 [1822]: 35). Nowadays it is unthinkable that a *puun* would go to a market outside Kanékés: he is not allowed to leave the *tangtu* area.⁴⁸ Moreover, the Baduy are allowed to buy rice from

48 As discussed at the end of Section 2.1 and below in Section 3.2, it may be that Blume meant a former *puun*, who had to resign because his wife died, but who still kept the honorific title *girang puun*. In that case, as an ordinary Inner Baduy, he would be allowed to leave Kanékés.

outside Kanékés, but they are not allowed to sell the rice that was grown in Kanékés.⁴⁹

The cotton is still bought from outside Kanékés, because the Baduy are not allowed to cultivate the cotton plant. Reiss (2012: 58) mentioned that she visited Gunung Buleud and surrounding villages, a few kilometres south of Kanékés, in September 2011. She was informed that *tangtu* people had come to Sukamana village in that area since the 1940s to buy raw cotton, spun threads and white loosely-woven cloth (*boéh rarang*) only used for ritual purposes such as wrapping a corpse before burying. Although cotton is still bought outside Kanékés, like two hundred years ago, other things have changed considerably since Blume's report. For instance, since the 1970s the use of industrially produced yarn has increased (Bakels 1991: 22; 1993: 350). Reiss (2012: 54–55) described a visit in November 2010 to a small weaving factory in Majalaya, about 30 km southeast of Bandung, where since the beginning of the 21st century sarongs for the Outer Baduy are produced, using industrially produced yarns and chemical dyes.

Both the Inner and the Outer Baduy men and women can be recognized because of the special clothes they wear. The basic colours are white and black/blue. However, for the outsider there is a puzzling number of different motives. Inner Baduy only wear cloth woven in Kanékés (see also Bakels 1991: 17; Reiss 2012: 74–78). There are many weavers in Kanékés: for 2012 Reiss (2012: 52) listed 21 weavers in the three Inner Baduy hamlets and 417 weavers in 14 Outer Baduy hamlets. Most of the weavers are women and girls, but also some men and boys weave (see Figure 21). In current practice the daily clothes for Outer Baduy men and women are mostly produced outside Kanékés: printed dark blue on bright blue batik patterns and plain black cloth is used for these purposes. In 2015 the blue-black printed batik (*mérong*, see Figure 16) used by Outer Baduy for the men's head cloth and women's sarong and produced outside Kanékés, was patented as Batik Lebak with twelve motifs (Van Zanten 2017: 92–93).⁵⁰ This increase in wearing the printed batik and other commercial cloth from outside Kanékés has undoubtedly partly been accelerated by the fact that many of the woven cloths are sold to tourists. However, on special occasions the Outer Baduy tend to wear clothes made from cloth that has been woven inside Kanékés.

As already mentioned in Section 1.1, the most important clothing difference between Inner and Outer Baduy men is that in daily life the Outer Baduy men

49 This fact that in current practice the people of Kanékés will never sell the rice grown in their village was, for instance, confirmed to me by the secular village head Daénah in December 2013. Also in the *Kasepuhan* Ciptagelar, about 40 km southeast of Kanékés, the farmers are not allowed to sell rice from their own fields (Budi 2015: 111).

50 See also <http://batikdarilebak.blogspot.nl/>, last access 23 May 2017.

have a head cloth with blackish-blue patterns of printed batik (*mérong*) and mostly short black trousers; the Inner Baduy men wear a white head cloth and never trousers, but a dark blackish-blue woven sarong with a striped pattern. This sarong is kept in place by a waist-belt (*sabuk*) that is entirely white. The daily dress of Outer Baduy women is mostly a printed batik sarong, in dark blue on a bright blue background, and a dark blue or dark brown long-sleeved blouse, or just a T-shirt. Outer Baduy women may also wear a dark blue woven sarong. Inner Baduy women wear a black-woven sarong and a white or black long-sleeved shirt. In Figure 19 on the upper row, from left to right are:

1. Ordinary sarong for Outer Baduy women (*samping poléng kacang hérang*);
2. Shoulder cloth for Outer Baduy women (*lamak suat samata*);
3. Stole for Outer Baduy women (*lamak suat songkét*).

On the lower row, from left to right are:

4. Sarong for Inner Baduy men (*samping aros*);
5. Waist-belt for tightening a ceremonial sarong (*sabuk adu mancong*);
6. Ceremonial sarong for Outer Baduy men (*samping poléng paulunas*).

See for more information on clothing and the symbolic meaning of the colours Bakels (1991; 1993) and Reiss (2012: 74–87).

In the past clothes were also made from the leaves of a particular kind of rattan (*pélah*; see Meinsma 1869: 338). Bakels (1991: 17) mentions that this was common until the end of the 19th century, and that it only survived in Cikeusik. According to Reiss (2012: 70) the Baduy ‘revived the tradition of weaving cloth from the young leaves of a rattan plant growing naturally in their environment’ during the difficult years of the Japanese occupation (1942–1945). However, *pélah* weaving is now dying out, because it is a time-consuming activity, as becomes clear from Reiss’s description. She adds that currently there are only five *pélah* weavers left in the *tangtu* area.

2.7 Production of Other Goods

Agriculture, and in particular rice growing, remains the major source of living for Baduy families. Rice is not sold but stored in the rice barns (*leuit*) for own use, sometimes for many years. Fruit and vegetables are also produced for one’s own use, but much fruit like bananas, *kadu* (*durian*), jackfruit (*nangka*), *rambutan* and different kinds of *duku*,⁵¹ is mainly produced for the market.

51 *Kadu/durian: durio zibethinus; rambutan: nephelium lappaceum; duku: lansium domesticum* (Teeuw 1990, Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2010.)



FIGURE 19 A few types of cloth woven in Gajeboh and sold by Ambu Icot, wife of Aki Nasinah, 24 March 2003

As discussed in Section 2.6, weaving has become an increasingly important source of income; this can also be seen from the large number of about 440 weavers in Kanékés in 2012 (Reiss 2012: 52). However, there are more products that are sold to non-Baduy visitors, or on the markets outside Kanékés. Baduy men travel as far as Bandung or Jakarta to sell the knives, honey and hand bags. This section will briefly discuss the making of palm sugar and knives below.

2.7.1 Palm Sugar (*gula kawung*)

Baduy buy their salt on the markets outside Kanékés, but they make sugar themselves from the juice of the sugar palm (*kawung*, Ind. *aré*n). The juice is collected in bamboo containers of 80–90 cm long that are tied to the palm tree. The sugar juice is collected twice a day. In the morning the harvest is larger than in the evening. The juice is then put into a large and wide saucepan and boiled for about three days, while stirring regularly (see Figure 22c; A1979, 16 July 1979)

The different stages of the fluid when making sugar are called: palm juice (*lahang*), boiling palm juice, just before it starts to thicken (*wédang*) to thicker sugary fluid (*gula ngora*, ‘young sugar’) to very thick fluid that is put in forms



FIGURE 20 Outer Baduy woman in sarong of black-blue printed batik (*mérong*) and blue T-shirt next to cloths in modern colours for tourists. House of Arwan in Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013



FIGURE 21 Baduy boy weaving on a veranda in Kaduketug 1, 11 December 2013

to harden (*gula kolot*, 'old sugar'). The moulds in which the thick sugar fluid is poured produce half balls of sugar (see Figure 22). When sold, these are tied together in pairs (*hulu*) and in July 1979 per pair sold for 100–125 Rupiah on the market (€ 0.14–0.17, US\$ 0.16–0.20); in July 2016 this was 6000–10000 Rupiah (€ 0.41–0.69, US\$ 0.46–0.76; see A2016-2: 13, 30). The highest prices are usually obtained in the fasting period (Ramadan), and especially at the end (Lebaran).

In Figure 22 the different pictures show on the left side from top to bottom: a container for the juice (22a), the moulds for the sugar (22b) and the finished half-balls of palm sugar (22c). On the upper-right side is the palm sugar juice heated in a wide saucepan (22d). The black-and-white picture below-right shows two men of which one is carrying a bunch of sugar-halves tied together in pairs and that is carried to a market outside Kanékés (22e).

In 2016 I witnessed one round of making palm sugar in Kaduketug Gedé that took three days. At the end the containers for the juice (*lahang*) were cleaned by putting a piece of bamboo in the fire; when this started to smoulder, it was put in the bamboo juice container for 5–10 minutes. In this round of three days there were about 60 sugar halves produced, or about 30 pairs (*hulu*).

The juice of the sugar palm is also drunk when fresh. If left fermenting for one day it has some alcohol in it and is called *tuak*; if left fermenting for two days, it is called *wayu* (A2016-2: 12–13). According to Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 51) and Garna (1988: 91), the Inner Baduy are allowed to drink the *wayu*, but they are not allowed to make the palm sugar. They have to buy the palm sugar from the Outer Baduy.

2.7.2 *Knives*

Baduy smiths make several types of knives and agricultural utensils; see Figure 23:

23a: *golok* for Inner Baduy (top-left);

23b: *golok* for Outer Baduy (top-right);

23c: *golok* for Inner Baduy (middle-left);

23d: knife for harvesting rice (*étém*; Ind. *ani-ani*) and small hoe or sickle to weed the rice field (*koréd*) on the middle-right;

23e: Below is Aki Daénah (L) in the house of his son, *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah.

He has an Inner Baduy *golok* in his hand and two smaller knives (*pésó*) before him on the ground. He wanted to sell those knives on the market outside Kanékés. On the right my research assistant Mumu. Kaduketug 1, 13 December 2013.

Most of these products are produced for local use. However, especially the *golok*, a large knife for daily use by Baduy men and called *bedog* in other parts of Sunda, is also sold to tourists visiting Kanékés and in large cities like



FIGURE 22 The production of palm sugar from juice (*lahang*) to half balls of sugar. Kadujangkung, 1979 and 1976

Bandung and Jakarta.⁵² The grip and sheath of an Inner Baduy knife are always made of light-coloured wood (*sungké* ‘white’ wood) and may only be made of vegetable materials (A2003-1: 30). Hence, the small strips around the sheath of the Inner Baduy *golok* are made of vegetable products. The grip and sheath of Outer Baduy knives are made of dark wood and often contain animal products, like the white bone and twined pieces of buffalo horn (*tanduk kebo*) wound around the example in the top-right of Figure 23.⁵³

Inner Baduy knives mostly have *sulangkar* patterns (also called *pamor*) hammered into the blade by using different pieces of steel; see Figure 23. It seems that the blades of Outer Baduy knives rarely show the *sulangkar* patterns. On 24 March 2003 I bought an Inner Baduy *golok* knife with *sulangkar* patterns for Rp 150.000 (about € 15.30, US\$ 16.65; A2003-1: 30). The smaller knife (*pésó*) lying left on the ground in Figure 23d in front of Aki Daénah also contains *sulangkar* patterns and I bought it for Rp 100.000 (ca € 6.40, US\$ 8.60) on 13 December 2013.

It seems that the number of Baduy smiths have decreased in the last decennia (A2014-1: 60), however, I have no details about this. In 1992 I was told by Usman, living in Cipangembar since 1978, that a Baduy smith may only work on a *golok* knife on special days of the week and that he can only use a limited number of blows with his hammer on one day (Usman, A1992-1: 32). See for more information on the mythical ancestors of the Sundanese smiths (Panday Domas: ‘the 800 smiths’), going back to the Pajajaran kingdom, the article by Linder (1985). I will not go into these details in this book.

Ending this section, in Table 3 I present some of the prices of products that Baduy sell to visitors and people in the large cities: cloths and clothing, musical instruments and utensils. These prices are only rough indications, as, for instance, the price of a *golok* knife very much depends on the quality of the *sulangkar* patterns of the blade and the decorations on the grip and the sheath.

52 See also Section 2.5, where I mentioned that the NGO WAMMBY started to sell Baduy products, including *golok* knives, via the Internet in 2016.

53 Although buffalos are not allowed in Kanékés, the Outer Baduy may use buffalo bones and horns for producing the grips and sheaths of knives. The Outer Baduy are also allowed to eat the meat of a buffalo. In the evening of 5 July 2016, the end of the fasting month and the start of Idul Fitri (or Lebaran) and in this year coinciding with the first day of the Baduy month Sapar, *jaro pamaréntah* Sajjah and his wife had prepared buffalo meat, obtained from outside Kanékés, that I and Mumu were offered to eat with them and the family in their kitchen/living room. The meat was prepared as a kind of *rendang* (pieces of meat cooked with spices and coconut milk until dry) and *saté* (pieces of meat roasted on a wooden skewer).



FIGURE 23 Knives and agricultural utensils made by Baduy smiths. Below Aki Daénah with knives in the house of his son, the village head, talking to my assistant Mumu. Kaduketug 1, 13 December 2013

TABLE 3 Prices of some goods sold by the Baduy 1976–2016

These prices are only rough figures. I bought most of these goods without negotiating about the price. The Euro (€) replaced the Dutch guilder (Dfl) on 1 January 2002 with the exchange rate of Dfl 2.2 to €1. In this table all prices of goods before 2002 are presented in Euro and with this fixed rate to the Dutch guilder.

Item	date	Rupiah	US\$	€	reference
Cloths and clothes					
<i>Poléng kacang hérang</i> sarong Outer B	24 Ma. 2003	40 000	4.44	4.08	A2003-1: 30
<i>Poléng paulunas</i> sarong Outer B	24 Ma. 2003	40 000	4.44	4.08	A2003-1: 30
<i>Samping aros</i> daily sarong Inner B	8 Nov. 1992	6 000	3.06	2.20	A1992-2: 66
	24 Ma. 2003	35 000	3.89	3.57	A2003-1: 30
<i>Samping poléng</i> sarong Outer B	21 July 2016	150 000	11.40	10.50	A2016-2: 14
<i>Sabuk adu mancing</i> cloth for fastening <i>poléng paulunas</i> Outer B	24 Ma. 2003	20 000	2.22	2.04	A2003-1: 30
<i>Lamak suat songkét</i> , shoulder cloth for Outer B women	24 Ma. 2003	30 000	3.33	3.06	A2003-1: 30
<i>Lamak suat samata</i> , broad shoulder cloth for Outer B women	24 Ma. 2003	35 000	3.89	3.57	A2003-1: 30
Men's black jacket/ shirt Outer B	7 April 2003	25 000	2.78	2.55	A2003-1: 72
	6 June 2014	100 000	8.40	6.20	A2014-1: 60
Men's black trousers Outer B	8 Nov. 1992	4 000	2.04	1.47	A1992-2: 66
Men's head cloth of <i>mérong</i> Outer B	7 April 2003	17 000	1.89	1.73	A2003-1: 72

TABLE 3 Prices of some goods sold by the Baduy 1976–2016 (*cont.*)

Item	date	Rupiah	US\$	€	reference
Men's shirt of <i>mérong</i> batik – tourists	18 July 2016	150.000	11.40	10.35	-
Utensils					
<i>Golok</i> knife with <i>sulangkar</i> , Inner B	17 Oct. 1992	25 000	12.75	9.20	A1992-1: 47
	24 Mar 2003	150 000	16.65	15.30	A2003-1: 30
<i>Golok</i> without <i>sulangkar</i> , Outer B	17 Oct. 1992	12 500	6.38	4.60	A1992-1: 47
<i>Golok</i> with <i>sulangkar</i> , Outer B	6 Nov. 1992	30 000	15.3	11.04	A1992-2: 18
<i>Péso</i> (knife) with <i>sulangkar</i> , Inner B	13 Dec. 2013	100 000	8.60	6.40	A2013: 42
<i>Koja</i> bag	24 Ma. 2003	35 000	3.89	3.57	A2003-1: 73
Musical instruments					
<i>Kacapi pantun</i> zither	24 Ma. 2003	150 000	16.65	15.30	A2003-1: 73
<i>Elét</i> flute	24 Ma. 2003	30 000	3.33	3.06	A2003-1: 73
<i>Suling kumbang</i> flute	5 June 2014	100 000	8.40	6.20	A2014-1: 57
<i>Tarawélét</i> flute	5 June 2014	100 000	8.40	6.20	A2014-1: 57
<i>Karinding</i> Jew's harp	6 April 2003	25 000	2.78	2.55	
<i>Angklung</i> set, including 2(?) drums	2 Sept. 1976	22 500	54.00	50.36	A1976-7:48
	15 Oct. 1992	275 000	136.00	105.00	A1992-1:39
	16 July 2016	2 000 000	152.00	138.00	A2016-1: 65

TABLE 3 Prices of some goods sold by the Baduy 1976–2016 (*cont.*)

Item	date	Rupiah	US\$	€	reference
<i>Gambang</i> xylophone	2 Sept. 1976	8 000	19.28	17.90	A1976-7:48
<i>Calung</i> 'xylophone' from bamboo	2 Sept. 1976	8 000	19.28	17.90	A1976-7:48
<i>Keromong</i> (gamelan)	April 1976	500 000	1205.00	1119.00	Section 5.4
<i>Rendo</i> 2-string bowed lute	26 July 1976	5 000	12.05	11.19	A1976a: 81
Agricultural products					
Palm sugar (<i>gula kawung</i>): two halves (<i>hulu</i>)	16 July 1979	100–125	0.16–0.20	0.14–0.17	A1979: 1b
	24 Oct. 1992	300–350	0.15–0.18	0.11–0.13	A1992-1: 67
	21 July 2016	6000–10 000	0.46–0.76	0.41–0.69	A2016-2: 13,20
<i>Petai</i> beans, 100 sheaths	25 Ma. 2003	100 000	11.10	10.2	A2003-1: 36

Methodological Issues and Theoretical Starting Points

In his 1929 essay Van Tricht remarked that there is much conflicting information on the Baduy. He warns that we should not take our fieldwork results as the only truth. Up till now ‘all researchers had to be content with interviewing the all the same little communicative group of Baduy and there never were objective research findings’ (Van Tricht 1929: 91). More than fifty years later Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 2–3) formulated one of the major reasons for these poor research results as: ‘... the Baduy custom does not allow visitors to stay in Kanékés for more than three days and foreigners are even not allowed to enter’.¹ Not just anybody is allowed to set foot on Kanékés soil that is considered ‘sacred land’. However, these Baduy rules are not cast in iron. As a foreigner I was allowed to visit Kanékés with my wife already in June and July 1976, and both times we stayed for a few days and nights in Gajéboh. There are rules, but there is also mutual trust between the researcher/visitor and the Baduy. In order to obtain reliable ethnographic data a researcher needs to take time for building-up a necessary good *rapport*. In fact ‘all social scientific data are *co-produced* by researchers and researched’ and reliable ethnographic data are research materials that ‘have been co-produced before they become commoditised into “data”’. (Pels et al. 2018: 391, 397).

This book will mainly pose questions and not try to fully answer them. One of the questions that regularly appears in the literature is from where the Baduy originated. This is a complicated issue and we have to cope with conflicting data. For instance, Section 6.1 mentions a Baduy story about the origin of the community, which tells that the Baduy are descendants of the Hindu king of Pajajaran and his followers. In 1579 during the Islamization of Pajajaran the king did not want to become Muslim and left Pakuan, near the present-day Bogor, with his followers. According to this story the Pajajaran king founded the hamlets Cibéo, Cikeusik and Cikartawana (Pleyte 1912: 261–266). However, nowadays the Baduy strongly deny that they are descendants

1 These words are repeated in Sucipto, Limbeng and Maria (2007: 54). Although until this day foreigners are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy area, this is certainly not true for the Outer Baduy area: I have seen many small groups of foreigners passing the house of the secular village head in Kaduketug 1 to pay a visit to the Outer Baduy hamlets.

of the Pajajaran king and his followers, who supposedly fled to Kanékés when the Hindu kingdom fell to the sultan of Banten in 1579. How do we interpret these data?

Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 90) suggest that the Baduy avoid to be associated with Pajajaran, because ‘everything that smells like Pajajaran needs to be silenced tightly to such a degree of secrecy that it approaches [the category] forbidden (*buyut*) [to talk about]!’² They state that the Baduy rather associate themselves with the ‘king of Sunda’, because they think this is politically more safe as regards their relation to the Muslim ruler of Banten. However, Danasasmita and Djatisunda also point out that in Sundanese history the names ‘Sunda’ and ‘Pajajaran’ are considered to be identical and in the Old Sundanese manuscripts the ‘Ratu Sunda = Ratu Pakuan = Susuhunan Pajajaran’ and the King of Sunda = King in the capital city Pakuan = Ruler of Pajajaran (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 91). These remarks by Danasasmita and Djatisunda are also interesting when compared to the *pantun* storyteller who wants to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth, and tells us: [Forgive me] ‘when I lie in search for the truth, when I sometimes lie’.³

In this chapter I want to discuss some methodological issues, to find answers to questions, based on the available ethnographic data. It concerns the validity and reliability of the data. Simply said, an observation (or measurement) is valid if it corresponds to what we want to observe in ‘reality’ according to the theoretical concepts we use; it refers to the ‘trustworthiness of instruments, data, and findings in research’. Validity has to do with the operationalization process: from theoretical concept to empirical measurement. An observation or measurement is reliable if it will show the same result when we repeat it, using the same instrument and procedure. A reliable observation is not necessarily also valid: we could be seeing or measuring something that is irrelevant according to our theoretical framework or the models of the researched people. For citation and more information on these important concepts see, for instance, Bernard (2002: 49-57). Apart from getting the right ‘facts’, I will discuss some ethical issues, like power relations between researchers and Baduy, but also intellectual property rights of individuals and the Baduy community by making information publicly available. This last issue is also very relevant for the audio-visual examples that I will present with this book: what can be published?

2 ‘... segala sesuatu yang berbau Pajajaran harus ditutupi secara ketat dengan tingkat kerahasiaan yang mendekati “buyut” (tabu).’

3 ‘... mun bohong nyari-nyari, mun bohong sakala kapeung.’ (Sajin 1974: 10). See Table 12 in Section 6.5.

The above mentioned complicated issue about religion and origin is a warning not to draw easy conclusions on the basis of our ethnographic data. With our research we should also not start from the beginning, as if there had been no researchers working in Kanékés before. It is all right to again list the ‘ten rules’ for the Baduy, including the one that they are ‘not allowed to sing because they are happy’⁴ (Sucipto, Limbeng and Maria 2007: 66). However, it is a shortcoming not to add to this that in practice the Baduy sing *susualan* for entertainment, as shown in Chapter 7. This practice has been known since the publications by Van Hoëvell (1845), Meijer (1890) and Pleyte (1912). This all seems obvious, but unfortunately quite a few publications on the Baduy suffer from these shortcomings.

In facing new situations Baduy balance between the given rules of the ancestors and the benefits of new developments. For instance, Puspongoro and Arbay (2015: 30) give the example of an Inner Baduy woman in Cikartawana who was expected to experience a difficult delivery of her child. For saving her life she could be transported to the nearest hospital in Rangkasbitung by ambulance in a three-hour drive. However, Inner Baduy men and women are not allowed to travel by car. The solution reached by the spiritual leaders was that the woman would wear Outer Baduy clothes when travelling by ambulance and in the hospital premises: Outer Baduy are allowed to travel by car and train. After delivery she would undergo the punishment for violating the ancestral rules before she and her child could be accepted again by the community of Cikartawana.

Section 3.1 presents some information from historical sources and earlier publications on music and dance. Section 3.2 shows how some researchers since about 1940 dealt with the restrictions imposed on their research by the Baduy. Section 3.3 discusses how this was for the earliest visitors to Kanékés, from 1822 to 1931. The following section will treat the periods of my fieldwork between 1976 and 2016. The last section in this chapter (3.5) is on some theoretical issues and definitions.

3.1 Historical Sources and Earlier Publications on Music and Dance

In the Old Sundanese manuscripts of several centuries ago, some Baduy and Sundanese performing arts and musical instruments have been mentioned, although there is little or no additional explanation. Further the

⁴ ‘... *teu meunang ngawih lantaran senang.*’

pantun stories are a source of information about performing arts and musical instruments of the past. In the manuscript ‘Sanghyang siksa kandang karesian’, dating from 1518, several kinds of *kawih* (singing) have been listed, like *kawih sisi(n)diran*, *kawih ba(ng)barongan* and *kawih igel-igelan*.⁵ In current practice the Baduy use *susualan* or *sisindiran* (short poems with an allusion, *sindir*, based on sound association)⁶ texts in their songs; they do not use the *bangbarong* animal mask and their dancing is restricted and it is called *ngalagé*, *baksa*, or *topéng* and not *igel-igel*. Also the performances of *wayang* stories and the recitation of *pantun* stories are mentioned in the old manuscripts. Only the *pantun* stories are still performed by the Baduy; they never had *wayang* theatre.

The Old Sundanese manuscripts mention *tatabeuhan* and this indicates instrumental music or musical instruments. Atja and Danasasmita translate *tatabeuhan* as ‘gamelan’ and that is problematic. It is possible that the *tatabeuhan* ensemble consisted of several instruments that are now part of the Baduy and Sundanese gamelan ensembles, like small gongs (for instance, the *bendé*), cymbals (*kecemprés* or *kecrék*) and xylophone (*gambang*). The brass cymbals (*gangsa*), (‘yellow’) gongs (*goong (kuning)*), drums (*gendang*) and shawm (*sarunay*) are mentioned in these manuscripts (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 200, 243, 261, 354). Of these instruments the drums and shawms are not included in present-day Baduy gamelan. As far as I know, the word ‘gamelan’ occurs in none of the (about ten) Old Sundanese manuscripts that have been made available in transliteration and translation. This supports the claim that the word ‘gamelan’ is a relatively new word for the Sundanese and the Baduy, as has been argued by, for instance, Heins (1977: 20–28). Today the Baduy know and use the general Indonesian word *gamelan*, but they also use the terms *keromong/koromong*, *goong* and *lénong*, for this music ensemble. Atja and Danasasmita’s translation of *tatabeuhan* by *gamelan* may have been caused by the ‘tendency to stress the long tradition’ in the performing arts of Sunda (Van Zanten 1993: 150; see further Van Zanten 1989: 33–35).

The Old Sundanese manuscripts mention under ‘games’ (*pamaceuh*), for instance, *ngadu lesung*, ‘competing at the mortar’ for the communal pounding of rice (Atja and Saleh Danasasmita 1981b: 14,40). Presumably *ngadu lesung* is

5 Presumably *kawih sisindiran* is the singing of *sisindiran*, that is, short poems based on verbal sound association, *kawih bangbarongan* the music accompanying the dance of the *bangbarongan* animal mask and *kawih igel-igelan* the singing accompanying the dancing (Van Zanten 1989: 15).

6 See also Van Zanten (1989: 68–70).

producing rhythmic patterns while pounding rice with several women, similar to the *ngadu angklung* (literally: to compete with *angklung* instruments; Van Zanten 1989: 83). Nowadays Baduy women still perform this *ngadu lesung* ‘game’, in particular for announcing important feasts in the hamlet; it is called *gendék* (see above and Section 5.6 below). See further Atja and Saleh Danasasmita (1981a: 4, 66; 1981b: 14, 39–40), Van Zanten (1989: 13–21) and Herdini (2011: 109–15).

For modern Sundanese, Eringa (1984) translates *maceuh* as ‘to a large extent, far-reaching (being taken to a bad habit)’. The *KUBS* (1976) gives: ‘very much attracted to, inclined to sinful behaviour, so much that one often forgets about her/his responsibility: [example] She/he became increasingly attracted to gambling.’⁷ *Pamaceuh* may then indicate something distracting from the essence of life: a game. Alif, Sachari and Sabana (2015: 395) quote *jaro tangtu* Sami of Cibéo as saying similar things: children’s games that you find in the cities are forbidden, because ‘our task is not to play’. According to these authors the Inner Baduy rather speak about ‘the activities of children’ (*pagawéan barudak*). Compare also Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 25–26, 64–65) who describe what Baduy children do in their plays is imitating the activities of grown-ups (*nabootsende spelen*). See also Figures 24 and 26.

Although this may be the ideal, with the Outer Baduy I noticed several ‘children’s plays’ that are common in Indonesia, such as playing football (soccer), playing with marbles, kites and the already mentioned propellers, but also playing cards, etc. Children also make drawings in the sand: see Figure 25 that mostly show cars; some other drawings I photographed in June 2014 show pictures of living beings.⁸ In 2003 I saw a robot-toy working on batteries in Kaduketug. It was a soldier with a gun, who shouted in English: ‘Fire! Don’t move, drop the gun! Fire, fire!’ (Van Zanten 2004: 136–137). Also grown-ups play games. In July 2016 an Outer Baduy football team took part in a local tournament and on YouTube is a film of Outer Baduy playing a friendly football game in the Sérang stadium during the 2017 *séba* ritual on 29 April 2017.⁹

7 *Kacida katarikna, kasengsremna ku lampah ma’siat, nepi ka mindeng poho kana kawajiban: Beuki maceuh baé manéhna kana maén téh.*

8 See examples of similar figures (*warogé*) carved in bamboo sticks and used in rice rituals in Garna (1988: 313–314) and Djatisunda (1995: 9–10). As mentioned, I am not sure whether these pictures were made by Baduy children. I will not go further into this topic of such visual representation here.

9 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zxoraXFgwe4>. [Last access 12 November 2018.]



FIGURE 24 Boy carrying a piece of wood from the place where a house is broken down and rebuilt. Kaduketug 1, near house secular village head, 21 July 2016



FIGURE 25 Drawings of several types of cars and other objects in the soil between houses in hamlet Cijangkar, presumably drawn by Baduy children, 2 June 2014



FIGURE 26 Children swimming and playing in the Ciujung river near Gajéboh, 13 July 2016

In the Glossary of ‘Three Old Sundanese poems’ Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 331–429) supply the following musical instruments that occur in several old manuscripts and that are still to be found with the present-day Baduy:

- CANING*: metallophone; *saron* in other parts of Sunda;
KACAPI: (board) zither;
KARINDING: Jew’s harp;
TARAWANGSA: two-string bowed lute in West Java; *tarawangsa* is sometimes used to indicate the very similar Baduy *rendo*.

In the text of the manuscript ‘Sanghyang Raga Dewata’ as transliterated by Ekadjati and Darsa (2004: 152, 174) we find the *taléot* flute mentioned. A two-finger hole side-blown flute with this name (or *tarawélot*, *tarawélét*) is still used by the Baduy. This manuscript also mentions the *honghong* and *gobong* that I did not find with the Baduy. I have no idea what a *gobong* might be. However, presumably this *honghong* is the *hatong honghong* as mentioned by Kunst (1973: 376) which is a bamboo flute producing just one tone, also called *hatong ijén*. Kunst mentions that this single-pipe instrument was used by the drivers when stag-hunting in the Caringin district of Pandeglang. The double-piped

hatong sekaran and the three-piped *hatong pan(g)ajak*, kinds of a Pan-pipe (*hatong*), were used by the hunters themselves.¹⁰

The first publication about the people of Kanékés and based on fieldwork by Blume in 1822 does already mention the *angklung* ensemble of shaken idiophones and the '*gamblang*', a kind of xylophone. From the description of this '*gamblang*' it becomes clear that Blume is not describing a *gambang* xylophone with wooden keys, but a *calung* xylophone with bamboo keys (Blume 1993 [1822]: 32), also called *calung gambang* in West Java (Soepandi 1995a: 16; *Ensiklopedi Sunda* 2000: 143–144). In current practice both of these xylophones, with wooden and with bamboo keys, are used by the Outer Baduy (see Section 8.5). Spanoghe (1838: 303) also mentions the *angklung* ensemble of shaken idiophones that he saw on a trip to Kanékés in 1823 and he remarks that the Baduy sing to its accompaniment and that 'this is the only music they have.'

It may have been that Spanoghe's visit to the Baduy happened at a time in which mainly the *angklung* is played, as the musical seasons follow the agricultural year (Section 4.1 below). Anyway, his last remark was almost certainly wrong, as two decades later Van Hoëvell (1845: 428) wrote that the Baduy also have a *tarawangsa*, a *ketjapé* and 'a *suling*, a kind of flute made of bamboo and with finger holes in it.' Van Hoëvell also produced drawings of the first two instruments between p.428 and p.429 and it seems that he described the instruments that the Baduy now call *rendo*, a two-string bowed lute that is similar to the *tarawangsa* in other parts of West Java, and a *kacapi* (*pantun*) zither. Van Tricht (1929: opposite p.49, left, below) gives a photograph with the description 'Outer Baduy playing the *kacapi* (on the left is the district head of Leuwidamar).' The picture does not show the whole instrument. However, this is clearly not a *kacapi*, but the two-string bowed lute *rendo*. These mistakes have a long life. For instance, although Noorduyn and Teeuw give the correct translations in the Glossary as mentioned above (zither for *kacapi* and Jew's harp for *karinding*), in the text they translate *kacapi* by 'lute' and *kari(n)ding* by 'reed-flute' (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 234). Also, in the book by Hasman and Reiss (2012: 84,104) the *kacapi* is wrongly described as a 'lute-like instrument'.¹¹

10 See on *hatong* also Kunst (1968: 1; 1973: 445), Soeharto (1978: 53–4) and Soepandi (1995b: 84). Whereas Kunst and Soeharto describe the *hatong* as a kind of Pan-pipe, that is, one tube or several tubes tied together in one row and each producing a single tone, Soepandi describes it as an 'kind of wind instrument made of wood or bamboo and producing only one tone'. See also Eringa (1984), who describes *hong* as the sound of a *hatong* and *hong-hongan* as a continuous production of such sound.

11 This might also have been caused by some authors, like Falk (1978: 45), who stated that the bowed violins *tarawangsa* and *rendo* possibly developed from the plucked *kacapi* zither.

Pleyte (1907: 26–7) describes the *kacapi* that is used for accompanying the recitation of *pantun* stories. Pleyte has done excellent work on the texts used in the Baduy epic *pantun* stories and shorter stories (*dongéng*) (Pleyte 1905; 1912). He published many more texts of *pantun* stories from other parts of West Java that are also recited by the Baduy in their own version (see Section 6.3 below). There are several later works on the texts of the Sundanese *pantun* stories, for instance by Eringa (1949), Ajip Rosidi (1973) and Kartini and others (1984). The recordings of *pantun* stories and transcriptions of the recited texts by Ajip Rosidi (1973) include two recordings of the bard Sajin (also written as Sacin) of Kanékés (Sajin 1973; 1974). See further Chapter 6 about the *pantun* stories in this book. The *pantun* stories are a useful source for information on performing arts; see for instruments mentioned in the *pantun* stories, for instance, Van Zanten (1989: 82–83).

Presumably the earliest recordings of Baduy music were made by Bernard Suryabrata (1926–1986), *alias* Bernard IJzerdraat, *alias* Kawat.¹² Suryabrata's first recording of Outer Baduy music was apparently of an *angklung* group of 18 musicians, including nine *angklung* players, three drum ('*dog-dog*') players and dancers. The recording session took place in the '*angklung* season' (see Section 4.1), around September–October 1956, in the Radio (RRI: Radio Republik Indonesia, Radio of the Indonesian Republic) studio in Jakarta, as reported by Lysen (1956). Later, in the 1950s and early 1960s, Suryabrata recorded other Baduy music, presumably also in the RRI studio in Jakarta. The Archive of Field Recordings at the Music Library, Cornell University, has about 45 minutes of Baduy music, recorded by Suryabrata in the 1960s.¹³ In Section 6.4 below I write that undoubtedly there are audio or audio-visual recordings of Baduy music, possibly including *pantun*, in personal archives in Indonesia. In the 1990s, I heard recordings of the *kacapi* player Yanci (Figure 44, Illustration 1 in Van Zanten 2016a: 417) at the home of the late Enoch Atmadibrata (1927–2011). Furthermore, the late Atik Soepandi (1944–2004)

12 Bernard IJzerdraat started the tradition of playing on the gamelan instruments of the *Tropenmuseum* in Amsterdam with the Babar Layar group in the 1940s and with the support of Jaap Kunst. He went to Indonesia in the 1950s, and became an Indonesian citizen. Listen for Suryabrata/IJzerdraat's involvement with the gamelan playing in Amsterdam, for instance, to the radio broadcast of VPRO's URUBICHA on 4 March 2004 (in Dutch): http://www.gamelanhuis.nl/babarlayar_nl/. [Last access 27 July 2018.] This recording also includes the comments by Bernard's sister Daya IJzerdraat and of the Babar Layar members like Berend Hof, Ger van Wengen, René Wassing and Aad and Lian Hazewinkel.

13 I am grateful to Martin Hatch, who granted me permission to listen to and make a copy of some of the Sundanese music at the Archive in October 1991.

also told me that he possessed recordings of Baduy music. Further, there are the already mentioned audio recordings of *pantun* stories by Ajip Rosidi from the 1970s. Those recordings still need to be listed, digitalized and kept safely in a public library or some other public institution. See further Section 6.3.

A first overview of Baduy music, mainly based on earlier literature, was written by Suryadi (1974). Some more information on Baduy music, especially on *angklung*, may be found in Baier (1985: 10–11; 1986: IV: 13, V: 12). Atik Soepandi wrote a short article on bamboo instruments of the Baduy (Soepandi 1995a). In my book on Tembang Sunda Cianjuran (Van Zanten 1989), a kind of music that is not found with the Baduy, I nevertheless present some details about Baduy music. A few years later this was followed by an article entirely devoted to Baduy music, based on short periods of fieldwork in 1976, 1979, 1992 and 1993 (Van Zanten 1995). Some more information about the music of Kanékés, based on fieldwork periods between 2003 and 2016, may be found in Van Zanten 2004, 2009, 2012, 2016a and 2017.

In his PhD dissertation Dinda Satya Upaja Budi (Budi 2015) discusses the *angklung* (*dogdog lojor*) in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, lying about 40 km southeast of Kanékés and about 40 km northwest of Sukabumi and in the southern part of Gunung Halimun National Park. There are many similarities and differences between the Baduy and the Ciptagelar rituals as regards the rice and the role of the *angklung* music and Budi's dissertation has been very useful to me.

3.2 Restrictions for Researchers and Other Methodological Issues

The people of Kanékés are willing to answer most of our questions, but they do not want to share *all* their knowledge with outsiders, especially not with outsiders who show little understanding. As such the Baduy are not very different from other communities. For the Baduy there are fundamental issues at stake. They want to live an ascetic life and emphasize that real knowledge does not only consist of knowing 'facts'. Several times I, and others, have heard the remark that knowledge learned in formal schools is not very useful for their way of living, as it makes children clever in cheating others (see also Bakels 1988: 40; Erwinantu 2012: 103). The people of Kanékés teach their children themselves, in their own, non-formal way. Although currently children living in the Muslim enclave of Cicakal Girang hamlets in Kanékés (non-Baduy children) get some formal schooling, the general ideal of Baduy living in Kanékés is still that knowledge about nature and the worlds of human beings and gods should be experienced and developed within their own indigenous community. There

it is passed on from generation to generation. For outsiders certain Kanékés mysteries have to remain, and that is also necessary for the safety of the Baduy community.¹⁴ This attitude makes it more difficult to get answers to the questions outsiders may ask. When the question is about something the Baduy do not want to discuss, it is mostly ignored and not answered, as they are not allowed to lie.¹⁵

A complicating factor for outsiders' understanding is that a particular god, person or object may have different names, according to time and place. A personal name is attached to the period in his/her life, like in many other parts of Indonesia and the world. For instance, when a Baduy man and his wife get their first child, they are called after this child's name. If the child is called Arwa, his father will be called Ayah Arwa (father of Arwa) or just Arwa, and his mother will be called Ambu Arwa (Sundanese), Ibu Arwa (Indonesian: mother of Arwa) or also just Arwa (see also Geise 1952: 70; Danasasmitta and Djatisunda 1986: 65–67). This change of a person's name makes analysis of the situation more difficult for outsiders. For instance, it took some time before I realized that Daénah, secular village head from 1997 to 2015, was the same person as the young man I recorded in 1992 on the *rendo*: Darmin (see film fragment <AV27>). Names of hamlets and hills may also change, in particular when a hamlet is rebuilt after a big fire destroying many houses. A hamlet may also have a ritual name, according to its function in rituals. For instance, the ritual name given to the Inner Baduy hamlet Cikeusik is Pada Ageung. In the past other names seem to have been given when the position of this hamlet changed slightly, possibly when it was rebuilt after a serious fire: Kanékés (Blume 1993 [1822]: 31), and Cisamodor and Rawayan (Koorders in Meinsma 1869: 328, 330). See further Section 3.3 below and Appendix 1.

In the epic narratives (*pantun* stories: see Chapter 6) it is forbidden (*pamali*) to use the 'real' names of the gods. Another name is used to avoid sacrilege by saying things that should not be expressed. Pleyte (1907: 13–14) mentions some other names for Batara Tunggal, the highest god: Guriang (Yang) Tunggal. Batara Guru is another manifestation of Batara Tunggal and for this name

14 See also Andrieu's remark about the puppeteer (*dalang*) in the ritual *wayang golék* theatre: '... the *dalang* keeps the mystery by using a language from the past (Old Javanese and Sundanese), as his knowledge is not for diffusion to the masses.' (Andrieu 2017b: 185).

15 For instance, on 26 March 2003 I had an interview with the former secular village head Asrab (1990–1994, and *ad interim* 1996–1997). Asrab told us that we are all born from one womb with four brothers and sisters. My assistant Mumu asked for their names, who are they? Asrab answered that it was now one of the 'forbidden', fasting months (*kawalu*) and that therefore he could not answer that question (A2003-1: 40).

the Sundanese *pantun* storyteller uses Guriang Tujuh.¹⁶ In the west Javanese puppet theatre (*wayang golék*) that the Baduy do not have, the heroes may also have different names, according to the aspect (*wanda*) that corresponds to the character in a particular period of her/his life, function or situation. Sarah Anaïs Andrieu calls this the hyper-characterization of a person (*hyper-caractérisation des personnages*) that coexists with the general characteristics of a person (servant, king, knight, or giant of a particular group), the ‘generic’ (*générique*) aspects of a character (Andrieu 2014: 75; 2017a: 100–101).

Possibly the most important restriction for outsiders is that they are not allowed to stay in Kanékés for a long time, that is, mostly no longer than one month. People from outside Indonesia are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy area (almost half the size of Kanékés village), that is, the region with the sacred places. Indonesians are allowed to visit the hamlets in the Inner Baduy area, but for just one day. Like most Baduy, they are not allowed to visit the sacred places there. Until now anthropological fieldwork that includes participant observation for just over a year and hence allowing to follow the whole agricultural cycle, has been impossible. The restrictions with respect to the duration and place of the fieldwork have been reported by several authors. Geise (1952: 9–11), who wrote one of the major anthropological studies of Baduy society, reports that ‘to enter Kanékés-soil was *buyut*, forbidden’ to him in 1939–1941 and the ‘heart of the Baduy society, that is the three Inner hamlets, cannot sufficiently be studied’. Berthe was allowed to enter Kanékés and he speaks of ‘the exorbitant privilege of a stay of almost one month’ in the Outer Baduy hamlets Kaduketug and Cicatang that he was granted in March 1962. However, like previous foreign visitors, he was not allowed to witness any important ritual or ceremony (Berthe 1965: 190–191). Also Bakels (1993: 356, footnote 12) reports that she had never been able to attend a circumcision ritual, although she could take part in a marriage celebration.

16 Batara is the general Sundanese title for a god or an incarnation of a god and Tunggal here means ‘the only one’ (Eringa 1984). Eringa describes Guriang as ‘a kind of (heavenly) spirits or gods (with the Baduy and in *pantun* stories)’. Pleyte (1909: 502), Van Tricht (1929: 48) and Garna (1988: 29) also remark that Batara Tunggal and Batara Guru are already mentioned in the Old Sundanese manuscripts and that they are ‘in essence’ the same as Shiva: the one who created everything and to whom everything returns. In his description of *guriang*, Garna (1988: xxi, 334, 338) mentions that *guriang* is also used for male ancestors (*karuhun*) who protect and look after a Baduy hamlet. Baduy also have female gods and spirits in their belief system: Batara Bungsu and Nyi Pohaci Asri. Pleyte (1907: 12, footnote 3) mentions that it is forbidden (*buyut*) for *pantun* performers to use Guru Yang Tunggal (Guru, the only one) for Batara Guru and instead they use Guriang Tunggal (Spirit that is unique).

Suryadi (1974: 14) remarks that, permission to enter the Baduy area does not mean that you may go everywhere by yourself and look around and attend ceremonies. He had to wait for a long time to get permission to do some fieldwork in December 1972, together with members of the Anthropology Department of Pajajaran University in Bandung. After Geise (1952) a next serious anthropological monograph was the PhD dissertation written in Malay by Judistira Kartiwan Garna from the Anthropology Department of Pajajaran University in Bandung in 1988. Garna (1988: viii) mentioned that his field research took him 14 years and that he used the participant observation method during his fieldwork (Garna 1988: 11–17). During 1972–1975 each year he spent a period of two months in Kanékés and Baduy informants came to visit him in Bandung each month. During the years 1976–1984 on the average he spent each year two periods of one week in Kanékés and the Baduy visited him more frequently than in the former years (Garna 1988: 14–15).

When starting to tell an epic narrative (*pantun* story), Baduy storytellers will ask forgiveness from the gods in the sung opening (*raja*), because they will be revealing sacred knowledge of the past. For instance, the storyteller Sawari whom I recorded in 2003 recited: ‘Give me permission to tell the story of Paksi Keuling, a story of the past that is now being (re-)created’ [performed].¹⁷ Researchers reporting about the Baduy society have been faced with similar ethical problems as the Baduy storytellers: are they allowed to publish their findings, which should not be revealed to outsiders, people that are ‘not knowledgeable’?

Hence several Indonesian authors who wrote about the Baduy started their publication by asking forgiveness for revealing Baduy knowledge; see for instance, Garna (1987: 5), Djatisunda (1992: vi), Hamidimadja (1998: v). When presenting his book about the Baduy, Garna directs himself to ‘all the members of the Baduy community’ when saying: ‘I beg your generous forgiveness/I keep asking forgiveness/if I arouse the rage of the ancestors/if I go where it is not allowed/[when] I will be telling about the Baduy’.¹⁸ In the beginning of his PhD dissertation Garna (1988: ii) quotes a well-known Baduy saying that reflects his awareness of the difficulty of representing ‘social reality’: ‘What is long should not be shortened/What is short should not be lengthened/What

17 “*Kasih kawenang-wenang nyaritakeun lalakon Paksi Keuling, lalakon baheula diciptakeun ayeuna*” (Van Zanten 2016a: 425).

18 “*Meda agung nya paralun/Meda panjang nya hampura/Bisi nebuk sisikuna/Bisi mincak loronganana/aing dék nyaritakeun/urang Baduy*” (Garna 1987: 5). Garna uses here several words in unusual Sundanese spelling: (*meda*, instead of *neda*, *mincak*, instead of *nincak*, *loronganana* instead of *laranganana*); I do not know whether these are printing mistakes, or indicating the different pronunciation of words by the Baduy.

is not [true] should be denied/What is not allowed should remain forbidden/What is true should be confirmed/Become a person who is not just clever/but also honest'.¹⁹

In Van Zanten (1995: 519–521) I describe my fieldwork periods in and around Kanékés between June 1976 and November 1992. My knowledge of the socio-economic position of the Baduy was limited at that time, as until then I had very much concentrated on understanding, recording and filming musical activities. After my three-week long visit to Kanékés in March–April 2003 I started to better understand some issues that had played a role in my former dealings with the Baduy. Especially the history of the gamelan that I bought from a Baduy family in 1976 and that I gave back to the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) Samin, as representative of the Baduy community, in July 1979, was revealing; see Section 5.4 below. I became more aware of the complicated relation between the Baduy indigenous group and the outside world, and the Indonesian authorities in particular. I reported on this in two articles (Van Zanten 2004: 143–145; 2009: 291–302). It also made me understand that the willingness of the Baduy authorities to let outsiders stay with them, for instance for doing research, also depends on the general socio-political situation of that time.

In the earlier years of my research the use of my documentation apparatus, like photo camera, audio recorder and film camera, was sometimes restricted. For instance, when recording a gamelan in Gajéboh, July 1976, I was allowed to place microphones inside the house near the gamelan, but the recording apparatus had to stay outside the house (see photo in Van Zanten 1995: 520). In 2009 I wrote 'Most probably this was because modern and foreign technology could not come too close to the fireplace of a Baduy house (kitchen), positioned behind the room where the *gamelan* was played, which is a place for family members and close friends only. Most other recordings took place on the veranda of Baduy houses, which is the place for receiving guests'. (Van Zanten 2009: 294). When filming an *angklung* ensemble of shaken idiophones that played songs for entertainment on the evening of 24 October 1992, I was only allowed the light of one high-pressure lamp, although I had asked for three. At that time the use of high-pressure lamps was forbidden to the people of Kanékés and the permission for one high-pressure lamp given to a foreigner was already a kind of compromise. The rules are negotiated. In this case the Baduy elders wanted to honour the wish of a guest researcher and at the same time follow the

19 "Lojor teu meunang dipotong/Pondok teu meunang disambung/Nu lain kudu dilainkeun/Nu ulah kudu diulahkeun/Nu bener kudu dibenerkeun/Jadi jelema lain pinter baé/Tapi kudu bener."

Baduy ancestral rules. An excerpt of these dark film recordings may be seen in fragment <AV05>.

On the whole the Baduy were very positive about my music recordings (see Van Zanten 1995: 519–521; 2009: 293). However, it has been difficult to record music that was strongly connected to Baduy rituals, like *pantun* stories and the playing of the *angklung* ensemble with drums during the major rice ritual. In October 1992 I got the opportunity to audio record the *angklung* playing at this ritual in which the goddess of rice, Déwi Asri or Nyi Pohaci Sang(h)iang Asri, was married off to the earth (Van Zanten 1995: 532–537, 544).

I was less fortunate with the *pantun* stories. Several times I have tried to record a *pantun* story in Kanékés village, but this never happened. In June 2014 I was given permission to attend a *pantun* recitation during the ritual for officially recognizing Campaka, at that time a hamlet consisting of ten houses, as a hamlet of Kanékés (*nukuh lembur*). I could attend, but had to sit outside the house where the recitation took place and was not allowed to see the performer, audio record or to take photographs. In July 2016 I got permission to attend two circumcision rituals and heard three *pantun* performances (see Sections 4.4 and 4.5), but again I was not allowed to record the recitation and see the performer. Hence I have only been able to record two Baduy *pantun* stories outside Kanékés: in January 1977 in Jakarta and in April 2003 in Margaluyu (Van Zanten 1989: 194; 1993: 144–8; 1995: 529–30, 540–1; 2012: 131; 2016a: 417–423). The Baduy make a clear distinction between a recording inside and outside Kanékés; one could say: on sacred soil or on secular soil.

In Van Zanten (2015: 120) I reported on the feed-back asked from Baduy on the 2007 version (unfinished) of my film ‘Baduy life and music’ in December 2013 (Figure 27). In this film version I had included fragments of *pantun* storytelling, recorded outside Kanékés in April 2003. Also included was a fragment of about one minute taken from the one-hour singing of the song Maréngo, sung with *angklung* accompaniment at the supreme moment of the rice ritual: the announcement of the engagement of the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri or Déwi Asri to the earth, audio-recorded in Kanékés in October 1992 (Van Zanten 1995: 532–537). I showed the film twice to a group of Baduy.

One group included the elder Rasudin, who is very knowledgeable about Baduy intangible cultural heritage. This session (Figure 27) took place on the veranda of the secular village head. The man seated in the middle, in front of the standing boy with the ‘Qatar Airways’ shirt, is Rasudin, leader of an *angklung* ensemble (*jaro angklung*) and neighbour of the secular village head Daénah. The other group included Daénah, the secular village head of that time (1997–2015). They were asked to comment on the film and ‘in particular whether they thought that certain elements should be left out, because these



FIGURE 27 Feed-back session of showing the 2007 version of my film 'Baduy life and music' in Kaduketug, 12 December 2013

were considered too sensitive to be shown to the outside world'. (Van Zanten 2015: 120). For the village head, the *pantun* storytelling was no problem: the recited text in the film was limited, he said. Another reason may have been that the filmed performance took place outside Kanékés and that the performer was a migrant from Baduy descent, who was no longer recognized as a Baduy.

However, the included Maréngo song was a problem and the village head asked me to use the recorded ritual *angklung* songs only for documentation and not for a film shown to the general public. This I promised. Later the non-Baduy secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés village, Sapin, told me that these feed-back sessions had been very much appreciated by the Baduy leaders. It left me with the difficulty to decide what 'for documentation purposes only' and 'the general public' exactly means. I have presented my major articles about the Baduy to the secular village head, although they cannot read English and French. That is, all ethical questions have not been solved in a legal way.

In Van Zanten (2009) I raised the complex issue of 'prior informed consent', 'contract' and intellectual property rights (IPR) in relation to, for instance, the Baduy and in the context of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. What about the audio-visual examples

with this book? The selection of my AV files depended also on how to deal with the property rights and privacy of individuals and the community. According to most Western law systems Baduy music lies in the public domain, I think. However, ethnomusicologists would like to be more careful and recognize the intellectual property rights of communities as far as possible and avoid abuse of their rights. On the other hand, for some readers it is useful to see in a film excerpt how a flute player produces the notes on his instrument. What is 'fair use'? In its recent 'Ethics Statement (2018)' the Society for Ethnomusicology offers no easy solution to this as '... there is no binding international copyright law' (p.3).²⁰

All the mentioned restrictions for outsiders make the literature about the Baduy far from perfect, and that also holds for my research. These are general methodological issues and I have tried to show that these issues are very relevant for research in Kanékés. How valid and reliable are the published data about Baduy life in general and music and dance in particular? For these methodological questions it seems useful to discuss Dutch visits to the Inner Baduy area, and even to the holy places, before the Second World War.

3.3 Visits to the Holy Places in Kanékés between 1822 and 1931

Since about 1935 people from outside Indonesia, or possibly more relevant: people that have not been circumcised, are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy (*tangtu*) area. Indonesians are allowed to visit the Inner Baduy area, but most of them for just one day without staying overnight. No outsider is allowed to visit the holy places there in the 'forbidden forest'. These holy places are only visited for rituals once a year and by a small party of (mostly) Inner Baduy. The party to Sasaka Pusaka Buana²¹ is led by the *puun* of Cikeusik and the party to Sasaka Parahiang is led by the *puun* of Cibéo. Sasaka Pusaka Buana is considered to be the centre of the world, as it is connected to the myth of origin of the world: seven gods who came down from heaven to that place and created the first human beings. Sasaka Parahiang is connected to the creation of the Baduy people (Garna 1988: 127; Ekadjati 1995: 73–74).

When going to perform the rituals at Sasaka Pusaka Buana, a party sets out from Cikeusik, including the *puun*, the *girang seurat* and *kokolot* (elders) of each of the three Inner hamlets, and some other Inner and Outer Baduy men

20 See https://www.ethnomusicology.org/page/Resources_Home. [Last access 8 March 2019.] See also Pels et al. (2018).

21 In the earlier literature Sasaka Pusaka Buana was called Arca Domas.

(Garna 1987: 73). This ceremony takes place from day 16 to day 18 of the Baduy month Kalima (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 86; Ekadjati 1995:74). Koorders in Meinsma (1869: 336), Pleyte (1909: 508) and Garna (1987: 73) give the dates 17, 18 and 19 of the month Kalima.²² In 2003 the secretary of Kanékés, Sapin, told me that on these days about 50–60 men take part in this ceremony and that individuals may decide for themselves whether they are spiritually clean enough after the fasting period to go to this sacred place. The party stays the night in the *talahab* shed. The next day they clean themselves again and approach the terrace complex of Sasaka Pusaka Buana from the north (see map by Koolhoven in Figure 29 below). There they worship on the different terraces, clean these and they finish by taking some of the *komala* mosses from the natural stones before going back. This moss is supposed to bring good luck to the ones who need it (Ekadjati 1995: 74–75). Similarly the yearly cleaning ceremony at Sasaka Parahiang is led by the *puun* of Cibéo.

Before the Second World War several Dutch researchers visited the *tangtu* hamlets and some of them even visited the holy places of Sasaka Pusaka Buana near Cikeusik and Sasaka Parahiang near Cibéo in the ‘forbidden forest’ (*leuweung larangan*). Several visitors reported that the Baduy were not really pleased with their visits, but nevertheless received them. It seems that the only non-Baduy visitors to these holy places in the Inner Baduy area, who reported about their visits, were Blume, accompanied by Spanoghe and Kent in January 1822, Daniël Koorders in July 1864, and W.C.B. Koolhoven and his team in December 1931 (see also Judistira Garna 1988: 295). Edi Ekadjati mentioned two Indonesians Muchtar Kala and Anis Djatisunda who visited these holy places, presumably after the Second World War (Ekadjati 1995: 69–70).²³

However, doubts about the visits of Blume and Koorders have already been raised at the end of the 19th century. Also, on 29 March 2003 Daénah, secular village head from 1997–2015, told me that he did not believe that Sasaka Pusaka Buana (Arca Domas) had ever been visited by non-Baduy people: those travelers were misled by people wearing Baduy clothes who took them to another place. We will discuss this issue in some detail here, because it is relevant for the evaluation of research about the Baduy and in particular the methodological implications.

22 This difference of dates may have to do with starting a new day at sunset, following the Javanese and Baduy system, or starting at midnight, following the Western system.

23 Anis Djatisunda is presumably mentioned because of a remark that the authors/one author of the book by Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 85, footnote) make when they describe Pada Ageung or Sasaka Pusaka Buana: ‘Direct observation of the author(s), only until the seventh terrace’.

3.3.1 *Blume (1822)*

The botanist Blume described his visit to Sasaka Pusaka Buana (called Arca Domas by him) on 2 January 1822 in newspaper articles that were re-issued in 1993. Blume gives a fairly lengthy description of the journey, although some details are not entirely clear. The journey started on 31 December 1821 in Rangkasbitung (Lebak Regency) and took the party via Cibéo to the southeast near Gunung Kendeng. He was accompanied by the assistant resident of Lebak, J.B. Spanoghe, and the head of the botanical gardens in Bogor (then Buitenzorg), W. Kent. According to Blume, from Ciawi onwards they were guided by the spiritual leader (*girang puun*) Wartini of the hamlet Kanékés (now called Cikeusik)²⁴ and some other Baduy from Cibéo and accompanied by some other Sundanese for the translations (Blume 1993 [1822]: 41–54). Blume describes that on 1 January 1822 they had just reached the hut with a bamboo roof (*talahab*) near Arca Domas, when the Ciujung flooded the area nearby the river (see the map by Koolhoven below in Figure 29). However, they were then safe and at nine o'clock that evening *puun* Wartini came with some more food (from Cibéo or Cikeusik?) so that they could still the hunger.

In the early morning of 2 January 1822 they left the hut to visit the natural terraces of Arca Domas, after leaving all their weapons behind on request of the Baduy. Blume reported that they followed the (Ciujung) riverbed upstream and the distance from the *talahab* hut to Arca Domas was about 3 kilometres.²⁵ Blume describes Arca Domas as consisting of five terraces covered with basalt blocks that were ordered in certain formations that indicated 'graveyards' of the gods, like Batara Guru²⁶ (Blume 1993[1822]: 48–50). According to Blume the Baduy felt not at ease at Arca Domas. For instance,

24 Nowadays it would be remarkable if the highest spiritual leader of a *tangtu* hamlet (*puun*) would operate as a guide (compare the critical remarks by Jacobs and Meijer 189: 64): an acting *puun* is not allowed to leave the Inner Baduy area. However, it could have been that Wartini earlier had the position of *puun*, but then left this job, possibly because his wife died; see Section 2.1. In current practice it is customary that a Baduy leader would keep the title belonging to his former official position. This also holds for the position of *jaro*: the former *jaro pamaréntah* Asrab (1990–1994) and *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah (1997–2015) were still addressed as *jaro* Asrab and *jaro* Daénah in 2016.

25 Blume speaks of *nagenoeg twee palen*, almost three kilometres, as at that time in Java one *paal* was a distance of about 1507 m. This seems to be a very large distance from the *talahab* hut to Arca Domas, although the way followed the 'several turns' in the Ciujung riverbed upstream. However, also Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 86) mention that the temporary hut (*dangau, talahab*) lies quite far (*cukup jauh*) from the Sasaka (Pusaka Buana).

26 As mentioned above, Batara Guru is another name for the highest god, Batara Tunggal (or Guriang Tunggal), which is commonly used by the Baduy.

when he (in vain) tried to find inscriptions on the stones and therefore removed the layer of mosses:

[...] in the meantime the Baduy seemed grudgingly and worriedly be looking at this investigation, so that I could not extend it to all gravestones, because even this moss is precious to them, as it covers the ashes of their forefathers and is so closely linked to the memorial that they would not dare to clear the memorial entirely from it.

BLUME 1993[1822]: 48

When the three Europeans approached the stones on the third and fourth terrace the Baduy again showed much uneasiness:

The Baduy turned pale when we approached these gravestones and trembling they begged us to leave them speedily, as they claimed that a warning voice had urgently asked them to do so. [...] This [place and nature around it] had made us so gloomy that we felt very much impressed by the startled looks of the good-natured Baduy, whose broken words were translated to us by the Sundanese men who were equally startled.

BLUME 1993[1822]: 49

At last they returned to the hut (*talahab*), 'much to the relief of the Baduy'. Blume then describes that from there they travelled back another way than they had come: to the northwest, passing the hamlet Cibarani and staying the night near the Batu Mountain (Gunungbatu) before returning to Ciawi (see Figure 2).

3.3.2 *Van Hoëvell (1845)*

Van Hoëvell (1845) was the first one to write a substantial article about the Baduy (Badoëinen), including a section on 'language, poetry, etc.' (part x, pages 409–430) which includes 'music and singing' (pages 428–430). In the beginning of his article he summarizes earlier publications in which the Baduy are mentioned: Raffles (1817), Blume (1993 [1822]), Spanoghe (1838) and some others. Van Hoëvell (1845: 338–339) noted that, although a 'fair amount' had been written about the Baduy, there was still a lot that we do not yet know. Further, he remarked that it is 'not rare that the different writers contradict each other' and that this hampers a proper understanding of the Baduy and their relation to the outside world. He considered it of the utmost importance, especially for the history of this island [Java], to understand the relation between this special and isolated group and the surrounding numerous Muslim population.



FIGURE 28 Boys fishing in Dangdang Ageung lake. 14 December 2013

The language used by Van Hoëvell in his descriptions of the Baduy and their music and dance was characterized by that time. He described the tones of the *calung* xylophone, ‘replete with feeling and harmony’, as ‘proof that the seeds of higher development are present in these simple mountaineers, and await only some external circumstance, like rain and sunshine, to allow that seed to germinate’ (Van Hoëvell 1845: 430). See also Jaap Kunst’s criticism in his inaugural address on the ‘appreciation of exotic music throughout the centuries’ (Kunst 1942: 23).

Van Hoëvell travelled by horse from the north via Bojong Menténg and Cibolégér to the still existing Dangdang Ageung Lake (Figure 28) in Kanékés and produced a map from his journey (Van Hoëvell 1845: between p.342–343). From there the party travelled by foot because the road with very steep slopes was considered too dangerous for the horses. Also, the guide Tarpi had begged them not to take the horses nearer to the major Baduy hamlet (*hoofdkampong van de Badoeïnen*) that they were heading for, because horses were forbidden in the Baduy area. They reached Cibéo in the late afternoon. Van Hoëvell (1845: 350) mentioned that he was surprised that horses were not allowed in the Baduy area, because Blume had taken the horses to Cibéo about twenty years earlier and it seemed that the Baduy had taken the initiative for this. He

also noted that he found many other peculiarities that ‘entirely contradicted’ the reports by earlier authors and that had now become clear to him. I will come back to these issues below.

3.3.3 *Koorders (1864)*

Daniël Koorders visited Kanékés in 1864 and he left notes about this field-work. He died in January 1869 and his notes were published by Meinsma (1869); the part specifically referring to the Baduy journey starts on 5 July and ends on 10 July 1864 (Meinsma 1869: 325–341). Koorders started this field-work in the Baduy area on 5 July 1864, approaching it from the north via Rangkasbitung and Leuwidamar. With his Sundanese helpers he travelled by horse via Parungkujang to Parakan Beusi and then further south to Ciawi (see Figure 2: just west of Kanékés, near Cisadane and northwest of Cikeusik). In Ciawi, just outside Kanékés, Koorders’ company was met by Tarpi, then the secular village head (now called *jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés who lived in Cibéo and his ‘deputy’ Tayun, who lived in Cibarani outside Kanékés (see Figure 2).

Koorders describes Tarpi as a Baduy, for more than 25 years ‘*jaro*’: the person representing the three Inner hamlets and ‘intermediary [*middenpersoon*] by whom this small society has dealings with the government and receives orders from the government’. Tayun is described by Koorders as Tarpi’s ‘deputy that he had chosen himself, the elder Tayun, one of the expelled persons who lives in Cibarani that is dependent on Ci Samodor’. From Koorders’ description it seems that the expelled Tayun was the first secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés who assisted Tarpi, considered to be the first secular village head of Kanékés. *Jaro* Tarpi also guided Van Hoëvell’s party when travelling to Cibéo about twenty years earlier (Van Hoëvell 1845: 344–346).

From Ciawi Koorders travelled to Cisamodor (Cikeusik)²⁷ with Tarpi and Tayun. Koorders mentioned that from Ciawi, like Van Hoëvell about twenty years earlier, they had to travel without horses, as the Baduy ‘religious tradition, in splendid accordance to the condition of the terrain’ did not allow horses in their area (Meinsma 1869: 327).

Koorders also visited Sasaka Pusaka Buana, and briefly describes the place that he called Arca Domas as consisting of 13 terraces, going up from north to

27 According to Koorders, Ci Samodor was one of the three Inner Baduy hamlets, next to Cibéo and Cikartawana. The *puun* of Ci Samodor is described as the first one responsible for the cleaning of the holy site Arca Domas (Sasaka Pusaka Buana), which is exactly what holds for the present *puun* of Cikeusik (Meinsma 1869: 333; Garna 1987: 71–73). See also Appendix 1.

south (Meinsma 1869: 336), where Blume described five terraces going up from north to south.

3.3.4 *Criticism by Jacobs and Meijer (1891) and Pennings (1902)*

Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 2, 64, 134) and Pennings (1902: 378) were critical about the publications by Blume (1993[1822]), Van Hoëvell (1845) and Koorders (Meinsma 1869) about the Baduy. Jacobs and Meijer describe the earlier researchers, like Blume and Van Hoëvell, as ‘those who think they have been visiting the real Baduy’; they have effectively been misled by the Baduy and were at most allowed to visit the Outer Baduy hamlets. Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 2) report about Van Hoëvell: ‘Dr Van Hoëvell has only been in the hamlet Cibéo, whereas the other hamlets, where he thought that they also stayed with the real Baduy [*eigenlijke Badoeij’s*], were all Outer hamlets [*buitengehuchten*] where the people that were expelled from Baduy society a long time ago had settled and for the greater part mixed with the Muslim people’.

According to those critics, even Koorders was misled, because the Baduy fear to let non-initiated people have access to their hide-outs. This sufficiently explains their misleading, while the unfamiliarity with the terrain, where ‘the real Baduy have pitched their tent’, made such misleading possible. Others, who have written about the Baduy often obtained their information from hearsay. For instance, it would be impossible that Blume had visited the Baduy area, because the Baduy do not allow horses in their area and certainly do not touch them, as Blume had said. Also the horses of Jacobs and Meijer had to stay outside the Baduy area.

In 1822 Blume had reported that when his company reached Cibéo (called Tjiboam by him) in the afternoon of 31 December 1821, women prepared a meal and men made a shed for the horses. The Blume party had travelled by foot from the small river Ciawi to Cibéo, but had asked for the horses to be following them (*naleiden*), in spite of the difficult road, because near the Ciawi river the horses would not be protected from the nightly attacks by tigers (Blume 1993[1822]: 42). Also the party of Van Hoëvell came by horse from Cibolégér (called Cibaleger by him) in the north to the hamlet Dangdang (non-existent nowadays) and near the still existing Dangdang (Ageung) lake (Figure 28). On the explicit request and begging of the Baduy official (*girang seurat*) Tarpi, who accompanied the party, the horses were left behind in Dangdang and they went on by foot (Van Hoëvell 1845: 350–351).

It is possible that the earlier visitors were misled by the Baduy. Did Van Hoëvell visit the Karang group living to the east of Kanékés village in June 1845? Are his observations, including his remarks about music from there? I will not really try to solve this problem, but from the description of his journey and the

section on Baduy poetry and music in his essay it seems fairly certain that Van Hoëvell visited the Inner Baduy area, as did Blume twenty years earlier and Koorders twenty years later.

Jacobs and Meijer regularly speak about the 'real Baduy' (*eigenlijke Badoeij's*) and by this they mean what we call the Inner Baduy (*tangtu*) nowadays (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 2–3, 47, 60). Most present-day researchers would not follow them in saying that the Outer Baduy are not 'real Baduy'. These two groups are, together with the people living in the *dangka* hamlets, part of the Baduy community, each with their own task. Geise (1952: 24–26) emphasized the unity between Inner and Outer Baduy: the two groups were 'bound by an indissoluble bond' (*onverbrekelijk verbonden*) and he talked about 'the essential unity between Inner and Outer Baduy' (*de essentiële eenheid tussen binnen en buiten-Badujs*, Geise 1952: 32).

Although Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 2, 64) wrote that the Baduy sometimes misled visitors, it seems that they tended to look at *adat* rules (*pikukuh*) as something that cannot be changed or negotiated. They apparently considered a society like the Baduy as stable and without change. However, Van Hoëvell presented a few clear examples of how he negotiated with the Baduy. In many respects the following description of a negotiation with the Baduy is interesting information. When they were in Cibéo,²⁸ Van Hoëvell and his party wanted to meet the highest religious leader of the Inner Baduy hamlet (*girang puun*, or without the honorific *girang*, just *puun*). Van Hoëvell (1845: 383–384) was told that the *puun* was not allowed to show his face to outside visitors. However, by using the prestige of the Resident of Banten, D.A. Buijn, who took part in the Van Hoëvell expedition, they got to see the *puun*:

The Resident, who has a very remarkable tact to spare the prejudices and superstitious follies of the natives, but by speaking to them in their spirit and to reason according to their standpoint, nevertheless achieving what he wants, got them to understand, that this was not the case with us. He agreed that indeed, the *Girang puun* was not allowed to meet his equals and that this was a very wise ruling by their ancestors that they should be following obediently. But now it was a different case. After all the Resident was the *Girang puun* of the whole of Banten, and should not been

28 Van Hoëvell (1845: 356) mentioned that they arrived in the 'hamlet Cibéo, the present main settlement of the Baduy, the final destination of our journey' (*kampong Tji-beo, het tegenwoordige hoofdverblijf der Badoeïnen, het einddoel van onzen togt.*) It is unclear what he means by 'main settlement' (*hoofdverblijf*) of the Baduy. Currently the Inner Baduy hamlet Cikeusik may be seen as the main centre of spiritual leadership and the Inner Baduy hamlet Cibéo has as one of its tasks to deal with the outside world; see also Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 28).

seen as an equal of the *Girang puun* of Cibéo, but as his superior. This reasoning was accepted: they agreed to satisfy our curiosity. The *Girang puun* left his house and sat down before us.

In colonial times foreign visitors used their privileged position and power to get things done from the Baduy, by negotiating in a subtle or less subtle way. As mentioned below, Koolhoven showed this colonial attitude – be it in a less crude way – when writing that the surveying task in Kanékés that was given to him by the Dutch Indies government ‘had to be done’ in 1931; also when the Baduy protested he could not refuse the job (Koolhoven 1932: 66–67).

3.3.5 *Koolhoven (1931)*

Koolhoven was a geologist who surveyed Kanékés for the Dutch Indies government during one week in December 1931 with a group of surveyors and Sundanese guides and he published his results in an article. This article included a ‘geological map of the Baduy area and surroundings’ with rivers and the three Inner and 24 Outer hamlets. Further it includes a photograph of ‘the lower terraces of “Arca Domas”; in the foreground the Ciujung [river]’ and a detailed map of the location of Arca Domas, now called Sasaka Pusaka Buana, just northeast of where the Cikadu river joins the Ciujung, the shed (*talahab*) and the place where white, soft china clay (kaolin) was found (*‘lemah bodas’*: literally, white earth; Koolhoven 1932). Koolhoven remarks that this place with ‘white earth’ confirms the detailed report by Koorders (Meinsma 1869: 336), who wrote that in 1864 ‘on the way back [from Arca Domas] we passed *taneuh putih* [white earth] and returned to the *talahab* [shed]’.

Initially the Dutch-Indies government did not want Kanékés to be surveyed, but eventually they decided that such survey would be useful. However, the Baduy persisted in refusing to let the Koolhoven surveyors’ party enter their territory and take measurements and collect specimen of stones: this was all forbidden (*buyut*) by the ancestors. So, when the surveyors arrived in Kanékés the Baduy protested. However, the work given to Koolhoven ‘had to be done’, as he wrote, and, according to him, it could only be tried to spare the Baduy and to accommodate their wishes as much as possible. Hence he started to carry out his surveying task. With heavily overgrown hills, much of the geological work had to be done by following the rivers in order to find stones that were not weather-beaten.

As long as they did not enter the Inner Baduy area, everything went all right. The surveyor Sayadi could measure the Ciujung from the north until hamlet Batubeulah (then lying on the border of the Ciujung: see Van Tricht’s map as given in Figure 13). Then the Inner Baduy in Cikeusik were warned about these activities and a party of Inner Baduy took away Sayadi’s measure rope, although

he himself was ‘in no way treated rudely’. The Baduy requested him to leave the area, and in such a pressing way that he complied with it.²⁹ In the following discussions with the Baduy authorities it became clear to Koolhoven that the reason of this refusal of the Baduy to cooperate – although not mentioned by the Baduy – was that the sacred place Arca Domas was lying on the banks of the Ciujung, near its origin. Hence Koolhoven decided to do his survey of the Ciujung River by starting in the south. ‘The necessity to make a geological survey of the region of the source of the Ciujung, also gave me, together with some guides from hamlet Cibarani [just outside Kanékés: see Figure 2], the opportunity to determine the position of Arca Domas’. (Koolhoven 1932: 66).

Koolhoven describes this approach from the south. They started in the hamlet Cibarani and they first climbed the ‘main watershed’ (presumably between the rivers Cibarani and Cibatungeunah?), more or less following the border of Kanékés. This watershed was followed for about 1 ½ km to the east. Then they descended following an extraordinary steep slope on which they cut themselves a path to the Ciujung that they further followed downstream. ‘Just below the mouth of the right branch Cikadu [...] lies on the right bank of the Ciujung the terraced built Arca Domas’. Koolhoven confirms that the terraces build up from north to south, as Koorders had already remarked (Meinsma 1869: 336).

In this way it could not be avoided that the Koolhoven party ‘discovered’ the holy Baduy places on the banks of the rivers Ciujung and the Ciparahiang. On the produced geological map of Kanékés Koolhoven (1932: 65) clearly marked the sacred places Sasaka Pusaka Buana/Arca Domas southeast of Cikeusik and Sasaka Parahiang east of Cibéo.³⁰ ‘It goes without saying that we refrained from hitting, moving or taking stones from or near those places out of reverence’. (Koolhoven 1932: 66–67).

3.3.6 *Van Tricht (1928)*

A few years before Koolhoven, the physician Van Tricht visited the Inner Baduy area, although he did not see the holy places. He was sent on duty by the Dutch Indies government to ‘look at the isolated Baduy society in south Banten with

29 Koolhoven also refers here to the experience of the geologist Dr. E. Ganz, as reported by Van Tricht (1929: 44), who took photographs in Cibéo (in the late 1920s?) and then was politely guided to outside the hamlet by the Baduy ‘while they kept dancing around him in a circle.’

30 This Koolhoven map with the position of Sasaka Pusaka Buana/Arca Domas and Sasaka Parahiang is exactly reproduced in Garna (1988: 68). The map in Geise (1952: after page 266) is based on the Koolhoven’s findings I suppose, including the position of these two sacred places. The map I produced in Figure 2 is based on the Koolhoven and Geise maps. See further Appendix 1.

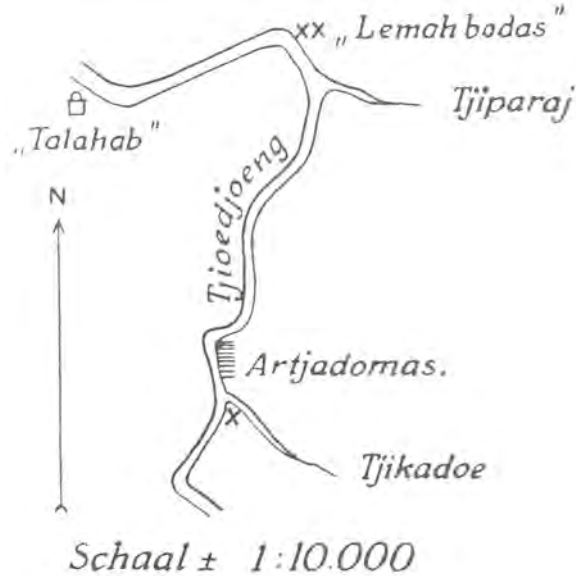


FIGURE 29 The position of Arca Domas (*Artjadomas*) or Sasaka Pusaka Buana, according to Koolhoven (1932: 67)

a medical eye'. (Van Tricht 1929: 43). Van Tricht (1929: 86) reports that he visited the *tangtu* hamlets Cibéo and Cikartawana in 1928: 'When we – uninvited – paid a visit to the forbidden hamlets Cibéo and Cikartawana we were noticeably not welcome. When confronted with this accomplished fact, the Baduy treated us in a hospitable way with palm wine (*wayu*) and bananas'.

Together with the visit of the holy places by Koolhoven in 1931, this episode may have influenced the Baduy leaders (and the Dutch-Indies government?) to decide ten years later that Kanékés would be a forbidden place for the anthropologist Geise. Geise started his PhD research in 1939 and stayed from February 1939 until August 1941 in the hamlets Kamancing and Cipeureu outside Kanékés. He writes about his situation: 'As it was forbidden (*buyut*) to set foot on Kanékés soil, it is clear that only with some [Baduy] the contact became really close so that longer professional talks could take place in which we could pursue questions in greater depth'. (Geise 1952: 10–11.)

3.4 Fieldwork Periods Present Author

In 1976 travelling to Kanékés was much more difficult than forty years later. My first visit to Kanékés was from 11 to 15 June 1976, together with Bernard

Suryabrata, his assistant Uk Sukaya and my wife. Our group travelled by 4-wheel drive car, driven by me, from Jakarta to Sérang – Rangkasbitung – Leuwidamar to Cisimeut. Suryabrata had also invited the journalist Machmudi Romli of newspaper *Berita Buana* to join us. Romli reported on this June 1976 journey to the Baduy in two newspaper articles (Romli 1976). The article of 6 July 1976 included a photograph of the Land Rover car that was ‘forced to go very slowly because of the very bad state of the road’ between Leuwidamar and Cisimeut. Romli further wrote ‘We had to push the jeep [Land Rover] that often got stuck in the mud. You can say that almost every 200 or 300 meter our jeep got stuck in mud holes’. We left our Land Rover in Cisimeut and for the last few kilometres to Cibolégér we travelled on foot and by an old army truck, called ‘power’ by the local people.

On my second trip 19–27 July 1976 we took another way to Cibolégér from Leuwidamar. About one kilometre south of Leuwidamar where the road splits near a police station, we did not follow the road to Cisimeut, but took a ‘path’ more west via Bojongmanik for about 12 km. The local people had said that a car could pass there and that we would reach Cibolégér. I drove our Land Rover with walking speed along the last kilometres of this ‘road’ that consisted of very large stones and that would bring us to Cibolégér and Kanékés. Several times we had to stop and put large stones in the existing holes before we could drive on. When arriving in Cibolégér the local people told us that this was the first time a car had managed to pass that path!

In the 1990s there was an asphalt road from Cisimeut to Cibolégér and I could use the public transport. The quality of the asphalt depended very much on the season; in the rainy seasons it was mostly pretty bad. However, as compared to the two trips in 1976, the later visits to Kanékés were rather easy. Also, the recording apparatus gradually became lighter. For instance, Nagra IV-S and Nagra IS-D tape recorders and Beaulieu Super-8 camera in 1976–1979 became Roland R-26 digital audio recorder and Panasonic NV-GS400 movie camera since 2013.

As mentioned above, possibly the most important restriction for outsiders is that they are not allowed to stay in Kanékés for a long time, that is, mostly no longer than one month. People from outside Indonesia are not allowed to enter the Inner Baduy area, that is, the region with the sacred places. Indonesians are allowed to visit the hamlets in the Inner Baduy area, but most of them for just one day. For all researchers it is therefore difficult to cover one whole agricultural and musical year when planning fieldwork in Kanékés.

Around 1990 I decided to do more fieldwork in Kanékés and try to summarize my data on Baduy music in a book, film and audio recordings. Therefore

it became important to cover the different music seasons in a year as much as possible. In 1992 I made many recordings of *angklung* and got the opportunity to witness the ritual in which the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri, was married off to the earth. I reported on the 1992 fieldwork and this rice ritual in Van Zanten (1995). The next fieldwork period in 2003 was purposely planned during the *kawalu* fasting months, when tourists are not welcome in Kanékés and in a season that was said to be less suitable for music making. It was a risk: would the Baduy accept me to enter at this time of the year? Because they knew me from my earlier visits, the Baduy apparently trusted me and allowed me to do some recordings in the companion of my assistant Mumu and a Leiden anthropology student, Nanni Tempelman. At that time there was no *angklung* and no *keromong*, but I could record flutes and zithers, and also the popular songs by the female singer Raidah with the accompaniment of violin and *kacapi siter*.

As I also had other tasks and limited means for travelling, I was not entirely free in choosing the period of my fieldwork. The fieldwork periods of 2013, 2014 and 2016 were all more or less determined by the dates of conferences that I attended in Indonesia and Malaysia. In Table 4 my fieldwork periods in these different musical seasons are listed.

TABLE 4 Major periods of fieldwork in and around Kanékés and recordings in Jakarta

year	major musical activities	period	remarks
1976	<i>Keromong</i> (<i>gamelan</i>) <i>Angklung</i>	11–15 June, 19–27 July 8–9 September	Recordings in Jakarta
1977	<i>Keromong/angklung</i>	8–9 January	<i>Pantun</i> recording in Jakarta
1979	<i>Keromong</i>	15–17 July	Recordings in Cipangembar, Gunung Tunggul
1992	<i>Angklung</i>	10–27 October 6–10 November	
2003	<i>Kawalu</i>	18 March– 8 April	Including recording <i>pantun</i> in Margaluyu
2013	<i>Keromong/angklung</i>	9–16 December	
2014	<i>Keromong</i>	25 May–8 June	
2016	<i>Keromong</i>	1–22 July	

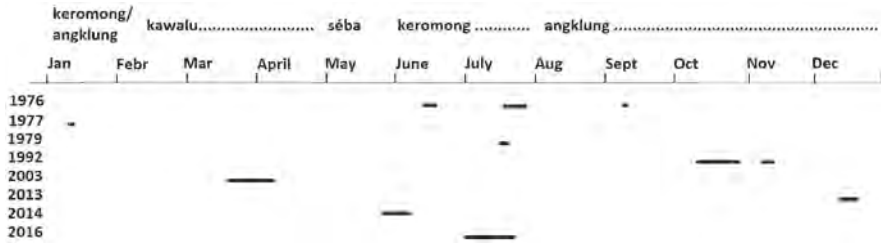


FIGURE 30 Major periods of fieldwork that roughly cover the different musical seasons. The short periods (one day/night) in September 1976 and January 1977 indicate recordings in Jakarta; the other periods include visits to Kanékés

These fieldwork periods have also been presented in Figure 30. It shows that, within the constraints set by the Baduy rules and my own obligations for teaching at Leiden University, I more or less managed to include the major musical seasons in these periods of fieldwork.

As the fieldwork periods were rather short and much of the social context of the music making was still missing, I did not manage to participate in music making. Hence the ‘participant observation’ was mainly limited to observing, recording and interviewing in the field. I obtained some music-technical details, but these do not constitute the major part of my data. My field notes 1976–2016 are in the collection donated to Leiden University Libraries (see footnote Section 1.3).

Another big problem was the Baduy language. Sundanese spoken by the Baduy is different from Sundanese spoken in Bandung; see also Section 6.3 and the methodological remarks at the beginning of Appendix 4 about the song texts. I mostly spoke Indonesian in the interviews and had research assistance for the Sundanese language. In 1976 that was supplied by Uk Sukaya, a musician working at the Faculty of Performing Arts of the Universitas Nasional in Jakarta, led by Bernard Suryabrata. In 1992 it was Enip Sukanda, then staff member of the Music Department of the STSI Bandung (Arts Academy, now ISBI – Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia). Since 2003 Mumu Zaéna Mutaqin, then a student at the Theatre Department of STSI Bandung, assisted me on my Baduy fieldwork: 2003, 2013, 2014 and 2016. Mumu was raised in southern Banten and he could understand many of the special Baduy words; see also photograph in Figure 23.

In the fieldwork periods as from 2013 it became clear that the musical season for *keromong* was longer than what I had reported earlier. In 1995 I wrote that it was roughly from the beginning of June to the beginning of September (Van Zanten 1995: 528). In 2013–2016 I learned that the *keromong* may be played

from after the *séba* ceremony (about beginning of June) until the start of the fasting period *kawalu*, about January. Section 4.1 will explain that it would be better to say that these two types of music belong to different worlds and are used to mark times with different social qualities: ritual *angklung* music for the goddess of rice (Déwi Asri/Nyi Pohaci) and other deities, and *keromong* and non-ritual *angklung* music for human beings. Therefore the sounds of *keromong* music and ritual *angklung* should be kept apart.

3.5 Some Theoretical Issues and Definitions

When I first visited Kanékés in 1976, I did not plan to write a book on Baduy music. At that time my Baduy research was just part of a general interest in Sundanese music. This first visit was meant for making audio and film recordings for documentation and possibly producing a gramophone record of Baduy music with Bernard Suryabrata. I soon learned that the Baduy community had special music that needed to be studied more thoroughly, because it might shed light on the history of Sundanese music. When I seriously considered to write a book on Baduy music in the 1990s, after finishing my PhD dissertation on Cianjuran music in 1987, I had to think about the major issues that should be addressed. No doubt that the greatest part of the book needed to be descriptive: a description of the music that I had heard and recorded, because little had been written on Baduy music and its social context. However, I also looked at theoretical issues that might be taken up by future researchers. Because of other obligations, the real start of writing this book only began in the 2010s.

Although the greater part of this book is descriptive, it does not mean that it is free from biases of the researcher. For some musical analysis in Chapters 5 to 8 I used transcriptions of the music sounds in Western staff notation, always a problematic issue. In Section 5.1 I explain how I did this and what some possible biases might be. Similarly, the translations of some song texts are also based on some guessing; see also the methodological issues mentioned in Appendix 4. It is never wrong to use one's ears and try to 'feel' what is meant by certain song texts, however, it is a tricky business. We should be aware of these limitations and not believe that we have found the final answer.

One of the major questions that I addressed in Van Zanten (2004 and 2017) was the sustainability of the Baduy society and their music. How well did the Baduy cope with the changing outside world and safeguarding their intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and care for environmental issues? The Baduy indigenous group is part of the modern mainstream Indonesian nation state, something that the Baduy have always accepted. Therefore it is important to look

at the cultural policies of Indonesia and how these affect the ethnic minority group of the Baduy; see also Sections 2.4 and 2.5 above.

For ‘minority’ I take the working definition as used by the Study Group on Music and Minorities of the International Council for Traditional Music.³¹ ‘Minorities’ or minority groups refer to ‘communities, groups and/or individuals, including indigenous, migrant and other vulnerable groups that are at higher risk of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, social or economic deprivation’. In this book I will mostly use ‘indigenous community’ (*masyarakat adat*) or ‘small ethnic group’, rather than ‘minority’ or ‘minority group’ for the Baduy group. This is, because in the international discussions, small ethnic groups have expressed that they rather like to be called ‘indigenous peoples’.³²

‘Sustainability’ is defined as ‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ and the ability to reach this goal is part of ‘agency, the capacity to make decisions that have an impact on social practices and representations in which individuals and communities are involved’.³³

‘Sustainability’ has different dimensions, like a socio-cultural, an economic and an environmental one. As already mentioned, in 1999 the secular village head Daénah had expressed critical views about the government’s programmes for Baduy resettlement (see Section 2.2 and also Figure 31). On the whole, the Baduy community was fairly critical about the government dealings with their society. It seems that the Indonesian authorities see a (too) close connection between sustainability of ICH and economic sustainability, because they very much stress the ‘cultural tourism’ and obtaining patents when safeguarding ICH. The economic dimension is emphasized and the socio-cultural and environmental dimensions of sustainability seem to get far less attention.

As mentioned in Van Zanten (2004: 143–144), after presenting a gamelan to the Baduy secular village head of Kanékés, Samin, in 1979, I only returned to the resettlement hamlet Cipangembar in 1992. Samin had died in December 1991, and this gamelan was now kept at the house of his sons: each of them had a part of the instruments. The sons told me that they were put under great

31 See <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/music-and-minorities>; [last access 12 November 2019.]

32 I am grateful to Gerard Persoon (*personal communication*, February 2020) for pointing this out to me. See also his 1998 article.

33 See the UNESCO ‘Glossary intangible cultural heritage’ (2002) on <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00265.pdf>. The definition of ‘sustainability’ is based on the one given by the Brundtland Commission of the United Nations in 1987.



FIGURE 31 Baduy resettlement hamlet Sukatani in Jalupang Mulya village, north of Kanékés that had just been officially opened on 21 September 1992; photo taken in October 1992

pressure to give the gamelan to the resident of Rangkasbitung, as had happened with other Baduy instruments. In West Java, as in other parts of Java, a *gamelan* has always been connected with the power of the ruler. It seemed that the local rulers in Rangkasbitung wanted to use the ‘Baduy’ music of the resettlement hamlets to further legitimize their power. In this way, the Baduy music in the resettlements was even more cut off from the rituals in which they serve. In fact, although some Baduy rituals were (and are) still performed in the resettlement hamlets, the Baduy of Kanékés do no longer consider their kin in the resettlements to be Baduy. Paraphrasing Judistira Garna (1988: 41–43), Baduy music was, as other elements of development, also ‘used to serve the majority of the Indonesians, rather than the Baduy community itself’.

These cultural policies of the Rangkasbitung government were confirmed to me in 1993. The local government was afraid that the music of the Baduy would be disappearing rapidly. Therefore they were collecting Baduy instruments in Rangkasbitung, where no Baduy were living, and training non-Baduy people to play these instruments. In Van Zanten (2012: 137–141) I discussed the Indonesian cultural policies with respect to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Whereas the UNESCO convention emphasizes the importance of involving (cultural) communities

in safeguarding processes, in this respect there were several shortcomings in the Indonesian cultural policies.

A second major question is the issue of religion. The Baduy are very aware that they are surrounded by Muslims, as also becomes clear from their *pantun* story texts (see Section 6.5). In 1985 the Directorate for the Guidance of Indigenous Peoples of the Suharto government wrote 'As for the Outer Baduy [...], they are already influenced by the Islam and they are formally called followers of the Islam' (Departemen Sosial 1985: 7).³⁴ In Van Zanten (2004: 137–141) I remarked that this attitude of the Indonesian authorities may have been an attempt to protect the Baduy indigenous group, however it did not respect the Baduy wishes: Baduy call their religion *Sunda wiwitan* and they consider it to be different from Islam. The way Indonesian society will deal with religious minorities in the coming years will greatly affect the Baduy community. The intolerance shown by some fundamentalist groups towards minorities, is a potential threat for the social stability of Indonesia and in particular for the Baduy.³⁵ The Indonesian situation also depends on global developments, in which fundamentalist groups and individuals ('lonely wolves') may use any ideology to find an excuse for their violent behaviour.

In 1998 Gerard Persoon wrote that the Indonesian government looks upon the cultural minority groups, or indigenous groups 'as deviating from the cultural mainstream, and policies are aimed at bringing these people back into the mainstream of Indonesian life'. (Persoon 1998: 281, 371–372.) After Suharto's New Order government was replaced in 1998, steps were taken towards more democracy and decentralization in Indonesian politics. Nevertheless, in 2017 I pointed out that, although the official Indonesian motto is 'unity in diversity' (*bhinneka tunggal ika*), the Indonesian policy towards the Baduy seemed not in line with this motto. The Indonesian attitude rather reflected

34 Actually, at that time the Indonesian name of the department was 'Direktorat Bina Masyarakat Terasing': the directorate for isolated communities. See also Garna (1988: 41–43); Persoon (1998: 287–288).

35 An example of this is the 2011 violence against the Ahmadiyah Muslim minority, in which three Ahmadi were killed in Banten province and which led to international protests by human rights organizations. In June 2016 the Ahmadi complained that 'their human rights were breached by a local government refusing to issue them state ID cards unless they renounce their belief' (see <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-religion/indonesian-islamic-sect-say-theyre-denied-state-ids-over-their-beliefs-idUSKBN19C1GJ>),. In the same Reuters article it says: 'Indonesia's reputation for tolerance has come under renewed scrutiny since Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, a Christian [and of Chinese descent], was sentenced last month to two years in prison for blasphemy in a trial that came after mass Islamist-led rallies and raised religious tensions to the highest in years.' [Last access 20 November 2019.]

that 'most problems would best be solved if the Baduy would become Muslims and if they would start using irrigated rice fields'. I pointed out that this limited understanding of the Baduy indigenous group by the Indonesian authorities was a serious problem for the sustainability of the Baduy society (Van Zanten 2017: 93). Chapter 9 will again briefly address this issue of sustainability and its different dimensions. However, before that, Chapter 4 will discuss the important issue of Baduy music seasons and major rituals. Chapters 5 to 8 will also be on the different types of music, rather than on Indonesian cultural policies.

Seasons for Music and Major Rituals

The musical seasons, especially for the shaken bamboos ensemble *angklung* and the *keromong* are related to the agricultural seasons and the connected social events. The agricultural yearly cycle starts with clearing the fields and is followed by planting rice around September-November, offering harvested products to the rulers (*séba*) in the period April-June, and it ends with circumcisions and weddings around June-August. Section 4.1 will discuss the agricultural calendar and the connected music and dance activities. The Baduy calendar is based on both solar and lunar calendars. Each year the spiritual leaders may make adjustments to the calendar, so that it better fits the solar year. That makes the exact Baduy date and month sometimes difficult to predict (see further Appendix 2).

This chapter will also describe a few rituals that I attended, focussing on the music and dance that were used. For researchers it is not easy to obtain permission for attending rituals: one needs to be trusted by the Baduy, and this usually only takes place after several visits to Kanékés, as was also explained in Chapter 3. This chapter will focus on the music and dance during circumcision rituals and the connected *keromong* music and *pantun* storytelling. A description of the ritual in which the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sang(h)i(y)ang Asri was married off to the Earth was presented in Van Zanten (1995). Here I will only summarize that important rice ritual with *angklung* music and dance and also describe a few other rituals that I was not able to attend.

Not all Baduy music and dance is used in rituals. Moreover, the *angklung* and *keromong* ensembles that are used in rituals, are also frequently played for entertainment outside a ritual. Those occasions may be seen as a kind of rehearsal in which the players improve their playing skills and learn new songs. Especially during these occasions the musical skills are passed on to younger generations of boys and men. Instruments for one's own and some neighbours' entertainment, like the flutes, the Jew's harp and the zither and violin, may be played almost every day and are not restricted by a season. Those instruments can always be played except for the two or three fasting days in each of the three *kawalu* months.

4.1 Agricultural Calendar and Musical Seasons

Baduy are in the first place farmers and rice grown on dry fields (*huma*) is an essential part of their living and religion. Currently irrigated rice fields (*sawah*)

are strictly forbidden in Kanékés. This also holds for the fields near the hamlets of Cicakal Girang in Kanékés, where Muslim people live, as we have already mentioned in Section 2.3. The Baduy leaders only tolerate that there are *sawah* in this Muslim enclave in Kanékés, that is, the *sawah* are only allowed to people who are not part of the Baduy community.

Baduy keep their own rice sometimes for many years in the storage barn (*leuit*) and they are not allowed to sell this rice. However, if the harvest was poor, they are allowed to buy rice on the markets outside Kanékés. The Baduy year is regulated by agricultural activities, from clearing the fields to harvesting the rice. The time for planting rice is determined by the spiritual leaders and it is a complicated issue: the Baduy calendar is a solar calendar (that is, following the seasons of the solar year) but also based on 12 lunar months of 29 or 30 days. That means that adjustments have to be made to fit the shorter lunar year of 12 months (about 355 days) to the solar year of 365¼ days. These adjustments by the *puun* and their closest assistants seem to be made by extending the duration of the month Hapit Kayu (see further Appendix 2).

The *séba* ceremony marks the end of the old and the beginning of the new agricultural season. During the *séba* Baduy men travel to the ‘rulers of the north’ and offer them some of their products as a sign of appreciation for their protection of the Baduy community; see Section 2.4 above. The *séba* should start in Kanékés at the beginning of the Baduy month Kapat/Sapar on one of the odd dates 1, 3, 5 or 7. From Tables 31 and 32 in Appendix 2 it follows that since the beginning of the 1970s the Baduy agricultural year started between the beginning of April and the beginning of June. For simplicity reasons we could assume that ‘on average’ the Baduy agricultural year starts on 1 May (‘on average’ the same as 1 Kapat/Sapar) with a margin of one month earlier or later.

Garna (1988: 338) mentions that the *séba* in fact already starts at the end of the third fasting month (*kawalu tutug*) with offerings of small puppets made of rice flour vermicelli (*laksa*) to the spirits (*guriang*) in the forbidden forest (*leuweung larangan*) in the Inner Baduy area. These spirits are in fact ancestors who look after and protect Kanékés village. They are the ‘spiritual rulers’ (*penguasa gaib*), who get the offerings before the worldly rules of the north.

In Table 5 I have listed the Baduy calendar, together with the Western calendar, the agricultural activities and the major social activities with performing arts that play a role on the level of the whole Baduy community (*angklung*) and that mainly affect the hamlet level (*pantun, keromong*). *Pantun* and most other music on the hamlet level may be played during the whole season, although it is not allowed during some days of the fasting (*kawalu*) months around February-April. Apart from marriages and circumcisions, the initiation of a newly formed hamlet (*nukuh lembur*) is also a ritual which mainly affects

the hamlet level and *pantun* is used for that ritual. *Pantun* recitation is also used for curing the rice from diseases, ascertain a successful hunt, curing human beings from illnesses and for purification rituals, needed when one of the Baduy rules of living has been breached.

The major rituals concerning Baduy individuals are birth, circumcision, marriage and death. Circumcision and marriage are very much considered communal affairs that involve performing arts and take place in a special season, as indicated in Table 5 below. Birth and death require rituals that are more oriented towards the individual and her/his family and do not involve any music or dance, as far as I know. I only heard that at funerals women may show their respect for the deceased by individually pounding rice, not in a group as in *gendék* (A2013: 22).

If the music is played outside Kanékés the musical seasons are less strictly observed during the last decades. For instance, there are many examples of a Baduy *angklung* group playing outside Kanékés and outside the season. It was said that on the 20th July 2016 the Kaduketug *angklung* group would have played in Cibolégér, just outside Kanékés, to receive Indonesia's president. This date fell outside the *angklung* season – and the president did not come (Van Zanten 2017: 96).

In 1995 I wrote that the gamelan (*keromong*) and *angklung* seasons exclude each other:

The *gamelan* can be played only between the end of the harvest ceremonies, marked by the presentation of agricultural products to the rulers (*séba*) around the first of June, and the beginning of the rice-planting season, around the first of September. *Angklung* and *gamelan* are not allowed to be played in the same season; this is forbidden (*buyut*). The *angklung* season starts when the *gamelan* season ends.

VAN ZANTEN 1995: 528

This statement has to be adjusted on the basis of my later fieldwork: the *keromong* may also be played in the Baduy month Hapit Kayu for weddings and circumcisions of girls, just before the three *kawalu* fasting months start around January-February (Sapin and Arwan, A2013: 21).

During the marriage of *jaro* Daénah's son Pulung in the beginning of January 2014 the *keromong* was played. Hence from the information I gathered the present *keromong* season is longer than it was in the 1970s and before and it overlaps the *angklung* (and *pantun*) season.

It would be better to say that these two types of music belong to different worlds: ritual *angklung* music for the goddess of rice (Déwi Asri/Déwi Sri/

TABLE 5 Calendar with major agricultural and musical activities

Month #	Baduy name	Approximate Western month ('average')	Agricultural activities (Geise 1952: 32–65; Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40–49; Garna 1987: 90; Garna 1988: 84; Iskandar 1992: 65–67)	Major social activities and accompanying music and dance
1	Kapat/Sapar	May	Clearing (<i>ngarawas</i>) the <i>huma sérang</i> field in Inner Baduy area	<i>Séba</i> delegation leaves Kanékés for gifts to the authorities in Rangkasbitung and Sérang on 1, 3, 5 or 7 Sapar
2	Kalima	June	Cutting trees and bushes (<i>nyacar</i>) on the <i>huma sérang</i>	Circumcisions, and marriages: <i>pantun</i> and <i>keromong</i> (gamelan); initiation of new hamlets (<i>nukuh lembur</i>): <i>pantun</i>
3	Kanem	July	Drying the grass, cut branches and shrubs to be burned (<i>nukuh-ganggan</i>) on <i>huma sérang</i>	Circumcisions, and marriages: <i>pantun</i> and <i>keromong</i> ; initiation of new hamlets (<i>nukuh lembur</i>): <i>pantun</i>
4	Kapitu	August	Burning of wood (<i>ngaduruk</i>) and start of ritual sowing of rice on <i>huma sérang</i> in Inner Baduy area (<i>ngaseuk-muuhan</i>)	<i>Angklung</i> season begins with 'engagement' of rice goddess to the earth: <i>ngaréremokeun</i> ritual before the planting of rice (<i>ngaseuk-muuhan</i>) in the Inner Baduy area. The Outer Baduy <i>keromong</i> is hardly played until about January
5	Kadalapan	September	Start sowing of rice on the fields of the three <i>puun</i> (<i>ngaseuk</i>)	<i>Angklung</i> played for entertainment in Outer Baduy area

TABLE 5 Calendar with major agricultural and musical activities (*cont.*)

Month #	Baduy name	Approximate Western month ('average')	Agricultural activities (Geise 1952: 32–65; Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40–49; Garna 1987: 90; Garna 1988: 84; Iskandar 1992: 65–67)	Major social activities and accompanying music and dance
6	Kasalapan	October	Start sowing of rice on the fields of commoners in Inner Baduy area (<i>ngaseuk</i>)	<i>Angklung</i> played for entertainment in Outer Baduy area
7	Kasapuluh	November	Ritual sowing of rice on Outer Baduy common field (<i>huma tuladan</i>) and weeding (<i>ngoréd</i>) on Inner Baduy fields	<i>Angklung</i> used for <i>ngarérémokeun</i> ritual in Outer Baduy area and played for entertainment in Outer Baduy area
8	Hapit Lemah	December	Weeding (<i>ngirab sawan</i>) and giving medicine to the rice (<i>ngubaran</i>)	<i>Angklung</i> and <i>pantun</i> used as medicine for curing the rice
9	Hapit Kayu	January	Waiting for the rice to grow (<i>menunggu ladang</i>)	<i>Angklung</i> and <i>pantun</i> used as medicine for curing the rice; <i>keromong</i> played at weddings
10	Kasa	February	<i>Kawalu mitembey</i> ; start harvesting the rice from the <i>huma sérang</i> in Inner Baduy area	First month of fasting; no <i>angklung</i> or <i>keromong</i> , but individual instruments (flutes, Jew's harp, zither, etc.) may be played, except for the fasting day (17 Kasa)
11	Karo	March	<i>Kawalu tengah</i> . Harvesting and hunting	Second month of fasting; individual instruments may be played, except for the fasting day (18 Karo)

TABLE 5 Calendar with major agricultural and musical activities (*cont.*)

Month #	Baduy name	Approximate Western month ('average')	Agricultural activities (Geise 1952: 32–65; Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40–49; Garna 1987: 90; Garna 1988: 84; Iskandar 1992: 65–67)	Major social activities and accompanying music and dance
12	Katiga	April	<i>Kawalu tutug</i> . Harvesting and hunting.	Last month of fasting. Cleaning the holy sites near Cikeusik and Cibéo, <i>ngalaksa</i> festivities with preparations for <i>séba</i> ; individual instruments may be played, except for the fasting days (17–19 Katiga)

Nyi Pohaci) and other deities in the upper world and *keromong* and non-ritual *angklung* music for human beings in the middle world.¹ Therefore the sounds of ritual *angklung* and *keromong* music should be kept apart. When on 23 October 1992 I attended the ceremonial planting of rice with *angklung* music on the Outer Baduy field (*huma tuladan*) near Cicakal Hilir (nowadays called Cicakal Muara) from a distance, as described in Van Zanten (1995: 532–535), our party heard a boy hitting one of the gongs in a

1 In the Baduy belief system there are three worlds that a human being passes from the time before birth until after death. Those three worlds are each ruled by a 'mother', *Ambu* (Garna 1988: 238–243; Permana 2001: 66–68). The upper world (*buana nyungcung* or *buana luhur*) is where the gods (*batara*) and spirits live, including the highest god Batara Tunggal, the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri (Déwi Sri) and the godly mother Sunan Ambu. Before human beings are born, their spirits also are in this upper world. The middle world (*buana (panca) tengah*) is where the human beings (*manusa*) live. The underworld (*buana rarang/larang*) is where the dead stay for seven days, before their spirits go back to the upper world and are united with the gods. See further, for instance, Garna (1987: 88–89) and Ekadjati (1995: 72–74).

keromong set. Immediately one of the elder people said that this was forbidden (*pamali*), as it was now time for the ritual planting of rice (*ngaseuk* or *ngaseuk-muuhan*). He also said that the time for *keromong* sound was during the months 5 (Kalima) to 7 (Kapitu), which is roughly between June and August (A1992-1: 66).

On 1 July 2016 the *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah also remarked that ‘*angklung* and *keromong* should not sound together’ (A2016-1: 1–2). There is music for the gods, and specifically the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri and her children, and music for human beings during the feasts, like weddings (*nikahan*, *kawinan*) and circumcisions (*sunatan* for boys, *peupeuran* for girls). *Angklung* is the major music for the gods, especially played when the goddess of rice is engaged and married to the earth at the beginning of the planting season (Section 4.2). *Keromong* and *pantun* are both used during the human weddings and circumcisions (Section 4.3). With the Outer Baduy *angklung* music is also used for entertainment and dancing of men and the texts are then mainly about love (see texts in Appendix 4).

4.2 Angklung Music for the Engagement Ritual of the Goddess of Rice

This section is based on Van Zanten (1995: 532–537) and with some additional information. In the Outer Baduy region the *angklung* is played in combination with singing and dancing by men. There are two different social settings in which *angklung* music is used: a setting in which it is used for entertainment and a ritual setting. When the *angklung* is used for entertainment, the male players sing *sisindiran* (poems in which an allusion is given, mainly by sound association) while they are playing. A soloist will sing the main text, and a chorus of players answers. This type of *angklung* music for entertainment is also played during the rice ritual described in this section, and the music will mainly be discussed in Section 5.2 below. The present Section 4.2 will concentrate on the ritual context of the *angklung*.

The *angklung* is closely associated with the rice rituals. It is always played during the ceremony held in the night before the ceremonial planting of rice (*ngaseuk*). This ritual takes place several times: first on various fields of the Inner Baduy (starting with the *huma sérang*, then on the fields of the *puun*, and at last on the fields of the commoners), and then on a special field of the Outer Baduy (*huma tuladan*): see Figure 32 and further Judistira Garna (1988: 321) for the complicated schedule. This ceremony is to ‘wake’ the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri, and to announce her marriage to the earth

(*ngarérémokeun*) the following morning (Geise 1952: 36–37).² A few weeks after the planting of the rice, the earth ‘gets medicine’, to protect it from diseases, and the *angklung* is played again.

I was given permission to record the ‘engagement’ ceremony on audio tape in Kadujangkung during the night of 22–23 October 1992. The ceremony took place near the house of Asrab, then the secular village head. As there would also be Inner Baduy present at this ritual, I was only allowed to record from inside a house, so that those present would not see me and the recording apparatus. The recording was made from behind a plaited bamboo wall. Through two holes of 8 x 8 cm in the wall, I could see what was going on outside. The *angklung* players and dancers passed within a metre of this wall, and the greatest distance between them and the wall was about 8 metres. As plaited bamboo is thin, most of the recordings are of good quality. Unfortunately, during the solo singing of the ceremonial text around midnight, the singers were seated on a mat on the ground and singing away from my microphones. Hence, this text is poorly recorded and difficult to understand.

The evening started around 19.00 hours, and went on until about 4.30 the following morning. Just before 19.00, the nine different *angklung* instruments of Kadujangkung had been placed with the top parts together, in a roof-like shape: Λ . The two drums and some burning incense had been put under this ‘roof’. Then they picked up the instruments and the playing started: eight men and boys played the *angklung* idiophones (the two idiophones producing the highest tones are always played by one person), and two men played the two drums (*bedug* and *talinting*). Some of the adult men had a ceremonial white sash with coloured patterns at the ends (*sabuk adu mancung*; see Figure 19 and photographs in Bakels 1991: 42 and Hasman and Reiss 2012: 69) around their waist. As usual, a few men sang while playing the *angklung*. The players walked around in a circle, of which about a quarter was open, most of the time in a counter-clockwise direction and around 21:00 hours in a clockwise direction (A1992-1: 60). The Baduy *angklung* is therefore also called *angklung aleutan*, the *angklung* [played in a] ‘row’. During the evening, *angklung* groups from other hamlets (Cikadu, Karahkal, and Cisaban) arrived and joined in. Sometimes there were dancers among the group of players. Elsewhere I have remarked that the tunings of the different *angklung* sets did not match very well, but that the festive, exciting (*ramé*) atmosphere apparently was considered more important than

2 Garna (1988: 322) points out that in this Baduy ceremony the earth becomes the husband of the rice goddess, but that in the Nusantara traditions the earth usually falls in the female category. See also Geise (1952: 34–40).

the musical shortcomings (Van Zanten 1997: 47–48; see also end of Section 4.5 below).

Van Hoëvell (1845: 429) already mentioned that the Baduy have *angklung* and he reports that ‘they are not allowed [to play] the instruments when standing; they should be played when sitting’. This contradicts the present situation, and Van Hoëvell’s remark may have been valid for some special situations only: Ayah Sardi from Kompol told me that at the end of the ceremonial planting of rice on the special field (*huma tuladan* for Outer Baduy and *huma sérang* for Inner Baduy) the *angklung* players had to sit when playing, whereas in the other parts of this ritual they perform while walking around in a circle (A2014-1: 14.).

Around 23.45 hours a basket of rice was carried from the house of the village head and put on a mat in the open space. The leader of one of the groups of *angklung* players (*jaro angklung*) from the other hamlets said a formula (*jampé*), and incense was burnt, while other people were talking. Thereafter one *angklung* group started playing the song Maréngo³ while circling around the mat in a clockwise direction. This lasted for one hour. There was no dancing now. The dancers were sitting on the mat in the middle with the musicians who were not playing. This was the part of the ceremony in which the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri, is engaged to the earth Partiwī. The text of the engagement song was sung alternately by the two leaders of the visiting *angklung* groups from Cikadu and Cisaban. Now and then players were replaced by others. When they were not playing, they would sit on the mat, or at the side, outside the circle of players, and join in with the chorus. Most of the men smoked occasionally, even while they were playing.

About 0.50 hours the music stopped after a last section which was played very fast (*ngagubrugkeun*), and the players stood still. One of the leaders took off his ceremonial sash (*sabuk*), and put it on the basket of rice. Then the village head carried the basket back inside his house. A few minutes later the *angklung* players started again. They walked around the circle again in counter-clockwise direction, and sang *sisindiran*, as they had done during the first part of the evening. The music and dancing went on like this until about 4.00 in the morning. Gradually most spectators had gone and were apparently sleeping somewhere, because it became quieter outside. The *angklung* players had stopped walking around in a circle.

3 Judistira Garna (1988: 324, 341) also gives the name Panggrémo, which means ‘engagement/marriage song.’

Then, around 4.00, they started playing quite differently, and without singing. It gave me the impression that they were learning tunes from each other. Later, it was explained by the village head Asrab that, indeed, most of the players did not know these last melodies very well. However, they belong to the ceremony, because they are tunes to entertain the ‘children of the rice goddess, Déwi Asri’. There are three parts (melodies?): *Ceuceurikan* (crying), *Ngupahan* (comforting), *Seuseurian* (laughing).⁴ After this ‘lullaby’ the music stopped at about 4.30. I heard some dirty phrases being sung, but gradually it became quiet.

At 6.00 the *angklung* group from Cikadu started playing again. Women and men collected baskets full of rice at the house of the village head. In a long procession, about one hundred women and men followed the *angklung* music to the field where the rice would be planted. Some men and women carried the rice baskets on their heads, and others carried food to be eaten after the planting.⁵ The *angklung* played the farewell piece *Pileuleuyan*. Men and women were in ceremonial dress. Men (except the four Inner Baduy men) were wearing a black shirt without collar over a white shirt without collar, black short trousers, a black and blue head cloth of printed batik, and some of them used the ceremonial sash. Most of the women were wearing a locally woven blue and red cloth, or a black and blue cloth of printed batik, a white shirt, a ceremonial sash over their shoulder (*suat samata*), and a big hat of plaited bamboo (see Figure 19, Figure 7 right-top, and photographs in Bakels (1991: 38, 41–43)).

After an hour’s walk, and after crossing the Ciujung River via the hanging bamboo bridge of Gajeboh, the procession reached the hamlet Cicakal Hilir (in 2016 called Cicakal Muara). Here, all the Baduy people crossed the river by wading through it, to reach the sacred field of the Outer Baduy (*huma tuladan*: literally, exemplary field), where the rice would be planted.⁶ The few non-Baduy Sundanese people, including the very popular administrator of Désa Kanékés, Ukang Sukarna, and myself, could not follow the procession across the river. The Inner Baduy, who had attended the previous night’s ceremony and were also to attend this planting ceremony (*ngaseuk*), had said ‘it was

4 See also Section 1.2 in which I mentioned that the sound of the *calintuh* pipes and the *kolécér* propeller, both blown by the wind, are also considered to be music for the children of the rice goddess, Déwi Asri.

5 According to Judistira Garna (1988: 325), in this procession they also take toys (*cocoan*) for Nyi Asri with them, in the form of seeds (*piceun*, *kemiri*), shells, and a sponge.

6 The rice harvested from this field is mainly used for the *kawalu* and *ngalaksa* harvest ceremonies (Judistira Garna 1988: 192).



FIGURE 32 The *huma tuladan* field near Cicakal Hilir, morning of 23 October 1992. The procession had just reached the field and the rice would be planted there between about 8.45 and 9.45

not necessary' for us to be present at this ceremony. Slowly many more Baduy women and men arrived, until there were about 250 people assembled on the sacred field, which lies on a steep slope. The four Inner Baduy and some Outer Baduy walked over the field, as if they were inspecting it, or said prayers in all directions. I estimated the size of this field to be 1 to 1.5 ha.

The *angklung* played again from 7.30 to 8.45. The 18-some players and two dancers walked in a clockwise direction around the *pungpuhunan*, a sacred place covering about a square metre in the middle of the field, marked with some young sugar-palm leaves. It was here that the offerings were placed, and here where the ceremonial planting began. Prayers were said by a spiritual leader; he put rice seeds into a few holes, made with a planting stick (for a description see Geise 1952: 38–9; Judistira Garna 1988: 325). Then the *angklung* was put aside in the shade, and the 250 men and women started to plant rice on the whole field. They worked together in two groups. In each group the men walked with a planting stick (*aseuk, tugal*; Garna 1988: 198) and made holes (*ngaseuk*) about 20–30 cm apart. The women followed with the rice, putting

five or seven seeds in each hole (*muuhan*). The holes were not covered over. About an hour later they were finished, and the *angklung* played again for about half an hour. They started eating at a large open hut (*saung*) which had been constructed on the field. Around 11.15 the *angklung* played again for a short time, and people went home.

I was told afterwards that during the ceremonial part of the evening (around midnight) the only singing done was an hour's singing of the song Maréngo. However, musically speaking, there was a definite change in the chorus part, after about half an hour's singing. The music transcription of this second part of the song Maréngo is presented in Appendix 4 of Van Zanten 1995. It was repeated for about half an hour in the transcribed way. As the recording of the soloist is very poor, I have not attempted to transcribe his text. Instead, I presented the text from Geise (1952: 37–8, 190–1) underneath my music transcription:

Pohaci Sanghiang Asri	Pohaci Sanghiang Asri,
Ku kami rék ditetepkeun	Who will be put by us at a permanent place
Ku kami diraramékeun	Who is greeted by us with festivities
Ku kami dirérémokeun	Who is married off by us
Dina malem Ahad	On the night before Sunday
Di bumi Paratiwi	On the earth [called] Paratiwi
Buana pancatengah	The central world.
Ulah gédér, ulah reuwas	Do not be afraid, do not be scared
Mangka tetep, mangka langgeng	May it be permanent, may it be forever
Mangka hurip kajayana	May her power live
Nu kosong pangeusiankeun	The empty ones [ears], please fill them,
Nu celong	The lean ones, please make them full.
pangmeunuhankeun.	

About one minute of this recorded song Maréngo was used in my concept-film (unfinished) 'Baduy life and music'. I showed this film on my laptop to a few Baduy leaders in December 2013 for feed-back. Apparently the included audio recording of ritual *angklung* with the song Maréngo was a problem. The secular village head Daénah thought it should only be used for documentation and not included in a film for the general public. I promised to do so. See further Section 3.2 above, Figure 27 and Van Zanten (2015: 120). This feed-back emphasized that this ritual, the engagement and marriage of the rice goddess to the earth, is at the heart of Baduy religion. It is not very surprising that the Baduy leaders did not want it to become easily available to the general public in a film.

4.3 Circumcisions and Weddings

This section will describe circumcision and wedding rituals from literature. The following sections of this chapter describe two Baduy circumcision rituals and part of a wedding that I was able to attend in July 2016, mainly focusing on the performed music and dance. Weddings mainly take place in the about 2–3 months period after the end of the agricultural year and after the *séba* ceremony, that is, roughly between June and August (Baduy months Kanem, Kalima and Kapitu). The secular village head Saijah told me that there are about 20 weddings each year (A2016-1: 2–3). When I talk about ‘weddings’ I mean the 3-day long wedding rituals (*kawinan*, *nikahan*) that involve music and dance. However, in the year before the wedding there is the formal proposal (*lalar*), and the male candidate working on the fields of his future parents-in-law that are part of the wedding ceremonies that will not be discussed here.

Weddings may also take place in the weeks before the fasting months, around January. This may be a relatively new development. Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 75) report that weddings only take place in the Baduy months Kalima and Kanem and this is more or less confirmed by Geise (1952: 92). Hasman and Reiss (2012: 36, 82–84) report: ‘Weddings take place either in the month of Kalima (5th month), a few days before or after the annual pilgrimage to the *Sasaka Domas*, or in the month of Kapitu (7th month), just before rice-planting’. In this book Reiss also gives a description of an Inner Baduy wedding (Hasman and Reiss 2012: 82–84).

However, Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 186–187) report that, whereas Inner Baduy weddings may only take place in the Baduy months Kanem, Kalima and Kapitu (roughly June–August), the Outer Baduy weddings may not only take place in these months, but also in all the other months, except for the three *kawalu* months and the month Sapar (hence with the exception of roughly February–May). They also report that the months from August–January are not often used for marriages; if used, it is mostly for a second marriage of a widower.⁷ Hence it may be that for the Outer Baduy the wedding season became longer during the last few years. I have only heard about an Outer Baduy wedding outside the June–August period in January 2014; it was the wedding of the son of the secular village head Daénah and at that time the *keromong* was played.

⁷ As mentioned in Section 1.1, the Baduy are monogamous, but allowed to divorce and marry again.

Circumcision of boys (*sunatan*) may only take place in the months after the harvest and *séba* ceremony (around June-August), and not around January.⁸ According to secular village head Saijah in 2016 there would be 615 circumcisions in Kanékés (A2016-1: 2). Circumcisions only take place once in three or four years and in a limited number of hamlets (see also Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 207). There are years in which no circumcision takes place in Kanékés. Over a longer period, on average there will be about 150–200 circumcisions each year.⁹ The circumcisions take place for a group of boys in one hamlet and some neighbouring hamlets, which also happens in other parts of Sunda. During the circumcision of boys there may also be girls in that hamlet and some neighbouring hamlets that will be ‘circumcised’. For the girls this means that they will be initiated into the world of the grown-ups by filing of their teeth (*geseran*, *gusaran*; see below). This ritual takes place when the children are mostly five to eight years old, and definitely before they are ten years old.

Male circumcision (*sunatan*) includes the removal of the foreskin from the penis and is a real operation by a male Baduy specialist: *béngkong*. From my observations it seems that most *béngkong* are Inner Baduy and this is confirmed by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 206). The night before this operation the teeth of the boys are being filed. For the Baduy girls undergoing the ‘circumcision’ at the same time as the boys, it is different. For them the only physical change will be the tooth filing during the three-day long rituals. Permata (2001: 54) describes the Baduy female circumcision (*peupeuran*) as ‘not involving cutting anything away from the sexual organ, but cutting hair of the head at the front side’ (*cukuran*) by a woman specialist.¹⁰ Unfortunately, Permata is not very clear about the *peupeuran* and the period in the life of a girl when this cutting of hair takes place. I understand that a Baduy girl’s physical ‘operation’ on her sexual organ has already taken place when the girl is about 30 days old and on that occasion the hair is also cut (*cukuran*). When the girls are 5–10 years old, and attending the *sunatan* ceremony for boys, they only undergo the physical tooth filing.

Erwinantu (2012: 45–46) reports that the girls are very young when they undergo the hair cutting ritual (*cukuran*) and Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 203) call the hair cutting (*cukuran* or *ngalaan sawan*) the last step of the ‘ceremonies

8 Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 72) report that circumcision can only take place in the Baduy month Kalima.

9 These figures correspond to roughly 1.3–1.7% of the Baduy population.

10 *‘Upacara ini [peperan] bukan memotong bagian tertentu alat kelamin, melainkan memotong rambut bagian depan. Pemotongan rambut dilakukan oleh béngkong bikang atau juru aés “dukun sunat perempuan.”*

around the birth' (*upacara kelahiran*), but they do not say at which age it takes place. According to Erwinantu it includes the cutting of only two hairs at the front side and saying prayers for the well-being of the child by a specialist.¹¹ That the Baduy female 'circumcision' of 5–10 year old girls does not have much physical impact was confirmed to me when I attended two circumcisions in July 2016.

There is little information on female circumcision with the Baduy and the existing information is conflicting. Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 73) reported that there is no circumcision of Baduy girls. Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 204) report that female circumcision involves 'cutting away/removing a piece of skin ... from the vagina of the girl' (*memotong/menghilangkan selaput (sebagian kulit) ... vagina pada perempuan*), however they do not supply information on when this takes place in the life cycle of a girl. In the Bandung region the female circumcision was described to me as happening at a very young age and having little physical impact. Rikin (1973: 11–14) briefly describes the female circumcision (*ngabersihan budak awéwé* or *nyunatan budak awéwé*) in the wider Sunda region as taking place mostly when the umbilical cord falls down (*puputan*), and meant to get a drop of blood by taking away a small part of the skin of the clitoris. Williams (2001: 88–89) mentions that female circumcision in the Bandung area takes place for all girls when they are ten days old and 'a small incision is made at the lower base of the clitoris'.

Eringa (1984) and KUBS (1976) list the word *peper*, and give *meper(an)* as the refined (*lemes*) form of *ngagusar(an)*, tooth filing. Eringa (1984: 275) also mentions that *gusaran*, *peperan* and *tetekan*, tooth filing, are also used as a euphemism for female circumcision. It seems that Baduy 'circumcision' of girls (*peupeuran*), or initiation of 5–10 year old girls into the world of women as Permata calls it, only consists of tooth filing. The actual incision in the clitoris has already taken place just after birth. For girls the tooth filing may take place at the time when it is done with the boys, just before the *sunatan* operation of the boys, but also during weddings.

Tooth filing (*geseran*) is part of the circumcision ritual for Baduy boys and girls that takes place in the evening before the actual circumcision of boys in the morning of the last day. Whereas in the past the tooth filing could be a 'very painful operation' with crying children (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 72) in current practice the teeth are just slightly touched with a kind of grindstone which is a symbolical way of indicating that a child has entered the world of the adolescents and

11 Hasman and Reiss (2012: 103) describe the *cukuran* ritual as 'haircutting ceremony for baby's first hair'. This would mean that it precedes the *peupeuran* ritual taking place when the girls are between five and ten years old.

grown-ups (Permata 2001: 54). The light physical impact of the tooth filing may be a reason that Baduy 'circumcision' of 5–10 year old girls can also take place during weddings. Whereas 'circumcision' of 5–8 year old girls (*sunat awéwé*) may take place at the same time as weddings, boys cannot be circumcised during weddings (A1992-1: 48), as it includes a real operation of the penis.

The actual circumcision of boys should take place on Monday morning or Tuesday morning, according to Ayah Anirah (A2016-1: 44). This was in line with the two circumcision rituals that I attended in 2016: in Kaduketug on Monday morning 4 July and in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud on Tuesday morning 5 July (month Kalima and presumably 29th and 30th day).¹² Sections 4.4 and 4.5 below will describe these circumcision ceremonies in 2016, focussing on the performing arts during the three-day long feasts. More information may be found in Permata (2001: 53–55) and Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 190–191, photographs, 204–216).

It seems that the nation-wide (and world-wide) discussion on Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) since about 2005 has not really affected the Baduy practices on circumcision. Sarah Anaïs Andrieu (personal communication 13 March 2018) told me that in her recent research in the Bandung and Subang areas it also turned out that girls are usually physically circumcised at the end of the birth rituals and before the 35th day after birth. Mostly the practice consists of just pricking the clitoris in order to get a drop of blood. Actual removal of the clitoris also occurs, but seems to be a much more recent and urban practice and, according to government regulations, this had to be done by a medical specialist (official *bidan*, midwife). According to Andrieu the girls' circumcision mostly includes piercing the two ears (*tindik*) and cutting some hair (*cukur*) as well.

The Baduy circumcision rituals take three days.¹³ For this purpose a special temporary awning (*papajangan*, A2016-1: 9, or *saung sunatan*; see also Section 6.4) will be built where all the major activities will take place: filing of teeth and actual circumcision of boys and the *pantun* storytelling performances during the three nights. The *baksa* dance takes place outside but near this temporary awning. The *keromong* playing is also done at a different place, on a stage about 50–100m from the *papajangan*.¹⁴

12 Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 206) mention that circumcisions are preferably taking place on a Tuesday or Thursday morning, and should not take place on Friday or Sunday morning.

13 The first day is called *kumpul leutik* ('small meeting'), the second day is called *kumpul gedé* ('big meeting') and the third day is called *bubaran* ('break up', 'separate') (A2016-1: 9).

14 On both occasions that I attended, the *keromong* was playing on a stage located south of the *papajangan*.

4.4 Circumcision in Kadujangkung

In July 2016 I attended the last two nights of the circumcision activities in Kadujangkung at the end (25th – 26th day?) of the month Kalima. I got permission to attend under the condition that I would not take photographs, nor audio or video recordings. Also, I was not allowed to see what was going on in the temporary awning (*papajangan*). Hence I could only observe from just behind the white cloth of the *papajangan* what was going on, talk to people sitting outside the awning and take notes. In Kadujangkung there were 24 boys and 3 girls that would be circumcised; two of them came from another hamlet. I did not attend the first day of preparations with a *pantun* performance during the night (Friday 1 July to Saturday 2 July), because Mumu and I had just arrived in Kaduketug in the afternoon of 1 July and not yet heard about the circumcision. I only attended the second *pantun* performance on Saturday night 2 July, which lasted from about 21.05 to 23.50 o'clock (that is, two hours and forty-five minutes long) and the third one during the Sunday-Monday night of 3–4 July from 1.42–2.50 o'clock early Monday morning (that is, lasting for just over one hour). Further, I heard and saw the *keromong* playing during these two days.

On these two nights the *pantun* performer was Harépin (alias Hanip, Sanip?) from Karahkal, a young storyteller, who learned the storytelling from Ayah Anirah, mainly by listening to his performances (A2016-1: 41). Harépin recited the story without accompaniment on the *kacapi*. I was told that he had also not used a *kacapi* during the first evening. When I asked which *pantun* story was being performed, the people attending replied that they did not know. Most probably it was an episode from the Matang Jaya section of the Langga Sari story (see Section 6.2 below and A2016-1: 43) that is used for weddings and circumcisions. In an interview on 10 July 2016 Ayah Anirah told that the tooth filing (*geseran*) always goes together with the circumcision and the *pantun* recitation used (on the third day?) tells about how to do these things: the episode of *Béngkong séda sakti* ('the sacred person who carries out the circumcision') taken from the Langga Sari story (A2016-1: 44; see also Section 6.2).

The temporary awning (*papajangan*) of size 4-5m by 3-4m¹⁵ was built on the main north-south road of Kadujangkung and open on the east side, facing the houses lying a little higher than the road. During the *pantun* storytelling I could hear, but not see, what was going on from the veranda of a house just behind the awning on the west side of the road. From there I could also

15 See photograph of such temporary awning (called *saung pasajén*) in Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 205).

observe the *baksa* dance, later performed outside the awning. About 50m to the south of the awning there was a temporary stage of about 5m by 4m built for the *keromong* group. The *keromong* group faced north, that is, towards the circumcision awning. I could go there and watch the group playing, singing and dancing.

The *pantun* recitation of the second night could clearly be heard from my position just behind the awning. The style of singing was similar to what I had heard before (in 1977, 2003 and 2014). In my notes I wrote that in certain parts the performer Harépin seemed not sure about the text and that his singing was ‘melodious’ to me. It was difficult to catch longer phrases of words, but I heard him reciting ‘Tumpang Parungkujang’, ‘Nagara Pasir Batang’ and ‘Pakuan’, ‘beresihan’.¹⁶ After the almost three-hour long *pantun* performance it became quiet around midnight. My assistant Mumu and I did not walk back to nearby Kaduketug (a walk of about fifteen minutes), because of the rain and slippery road, but slept at the house of Lambu, son-in-law of Aki Armad (alias Hamdan, a musician that I had recorded a few times).

The next morning we walked back to Kaduketug but returned to Kadujangkung at 17.30 to see the *baksa* dance and hear the third *pantun* recitation and *keromong* playing at the circumcision ritual. As there had been heavy showers that afternoon, it was very muddy near the awning and when we arrived several men were making a ‘dancing floor’ of about 2m x 4.5m by laying poles on the ground and covering these with planks. Later a rug of about 2m by 2m was put over the planks. The men also fixed a pair of scales near this stage and below the awning. These scales were meant to weigh the children to be circumcised that were born in the Baduy month Sapar (see also Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 210–211). These children born in the month Sapar are supposed to be aggressive and to become easily angry. Putting these children on the scales with blocks of wood on the other side would help correcting the shortcomings of their character, it was said (A2016-1: 11–12).

When we arrived at 17.30 already many people had gathered near the awning for attending the *baksa* dance. At a quarter to six it was already pretty dark and I wondered whether I would be able to see much of the *baksa* dance later on. Around 17.55 the boys to be circumcised left on the backs of their father, uncle or grandfather and were led to the river by two Inner Baduy men, one of them being the *béngkong*, who would do the operation. Five minutes later the three girls left for the river carried by their mothers. There they would

16 *Beresihan*, literally ‘cleaning’, ‘purification’, also means circumcision. See Chapter 6 for the names Parungkujang (village or kingdom), Nagara Pasir Batang (kingdom) and Pakuan (capital of Pajajaran kingdom).

be ritually cleaned after the tooth filing of both boys and girls (*geseran*) that had taken place earlier that afternoon (Ayah Anirah, A2016-1: 17). A few days later the *pantun* storyteller Anirah told that at that time near the river a net is thrown over the boys and a short section of the *pantun* story Langga Sari is recited by the storyteller (A2016-1: 42).

Around a quarter past six the *keromong* started to play, although I could not hear it very well, because of the distance and the talking people around us. Then the men with the boys, followed by the women carrying the girls, came back from the river and were cheered by the people attending. They went into the awning. Around 19:00 there was the *nyawér/sawér*: raw rice mixed with pieces of money was thrown to the children to be circumcised, who were beautifully dressed and came out of the awning. A solar lamp was placed above the floor for the *baksa* dance.

While it was raining the *baksa* dance was performed by four men carrying boys (their sons, grandsons, or nephews) on their arm from around 19.25 to 19:30. Again the audience threw rice and money to the dancers with the boys. As it was very crowded, I could not observe the dancing very well, but noticed that the movements were fairly slow. Four men in two pairs danced in a row towards each other, passed each other while dancing and then turned around and repeated this pattern. One pair kept kitchen utensils in their hands: one had a spoon and coconut bowl and the other a fan and a rice spoon. The other pair of men both had a kris in their hands (A2016-1: 17, 22). The dance movements were relatively slow and the thighbones were lifted high. The *keromong* was playing during this first performance of the *baksa* dance. See photograph of *baksa* dancers in Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 190–191): one dancer holding a large spoon and coconut bowl in his hands.

The *keromong* was playing most of the time in the evening. The group came from the nearby hamlet Karahkal and included three female vocalists and one male vocalist who also announced the songs. What I saw was almost the same as what could be seen outside Kanékés when a gamelan group plays: the female vocalists/dancers (*ronggéng*) also dance with men, while another female vocalist sings. Around 23 hours, when the song *Kidung Rahayu* was played with one of the female vocalists dancing, a man entered the stage throwing around paper money and he started to dance with a *ronggéng*. Unlike the other parts of Sunda, the *keromong* did not include drums, as it is not allowed. However, it included a second xylophone (*gambang*) producing the drum beat: the 'drum xylophone' (*gambang kendang*; see also Van Zanten 2015: 119). The sound of the *keromong* was amplified by using electricity from a battery. The quality of the sound was fairly reasonable, which is not often the case when the sound is amplified in Sundanese villages. Apart from the song *Kidung Rahayu* I heard the songs *Buah*

Kawung, *Kangkréng* and *Gadis Subang* announced by the male vocalist. There was dancing going along with almost all the songs, also dancing by two men.

The *keromong* kept playing when the elders had taken their seats in the awning and the *pantun* storyteller started his performance around 1.42 early Monday morning 4 July. In my notes of that time I remarked that the amplified *keromong* sound seemed to ‘violate’ the soft *pantun* singing. What would the elders think about this? I could hardly hear the *pantun* storyteller, who was sitting about 3-4m away from me.¹⁷ At 2.50 the *pantun* recitation was finished and the *keromong* kept on playing. Mumu and I slept from about 3.00–6.00 at the house of Arpani about 20m away from the awning, where many people had already found a place, including *haji* Nalim from Margaluyu.¹⁸

Around six o'clock we went back to the veranda of the house directly behind the awning where the boys were now actually operated. There was already a big crowd present. Relatives and friends, I presume, threw small packets with sweets and chips (ending the *nyawér/sawér* blessing) to the assembled people after a boy had been circumcised. These packets were collected by the children present. Many men were walking around and carrying a cock. When the men from inside the awning shouted, the head of a cock was cut, almost at the same time of the boy's circumcision. Such animal is called *béla* by Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 72) and Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 191–192, photographs, 215–216).¹⁹ The boys cried when they were operated, but not all, it seemed. Then fried chicken was carried into the awning and also to the officials and elders staying in the house next to where Mumu and I were seated and near the awning.

Around 6.32 I heard a gong beat. Although we had been informed that there would again be a *baksa* dance, I did not yet see a dance floor on the muddy

17 This would be repeated the next night at a circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud: the soft *pantun* recitation ‘disturbed’ by the loud *keromong* playing (see below). My assistant Mumu told me that during the wedding of *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah's son in January 2014 the *keromong* was also playing during the *pantun* performance. See further the end of Section 4.5 below.

18 See also Section 5.4: Nalim is the eldest son of the former secular village head Samin, who migrated with several Baduy families to Cipangembar in 1978. Like his father, Nalim became Muslim and the Indonesian authorities, financially assisted by Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, paid for his pilgrimage (*haj*) to Mecca (Van Zanten 2004: 140–141; see also Suryani [2020]: chapter 3, section B-1 and chapter 4, section A-3).

19 In July 2016 it was said by Nurman at the house of the secular village head Saijah, that such chicken should be a ‘biological’ one, that is, been raised in Kanékés without getting vaccinations (*obat*). Before slaughtering the chicken one should honour the animal and ask its permission to do so (A2016-1: 2). Compare also the formulae in which the sugar palm is asked permission to cut it and take its juice (Van Zanten 1989: 96, referring to Pleyte 1913, Vierde Stuk: 56–57).

road. At 6.48 someone shouted 'play the gamelan' (*takol keromong*) and four men started to dance the *baksa* on the floor that was made yesterday and now covered with mud. One pair of dancers both carried a kris and the other pair kitchen utensils, like the night before, and the style of dancing was similar: slow movements and lifting the thighbones high. However, this time the men did not carry a boy. It seems that the pair of dancers carrying a kris are always two of the (Inner Baduy) *béngkong* and the other pair consists of elders. One pair (○ – ○) danced in a row towards the other pair in a row (● – ●) and they passed each other in the middle, standing on a line in which the members of the two pairs alternated each other: ○ – ● – ○ – ●. The two pairs then went on dancing in their own direction, moving away from each other for about 2m. The two pairs then turned back and again approached each other from the other direction. This was repeated several times. One man did as if he was drinking from the coconut cup. The audience frequently laughed and threw raw rice and money (*nyawér*) to the dancers. The *baksa* dancing went on for about five minutes and stopped around 6.54, but the *keromong* kept playing.

At 7.01 the first circumcised boy was carried home by two men; his penis was uncovered and could be seen by all. Gradually all circumcised children were carried home and given fried chicken and other nice food to eat. The *sunatan* and *peupeuran* ritual came to an end and the officials and elders started to leave. I also left with Mumu and arrived at the house of *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah around 9 o'clock.

4.5 Circumcision in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud

On arrival back from the circumcision in Kadujangkung, *jaro* Saijah told us that he would like to go to a *sunatan* ritual in Cicakal Muara²⁰ and asked whether we would like to go with him. We happily agreed and left around 10.45, after having a wash and some food. We walked the distance in about an hour and arrived when the *keromong* was playing. It was the second day of the *sunatan* and *peupeuran* (*peperan*) ritual for 32 boys and 5 girls. We could stay with the head of the hamlet (RT) Ayah Caikin. I got permission to take photographs and audio record the *keromong*. The *keromong* played on a stage lying about 40m south from Ayah Caikin's house. In between, on the left side of the paved footpath, was the temporary awning (*papajangan*) for the boys and girls who

20 It appeared to be the hamlet Cicakal Leuwi Buleud that borders Cicakal Muara that lies in southwest direction.



FIGURE 33 The position of the *keromong* stage used during the circumcison ritual, when looking in southern direction from the house of the head (RT) of Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, midday 4 July 2016

were undergoing the circumcison and tooth filing, about 10m from the RT's house. See Figure 33. The entrance to the awning has to be on the east side and was therefore visible from the footpath. It lies left from where the two girls are walking left-below in the picture. In front are cloves spread out on mats and drying in the sun. According to *jaro* Saijah and Ayah Caikin the awning was covered with white cloth (*boéh larang*), which I could later see for myself.

The *keromong* played most of the afternoon and I could make some audio recordings from the house of Ayah Caikin. Around 16 o'clock there were both male and female vocalists. I heard the song *Kidung Opat-lima* announced. Many men were carrying food around. I noticed three Inner Baduy passing by, who walked to the awning. One of them carried two round 'shields', as used for winnowing pounded rice. The *keromong* started to play without vocalists around 17 o'clock. This possibly indicated that the tooth filing took place in the awning, as it happened similarly the next morning during the actual circumcison: instrumental music with short patterns that were repeated over and over again. The amplification system was not as good as in Kadujangkung, and the sound was fairly distorted. Ayah Caikin (RT of Cicakal Leuwi Buleud) told

that in their hamlet the amplification of the sound with a battery had started about two years ago (2014). After the Indonesian government decided to cut the subsidy on paraffin and other oil products about four years ago, many Baduy bought batteries that could be charged with solar cells. This also started the introduction of the amplification of the *keromong* sound, they told. Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: opposite p.191) supply a photograph in which a female vocalist is using a microphone when singing with a *keromong* at a circumcision party; unfortunately they do not supply any information about date and place.

The boys and girls got nicely dressed and 17.45 the group of boys left, carried by their fathers, for the ritual washing in the river. The girls with their mothers followed at 17.49. At 17.55 the boys already came back. Then there was the *baksa* dance for about five minutes; I could not see it very well, because it was crowded in front of the awning. People threw coins and raw rice (*nyawér*) to the boys carried by their fathers (or grandfathers, uncles).

Around 23.30 the *pantun* storyteller, Ayah Yaldi, started his recitation. However, a few moments later the *keromong* also started to play with amplification and it was almost impossible to hear the soft *pantun* singing from the road, about 4-5m from the singer, where we stood. Around midnight the *keromong* stopped playing and there were at least four officials who delivered a speech, using the amplification system. The first speech was by a representative from Cicakal Girang, the Muslim enclave in Kanékés. The second speech was by the rw (head of group of hamlets, Behong) and the third one by the RT of Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, Ayah Caikin. The last one wished that the ritual of the *sunatan* that was now going on would proceed in a proper way. At last the former secular village head Daénah gave a speech in which he underlined the importance of social security. The speeches ended around a quarter past midnight and five minutes later the *keromong* started playing again with a female vocalist. At 00.28 the song *Kidung Rahayu* was announced and played. In the meantime there was the *pantun* recitation going on that we could hardly hear, so that we decided to go to the house of the RT and sleep there from about 00.30–05.30.

We woke up because there were many people assembling near the awning. Around 05.50 the parents carrying their children to be circumcised, departed to the river, led by the two Inner Baduy *béngkong* who would later do the operation. No one followed the group for this purification ceremony at the river. Ten minutes later, at 6 o'clock, the first fathers with their sons already came back. Like in Kadujungkung the day before, there were many men walking around with a cock. The *keromong* was playing relatively monotonous music. I heard men shouting and small packets with sweets and chips and coins of money were being thrown to the audience (*nyawér*). At 6.17 I heard the first boy crying. Repeatedly the coins and sweets/chips were thrown into the audience by

the family members (mostly women, it seemed) of a boy that had just been circumcised.

The *baksa* dance started a few minutes before seven and lasted 4-5 minutes. The four performers were the two operating men (*béngkong*),²¹ who both carried a kris, Ayah Anirah, who carried a coconut cup with a large spoon, and another man who carried a fan with a rice spoon. The way of dancing was the same of what has been reported from the day before in Kadujungkung: one pair of dancers with a kris dancing towards the other pair with kitchen utensils. They passed each other, danced a little on, turned around and started again dancing towards each other. This was repeated several times and the public was laughing. The thighbones were lifted high and the movements were slow, when compared to other Sundanese and Baduy dancing.

The *keromong* had been played almost continuously since 6 o'clock. Shortly after 7.00 the circumcised children were carried home. Some of the children were entirely naked. Also the public was going home after the *baksa* dance. Around 7.45 the *keromong* stopped playing. There were many men running around with food (cooked rice with banana leaf on top, it seemed) for the officials and guests. In my notes I wrote that it looked like a well-organized ant heap: apparently everyone knew exactly where he should be going with the food he carried.

At 8.45 the *keromong* started playing again, including vocalists. I noticed a teenaged boy who sang and another boy who danced a kind of *pencak* (but called *topéng*)²² on the music; see Figure 16. I took photographs of the *keromong* instruments: two *caning* metallophones with 6 keys, a *panerus* (one octave lower than *caning*), *keromong* instrument with 10 kettles, two large gongs, *viol*, one *gambang* xylophone for melodies and one *gambang kendang* (drum xylophone), *cemprés* cymbals. See Figures 38, 39 and 40. Mumu and I departed from Cicakal Leuwi Buleud for Kaduketug around 10 in the morning of 5 July 2016.

Especially after this circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud I was surprised that the soft *pantun* recitation was going on at the same time as the loud, amplified *keromong* playing. In the past, when the *keromong* was not

21 Ayah Anirah told us that they were his elder and younger 'brothers' from Cikartawana in the Inner Baduy area.

22 I do not know why the Baduy use this word '*topéng*' that is used for mask dance, or mask dancer in most other parts of Sunda. In Indonesian *topéng* means 'mask', whereas the Sundanese use *kedok* for a wooden mask. As far as I know, Baduy do not use masks. Budi (2015: 128, 326) describes *topéng* in the Kasepuhan Ciptagelar near Kanékés, as a kind of 'play or traditional drama' (*sandiwara atau drama tradisional*) or 'folk theatre' (*teater rakyat*).

amplified in such situation, it may have been that the audience was still able to hear the *pantun* performer, because the performing sites were at different places. However, with the amplification of the *keromong*, there is certainly no proper balance. What is the reason that the *pantun* recitation (without amplification) is still performed together with an amplified *keromong*?

In other parts of Sunda it also happens that there are many music and dance groups playing together in one procession. For instance, I reported this for the *bénjang* processions that I saw in Ujungberung in the eastern part of Bandung, held on the day before boys would be circumcised (Van Zanten 1989: 14-15). The many performing groups and people watching make such occasion *ramé*: exciting, lively, animated, and bustling. In 1992 I attended the Baduy ritual in which the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci was married off to the earth (Section 4.2 above). In Van Zanten (1997: 47-48) I noted about this occasion:

Three *angklung* groups from different villages [hamlets] were involved. Most of the night the three groups played together. As the sets came from three different villages [hamlets], their tuning did not match very well. Generally speaking, musicians and audience clearly hear these imperfections and will not accept them. However, at this occasion the communal feeling was apparently thought to be more important than the exact matching of the tunings of the three *angklung* sets.

The important social quality of a *ramé* occasion is also stressed by Budi (2015: 327).

4.6 Weddings and Other Rituals; Some General Observations

The actual wedding ritual also lasts for three days, like the circumcision ritual. The Inner Baduy are married by the head of their hamlet (*jaro tangtu*), with the consent of the *puun*. For Outer Baduy the ritual includes a wedding by a Muslim official (*panghulu*) in the Muslim enclave Cicakal Girang, after the *puun* has agreed to the marriage (see also Section 2.3). Danasasmitha and Djatisunda (1986: 71) remark that the *puun* only gives permission to marry, if the Outer Baduy couple has promised not to become Muslim. This is relevant, because during the ceremony the man will be asked to pronounce the confession of faith (*syahadat panamping*): 'I confess there is no other god than Allah, I believe in Muhammad his prophet' (Garna 1988: 104). This ceremony in Cicakal Girang also includes the official registration for the Indonesian authorities, like in other parts of Indonesia. It is followed by a Baduy wedding ceremony in the

hamlet of the woman, similar to what happens in the Inner Baduy area. Hasman and Reiss (2012: 9) talk about an ‘official Muslim wedding followed by a traditional Kanékés wedding’ for Outer Baduy couples.

A marriage is always endogamous, that is, between a man and woman who are both of Baduy descent. Only by exception an Inner Baduy may marry an Outer Baduy. Also, only in exceptional cases a non-Baduy is allowed to join the community and marry an Outer Baduy. Baduy are monogamous, but they may divorce and marry again. This is not simple for Inner Baduy: if two Inner Baduy want to divorce, this is only allowed if they become Outer Baduy. It seems that the Outer Baduy divorce almost as often as the surrounding Sundanese. That is, possibly 40% of the marriages (or more) end in a divorce, and both man and woman may marry again after a divorce.²³ See for more information on weddings, for instance, Geise (1952: 152-161; for Baduy and for Muslims around Kanékés), Danasasmitha and Djatisunda (1986: 68-71), Garna (1988: 98-123), Ekadjati (1995: 86-90), Permana (2001: 56-62; only for Inner Baduy), Hasman and Reiss (2012: 36-37, 82-85).

The music played at Outer Baduy weddings may be *keromong* and *pantun*. It seems to depend largely on the financial means of the involved families, which music performers will be invited. Whereas a circumcision involves several families that may share the costs, a marriage mostly involves less families, and therefore the financial burden cannot be shared with many. The marriage of Daénah’s son Pulung took place at the house of the secular village head from 6-8 (or 7-9?) January 2014. Mumu attended this occasion and with his hand phone he made a film of the dancing with the *keromong*. He then also heard a *pantun* performance (only singing) at the same time that the *keromong* was playing: for *jaro* Daénah this was no problem, as he is relatively rich.

In 2016 I heard of three Outer Baduy weddings: in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud on 12-14 July, in Ciranji on 18 July and in Cipondok at the beginning of August (?). On 13 July 2016 we passed Cicakal Leuwi Buleud and saw wedding festivities going on. It was the wedding of a child of the hamlet’s head (RT Caikin), where we had earlier spent the night during the circumcision festivities (see Section 4.5 above). We arrived around 13.00 on the last full day and there was *keromong* playing going on. It was the same local *keromong* used about a week earlier for the circumcision festivities (see Figure 16 and Figures 38–40 below). The people present told us that there would be no *pantun* storytelling that night.

Reiss described a wedding ceremony in the *tangtu* hamlet Cibéo that she was allowed to attend (Hasman and Reiss 2012: 82-85). She highlighted the important

23 For the whole of Indonesia 15% of the 2 million marriages in the period 2010-2014 ended in a divorce before 2015. See <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2015/06/30/151500123/Kasus.Perceraian.Meningkat.70.Persen.Diajukan.Istri>. [last access 27 March 2020.]

role of textile, in particular woven clothes, in the exchange between the families of bride and groom,²⁴ but also supplied some interesting information on music played during the ceremony. She described that ‘at twilight before the wedding day’²⁵ she went along with friends to a shelter in the rice fields (*saung huma*) that was about one kilometre away from Cibéo. The bride was waiting there with close friends. As the party accompanied the bride back to the hamlet ‘[t]wo boys played haunting bamboo-flute music’. That evening a *pantun* story was recited at the house of the bride’s father by ‘an elderly man from Cikartawana’ who accompanied himself on a *kacapi*.²⁶ While listening to the epic story, the women wrapped the cooked chicken and rice, prepared during the afternoon, in parcels ‘for the guests to take home after the wedding ceremony’. This storytelling continued into the early hours of the morning (Reiss 2012: 82, 84).

‘Music’ is not used in Baduy rituals like birth, death, the fasting ritual *kawalu* and the harvesting *ngalaksa* ritual. Also the yearly *séba* journey to the ‘rulers of the north’ does not involve Baduy music. In the last few years, when the Baduy arrived in Sérang and had presented their gifts to the authorities, they could attend performances like *wayang golék* puppet theatre and *jaipongan* dancing by other Sundanese groups.

Danasamita and Djatisunda (1986: 72) note that, when a Baduy person dies the family and friends should not show their grief in public: their face should have a ‘cold’ expression. When burying a dead person, there is one of the family members who ‘weeps for the corpse’ (*ceurik panglayuan*). This is no real weeping, but saying ‘a prayer so that the soul of the dead will arrive in the holy place where the gods live and will not get lost in the underworld’.²⁷ From this description, it seems that this kind of ‘professional weeping’ cannot be classified as similar to a lament in the Western sense. However, this needs further investigation. The former Baduy Narja and his brother-in-law Usman from Cipangembar, outside Kanékés, confirmed that there is a song *Pangiring Layuan* (‘accompaniment for the corpse’) that may be sung, but mostly after the actual burial on the second or third day. When their own father/father-in law, *jaro* Samin, died in December 1991 there was *pantun* storytelling on the seventh day (A1992-1: 30).

A dead person is buried in such way that the feet lie east and the head lies west and faces the south, the direction of the sanctuary Sasaka Pada Ageung

24 Like in many other societies in Indonesia and elsewhere.

25 That is, in the late afternoon, as the start of a day in Kanékés is at sunset.

26 Reiss wrongly described *kacapi* zithers as ‘lute-like instruments’, as mentioned earlier.

27 ‘... *pengucapan doa agar sukma si mati dapat tiba di “Mandala Hiyang” dan tidak tersesat ke “Buana Larang”*’.

(Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 73). Compare also Sections 2.2 and 6.4. The Baduy do not look after the graves, and there is no graveyard in Kanékés. A grave is only marked with a *hanjuang* bush. In this respect the Baduy are different from other parts of Sunda and Indonesia, where graves are regularly visited and cleaned by family members and former colleagues (*nadran*); see, for instance, Van Zanten (1989: 54-56). As mentioned in Section 4.1 above, the Baduy believe that the dead stay in the underworld (*buana rarang/larang*) for seven days, before their spirits go to the upper world (*buana luhur, buana nyungcung*) where they are united with the gods. See further, for instance, Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 72-74) and Ekadjati (1995: 72-74, 90-92). In March 2003 the secular village head Daénah and the village secretary Sapin also assured me that the bones of the corpse would be gone within seven days after burial; what would be left is the white cloth in which the corpse was wrapped (*boéh larang*) and the remains of the bier (A2003-1: 17, 22).

Pleyte (1909: 516-517) presents a Baduy formula that will be whispered in the ear of a dying person:

Ong! Ilaing ka ditu	Hail to you going there!
Ulah teu puguh ngajugugan	Do not refrain from going straight to that place
Ka ditu ka kawung ngaluuk	To that place with the single sugar palm
Ka kalapa anu ngajajar	To the coconut trees that stand in a row
Ka jambé anu ngabérés	To the <i>pinang</i> trees that are neatly arranged
Ka si gelemeng hideung	To the black haziness

In July 2016 I had long interviews with the *pantun* performer Ayah Anirah, who had lost one of his grandchildren in the beginning of July. He was very sad about this loss, also because his daughter now wanted a divorce. I quoted the above formulaic Sundanese text from Pleyte and asked Ayah Anirah whether this was indeed used for dying people. He replied that the Muslim people have a custom like this, but that the Baduy did not have such formula and he did not know the text that I had cited. The family and friends may weep and there is no whispering in the ear of the dying person. He also told that the *pantun* story Raja Lumantang that he knew about, but that he could not perform himself, tells about life after death, what human beings can expect after they die (A2016-1: 42, 62). See further Section 6.2.

So far for music as used in major rituals. In the following chapters the different kinds of music and dance will be described in slightly more technical terms, looking at, for instance, how the instruments are built and some technicalities of the music.

Tone Systems, *angklung*, *keromong*, Dancing and Gender Aspects

As already mentioned, the earliest written sources about Baduy music, other than the Old Sundanese manuscripts, date from the beginning of the 19th century. The information in these reports cannot always be taken at face-value. The *angklung* (now a set of 9 bamboo idiophones, which are shaken) is mentioned by almost all 19th century visitors to the area: Blume (1993[1822]: 32), Spanoghe (1838: 303), Van Hoëvell (1845: 429), Koorders (Meinsma 1869: 331), Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 24). However, it is not always clear whether the remarks concern the Inner or the Outer Baduy, or even the surrounding Sundanese. For instance, Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 24) report that the Baduy only have *angklung* and *kacapi* and that they are not allowed to have other instruments. I presume that these authors refer to the Inner Baduy, but even then this seems to be wrong. Inner Baduy have always had the *karinding* Jew's harp, and the *tarawélét* (or *taléot*) and *kumbang* flutes as well, as far as we know.

Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 24) also mention that the Baduy *angklung* consists of four instruments and that is very different from the nine instruments that are used nowadays in every ensemble in Kanékés. Without further evidence it seems likely that Jacobs and Meijer made a mistake. These authors classified the *pantun* stories under 'language and literature' and discussed it in a special section of their book, written by Meijer (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 111–175). That the Baduy recite *pantun* stories that are known in the whole of West Java was also mentioned by several other 19th century authors as will be further explained in Chapter 6 that is based on Van Zanten 2016a (see also Van Zanten 1989: 18–21; 1993: 144–148). In his article Van Hoëvell (1845: 411–427) discusses the sung four-line poems, called *susualan* or *sisindiran* in Sunda (and *pantun* outside Sunda – see Van Zanten 1989: 68–70). Van Hoëvell presents several verses in Sundanese and Dutch translation. Chapter 7 will discuss some Baduy *susualan* that I recorded.

None of these 19th century authors mention a *keromong* (gamelan) in the Outer Baduy area, and it may be that this is a relatively recent addition to the Outer Baduy instruments. However, the word *goong*, currently used for gong and also another word for Sundanese gamelan, is frequently mentioned in the *pantun* stories and it may stand for the king and/or the kingdom. In Section 6.5, Table 13, I mention a Baduy *pantun* text about a gamelan/*goong* that is out

of tune and at risk of being stolen. Hence the Baduy may at least have known about the existence of gamelan ensembles for several centuries. My information was that the Baduy smiths never made the bronze gamelan instruments themselves and that these were bought outside Kanékés. This was confirmed by Garna (1988: 214), who mentions that the Baduy do not make their own gamelan instruments, but do make most other instruments, like *angklung*, *bedug* (drums), *karinding*, *suling*, *rendo* and *kacapi* themselves.

Below I will argue that both the *angklung* and *keromong* are using the *saléndro* tone system of five notes in each octave with the same interval between consecutive notes. Therefore Section 5.1 will discuss this *saléndro* tone system and the other system known to the Baduy, but not really used, it seems: the *pélog* tone system. However, the information is not yet very sound and it may be that playing styles, more related to social factors, are more relevant than tuning systems. Baduy travel, visit market places, listen to the radio and watch television, and therefore we may assume that most of them have heard diatonic and other tone systems.

5.1 General Musical Concepts: Tone Systems, Modes and Styles of Playing

This section discusses a few general issues concerning music concepts, like the used tone system and styles of playing. Although in Kanékés the Baduy try to control outside influences, they are not isolated, also not in a musical sense. They travel around and hear other musics: from Sunda and from other parts of the world. I am sure that most Baduy musicians know the sound of the diatonic (Western tuning) *angklung* as played in the Saung Angklung Udjo in Bandung. Baduy buy instruments that were made outside Kanékés, notably the gamelan sets, but also flat zithers and violins. This also means that certain music concepts and terminology were adopted from the present Sundanese music tradition. However, it is difficult to see how the music concepts developed during the last few centuries as we lack sufficient information. Here I will only raise a few issues and in particular the used tone systems. However, before starting to discuss the tone systems, I will say a few things about the transcriptions of music that I will use for analysis.

5.1.1 *Transcription of Music for Analysis*

Chapters 5–8 will present transcriptions of some recorded music in Western staff notation. These transcriptions will mainly be used for simple musical analysis and I will add some information on the technical production of the

music, if available. It has already fairly extensively been reported in literature that a representation of sound by a transcription on paper does not give the final answer to the question of what the musicians want us to hear. Moreover, music may be transcribed in many ways and it is not entirely 'objective'; we should be careful for ethnocentric biases. This is certainly also the case for Baduy music: we have limited knowledge about their ideas on how the music should sound.

Generally speaking, my background is Western music, slightly influenced by listening to Malawian music, and greatly influenced by what I learned by listening to Cianjuran music in Bandung. Because our knowledge about what is important in Baduy music is limited, it is difficult to avoid biases in the transcriptions. The central point, like for all scholarly work, is whether we transcribe the relevant, or better – valid – features and not the irrelevant ones; see also the beginning of Chapter 3. For instance, I used the concepts of 'melody' and 'ornament' for transcribing songs and flute playing in my music transcriptions. We may ask whether it is correct to make this analytical difference for Baduy music.

For the transcriptions I used my ears, the audio computer programme *Audacity 2.0.6* (2014) and the *PRAAT 5.3.63* (2014) programme for speech analysis. The pitch of the notes is always an approximation. Moreover, I used five types of basic note lengths in the staff notation: the whole, half, quarter (quaver), eighth (semiquaver) and sixteenth (demisemiquaver) notes. In addition I mostly used grace notes (small-sized notes in print) when the speed was about a sixteenth note or faster. All the grace notes take time from the note to which they are connected by a slur. This temporal distinction between the notes is only a rough classification. However, with this less strict temporal organisation of the musical notes the notation becomes easier to read and we may avoid claims that the transcription is 'precise' and a standard for performances.

The musicians themselves did not differentiate between grace notes, or musical ornaments and notes of the melody. A more detailed study about this is needed. Here I mainly used my information about Cianjuran music and distinguished the Baduy 'ornaments' consisting of one, two, or more notes, that is, respectively: (1) *appoggiatura* or note of complement, (2) double *appoggiatura*, and (3) shakes (pitch vibratos), mordents, turns. Further, flute players used *glissando*: that is, gliding from a note to another one by relatively slowly opening or closing a finger hole (see Chapter 8). It turns out that in the transcribed music the Baduy flute players only used *glissando* from a higher to a lower note, in the transcriptions indicated by an (undulating) declining line, and not from a lower to a higher note.

When preparing this book, I used the computer programme ‘Finale 2014’ for producing the Music Transcriptions. This is a flexible programme, in which for instance the measure bars can be made invisible for music that is not strictly organized in bars but rather performed in a rubato style, like the *pantun* singing (Chapter 6) and the flute playing (Chapter 8). However, the Finale programme keeps ‘thinking in bars’. This means that in the transcriptions I sometimes slightly adjusted the duration of notes and rests.

Sometimes I use the signs (accidentals) for raising a note by a semitone (sharp), or lowering the note by a semitone (flat) at the beginning of the staff. In this book this has nothing to do with the Western concept of ‘key’. For example, two flats at the beginning of the staff on the ‘b’ and ‘e’ lines are just meant to avoid writing flat-signs for each individual note ‘b’ and ‘e’. Similarly, a sharp at the beginning of the staff on the ‘f’ line just means that every ‘f’ has to be read as ‘f-sharp’. In some cases, the (many) accidentals have been avoided by transposing the music. However, on the whole I tried to avoid transposition, because in other parts of Sunda the absolute tuning is an important characteristic of the type of music (see, for instance Van Zanten 1989: 116–118).

If needed, I will notate the notes in the different octaves from low to high:

Great octave	notes C-D-E-F-G-A-B	in range 65–123 Hertz (vibrations per second);
Small octave	notes c-d-e-f-g-a-b	in range 131–247 Hertz;
One-line octave	notes c ¹ b ¹ (or c’-b’)	in range 262–494 Hertz;
Two-line octave	notes c ² b ² (or c’’-b’')	in range 523–988 Hertz;
Three-line octave	notes c ³ b ³ (or c’’’-b’’’)	in range 1047–1976 Hertz.

5.1.2 *Tone Systems*

In the Priangan area, the mountainous area roughly between Bogor and Tasikmalaya and between Sukabumi and Cirebon, the tone systems are often called *pélog* and *saléndro*. Simply said, in this region the *saléndro* tone system is an equidistant pentatonic system: 5 tones in each octave and with the same interval between each pair of consecutive notes (just more than two Western semitones, or 240 cent.)¹ The *pélog* tone system also consists of five major notes

1 One hundred cent is equal to a Western semitone interval (distance) and an octave is equal to a 1200 cent interval. The cent interval is based on the logarithm of a frequency ratio of two tones.

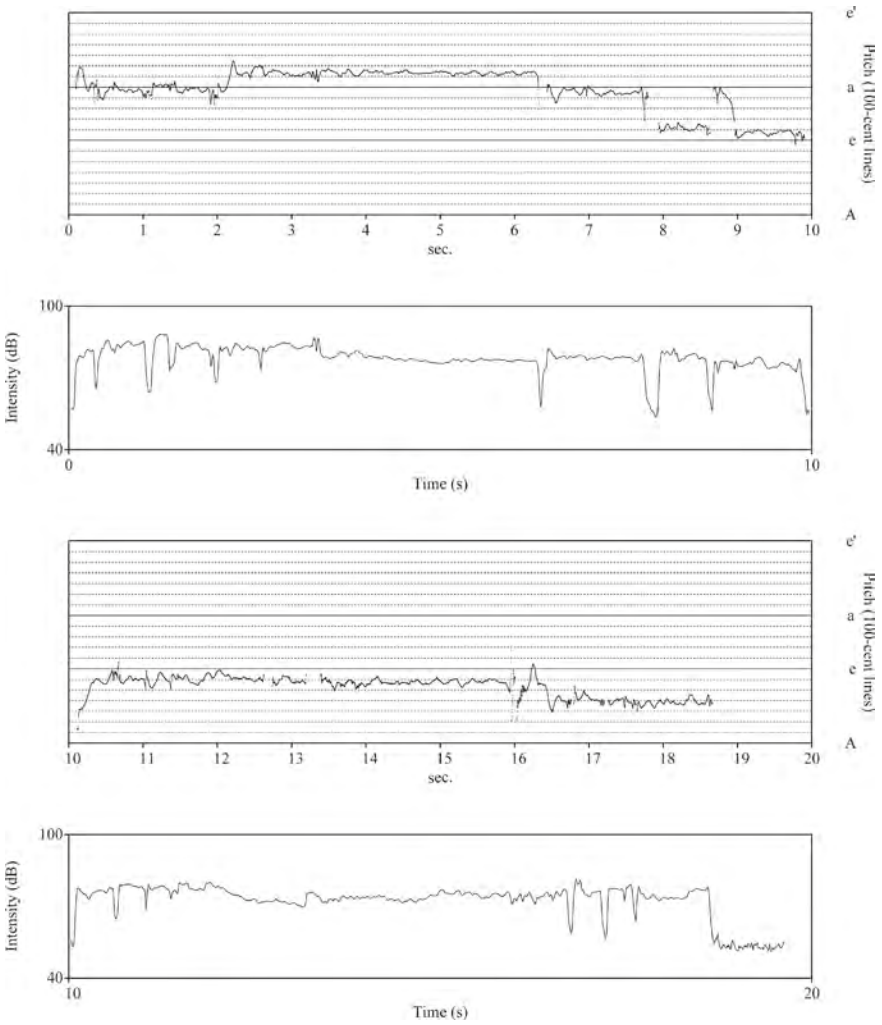
in each octave, but with different intervals between the consecutive pairs of notes, ranging from about one to four Western semitones or from 100 to 400 cent (Van Zanten 1989: Chapter VI). Baduy musicians also use the terms *saléndro* and *pélog*. The tunings of the instruments of three *angklung*² and three *keromong* ensembles that I recorded³ confirm that these ensembles use the *saléndro* tone system. Tunings of other instruments (like zithers and flutes) do not always give unambiguous evidence of what the tuning model is meant to be. Those tunings will not be discussed in detail as it is beyond the scope of this book.

For instance, the tuning of the eleven strings of the *kacapi* played by Sajin to accompany the *pantun* story *Lutung Kasarung* in January 1977 considerably deviated from the *saléndro* model (see Table 16 in Section 6.5). However, the analysis of Sajin's vocal part in the *pantun* recitation is fairly clear: the singing may be considered to use a *saléndro* tone model. This may also be seen from Music Transcription Tr 1 below that gives the graphical notation of the pitch and intensity in the first 20 seconds (two times 10 seconds) of Sajin's singing at the start (*raja*). This picture was produced with the PRAAT programme for the analysis of speech (PRAAT 2014) that is also very useful for our purposes. The horizontal lines are each a Western semitone, or 100 cent, apart. The lowest (unbroken) line represents the tone A of 110 Hertz; the unbroken line 7 semitones higher represents the Western tone 'e' of 165 Hertz and the unbroken line 12 semitones (one octave) higher than the lowest line (A) represents the Western tone 'a' of 220 Hertz. The highest line, 19 semitones above A, is e¹ (330 Hertz). The horizontal axis gives the time in seconds. Below the graph of the pitch is a graph showing the corresponding loudness (intensity) of the tones in decibel (dB).

From Music Transcription Tr 1 it may be seen that Sajin uses the tones that may, from high to low frequencies, approximately be equated with the Western notes b-flat, a-flat, f, e-flat and d-flat, respectively lying 2, 3, 2, 2 [and 3] semitones apart. This is generally considered an approximation of the *saléndro* tone system. To avoid many accidentals ('flats'), in the Music Transcription Tr 5 (Section 6.5) I have transposed all notes up by one semitone. Sajin's vocal tones are then transcribed in Western staff notation as (from high to low

2 *Angklung* Gajéboh, recorded 24 September 1976 (tape B7, item 3), *Angklung* Cipangembar, recorded 16 July 1979 (tape B19, item 4), *Angklung* Kadujangkung, recorded 24 October 1992 (DAT 92-03, 1:13:34–1:19:46).

3 *Keromong* Gajéboh #1, recorded 12 June 1976 (tape B1, item 3); *Keromong* Gajéboh #2 recorded 21 July 1976 (tape B6, item 3); *Keromong* Kompol, recorded 24 July 1976 (tape B7, item 1).



MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 1 Graphical notation of *pantun* singing by Sajin 1977, produced with the computer programme PRAAT (first 20 of 40 seconds are shown)

frequencies) b–a – f# – e – d. Hence Tr 5 in Section 6.5 is about one semitone above the original sound that is represented in Music Transcription Tr 1.⁴

4 Note that in Music Transcription Tr 5 in Section 6.5 I opted for writing the accidentals ‘#’ for the note ‘f’ at the beginning of each staff: all notes ‘f’ are raised by a semitone and should be read as ‘f#’. See also the last part on transcriptions above.

More than a century ago, Pleyte also published a music transcription of the start of a *raja* by a Baduy bard. The music transcription (Pleyte 1912: after p. 425) used the notes, from high to low frequencies: c# – b – g# – f# – e – c#. Although Pleyte and the anonymous transcriber do not mention the word ‘*saléndro*’ or ‘*equidistant*’, this is clearly meant to be a transcription of singing in a *saléndro* tone system. In this transcription the *kacapi* is also included and regularly plays three short notes, from high to low frequencies: b – f# – b and some long notes on b.⁵ In 1977 Sajin played similar short patterns on his *kacapi*. Listening to Sawari in my 2003 recording, it is also fairly clear that in his unaccompanied singing he is using a *saléndro* tone system. In the transcription of singing with zither and bowed violin by the female vocalist Raidah (Raida) in 1992, I also used the *saléndro* tone system (Van Zanten 1995: 542–543).

Without further evidence it seems that the Baduy use a *saléndro* tone system in the *pantun* recitation. The Baduy say that the *keromong* and *angklung* instruments are also tuned according to the *saléndro* tone system (see for instance Anirah, A2016-1: 65) and my measurements seem to confirm this. With respect to the other instruments, like the flutes and the *rendo*, the situation is less clear. These instruments are often played solo and there is no standardization. Only when instruments like a flute and a zither are playing together, the tuning of the zither is adjusted to the tuning of the flute. The tuning of the *suling kumbang* played by Karamaén and recorded in June 2014 (see Table 18, Section 8.1) may be called to be more or less *saléndro*. For the *tarawélét* things are more complicated. In the higher octave with the three first and two second overtones we may speak about *saléndro*, but in the lower octave with the three fundamentals the *tarawélét* flutes produce only three notes of a possible ‘*saléndro*’ system; there is a gap of two *saléndro* notes between the lowest and the higher octave (see Table 21 in Section 8.2).

I wondered whether some Baduy instruments could be using a type of *pélog* tone system, as in the Baduy *pantun* stories the ‘*goong pélog*’ (*pélog* gamelan/gong) is mentioned: see, for instance Table 13 in Section 6.5. Moreover, some Baduy musicians talked about *pélog* being used by them. The zither player Satra said that *pantun* recitation used *bangbrang* (or *pasieup*) *pélog* and singing *sisindiran/susualan* was in *bangbrang saléndro* (A2003-1: 50–51). Nevertheless, I am inclined to conclude that currently the Baduy do not have instruments or singing that use a *pélog* tone system, and that the *bangbrang pélog* rather means a style of playing or sound quality. I will present some evidence for

5 Five years earlier Pleyte had given a *kacapi pantun* tuning, arranged from high to low frequencies as: d – c – a – g – f – c#[? I am not sure about this last one]. (Pleyte 1907: 26–27, footnote). This could be seen as ‘fairly similar’ to a *saléndro* tuning.

this. In Section 5.4 below (The history of a Baduy gamelan between 1976 and 2019) I mention that the tuning of this gamelan was described as *pélog*, and that the Baduy did not like that tuning. They wanted their *keromong* to be tuned like the gamelan that is used to accompany the *wayang golék* puppet play, that is, in *saléndro*.

The transcription of Sawari's song in Van Zanten (1995: 541) seems to indicate the use of a *pélog* tone system with some semitone intervals in it. However, there is a story behind this that may be read on p. 531 of my 1995 article. I wrote:

Before Sawari came into the house where I was going to record him [in Cipangembar, a resettlement hamlet outside Kanékés], I had tuned the *kacapi* (on which he was to play) to the *pélog* tone system, as used in Tembang Sunda Cianjuran, a Sundanese genre not played by the Baduy. I asked him to check the tuning of the instrument before he started. He tried the tuning, did not change anything, and said it was correct. Sawari knew the terms for the two Sundanese tone systems (called *pasieup* by him) – *pélog* and *saléndro* – but he was obviously confused about them. Some of the songs he proceeded to sing were in *saléndro*, he said, although he was clearly singing in the *pélog* tone system to which I had tuned his instrument. This suggests that the Baduy, like other Sundanese, can easily play a song in different tone systems (*pélog* or *saléndro*). These form different modes of the same song.⁶

It seems that in current practice the Baduy take '*pélog*' to mean any tuning that is 'not *saléndro*' or 'not right', that is, a tuning that is too much deviating to be called *saléndro*. *Saléndro* is preferred and *pélog* is not. *Pélog* seems also to be used for an unwanted, a false, an inaccurate tuning, it seems. Possibly notes that are played, but outside the used *saléndro* system (often grace notes), could also be called *pélog* notes. I assume that most Baduy have heard the diatonic tuning as used in pop music and also the diatonic *angklung* played in Bandung (see next section), and that they do not really prefer those tunings for their own music. So, what happened when the gamelan *degung* was introduced and developed, probably at the seat of the regent of Cianjur two hundred years ago, with a tuning described by Kunst as 'at first hearing, this *degung*-scale seems to

6 Elsewhere I have described the great need to develop a new theory for the Sundanese modal systems that is firmly based on musical evidence, as Kusumadinata's models are not very useful. See also Section 6.5, Cook (1993) and Van Zanten (1989: 131–134; 2014: 216–217, or the Indonesian translation 2016b: 241–243).

be a kind of europeanized pentatonic *pélog* ...?' (Kunst 1973: 377 in Van Zanten 1989: 126). We need further research on this.

Unfortunately the available literature is not very clear about the Baduy concepts of music, including the tone systems. In the 1920s Brandts Buys and Brandts Buys-van Zijp (1926: 59–60) had similar problems in determining whether a Sundanese *suling* player from Garut used a *pélog* or a *saléndro* tone system. The player said that he was playing in *pélog*, but Brandts Buys and his wife heard a *saléndro*-like system that they used in their transcription: an 'an-hemitonic' (without Western semi-tone intervals) pentatonic system, from low to high: d, e, f#, a, b, d.

According to Anis Djatisunda, the Baduy and Sundanese originally (in *pantun kuno*) had two styles of performing (he called them '*laras*'): *rindu* and *carang-carang* (interview on 18 July 1978 in Sukabumi, A1977-9: 24). *Carang-carang* means: with large intervals, wide apart; *rindu* means: longing, languishing, and desiring (Eringa 1984). Djatisunda's information may have been derived from Suryadi's work (1974: 59), who wrote: 'the Baduy community knows two types of tone system that they call *pasieupan carang-carang* and *pasieupan rindu*'. He mentioned that the Baduy used the word *pasieupan* as meaning 'the term *laras* [tone system] generally [used by] the Sundanese community' in West Java. Soepandi (1995a: 19) also mentioned these two 'ways of playing', and he connected them to the tone systems in the urban areas: the tone system (*pasieupan/tangganada*) '*carang-carang/saléndro* and the tone system *rindu/pélog/kerep*'. He continues for *suling lam(b)us*:⁷ 'When he wants a cheerful atmosphere, the flute player uses (*menyajikan*) *carang-carang*. If the sound is used to break the heart (*menyayat hati*) of a girl, a song is used with notes of the *rindu/kerep* tone system'. *Kerep* means: close together (Eringa 1984).

I also obtained information that *carang-carang* and *rindu* are ways of playing in Baduy *angklung* music. *Carang-carang* is used for happy occasions and it 'may be heard from far'. In contrast, the *rindu* way of playing is soft and intimate. Possibly it would be better to describe *carang-carang* and *rindu* as qualities of the sound (*pasieup*) produced by an *angklung* or *keromong* set. This sound should fit, be harmonious (*sieup*) to, the social situation in which it is used. According to Ojél, leader (*jaro angklung*) of the *angklung* group in Kadujangkung, their *angklung* set was *rindu*. A *carang-carang angklung* set and a *rindu angklung* set can both play all the songs of the repertoire, but with a different sound quality. Hence possibly this sound quality indicates a different mode of the song. Satra told that the *kacapi pantun* has

7 Called *galéong* by Soepandi.

rindu quality (*bangbrang rindu*). For *susualan* singing the *bangbrang saléndro* is used, whereas for *pantun* recitation it is the *bangbrang pélog* (A2003-1: 50). Satra's statement on *pantun* recitation is not confirmed by my musical analysis of Sajin's *pantun* singing: Sajin is using a *saléndro* tone system.⁸ Ojél also said that *keromong* sets could be *carang-carang*, *rindu* or *ombak banyu*.⁹ According to him, the Baduy did not use the tone systems *pélog* and *saléndro* (A1992-1: 38–39, 14 October 1992). However, I conclude that nowadays the Baduy commonly apply the term *saléndro* to the tuning of Baduy instruments, in particular *angklung* and *keromong*.

The word *bangbrang* or *brangbrang* is also used for 'octave' (A1992-1: 38, Ojél; A2003-1: 50, Satra; A2014-1: 40, Kompol).¹⁰ Karamaén (MD 2003–13) and Satra (A2003-1: 50–51) seem to use *b(r)angbrang* as a style of playing as well, and possibly in the sense of (musical) mode. Pleyte (1907: 26–27, footnote 1) gives *bangbrang* and *bangbrang anak* as the names for two *kacapi* strings. See also Section 8.4 below.

The word *lagu* is used to indicate 'melody' or 'song', like in many other parts of Indonesia, and most songs or melodies have a name. In Old Sundanese manuscripts the word *lagu* meant 'time', 'period', 'the time has come' (*tiba saatnya*), 'duration' (Atja and Danasasmita 1981c: 62). In modern Sundanese it is still used in that way (Eringa 1984: 437, *lagu* 2; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 375).

I did not collect many more general musical concepts. The coming chapters contain some more terms that are particularly relevant for the type of music described there. For instance, for *angklung* the introductory section to any piece of music is called *burulung* (Rasudin, A2013: 27). Moreover, an *angklung* piece is always concluded with fast and loud playing while the players stand still and the dancers and drummers run around them: *ngagubrugkeun* (Van Zanten 1995: 533). For ending a musical phrase, a *rendo* player will pluck the open string of the *rendo*; the phrase is ended, like a note of a large gong in the gamelan ensemble.

It seems that the (absolute) pitch plays a less important role in Baduy music than different types/styles of playing that fit the social situation. The music

8 On the basis of what I heard by ear, I would say that also all other Baduy storytellers that I heard (Sawari, Anirah, Harépin, and Yaldi) sang in *saléndro*.

9 I do not have more information about *keromong* with the *ombak banyu* characteristics. I recall that the gong-smith Sukarna in Bogor distinguished three types of vibrato in the large gongs: *ombak banyu*, *ombak sekar gadung* and *ombak puyungkung*. *Ombak banyu* is the slowest and *ombak payungkung* the fastest; this was wrongly reversed in Van Zanten (1989: 176).

10 In Sundanese music the term *beulit* (Soepandi 1995b), or *gembyang* (Van Zanten 1989: 113) is used for octave.

should be 'harmonious' (*sieup*) with the social circumstances. This seems regularly to be expressed in tempo differences, rather than in pitch differences. More research needs to be done on this issue.

5.2 *Angklung* for Rituals and for Entertainment

Baduy *angklung* refers to an ensemble of 9 bamboo idiophones with one to three drums; see Figures 34–36. Each idiophone consists of three tubes in a frame that is shaken and each such instrument on its own is also called *angklung*. The three tubes within the frame are tuned in octaves, resulting in an interval of two octaves between the lowest and the highest tube.

Two centuries ago Raffles (1817: 472, Plate between pp. 168–169) described *angklung* played in the interior [of Java], and in particular in the Sunda districts. He mentioned that the instrument 'is formed of five or more tubes of *bámbu*, cut at the end after the manner of the barrels of an organ'. The tubes have 'graduated lengths' of 50–20cm and are placed in a frame. The instruments are played by 10–50 men, each playing one instrument, and accompanied by 'one or two others with a small drum played with the open hand'. The instruments 'are generally decorated with common feathers, and the performers, in their appearance and action, are frequently as grotesque and wild as can be imagined'. The music is performed on 'occasions of festivity'. Generally Raffles' information also applies to the present situation, but some information is puzzling. The picture of an *angklung* instrument shows indeed the five tubes, but these are more or less of the same length. Moreover, nowhere in the literature after Raffles I have seen a description of *angklung* instruments with five tubes in one frame. For instance, writing about the whole of Indonesia, Kunst (1973: 361–364) speaks of 'the shake-angklung [that] consists of two or three bamboo segments, usually tuned to as many octaves'. In the 1960s–1970s street musicians in west Java often used *angklung* instruments with two or three bamboo segments, it seems: see photograph in Hood (1971: 257).

Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 24) mentioned that the Baduy *angklung* set contains only four instruments. Randal Baier discusses Sundanese *angklung* sets in several parts of West Java. He mentions that the Sundanese *angklung* 'is a framed bamboo instrument consisting of from two to four tuned bamboo tubes that produce sound when shaken' and that some ensembles employ 'only two drummers, at times only four *angklung*, and without auxiliary instruments or performers'. (Baier 1986: 2-1, 2-2). The overview of Sundanese types of *angklung* in Masunah et al. confirms Baier's remarks, in particular that the *angklung* instruments have 2–4 tubes in one frame (Masunah et al. 2003: 20). However,

although the Baduy *angklung* is described by Masunah et al., no audio-visual example of Baduy *angklung* is included on the accompanying CD and VCD.

During the period that I did my fieldwork between 1976 and 2016, I only saw Baduy *angklung* ensembles that consisted of 9 different instruments. The intervals between consecutive notes produced by the different Baduy *angklung* instruments are approximately equidistant and there are five equidistant intervals within one octave. The *indung leutik* instrument produces a tone (and its octaves) that is one octave higher than the *indung gedé* instrument. Thus the tuning of the nine instruments resembles the Sundanese *saléndro* tone system; see also the discussion in Section 5.1 above. The two highest instruments are called *loér* or *roél* and played together by one person; the other seven instruments are each played by one person. Each person has to play his instrument at a particular time and by this 'interlocking' technique a melody is constructed by the sequence of produced notes. Each drum is played by a different person. The drums are kept on the left, in the hand and with a string around the neck and beaten with the right hand; no sticks are used (see film fragment <AV05> with three drum players and two dancers). The names of the different *angklung* instruments and drums are given in Table 6, from highest (*leutik* or *alit*, 'small') to lowest (*gedé*, 'large') produced tones. For each instrument the tube in the medium octave is sometimes called child (*anak*) and the tube in the highest octave grandchild (*incu*; recording DAT92-13, ca. 1h14m).

In December 2013 Rasudin, leader of the *angklung* group (*jaro angklung*) near the house of the secular village head in Kaduketug, explained that there were couples (*pasangan*) of instruments: 1. {*indung leutik*, *indung gedé*}, 2. {*éngklok*, *ringkung*} and 3. {*gunjing*, *dongdong*}; see also Figure 34. This was confirmed by *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah and *pantun* storyteller Anirah in 2016.¹¹ Each pair of these instruments will play the notes at the same time, and in this order of sets (1-2-3); the fourth set of *loér 1*, *loér 2* and the *torolok* instruments will follow and play the melodic structure (A2016-1: 65), as will be discussed in more detail below.

Outer Baduy use *angklung* with two or three drums; if only two drums are used, this seems always to be the one with medium pitch, *talinting*, and the lowest one *bedug*. In the Inner Baduy area there are only one or two drums used with the *angklung* ensemble and the highest drum *ketuk* is not used. In Cibéo they only use the lowest *bedug* drum and in Cikeusik and Cikartawana they use both the lowest and the medium drums: *bedug* and *talinting*.

11 Anirah also makes sets of *angklung* instruments, *rendo*, and *kacapi*. He said that in 2016 a whole *angklung* set, including drums, would cost about two million Rupiah, that is, about € 138, US\$ 152 (A2016-1: 65); see also Table 4.

TABLE 6 Names of the different shaken bamboos and drums of the *angklung* ensemble

#	Symbol	Van Zanten 1995: 523 (with corrections)	Karamaén 2003 (MD 2003–13) and Anirah (A2016-1: 65)	Rasudin 10 Dec 2013
		[shaken bamboo]		
1	L1	<i>loér</i> 1	<i>loér</i> [also <i>roél</i>] ^a	
2	L2	<i>loér</i> 2	<i>loér</i> [also <i>roél</i>]	
3	T	<i>torolok</i>		
4	IL	<i>indung leutik</i>		
5	E	<i>éngklok</i>		
6	G	<i>gunjing</i>		
7	D	<i>dongdong</i>		<i>dongdong</i> and <i>gunjing</i> form a (musical) couple
8	R	<i>ringkung</i>		<i>ringkung</i> and <i>éngklok</i> form a musical couple
9	IG	<i>indung gedé</i>	<i>indung</i>	<i>indung gedé</i> or <i>jaléng</i> forms a musical couple with <i>indung</i> <i>leutik</i>
		[tuned drums]		
10	K	<i>ketuk</i> [highest drum] ^b	[not in Inner Baduy area], tuning same as <i>gunjing</i> instrument	
11	Ta	<i>talinting</i> [medium drum]	tuning same as <i>indung</i> <i>gedé</i> instrument	
12	B	<i>bedug</i> [lowest drum]	tuning same as <i>ringkung</i> instrument	

^a See also Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 230, 402) who translate *kapiroél* as ‘sounding like *roél*, gurgling (water).’

^b In Van Zanten (1995: 523) I (wrongly) presented the *talinting* drum as the highest (frequency)/smallest one and the *ketuk* drum as the medium one. I obtained the present information during my visit to Kanékés on 1 July 2016 from the *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah, who had been the leader of an *angklung* group (*jaro angklung*) in Ciranji before. This information was later in July 2016 confirmed by the *pantun* storyteller Anirah.

As far as I know all *angklung* sets in Kanékés are made by Inner Baduy, although it seems that Outer Baduy are also allowed to make *angklung* instruments. The makers use different kinds of bamboo for the pipes and the frames of the instrument: *temen* (Karamaén, A2003-2: 5) or *surat* (Anirah, A2016-1: 65). *Surat* bamboo (*awi surat*) is also called *andong*, *gedé* or *gombong* bamboo. It is a thick kind of bamboo, also used for building houses.¹² Budi (2015: 18-19, 184) reported that the *angklung* instruments in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar used to be made of *gombong* bamboo, but nowadays often the *wulung* or *hideung* (black) bamboo is used.¹³ Anirah told that he could make an *angklung* set of 9 instruments in three days, but before being used, the instruments should be given two months to stabilize the sound. An *angklung* set will last at least for ten years (A2016-1: 65). See some other information on making and playing Baduy *angklung* in Djoewisno (1988: 42-50) and Budi (2013) for some information on making *angklung* instruments in the nearby Ciptagelar.

The body of the Baduy drums consists of *teluk* (*tesuk*?) or *nangka* wood and the membranes are made of skin of the *mencek* (Indonesian: *kijang*, a small type of deer/roe) that is difficult to find nowadays. However, no other skin is allowed.¹⁴

The Baduy *angklung* is only played by men and boys of 6 to 7 years and older. It used to be the same in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, however nowadays the *angklung* there may also be played by women and girls (Budi 2015: 17-18). The Baduy drums are played by adults, and also the dancers are adults. There may be 3, 5 or 7 dancers: always an odd number, larger than one.

For the fringes on top of *angklung* instruments the Baduy use *pélah* (kind of rattan/*rotan*) leaves and Djoewisno (1988: 47) mentioned that these are meant to protect against calamities: *tumbal keselamatan*. In the Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, about 40km southeast of Kanékés, the *angklung* instruments are considered female objects and it is said that therefore they fix brushes or fringes (*rarawis*) on the top. The drums are considered to be male, because of the string keeping the membrane in place at the top (Budi 2015: 208-209).

In the construction of the Baduy *angklung* instruments, the vertical bamboo sticks of the frame are pierced and the horizontal sticks are put through this hole and thus pressed tight. In the Baduy *angklung* set that I bought in

12 The scientific name for *surat* bamboo is given as *Gigantochloa verticillata* (Willd.) Munro (Sastrapradja et al. 1977: 30-31; Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2010). Eringa (1984) mentions that *temen* bamboo is very similar to *tali* bamboo: *Gigantochloa apus* (Bl. Ex Schult.f.) Kurz.

13 *Gigantochloa atter* (Hassk.) Kurz ex Munro (Sastrapradja et al. 1977: 12-13, 32-33).

14 See Anirah, A2016-1: 65; Karamaén, A2003-2: 5 and interview on MD 2003-13, 12-12:40; Rasudin, A2013: 28.



FIGURE 34 *Angklung* instruments of Rasudin in Kaduketug 1, 10 December 2013. Top-L to R: *dongdong* and *gunjing*, *torolok*; mid-L to R: *loér 2* and *loér 1*, *ringkung* and *éngklok*; Bottom-L to R: *indung gedé* and *indung leutik*, *bedug* and smaller *talinting*

September 1976 rattan (*hoé*) was used for binding the horizontal and vertical pieces together (similarly in Ciptagelar: see Figure 3.14 in Budi 2015: 208). In the photographs of the *angklung* set of Rasudin in Kaduketug in December 2013 (Figure 34), it may be seen that the split vertical bamboo sticks are



FIGURE 35 Three drums that accompany the nine shaken bamboos of the *angklung* set owned by *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah. From left to right: *bedug*, *talinting* and *ketuk*. Kaduketug 1, 1 July 2016



FIGURE 36 Baduy *angklung* played by boys and young men. Rehearsal in Kadujangkung, 15 October 1992

strengthened with thread just above and below the hole for the vertical stick, preventing it from splitting further. I have no detailed information about the construction of the Baduy *angklung* instruments. See, for instance, Masunah (2003: 18–24) for a general description of this process in Sunda.

Budi (2015: 183–211) offers a comprehensive description of the construction of the *angklung* instruments in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, about 40km southeast of Kanékés. There are two drums (*dogdog lojor*) and five *angklung* instruments, from high to low tones (frequencies): *kirilik*, *kingking*, *inclok*, *panempas/panembal*, *gonggong*. The highest instrument (*kirilik*) is not always used, like in the song *Adulilang* for the rice planting ceremony, *ngaseuk* (Budi 2015: 148–149, 213, 232–233). In contrast to the Baduy *angklung*, the *angklung dogdog lojor* in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar is not only used for rice rituals, but also for events in a life cycle (*tali paranti*) like circumcisions and marriages and for ‘religious ceremonies’ (*upacara keagamaan*), like the Islamic Mulud, Lebaran Haji feasts and the *ruat* (*ruwat*) religious meals (Budi 2015: 174).

The Baduy *angklung* is in the first place connected to the planting of rice and keeping it healthy. In Section 4.2 I described the ritual ‘engagement’ of the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sang(h)iang Asri, to the earth Pertiwi and the ceremonial planting of rice the next morning on the Outer Baduy special rice field *huma tuladan*. However, *angklung* may also be used for entertainment, and in particular singing of the 4-line verses that are called *susualan* or *sisindiran*. This will be discussed in Chapter 7.

In their book on several types of Sundanese *angklung* (Dogdog Lojor, Badud, Badeng, Buncis) Masunah and others emphasize that the rhythm of the *angklung* playing is more important than the melodic part and the singing (Masunah *et al* 2003-1: 59) and I think this also holds for the Baduy *angklung* for entertainment. Only in the *angklung* developed by Pa Daéng and Udjo Ngalagena in Bandung (Angklung Indonesia in Saung Angklung Udjo) in the 1960s, which includes diatonic *angklung* and shows other Western influences, the melodic aspects became more important than the rhythmic section (Masunah *et al* 2003-1: 78).

Baduy *angklung* is also increasingly used for entertaining guests from outside Kanékés. I have commented on the *angklung* being put on the Representative List of the 2003 UNESCO convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: there were several shortcomings in the Baduy data supplied to UNESCO (Van Zanten 2012: 138–141; 2017: 93–94). Compare also Masunah and others (2003-1: 1–12), who note a general shift from the use of *angklung* in rice rituals towards entertainment and that around the year 2000 only few Sundanese people associated *angklung* with the growing of rice on dry fields (*huma, ladang*).

TABLE 7 The interlocking playing by the three pairs of lowest Baduy *angklung* instruments

No.		beat 1	beat 2	beat 3	beat 4
1	<i>indung gedé</i> together with the <i>indung leutik</i>	x	x	-	-
2	<i>ringkung</i> together with <i>éngklok</i>	-	-	x	-
3	<i>dongdong</i> together with <i>gunjing</i>	-	-	-	x

Musically all Baduy *angklung* songs used for *susualan* have a basic pattern of four time units that is played by the three pairs of instruments, mentioned in Table 7:

The different higher melodies are played by the *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok* instruments (A1992-1: 43). These three highest instruments produce a regular number of four notes per pulse/beat, because they are shaken fast: a tremolo. In my music transcriptions these rapid iterations of one note (and its octaves, with four notes per pulse) are indicated in the common way, that is, by two flags on the stem of the note. The six lowest instruments only produce one note per pulse/beat that is represented by a quarter note.

Music Transcription Tr 2 represents the song *Randa Ngéndong*, played by the *angklung* group from Gajéboh and recorded in Jakarta in the night of 8–9 September 1976.¹⁵ It is a small section of 16 seconds taken from about the middle of the songs: from 2:12–2:27 after the start of the playing. In this transcription I only represented the fundamental tone on each instrument, produced by the largest tube. I used the following Western notes for the sounds of the instruments, from high (*alit*, *leutik*) to low (*gedé*): c^{2#} for *loér 1*, b¹ for *loér 2*, a¹ for *torolok*, f^{1#} for *indung leutik*, e¹ for *éngklok*, c^{1#} for *gunjing*, b for *dongdong*, a for *ringkung*, f# for *indung gedé*.

In Music Transcription Tr 2 the top line is for the three highest (*alit*, *leutik*) instruments that play the basic melody: *loér 1* (L1: note c^{2#}), *loér 2* (L2: note b¹) and *torolok* (T: note a¹). The third and last line is for the lowest instruments: *dongdong* (D: note b), *ringkung* (R: note a), *indung gedé* (1G: note f#). The second line is for the three instruments that sound on the same beat as the lowest three instruments: *indung leutik* (1L: note f^{1#}, sounding together with *indung gedé* f#), *éngklok* (E: note e¹, sounding together with *ringkung* a¹)

15 I then lived in a house near the very busy Manggarai bus station. Only during midnight the noise of the traffic would not severely interfere with the music.

and *gunjing* (G: note c^{1#}, sounding together with *dongdong* b). On the recording used for this transcription <AV01> the three highest and the three lowest tones may fairly clearly be heard. This is not the case with the middle tones, especially not those produced by the *éngklok* and *gunjing*. For these mid-tones I applied the information that these instruments play in pairs with the lowest three notes and at exactly the same speed.

As the basic structure of the three lowest instruments repeats itself every four beats (the ostinato pattern), in the transcription I have used one measure for each of these units. In the transcribed section there are about 120 beats per minute. However, the whole piece starts with a speed of about 70 beats per minute and it ends in the last 15 seconds with a speed of about 240 beats per minute. Rasudin, leader of the *angklung* group in Kaduketug 1, called the 'introductory section' to any piece of music *burulung* (A2013: 27). It is not clear to me how long this slower introduction lasts: is it just the first line in Music Transcription Tr 3 that takes 6½ bars? The speeding-up of the last section of a song is called *ngagubrugkeun* and may last from a few seconds to several minutes. It is mostly longer if there are dancers with the group. During the fast playing at the end, the *angklung* players stand still and the dancers run around them, followed by the drummers, as described in Section 5.5 below and earlier in Van Zanten (1995: 536); listen also to <AV04>, 70" and see the dancers and drum players in <AV05>, 2'44".

Below I will describe the 'melodic structure' of Baduy *angklung* pieces played by the tremolos of the three highest instruments (*loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*). This 'basic melody' is played together with the 'ostinato patterns' consisting of four quavers, played by six lowest instruments described above. Note that Masunah and others (2003-1: 48–51, 67–72) give similar patterns played by the three to five lowest instruments in what they call the 'main melody' (*melodi utama* or *melodi*) for the *angklung* Badud in Ciamis (southeast from Bandung) and the *angklung* Buncis in Arjasari-Banjaran (southern part greater Bandung). According to these authors the high *angklung* instruments that play tremolos add 'ornaments' (*hiasan*) to the 'melody' played by the lowest instruments. These different terminologies need further investigation.

The whole *angklung* piece *Randa Ngéndong* lasts about 5'10". From Musical Transcription Tr 3 it becomes clear that the three melodic instruments (*loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*) play patterns that are 8 measures long (that is, 8x4 beats, or quaver notes) during the first half [0':00"-2'43"] of the performance: repeated with some variations. For simplicity reasons, I have only written the tremolos on each quaver in the first line.

Comparing the corresponding bars in each line of Music Transcription Tr 3, it is clear that each line presents the basic pattern and its variations of the

Randa Ngéndong

Angklung Gajéboh - 1976

MM 120

Recorded in Jakarta, 8-9 September 1976

Transcription from B15#4, 2:12-2:27

The musical transcription consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff (L1, L2, T) contains complex rhythmic patterns with dynamic markings such as *sva* and section markers [L2], [L1], and [T]. The middle staff (II, E, G) and bottom staff (D, R, J, G) provide accompaniment with simpler rhythmic patterns. The first system concludes at [2:12] and the second at [2:27].

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 2 Melodic structure of *Randa Ngéndong* by the Gajéboh *angklung* group, as played by the instruments *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*, and accompanied by the 4-beat patterns of the other six instruments, 8–9 September 1976. Listen to <AV01>

song, consisting of eight bars in the transcription. Only the start in the first line is slightly shorter. The two *loér* notes ($c^2\#$ and b^1) are regularly stressed by sounding for 2 or $4-4\frac{1}{2}$ beats (that is, 8 or 16–18 tremolo of sixteenth notes, or demisemiquavers); the *torolok* note (a^1) never lasts longer than one beat.

Similarly, the melodic structure of the *angklung* piece *Ceuk Arileu*, played by the three highest instruments, is given in Music Transcription Tr 4 below. Listen to <AV03> that gives about the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes or the second line repeated three times. I consider the first line to be the ‘beginning’ of the piece; it consists of about the seven bars 2 to 8. As from the second line the melodic pattern of 8 bars is repeated without variation until the end of the piece at 5’19”. Hence only the beginning of the piece is slightly different from what follows in the second line that is repeated until the end of the song. In this melodic pattern (bars numbered 9–16) both notes b^1 and $c^2\#$ are stressed.

Melodic structure Randa Ngéndong

by three highest *angklung* instruments: *loér 1 (L1)*, *loér 2 (L2)* and *torolok (T)* playing tremolos

Recorded in Jakarta, 8-9 September 1976

Transcribed from B15#4, 00-2:34

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 4/4 time signature. It consists of ten staves of music. The first staff (measures 1-8) is marked with a tempo of ♩ = 70 and the word 'accel.'. Below the first staff is a time marker [0"]. The second staff (measures 9-16) is marked with a time marker [24"]. The third staff (measures 17-24) is marked with a time marker [44"]. The fourth staff (measures 25-32) is marked with a time marker [1'04"]. The fifth staff (measures 33-40) is marked with a tempo of ♩ = 112 and a time marker [1'22"]. The sixth staff (measures 41-48) is marked with a time marker [1'39"]. The seventh staff (measures 49-56) is marked with a time marker [1'56"]. The eighth staff (measures 57-64) is marked with a time marker [2'12"]. The ninth staff (measures 65-72) is marked with a tempo of ♩ = 120 and a time marker [2'27"]. The piece concludes at the end of the ninth staff with a final time marker [2:43"].

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 3 Melodic structure of the *angklung* piece *Randa Ngéndong* by the Gajéboh group, as played by the instruments *loér 1*, *loér 2* and *torolok*, September 1976. <AV02>

The speed increases from about 60 at the beginning to 90 beats per minute at 0'49" at the end of line 2. At 1'30" after the beginning the speed has increased to 110 beats per minute. After 4'25" the fast playing for ending the song (*ngagu-brugkeun*) starts and lasts for about one minute at a speed of 144 beats per

Melodic structure Ceuk Arileu

by three highest *angklung* instruments: *loèr 1* (L1), *loèr 2* (L2), *torolok* (T) playing tremolos

Recorded in Jakarta 8-9 September 1976
Transcription from B16#1, 00-49s

[49"]

Same transcription with bar lines shifted to one quaver/ quarter note later:

[49"]

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 4 Melodic structure of the *angklung* piece *Ceuk Arileu* by the Gajéboh group, as played by the instruments *loèr 1*, *loèr 2* and *torolok*, September 1976. Two ways of transcription. Listen to <AV03>

minute; listen to <AV04> that starts about 4:09 after the beginning and ends at 5:19 of the piece *Ceuk Arileu*.

The second half of Tr 4 gives exactly the same as the first transcription, except that the bar lines were shifted to one quaver ('beat', quarter note) later. In the first two lines the 4-beat bars were taken to coincide with the basic ostinato pattern in the six lowest instruments, as given in Table 7 above:

beat 1: *indung gedé* + *indung leutik*;

beat 2: *indung gedé* + *indung leutik*;

beat 3: *ringkung* + *éngklok*;

beat 4: *dongdong* + *gunjing*.

If we shift the bar lines to one beat later, as happened in bars 17–32 of Tr 4, it has the advantage that the structure becomes 'clearer' in staff notation. However, this second transcription hides the syncopation ('off-beat playing') shown in the first transcription and which may be a wanted characteristic of the music. We need further information on this.

During the *ngaréremokeun* ritual that I witnessed in Kadujangkung on 22–23 October 1992, the *angklung* of this hamlet played much slower: about 42 beats (quaver notes) per minute at the start of the evening, around 19:15–19:45

(DAT 92-10, beginning). The lower three instruments played the same ostinato pattern of four notes that has been given above for the *Randa Ngéndong* and *Ceuk Arileu* transcriptions of 1976. In October 1992 the *angklung* also accompanied singing: solo and chorus singing; at this moment there were no dancers; see further Section 4.2 and Van Zanten (1995).

5.3 *Keromong* (gamelan)

Baduy call their set of bronze idiophones *keromong*, *goong* or *lénong*, but also by the general Indonesian name gamelan. In current practice *keromong* seems to be most commonly used, and that word also indicates one of the instruments in the ensemble. The ensemble also includes other instruments like the *gambang* xylophone, or the four-string violin (*viol*, *biola*). Like most Sundanese gamelan ensembles the Baduy *keromong* consists of only a few instruments:

- Two *caning*: metallophones with six keys, sometimes five keys, called *saron* elsewhere in Java;
- One optional *panerus* metallophone with six keys and tuned one octave lower than the *caning* (A2016-1: 29);
- *Keromong*: set of ten bronze kettles resting on a horizontal frame, called *bonang* elsewhere in Java;
- Optional *kenong*: set of five bronze kettles resting on a horizontal frame (in Gadjéboh, 1976, see Figure 37), or *kempul*: one gong held in the hand (in Kompol, 1976; see <AV06>: *Keromong* Kompol playing *Kembang Beureum*; film 2m30s);
- *Gambang*: xylophone with 14 to 20 keys; since about 2005–2010 an extra *gambang* xylophone was added to reproduce the drum patterns that are used in Sundanese gamelan outside the Baduy area: a *gambang kendang*;
- *Kecemprés* or *kecrék*: two cymbals, held on top of each other and struck with a stick or just hitting each other;
- One small and one large gong;
- A four-string violin (*viol*, *biola*) is optional; before the 1980s the *rebab* (two-stringed bowed lute) seemed to be commonly used, instead of the *viol*.

See pictures of most of the bronze instruments and the xylophone in Figures 37, 39 and 40.

In 1995, I reported to have seen the violins, but not hearing them being played with the *keromong*. In the recordings made in the 1960s by Bernard Suryabrata, a copy of which is kept at Cornell University, the Baduy *gamelan* is played with both *rebab* and *suling* (*lamus*). This also happens in central Java, but the *rebab-suling* combination is no longer (or rarely?) used in present-day Sundanese gamelan: generally speaking, the *rebab* is only used in the *gamelan*

saléndro, and the *suling* only in the *gamelan degung* (see also Van Zanten 1989: 81, 103; 1995: 525–527).

I recorded *keromong* with *rebab* and female vocalists in Gajéboh in June 1976; listen to <AV07>: *Keromong* Gajéboh playing Kembang Beureum – 1976; B2-3 Audio 1m49s. After this time I did not record or hear about a *rebab* with the *keromong*. It is said that in current practice the *rebab* is no longer allowed by the spiritual leaders. Since the 1990s it is rather a *viol* and/or a *gambang* xylophone that are used for the melodic parts of the gamelan music. In October 1992 Ojél, leader of the *angklung* ensemble in Kadujangkung, confirmed that there was no *rebab* in Kanékés. Instead, he said, you could use a *rendo* or a *viol* in the gamelan (A1992-1: 38). It may be that (shortly?) after my recording in 1976 the *rebab* was no longer allowed in the Baduy area (*rebab tidak boleh masuk daerah Baduy*), as Satra told me in April 2003 and Anirah in 2016 (A2003-2: 4; A2016-1: 63). I have never heard that a *rendo* has been used in the *keromong* ensemble. I do not know the reasons why the *rebab* is not allowed in Kanékés. However, the main reason might be its association with Islam: the instrument spread with Islamic expansion from Arab countries through Persia, Afghanistan, and India to Southeast Asia; see also Van Zanten (1989: 107–110).

This example of the *rebab* seems to indicate a general sequence of events: Outer Baduy trying to introduce a new element that will be tolerated for some time, because the spiritual leaders do not yet know whether it should be allowed or not according to their religion, and then some time later it is decided that the new element will be forbidden. This happened, for instance, with the growing of clove trees that became big business in several parts of west Java in the 1970s. In 1976 I saw many young clove trees in Kanékés. When the trees were about to give fruit, the spiritual leaders decided that cloves were forbidden in Kanékés and all (most) clove trees were cut. Such measures obviously lead to tensions between the Outer and Inner Baduy groups. In 2016 I noticed cloves being dried in the sun in several Kanékés hamlets; see, for instance Figure 33. Baduy people explained that these cloves were bought outside Kanékés, then dried inside Kanékés and sold outside Kanékés. Baduy themselves and former Baduy have described such behaviour as ‘hypocritical’ to me.

Only Outer Baduy play *keromong*; not the Inner Baduy. Moreover, not all hamlets in the Outer Baduy area of Kanékés are allowed to have a *keromong*; this is restricted to about one third of the 60 hamlets lying in the northern part of Kanékés. In March 2003 (Sapin) and December 2013 (Rasudin) gave a list of 16 Baduy hamlets that possess a *keromong*: Balimbing, Batara, Cipalér 1, Cipalér 2, Cisaban, Cisaban 2, Ciwaringin, Gajéboh, Kadujangkung, Kaduketug 1, Kaduketug Gedé, Kadukohak, Karahkal, Panyerangan (?), Sorokokod and the *dangka* hamlet Cepakbuah (?) near Kopol. Other hamlets that are allowed to



FIGURE 37 Instruments of the Baduy *keromong* recorded in Gajéboh, Kanékés on 12 June 1976

have a *keromong*, but do not have one are: Cicakal Girang, Cigula, Cipondok, Kadu Gedé, and Maréngo.

In July 2016 the *tanggung jaro duabelas* Saidi and Ayah Anirah told that the *keromong* were only allowed in hamlets that were 'sufficiently' north from the Inner Baduy hamlets Cibéo and Cikartawana; the *keromong* playing should not be heard in those hamlets. This means that the border is about the west-east line from Cipalér/Cicakal Girang to Cisaban. Also the hamlets Cicitang 1–2, Cibongkok, Cikopéng and Kaduketer 1–2, although lying a little north of this line,



FIGURE 38 Children on stage with the *keromong* ensemble playing on the second day of the three-day circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, noon time, 4 July 2016



FIGURE 39 *Keromong* instruments, two *caning*, one *panerus* and two *gambang*, played on last morning of the three-day circumcision ritual in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016



FIGURE 40 *Keromong* instruments playing on the last morning of the three-day circumcision ritual with sound amplification in Cicakal Leuwi Buleud, 5 July 2016

are not allowed to have *keromong*. I suppose that this is because those hamlets lie relatively high above sea level, and the sound of a *keromong* being played there would possibly be heard in Cibéo and Cikartawana. Ayah Anirah told that before the time of *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah (1997–2015) there used to be a *keromong* set in Kaduketer, something that is no longer allowed nowadays.¹⁶ He added that the spiritual leaders (*puun*) should always give permission to play the *keromong* in a certain hamlet. In July 2016 I took photographs of the *keromong* that was owned by the Cicakal Leuwi Buleud community, but not listed by Rasudin. See Figures 16, 38–40; A1992-1: 31; A2003-1, 11, 20–21; A2014-1: 36–38; A2016-1: 24, 60, 62). Notice that this *keromong* also had two xylophones.

The sets of bronze instruments of the *keromong* are not made by the Baduy themselves, but bought in west Java outside Kanékés. This is also an indication of the musical relation between the Baduy and the surrounding Sundanese. The instruments made of wood (xylophones, violins) or bamboo (flutes) are mostly made by the Baduy themselves.

16 I suppose this might also have been caused by the use of amplification of *keromong* ensembles that started around 2010: the sound carried farther than before; see also Section 4.5.

The tuning of the *keromong* instruments is like the *angklung* and may be called ‘equidistant pentatonic’, that is a kind of *saléndro/sléndro*. In 1992 *jaro pamaréntah* Asrab said that the tuning of a gamelan used for the *wayang golék* performances outside Kanékés, that is, in *saléndro* tuning, was in accordance to the Baduy taste (*‘bekas suara golék, cocok untuk Baduy’*, A1992-1: 40). For fine-tuning of the bronze *keromong* instruments the Baduy use wax (*malam*), like in the other parts of Java (A2014-1: 39).

Keromong (goong) ensembles are metaphors for kingdoms or kings, and Geise (1952: 115) mentions several names of these *goong* ensembles. Section 6.5 will discuss this theme in some more detail. Sardi from Cikarého, Kompol, mentioned that before playing the *keromong* at an official occasion there would be an offering (*sasajén*): *parawantén goong* (A2014-1: 11).

5.4 The History of a Baduy Gamelan between 1976 and 2019

The history of the gamelan that I bought in 1976 and a few years later returned to the Baduy community is presented here, because it opened my eyes for several aspects of the Baduy society in the wider context of west Java and Indonesia. The gamelan was kept in my house in Indonesia between April 1976 and July 1979, because I was its ‘owner’. Parts of the history of this gamelan presented in this section were published in Van Zanten (2004) and Van Zanten (2009), however, here I have included more details and new developments after my visits to the Baduy area in 2013, 2014 and 2016, and personal communication from my assistant Mumu until November 2019. In Van Zanten (2004: 143–145) the gamelan was mentioned because of its role in the cultural politics of the local authorities: Baduy and people of Baduy descent had complained about the authorities’ attempts to have this gamelan transferred to the *kabupaten* Lebak in Rangkasbitung. The gamelan was also mentioned in Van Zanten (2009: 299–302), where I tried to show the complexities of intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property rights: ‘prior informed consent’ of a community is necessary, but not enough.

From February 1976 to August 1979 I worked at the Faculty for Social Sciences of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. In April 1976 I bought a small old gamelan from the Baduy indigenous group for Rp 500 000 (then about US\$ 1200, € 1120). The set of instruments was offered for sale to me in Jakarta by the Baduy official Talsim (see his photograph in Figure 3), because the owner had died and the family needed money to pay their debts, he said. I was interested in Baduy music, as I had already been planning to make audio-visual recordings, but had no real interest in purchasing a gamelan. However, at that time I felt, it would be better to buy the gamelan myself than to allow a tourist unfamiliar with Baduy music to buy it.

The negotiations with Talsim took place at the Faculty of Arts of the National University, stationed in Jatinegara, Jakarta and managed by Bernard Suryabrata (1926–1986). At that time I had just arrived a few months earlier in Jakarta and taken lessons on the *kacapi* by the *kacapi-suling* player Suleiman Danuwidjaja at the Faculty of Arts. There we arranged an interview with Talsim about the Baduy gamelan. The interviewer was Uk Sukaya, one of the musicians working at the Faculty of Arts, and further Bernard Suryabrata and I were present during this interview. I recorded this interview on audio tape (Tape B1, item 1, April–June 1976). Below I will first summarize this interview and later comment on it.

Talsim told that the Baduy gamelan would be played only during the three Baduy months Kalima, Kanem and Kapitu (roughly May–July). After this gamelan season, the *angklung* would be played. Now the *kawalu* fasting period had just come to an end and the Baduy were preparing for the *ngalaksa* [and *séba*] rituals. When ‘the tasks of the *puun* spiritual leaders were done’ there would be the ceremonial/communal rice pounding (*gendék*). The gamelan would only be played during the weddings (*kawinan*) and circumcisions (*sunatan*) that would be announced by the communal pounding of rice (*gendék*).

With the other instruments (one *keromong*, two *caning*, two large gongs, one *kecerés* or *kecemprés* and two *kempul*) there also was a small gong (*bendé*; see Figure 42). Answering a question by Suryabrata, Talsim confirmed that this *bendé* gong was not included in other Baduy gamelan and in this respect this gamelan set of instruments was special.¹⁷ He added that this was the first time that a Baduy gamelan was sold to an outsider and in fact Talsim had intended to sell the gamelan to Bernard Suryabrata, who was known to the Baduy, because he had recorded their music already. However, [as Suryabrata was not interested or could not afford to pay the price?] it would now go to a foreign country.

The gamelan was estimated to date back at least to the first half of the nineteenth century, because it had been in the Baduy family for four generations. According to Talsim the instruments were made by a smith in Kanékés and tuned according to the *pélog* tone system. Suryabrata expressed his surprise that it was tuned in *pélog*, because most Baduy gamelan are tuned to the *saléndro* tone system. He asked Talsim whether this was a *gamelan panggung* (a ‘stage’ gamelan), meaning that it was related to the aristocracy, and Talsim confirmed this. This gamelan was to be played on a ‘stage’ (*panggung*) and not ‘on the ground’ (*di taneuh*).

17 The small *bendé* gong with diameter about 40–60 cm is regularly mentioned in the *pantun* stories and the Old Sundanese manuscripts. In the past the *bendé* were used for official announcements of the court (Van Zanten 1989: 33, 82); see also Section 3.1 above. Nowadays it is used in the *pencak silat* music in West Java (Soepandi 1995b: 39; Pätzold 2000: 76).

So far this (recorded) interview with Talsim at the time I bought this Baduy gamelan in April 1976. The small gamelan stayed in my house in Jakarta and later in Cisalak during more than three years, without being played. When I planned to leave Indonesia in July 1979, I needed to decide what to do with it. I did not want to export the gamelan, and most probably I would not have been permitted to do so by the Indonesian government, as the gamelan was old. The second possibility was to donate it to the gamelan museum in Subang, West Java. Then it would probably not be played, which I did not want. Hence I presented this gamelan to Samin, secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés, as a representative of the Baduy people, with the hope that it would be played again by them. The village head came to my house in Cisalak to collect the gamelan, and we made a simple agreement/contract on paper that stated that this gamelan was returned to the Baduy community with the sole condition that it could never be sold again to outsiders. A copy of this contract is presented in Figure 41 and the translation of it reads:¹⁸

Contract [‘letter of agreement’]. This contract is made by us, Samin, head of Kanékés village, and Wim van Zanten of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia. Mr. Wim van Zanten has a gamelan that came from the Baduy community, now returned to the Baduy community, with the condition that this gamelan will not be sold again to other people. That means, this gamelan will be owned by the whole Baduy community that is represented by Samin, village head of Kanékés.

The village head of Kanékés may decide who shall be using the gamelan. This gamelan consists of one *keromong*, two *caning*, two gongs, one *bendé*, one *kecerés* and two *kempul*.

Cisalak, Cimanggis, Bogor

17 July 1979

[signature]

witness: Mr. Jakaria from Serpong

[signature]

Head of Kanékés village: Samin

[signature]

Wim van Zanten



¹⁸ The witness that signed this contract, Mr. Jakaria, was the driver employed in the Social Sciences project (RUL 27) between Leiden University and the Universitas Indonesia in which I was involved.

Surat perjanjian

Surat ini dibuat oleh kami, Irfah Samin dari Desa Kanekes dan Wim van Zanten dari Fakultas Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Indonesia. Sdr. Wim van Zanten telah memberi suatu gamelan, yang berasal dari orang Baduy, kembali ke orang Baduy, dengan syarat bahwa gamelan tersebut tidak akan dijual lagi ke orang lain. Yaitu, gamelan tersebut akan dimiliki oleh keseluruhan orang Baduy, yang diwakili oleh Jaro Samin dari Desa Kanekes. Jaro Kanekes boleh memutuskan siapa saja menggunakan gamelan ini. Gamelan tersebut terdiri dari satu keromong, dua cening, dua goong, satu bende, satu keceres dan dua kempal.

Cisalak, Cimanggis, Bogor
17 Juli 1979



saksi: Pak Jakaria dari Serpang

Jaro Kanekes: Samin



Wim van Zanten

FIGURE 41 Agreement/contract about the gamelan returned to the Baduy community by the present author in July 1979

I did not return to the Baduy area until 1992. Samin, the former village head of Kanékés, had died in December 1991, and the gamelan instruments were no longer played. It was not possible to play the gamelan, because the different instruments were not kept together in one place, but were divided between the houses of two of Samin's sons, who lived in villages outside the Baduy area (Narja in Cipangembar and eldest son Nalim in Margaluyu). The sons remembered that I had presented the gamelan to their father, but they did not know anything about the conditions. They did not have a copy of my contract with their father (Figure 41). As mentioned already in Section 3.5, the sons also told me that they were put under great pressure to give the gamelan to the Regent of the Lebak Regency in Rangkasbitung, as had happened before with other Baduy instruments. I made clear to Narja and Nalim, that my intention had been to have the gamelan played by the Baduy people, and that I had returned it to the Baduy community, with the sole condition that it could not be sold again or disappear from the Baduy area. I asked for the gamelan, now in the resettlement area, to be returned to Kanékés village, which eventually happened at the end of 2002.

Since the end of 2002 the gamelan was kept by the family of Narja and Nalim living in the hamlet Kadujangkung, Kanékés. In an interview with Narja at his house in Cipangembar on 31 March 2003 he asked whether the gamelan could stay in Kadujangkung. I answered that this was no problem to me, as long as it would also be played there. This was my main concern: the gamelan should be used again in Kanékés. It was up to the Baduy officials in which hamlet the gamelan that I considered to be a communal property would be stationed and played. Anyway, the seat of the *jaro pamaréntah* in Kaduketug was very near to the hamlet Kadujangkung. The gamelan could easily be transported to Kaduketug if needed there. Narja asked me to tell the same to the *jaro pamaréntah*. His plea for Kadujangkung was apparently instigated because he considered many present Baduy leaders materialistic: they received money from the government, not for the Baduy, but for themselves (A2003-1: 54).

I saw the gamelan in Kadujangkung during my visit in April 2003, the first one after my 1992 visit to Kanékés and taking place in the fasting period (*kawalu*) in which no gamelan could be played. By that time, the wooden frames for the different gongs and metallophones had wasted away and I donated Rp 600,000 (about € 65, US\$ 71) to the caretaker Arpani/Anik, grandson of *jaro pamaréntah* Samin, to have new ones made (A2003-2: 2). The gamelan would be played in the first coming gamelan season of June-August 2003 they said.

On my return ten years later, I saw the gamelan stored in Kadujangkung in December 2013 and made photographs of it. At that time we also visited Aki Armad, earlier called (Ayah) Hamdan, brother-in-law of Narja and Nalim. I had recorded and interviewed Aki Armad/Hamdan several times since 1976. Aki Armad told me that there was one problem with the gamelan that I had returned: it was tuned in *pélog* and they did not like that, because Baduy gamelan were usually tuned differently (A2013: 47–48). I told him that the gamelan was no longer my property and that they could re-tune the gamelan, if they wanted this. I expressed my hope that the tuning would be done by someone knowledgeable about Baduy gamelan. Aki Armad then also told that Saidi was now responsible for organizational matters concerning the gamelan. This had also been said by the *pantun* storyteller Arwa (see photograph in Van Zanten 2016: 419) a few days earlier.¹⁹ Later the *pantun* storyteller Ayah Anirah told that he had been responsible for the spiritual side of the gamelan since it was returned to Kadujangkung in 2002 (A2014-1: 23; A2016-1: 45). Each season

19 I assume, Aki Armad and Ayah Arwa meant the *tanggung* *jaro duabelas* Saidi, living in the nearby Kaduketer 2.

he had ‘inaugurated’ the gamelan with the offering of a chicken and prayers (*secara batin*).

When I visited Kanékés again in May-June 2014, the caretaker for the gamelan and Samin’s grandson, Anik, told me that he thought the gamelan should be kept at a more official place. I replied that this seemed a good idea, if they wanted this. However, I was no longer the owner, and I did not want to make a decision about this. It was up to the Baduy community to decide. I had only set one condition, namely that the gamelan should stay in Kanékés as it was communal property of the Baduy. At this time I also discussed this matter of where the gamelan should be stationed with the former *jaro pamaréntah* Asrab and the village secretary Sapin. Both agreed that it would be a good idea to move the gamelan to the official residence of the *jaro pamaréntah* in Kaduketug, a house that had been built when *jaro* Asrab was in office in 1992. If stationed there, it would be attached to the official house for the *jaro pamaréntah*, and it would be easier to show that it was communal property. *Jaro* Asrab suggested that it would be best if I wrote a letter about this.

This happened in 2016. On 1 July 2016 I personally handed a letter, dated 27 June 2016, to the village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés. It was directed to the village head and immediately read by Saijah and the former village secretary Sapin. In this letter I wrote about the gamelan I had handed over to Samin in July 1979

I do not want to interfere with the question where this gamelan should be stored and played in Kanékés. The most important for me is that I ask the Baduy community to look after this gamelan and play it in Kanékés village.

However, if there is confusion about the question where the gamelan should be kept, I suggest that it is at the house of the *jaro pamaréntah* (or nearby this official house in Kaduketug), because as a matter of fact the gamelan is under the jurisdiction of the *jaro pamaréntah* and other leaders of Kanékés. When stored in the official house of the *jaro pamaréntah*, it will be clearer that this gamelan does not belong to one person, one family or one Baduy hamlet, but is owned by the entire Kanékés community that is represented by the village head.²⁰

20 ‘... sebenarnya saya tidak ingin campur tangan dengan persoalan di mana gamelan ini disimpan dan dimainkan, kalau berada di Kanekes. Yang paling penting untuk saya: saya minta masyarakat Baduy untuk memelihara dan main gamelan ini di Kanekes. Akan tetapi, kalau ragu-ragu mengenai persoalan tempat di mana gamelan disimpan, maka saya mengusul supaya gamelan itu disimpan di rumah jaro pamaréntah (atau dekat rumah resmi itu di

Jaro Saijah and Sapin asked me to talk to the people in Kadujangkung and explain what I had written in my letter. The next day, we met Anik (alias Arpani) in Kadujangkung. He had been responsible for daily matters, concerning the storage and playing of the gamelan since its return to Kanékés in December 2002. Anik read the letter (slowly, but he could read it!) and he was very happy about the suggested solution. He added that the *bendé* (small gong) had not yet been returned by Narja. However, he had seen the *bendé* at Narja's house in Cipangembar in Gunung Tunggal. That afternoon we came back to Kadujangkung for attending the *pantun* recitation during the ongoing circumcision and tooth filing rituals (see Section 4.4). Anik decided to immediately go to Cipangembar to collect the *bendé*, because Narja was home and intending to attend part of the circumcision rituals in Kadujangkung. A quarter to seven that evening they were back with the *bendé*; see Figure 42. With the *bendé* returned, all gamelan instruments that I had given to jaro Samin in July 1979 were again united.

On 13 July 2016 the gamelan was carried from Kadujangkung to the house of the Kanékés village head in Kaduketug. Anik came to me and said that he had now finished his job: he was no longer responsible for this gamelan, and he seemed relieved. I thanked him for taking this task on his shoulders during several years. The musicians around *jaro* Saijah immediately started to play on the instruments and discovered some shortcomings: one of the kettles of the *keromong* instrument had a hole in it and the tuning of the kettles was not entirely correct. In addition, one of the *caning* had a broken bronze key. Moreover, there was no *gambang* xylophone and no second *gambang kendang*, the 'drum xylophone'.

After this fieldwork I left Kanékés again on 22 July 2016, with the promise that the returned gamelan would be completed with two *gambang*, one of them being a 'drum xylophone' (*gambang kendang*), and both tuned properly in the *saléndro* tone system. Moreover, one kettle of the *keromong* instrument would be replaced and also one key of a *caning* metallophone. My assistant Mumu would arrange this with the help of two musicians from the Bandung Conservatory (present-day ISBI: *Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia*). In the 1980s I already met with one of these musicians, Dody Satya Ekagustdiman (b. 1961). He is also a successful composer and I fully trusted his ability to deal with the Baduy musical instruments, as he had been in Kanékés several times.²¹ The

Kaduketug), karena gamelan itu sebenarnya berada pada yurisdiksi jaro pamarentah dan pimpinan Kanekes yang lain. Kalau disimpan di rumah resmi jaro pamarentah, maka lebih jelas bahwa gamelan in bukan dimiliki satu orang, satu keluarga, atau satu lembur Baduy, tetapi dimiliki keseluruhan masyarakat Kanekes yang diwakili oleh jaro pamarentah.'

21 See a short curriculum vitae of Dody, for instance, on <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dody_Satya_Ekagustdiman>. [Last access 9 November 2017.]



FIGURE 42 The *bendé* small gong, just returned to Kanékés from Cipangembar, Gunung Tungal, and shown by Ayah Anik and his daughter at his house in Kadujangkung, 2 July 2016

other musician was Adhiyono, who had been Dody's pupil. On 24 July 2016 Mumu and I met them in Jelekong, Bandung, and spoke about this necessary work on the gamelan. As a last contribution to the safeguarding of this gamelan, I paid the costs of 10 million Rupiah (about € 707, US\$ 780) for getting the job done.

Dody and Adhiyono worked for three days, still in the 'gamelan season' before the '*angklung* season' started, and on 11 August 2016 the job was finished. Mumu arranged a 'memorandum'/agreement (*perjanjian*) and sent me a report, dated 11 August 2016, with photographs. This memorandum summarized the position of the gamelan as a communal property and that it had been tuned and expanded with two xylophones. It was signed by Mumu, Dody and Adhiyono and a Bandung witness. For the Baduy *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah signed with two witnesses: Ayah Anirah and Saijah's neighbour Arwan. Mumu reported that he saw and heard this *keromong* being played just before the start of the *séba* on 28 April 2017. However, whereas in 2016 and 2017 the gamelan had been played just before the start of the *séba*, that was not the case at the start of the *séba* on 20 April 2018. According to Ayah Anirah it was forbidden

to play the gamelan at that time (E-mail messages from Mumu, 3 May 2017 and 15 April 2018).

5.4.1 *Commentary*

The origin of this gamelan is not clear. In contrast to what Talsim told in the interview in April 1976 (see above), it is almost certain that the instruments were made outside Kanékés, because that is the case with all other Baduy gamelan that I saw. Baduy gamelan (*keromong*) are bought outside Kanékés and not made by Baduy smiths. On 10 December 2013 the village head Daénah told me: It is impossible that the gamelan bought from Talsim in 1976 was sold because a Baduy family had debts. Such things do not happen. He added: this gamelan was first sold to Talsim by the puppeteer (*dalang*) Abah Sunarya, from Jelekong, Balé Éndah, Bandung.²² The gamelan was then used for playing at the wedding of the former secretary of Kanékés, Ukang Sukarna, and soon after this wedding it was sold to me. Talsim had bought the gamelan via Bernard Suryabrata, Daénah said (A2013: 31–32). *Jaro* Daénah's comments made sense to me. It would be possible to investigate the history of this gamelan more thoroughly, however, I will not do so here.

As already mentioned, Baduy gamelan are tuned in the *saléndro* tone system: five notes in each octave and the same interval between consecutive notes. This was confirmed by the analysis of the three Baduy gamelan that I recorded in 1976. It is unclear to me why the tuning of the gamelan I bought in April 1976 and returned in July 1979, was called *pélog* by the seller Talsim in 1976 and also by Aki Armad (alias Hamdan) in 2013. What did this exactly mean? In the 1970s I did not pay attention to the precise tuning of the gamelan and I never recorded its tuning. In August 2016 this old tuning was destroyed by the change to a *saléndro* tuning as described above. Hence I could no longer get an answer to the question whether the designation '*pélog*' indicated another tone system, or only meant 'other than *saléndro*', or 'out of tune'.

Part of the confusion around this gamelan was that in 1979 the Baduy society was upset by the resettlement project that had started in 1978. In fact, Samin was in 1979 still the official secular village head of the Baduy area, that is, of Kanékés village. However, because he moved to the resettlement village Cipangembar in Gunung Tunggal with about 80 Baduy families and no longer

22 Abah Sunarya was leader of the Pusaka Giri Harja *wayang golék* group and father of the famous puppeteer Asép Sunandar Sunarya (1955–31 March 2014) from the Giri Harja 3 group in Jelekong, Balé Éndah, Bandung. See further Sarah Andrieu's book on *wayang golék* in West Java and in particular for this family of Giri Harja puppeteers (Andrieu 2014: 110–113).

lived according to Baduy rules, the spiritual leaders did no longer recognize him as member of the Baduy society.²³ I did not understand this situation very well in 1979, otherwise I might have transported the gamelan immediately to Kanékés village, which is the 'safe' Baduy region. The ambiguity of Samin's position as village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) may have caused part of the later troubles with this gamelan that I returned to the Baduy community.

In a conference held in New Delhi, India, in 2007 I discussed this Baduy case of the returned gamelan in a presentation about prior informed consent in ethnomusicology recordings (Van Zanten 2009). One of the participants of the conference asked whether the present author's behaviour had been paternalistic, when he decided to return this gamelan to the Baduy community. I agree that this is a sensitive and important issue and needs to be taken seriously. My answer at that time was that the Baduy community could have refused the offer, if they had felt that the gift had too many negative effects. On the whole the Baduy only accept gifts without any obligation on their part. A gift might be felt as an insult. They should have the possibility to refuse a gift, as the secular village head Daénah had expressed when commenting on the government's programmes for Baduy resettlements in 1999 (see Section 2.2; Persoon 1994: 333).

In my discussions with the Baduy and migrated Baduy about the place where the gamelan was kept after 1992, the issue of paternalism was always in the background. My comment was mostly that I had given the gamelan to the Baduy community on the sole condition that it would not be sold again and disappear from Kanékés. So, the Baduy themselves should decide who would be responsible for the daily use of the gamelan and where it would be kept in Kanékés. I should not be involved in this decision. However, there seemed to be a deadlock that I still do not entirely understand: the gamelan seemed not to be played very often in Kadujangkung. According to the players this was because they did not feel very competent. At the same time, there were no plans to move it to another hamlet where it would be played.

During my visit to Kanékés in May-June 2014 the former village head and member of the family then responsible for the daily use of the gamelan in Kadujangkung, *jaro* Asrab, suggested that it would be best if I wrote a letter about moving the gamelan to the official residence of the secular village head in Kaduketug 1. I hesitated because this was in fact against my principles, but at the end I decided to write such letter (July 2016) and things started to move

23 See also Bakels and Boevink (1988: 77–88; note that they use the name Sapin, instead of Samin) and Persoon (1994: 345–6, 361) for the important role played by Samin in this resettlement process.

into the direction that I wanted, and apparently also the Baduy leaders (see above).

Postscript November 2019. So far the history of this gamelan had a happy end: the gamelan was in good order and could be used for playing since August 2016. However, that changed on 12 September 2019, when there was a big fire in the hamlet Kadu Gedé in the northern part of Kanékés, lying in between Kadujangkung and Karahkal. The same day this fire was reported in the Internet newspapers: the fire had started after noon and a few hours later it was under control. However, 37 houses and an unknown number of rice barns had been destroyed.²⁴ The next day my assistant Mumu wrote by E mail and passed on the information that he had received from Sandy, child of the *pantun* performer Anirah: all the houses of the hamlet had been destroyed, including the houses of *jaro duabelas* Saidi and *pantun* performer Anirah, but there were no casualties and the gamelan of the hamlet had survived: *goong*, *saron* and *keromong*. This was confusing information. According to my field notes *jaro duabelas* Saidi and Anirah were living in Kaduketer 2 that I had visited in 2016. A few days later Mumu answered my questions and wrote that Saidi and Anirah had moved to this new hamlet Kadu Gedé, in fact to a newly 'added hamlet' (*babakan*) of Kadu Gedé that was called Pasir Ciri. This new hamlet Pasir Ciri had been burnt.

A few weeks later, on 6 November 2019, Mumu reported that he had attended the ritual marriage of the rice to the earth (*ngarérémokeun*) in Kanékés, taking place during the night and morning of 3–4 November. His short description of this ritual with *angklung* playing was very similar to what I wrote in Section 4.2 about the 1992 rice ritual. During his visit *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah told him that the gamelan that I had returned in 1979 had been moved to Pasir Ceri/Kadu Gedé after August 2016 and it was burnt in the 12 September 2019 fire. Mumu also sent me a photograph of a burnt gong, taken by someone in Kanékés.

Here ends the life history of this Baduy *keromong*. It leaves us with some questions. According to Mumu's reports it seems that after my last visit to Kanékés in 2016, there had been different opinions as to where the gamelan should be kept and played: at the residential house of the secular village head (Saijah) in Kaduketug 1, or at the residence of the *jaro duabelas* (Saidi) in Kadu Gedé/Pasir Ciri? Mumu rightly pointed out to *jaro pamaréntah* Saijah that this choice was no business for Mumu or the present author: this gamelan had

24 See, for instance <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4703947/37-rumah-di-kampung-baduy-terbakar> [last access 10 November 2019.]

been Baduy property since 1979. Further investigation might shed some light on what happened in this last conflict about the gamelan.

5.5 Dancing

The Baduy use several words for their dancing with *angklung* and *keromong* music: *ngalagé*, *baksa*, and *topéng*. The Outer Baduy may dance with the *angklung*: *ngalagé*.²⁵ According to most informants, Inner Baduy are not allowed to dance (Karamaén, A2003-2: 4; Garna 1988: 89). In contrast, some Baduy informants said that Inner Baduy men were allowed to dance only during the *angklung* playing for the engagement ceremony of the goddess of rice (Nyi Pohaci, Déwi Asri) to the earth (Partiwi/Paratiwi). Although my information on this issue of dancing was not consistent, I am inclined to conclude that dancing with the *angklung* is allowed for Outer Baduy men, but forbidden to Inner Baduy.

Atik Soepandi and Enoch Atmadibrata (1977: 70–72) describe the *ngalagé* dancing for the whole of Banten and indicate that it is everywhere connected to the harvesting or planting of rice, but it takes different forms. The first one is dancing with the *angklung*, which ends with the drum players running around in a group in a coiling way, ‘like a snake’: the tail following the head, wherever it goes. It is called *oray-orayan*. This is similar to what I described for the dancing with the Baduy *angklung*:

In the last and fast section of the musical piece, when the *angklung* players stood still, the dancers started running around the players. They went clockwise and counter-clockwise, turning regularly. Their hands were kept low, and their bodies were bent, as if they were searching for something. They gave me the impression they were imitating birds. The dancers were followed (chased?) by the drum players’.

VAN ZANTEN 1995: 536

Djoewisno (1988: 47–48) describes this Baduy ‘dancing (*tarian*)/running around’ as ‘roaming about like people who are dizzy’. This is then followed by ‘dancing’ of two middle-aged men in opposite directions ‘in the style of people who are possessed’ (*kesurupan*) that turns into a mock fight (*pertandingan adu kekuatan*). Soepandi and Atmadibrata (1977: 70–71) give other forms of

25 Only one person, Sardi from Cikarého, Kompol, used ‘*réog*’ for singing and dancing with *angklung* (A2014-1: 12).

ngalagé in west Java, like the dancing in two rows to the *angklung* and *dogdog lojor* drums players, in which everyone in the audience may dance to the *angklung* music with drums.

Budi (2015: 229–230) mentions that during the planting of rice ceremony on dry rice fields (*ngaseuk*) in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, 40 km southeast of Kanékés, the *ngalagé* dancing is done by only one man, accompanied by the *angklung dogdog lojor*. Budi describes the movements of the dancer as *mincid*: to ‘walk’ with small steps and staying on the same spot.²⁶ There is no dancing during the similar rice ceremony for the wet rice fields (*sawah*) in Ciptagelar, although the *angklung dogdog lojor* is also used in this ceremony (Budi 2015: 246–247). At the harvest feast (*sérén taun*) in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar the *angklung dogdog lojor* is also played during the cutting of the rice (*mipit*) and people may dance to it; this is called *ngalagé*, but also *ngigel* (Budi 2015: 265; see also Budi, Soedarsono, Haryono and Narawati 2014).

Van Tricht (1929: 44, footnote 1) reported an interesting story from the geologist E. Ganz, who told him that he was not allowed to take photographs in Cibéo: ‘... during one of his excursions in the Kendeng mountains he arrived on his own in Cibéo where he started to take photographs. The Baduy guided him politely outside the hamlet while they kept dancing around him in a circle’. Maybe the word ‘dancing’ should here not be taken too literally, as these are concepts and words used by the outsider Ganz, however it remains an intriguing issue whether the *tangtu* men may dance or not.

One of the earliest reports on Baduy, including notes on language, music and dance, is from Spanoghe. In his notes taken during a visit to an Inner Baduy hamlet in 1823 he describes a dance with rattan sticks: ‘They love to dance with rattan sticks and, like other people in Banten, hit each other with these canes during the dancing’. I have heard about the existence of this dance in which two men try to hit each other with a cane or whip in Banten. In the 1940s this dance apparently occurred in several forms all over Indonesia.²⁷ Baduy never mentioned to me that they perform this dance. However, Hasman and Reiss (2012: 36) note that during *raraméan* festivities of the Inner Baduy with *angklung*: ‘There is a duel using whips in which men pair off and try to hit one another on the legs. This goes on until after midnight’.

26 Eringa (1984) gives the same description for *mincig*.

27 See, for instance, film fragments of these cane/whip dances in Kalimantan and Flores in the late 1940s in the documentaries made by the Dutch Information Services (*Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst*) in: ‘In de schaduw van de waringin – Volksvermaken; Leven en bedrijvigheid in Indonesië 1947–1949’, 10m20s – 12m53s. A copy is kept at the Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid: <<https://www.beeldengeluid.nl/>>.

Whereas in the different Sundanese *gamelan* the drums (*kendang*) are very pronounced, the Baduy *keromong* do not use drums and officially Baduy are not allowed to dance with *gamelan*. I assume that the reason for this is that drums are strongly associated with dancing and erotic feelings (see also Djatisunda 1995: 8). Henry Spiller elaborated on this in his book (2010) about the 'erotic triangle' between female vocalist/dancer, drum player and male dancer in Sundanese music. In the existing literature the female vocalist/dancer *ronggég* was mostly described in negative terms. Raffles (1817: 342) wrote that '[t]heir conduct is generally so incorrect, as to render the title of *ronggég* and prostitute synonymous'. Also Koorders was very negative about the *ronggég*. On 23 June 1864 he wrote about Rangkasbitung: '*Ronggég*, that plague for the people, are not tolerated here; the Javanese influence has only taken them to the northern part, to the Sérang region'. (Meinsma 1869: 319).

In December 2013 I noticed a change in *keromong* music: the introduction of a 'drum xylophone' (*gambang kendang*) in the ensemble just bought by the secular village head Daénah in Kaduketug. This 'drum xylophone' was added between 2003 and 2013 to the regular *keromong* ensemble that contains already a xylophone (*gambang*) playing the melodic parts; see Plate 1 in Van Zanten (2015: 119).

There is another form of dancing to *keromong* music. As mentioned in Chapter 4, during the circumcision ceremonies Inner and Outer Baduy men may dance the *baksa* dance with the accompaniment of the *keromong* ensemble. Further, officially Outer Baduy are only allowed to dance (*ngalagé*) with *angklung*. However, in current practice dancing also takes place during the playing of *keromong* for entertainment and it is done by both men and women, as we have observed in Chapter 4. This dancing is called *topéng*, and according to Eringa (1984) this is short for *ronggég topéng*. During my 9 December 2013 *keromong* recording there was rhythmic clapping of hands and a man was moving his body to the played music, again a sign of the relation between clapping, drumming ('drum xylophone') and dancing.

In January 2014 Mumu, who had assisted me on two previous journeys to the Baduy, filmed Outer Baduy men and women dancing to *gamelan* music during the wedding of Daénah's son. Officially this dancing is not allowed by the spiritual leaders of the Baduy. The major occasion for dancing is during the playing of the *angklung* for entertainment and that includes drums (Van Zanten 2015: 119–120). Further, dancing is allowed during two short periods of about five minutes in the circumcision ceremonies: *baksa*. In other parts of West Java *baksa* indicates a male dance performed by an even number of participants.

Kurnia and Sihabudin also mention the *baksa* dance (2010: 211): on the third and last evening of the circumcision ceremony, the boys that will be

circumcised the next morning were given coconut and brown [palm] sugar to eat. After eating this blessed food the boys were taken by their fathers to dance ('... *sambil diangkat oleh bapaknya dibawa menari-nari ...*'). The authors remark that this event is especially to entertain the circumcised boys and their families so that they feel happy.

See for more details on the dancing with *angklung* (*ngalagé*) my earlier article (Van Zanten 1995: 532–537). See also information and an interesting picture showing two Baduy men mock fighting (dancing?) with *angklung* accompaniment in Djoewisno (1988: 44–48). However, we need more information to get a better picture of the position of dance in and around Kanékés.

5.6 Gender Aspects and *Gendék* Ceremonial Pounding of Rice

This section will briefly raise the issue of gender equality in the Baduy community and especially with respect to music and dance. What is the role of women according to Baduy ideological views and how is it implied in public life? Is this very different from the groups around them?

Gerard Termorshuizen summarized and evaluated 19th century Dutch reports on the Baduy. He concluded that these reports presented the image of the 'noble savage', and generally reflected the idea that unfortunately, the 'aggressive and murderous Islam' spoilt the pure nature of the native people (Termorshuizen 1993: 14, 18; see also Section 3.3). In later periods the Baduy were considered to be 'authentic' and representing the 'true' and 'pure' Sundanese culture of the past. Their way of living has been considered a 'moral mirror' and also showing 'primitive' and/or 'mysterious' aspects (Wessing and Barendregt 2003: 90–91).

Baduy consider themselves to be the 'elder brothers' of the rulers north of Kanékés, their 'younger brothers', who are supposed to protect them. The Baduy ascetics with spiritual powers advise the rulers with worldly power. Berthe (1965: 222) adds that '... the principal characteristic of the elder is femininity; that of the younger, in contrast, is masculinity'. See further the discussion on the *séba* ritual, in which the Baduy show their respect and advise their 'younger brothers' on important issues, in Sections 2.4 and 6.1.

Unfortunately little has been written on the specific position and the image that outsiders constructed of Baduy women. This section only mentions a few general gender issues raised in the existing literature and then moves on to the domain of music and dance. With respect to the image of Baduy women, several times I have heard non-Baduy Indonesians saying – with some admiration – that they are more autonomous than those of the groups surrounding Kanékés.

These outsiders supported the image described by the Dutch resident of Banten, Bedding, when passing on his job to another resident (*Memorie van overdracht Resident Banten, (24 maart 1925)*). Gerard Persoon quoted from this 1925 report:

The position of women in the Baduy society ... is generally as high as with the Europeans, if not higher ... In this respect the Rawayan [Baduy] are right that they defend themselves as effectively as possible against the penetration of Islam. The Karang people [living east of Kanékés] do not have such defences and will before long be absorbed by the same religion as the one of the surrounding great masses.

PERSOON 1994: 316

The image on the relatively autonomous position of Baduy women is supported by some facts. On the organizational level Geise (1952: 26–28) mentions that the function of *jaro dangka* is hereditary along both the male and the female line, and he gives examples of this. Although the male line seems to be stronger, two examples clearly show the existence of female hereditary.²⁸ In Section 2.1 was mentioned that the most important Baduy officials cannot stay in office when their wife dies.²⁹ The official's wife is needed in rituals. This shows that in gender terms there is a reasonable balance in hereditary matters.

In her book on gender aspects in the Baduy community Permana (2001: 66–76) reports that there are three basic concepts in Baduy life that support gender equality: Ambu (literally 'mother': female principle), Nyi Pohaci (goddess of rice) and balance (*keseimbangan*); see also Permana (1999). The word *ambu* (mother) is used for female human beings, but also for heavenly rulers, and the Baduy have female ancestors, as mentioned in Section 3.2. In the yearly engagement ritual of Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri, the goddess of rice is the central

28 The second example is about a Muslim man Ki Amidin who was head of a hamlet (Gunung Telaga) outside Kanékés. He married a Baduy woman of *dangka* descent, Ambu Arpi from Karahkal, Kanékés. Because of his wife's *dangka* descent, the Baduy elders appointed Ki Amidin as *jaro dangka* of Kaduketug, after a purification ritual. Hence he became Baduy. Their daughter Arpi married a Muslim man Arpan and they had a son Sarman. Sarman married a Muslim woman. After a purification ritual Sarman became *jaro dangka* of Kamancing. Ki Amidin and Sarman from Muslim communities could be 'drawn into' the Baduy community because of the *dangka* descent of their wives (Geise 1952: 27).

29 Geise (1952: 27) mentions that, in contrast to this rule, the earlier mentioned Ki Amidin remained *jaro dangka* of Kaduketug when his wife died and when he remarried. His son from this second marriage, Arja or Ki Yaisin, also became *jaro dangka* of Kaduketug.

figure, not her (future) husband, the earth *Partiwi*; see Section 4.2. Permana (2001: 71) remarks about the ‘balance’ that: ‘This balance holds for all fundamentals of living, for the relations between human and human, human and animal, human and other creatures, as well as human and environment’. According to Permana this all shows the important place of the female principle in Baduy society.

In many ways these concepts that support gender equality according to Permana (‘female principle’, *Nyi Pohaci*, and balance) hold for the whole of Sunda, as discussed in Van Zanten (1989: 42–51, 194, and 207). In later publications I emphasized that ‘... the Sundanese arts represent female aspects of human communication ...’ (Van Zanten 1994: 86–87; 2008: 42) and stated that ‘Emotional feelings should not be expressed too overtly in daily life. That is considered to be bad behaviour, especially for men. However, a musical setting gives the opportunity to communicate these feelings’ (Van Zanten 2008: 49).

As a last remark on these general gender issues I would like to say that, like for Baduy religion, the rules dealing with gender seem to be applied in a practical, rather than in an ideological way (compare remarks about the *syahadat* in Section 2.3). Boys may weave (see Figure 21) and girls occasionally play *keromong* instruments. This topic of gender deserves a more elaborate treatment. However, I will now move on to musicians and gender and music that is exclusively performed by women.

5.6.1 *Musicians and Gender*

Most musical instruments are played by boys and men, and Outer Baduy men also sing in *pantun* stories and with the *angklung* ensemble. Women play far less instruments; only the *karinding* Jew’s harp is commonly used for courting and especially by Inner Baduy women. However, as regards music playing by women, Baduy rules seem not to be very prohibitive. In my field notes from 11–12 June 1976 I wrote that gamelan instruments are in principle only played by boys and young men, but on 12 June I noted that girls played the *caning* metallophone and the *keromong* instrument consisting of ten bronze kettles resting on a horizontal frame in the recorded Gajéboh gamelan (A1976-1977: 10, 18–19). It must be added that in 2013 and 2016 I did not see women playing one of the *keromong* instruments at the attended circumcision and wedding rituals. At these occasions women sang and danced with the *keromong* ensemble and nowadays young men join in the dancing (see Section 5.3 and Figure 16).

Like men, women also sing with the accompaniment of a few instruments, as will be discussed in Section 7.3 for *Raidah*. Female vocalist *Raida(h)* was

also mentioned in my 1995 article and there I also pointed out that the Baduy seem to have followed the mainstream Sundanese music tradition: in current practice the vocalist in gamelan music is more likely to be a woman than a man (Van Zanten 1995: 531–532, 542–543). In Section 1.2 I also mentioned that I have heard women singing softly for themselves, when doing a job. This includes lullabies and as yet we lack sound information on this.

Geise (1952: 36–37) mentions the story of the rice planting ritual as told by Ambu Sairan. She told him about the *angklung* playing and singing during the engagement (*ngarérémokeun*) part of the wedding of the rice to the earth that ‘women cannot do this, it is not customary’ (*bikang teu bisa, teu kaprah*). This rule still holds. However, women have other important tasks when it concerns the rice: they pound, cook and serve the rice. Moreover, circumcisions, weddings, and other important occasions without direct relation to the rice are announced by ceremonial pounding of the rice by married women: *gen(d)ék*. This rhythmic stamping also happens in other parts of West Java and is generally called *gondang* or *tutunggulan* (Eringa 1984; Figure 43).



FIGURE 43
Woman and children at the *gendék*
ceremonial pounding of rice.
Gajéboh, 13 June 1976

5.6.2 *Gendék*

Every hamlet has a 6-8m long wooden trough (*lesung*) in an open, roofed space (*saung lesung*) for pounding rice with a pestle (*halu*). For daily use women go there to pound rice for their family. Often there are several women pounding rice and now and then the pounding women may produce repeated rhythmic patterns that presumably also makes the work lighter: work songs, or rather work rhythms. On special occasions, playing these rhythmic patterns is done with an empty trough and used to announce an important event to the people in the neighbourhood. This is mostly done for life-cycle events, such as circumcisions and weddings, and it happens one or a few days before the event. This pounding by a group of 8–20 married women is called *gendék* and the Outer Baduy classify this rhythmic pounding as a type of music.

Film <AV10> is a sound film of *gendék* made in Babakan Kompol on 26 July 1976. The used empty trough is small and there are only eight women pounding on this occasion. When the pestle is used in an empty trough the sound will carry further than when there is rice in it. However, as already mentioned these rhythmic patterns are also produced when pounding with rice in the trough. On 18 July 2016 I recorded such pounding again and was told that this was *gendék* (A2016-2: 3), as the rice was pounded for the ceremonial meal to be held during the planned visit of Indonesia's president Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Listen to <AV11>.

We may ask whether these *gendék* rhythmic patterns are similar to the patterns produced by the drums in the *angklung* ensemble, or on the recently introduced *gambang kendang* of the *keromong* ensemble. Unfortunately, the scope of this book does not allow me to look into the details of the produced rhythmic patterns, with or without rice in the trough.

Budi (2015: 130) reports that in the Kasepuhan Ciptagelar the women perform the ceremonial pounding (*tutunggulan*) while singing and dancing (*berjogét*). This *tutunggulan* mostly happens at the time the rice is harvested and put in the rice sheds (*sérén taun*).

In this chapter I looked more closely at some musical characteristics of Baduy music. In Section 5.1 I discussed some general concepts like the tone system, musical modes and styles of playing. I concluded that for the moment we may conclude that Baduy use the *saléndro* tone system in their music (equidistant pentatonic). The tolerance for the tuning is great: precise intervals seem to be of less importance. I also concluded that for Baduy musicians, *pélog* probably in the first place means a tone system that deviates from the preferred *saléndro* system. In this chapter I also discussed some musical features of the *angklung* and *keromong* ensembles. Section 5.4 tells the story of the *keromong* set of instruments that I bought in 1976 and returned to the Baduy community in 1979. Further I discussed dancing and some gender issues. The next chapter will discuss *pantun* storytelling.

Carita Pantun Storytelling

Baduy *pantun* stories are part of the larger Sundanese oral tradition of *pantun* storytelling in west Java. The stories recount the deeds of the nobility of such old Sundanese kingdoms as Pajajaran and Galuh. This chapter discusses the Baduy version of *pantun* storytelling.¹ It summarizes earlier major publications and analyses some performance aspects of two Baduy *pantun* stories that I recorded. Although I do not concentrate on the text, I will discuss a few cultural issues arising from the texts. Baduy oral literature also includes children's and women's songs, as well as fables and myths of origin (*dongéng*) which do not involve music. These will not be discussed here. For recorded Baduy *susualan* song texts for entertainment I refer to Appendix 4 and Chapter 7.

6.1 Baduy Oral Literature in the Larger Sundanese Context

Like other groups elsewhere in the Sundanese area, the Baduy know *pantun* stories and still perform them. In fact, although the Baduy still regularly recite *pantun*, in the larger towns of West Java the recitation of *pantun* seems to have disappeared almost entirely. Nevertheless, the *pantun* stories are still known and part of this heritage lives on in other genres, among them *wawacan* singing and *Tembang Sunda Cianjuran* (Van Zanten 1989; 1993), and in film and theatre (Eringa 1949: 16–8; Kartini and others 1984: 1).

In west Java a (*carita*)² *pantun* is an epic narrative sung by a male singer who generally accompanies himself on a zither (*kacapi*), but sometimes on a two-string bowed lute (*tarawangsa*). Eringa (1949: 3) stated that the Baduy are only allowed to use the *kacapi* for accompaniment of the recitation. This is confirmed by my findings: I have never heard that the Baduy can use a *tarawangsa* or their similar *rendo* for this accompaniment. On occasions the Baduy can

-
- 1 It is based on Van Zanten 2016a, however I have removed a few sections and added new information obtained during fieldwork in July 2016 in and around Kanékés.
 - 2 *Carita* means 'story' in Sundanese. In the Baduy *pantun* recitations, the word *lalakon* is often used instead of *carita*: *Lalakon Paksi Keuling, the Story of Paksi Keuling*. Baduy and Sundanese *carita pantun* should not be confused with the Malay *pantun*, which is a specific type of short poem which occurs in many traditions of the Malay world. In Sundanese this form is called *sisindiran* or *susualan* (Van Zanten 1989: 18–21, 1993: 144). See also Chapter 7.

also perform a *pantun* story without any instrumental accompaniment as did the storytellers Sawari in 2003, Anirah in 2014 (see Section 6.4 below), and the *pantun* performers I heard during the circumcision rituals in 2016 (see Sections 4.4 and 4.5).

A *pantun* is performed in a recitational chant, occasionally alternated with melodically more elaborate songs, interspersed in the long recitatives. The rate of recitation varies from normal speech tempo to either much faster or much slower. In Van Zanten (1993) I have discussed the performance aspects of some ‘melodically more elaborate songs’ in *pantun* recitation in Bandung and the transformations undergone by these songs when they were adopted into the *tembang Sunda Cianjuran* repertoire in the nineteenth century. I have also discussed the text of the beginning (*rajah* or *rajah pamunah*) of a recorded *pantun* recitation³ by Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, in 1981, and have shown that it was remarkably similar to the text published in Eringa (1949: 138) and Pleyte (1910: 135–136).⁴ Interestingly, the *rajah* text of the recordings of *pantun* stories since the 1970s⁵ are at least four to five times longer than the *rajah* texts given in Pleyte and Eringa (Van Zanten 1993: 145–146). Below I shall show that the Baduy *rajah* texts are different to this Preanger text.

The Sundanese – and also Baduy – *pantun* contain myths and legends about the nobility of such ancient Sundanese kingdoms as Pajajaran and Galuh. Most stories deal with the hero’s period of initiation before marriage. The stories *Mundinglaya di Kusumah* and *Lutung Kasarung* are good examples of this type of tale. It is possible that the *Sulanjana* story might be a myth about the origin of rice (Pleyte 1913, *Vierde Stuk*: 1–17 (in Sundanese) and 18–35 (in Dutch)). Rice as a gift from the ‘heavenly mother’ Sunan Ambu is also an important theme in the *pantun* *Lutung Kasarung* (Eringa 1949; in Sundanese with translation into Dutch). Other Sundanese *pantun* stories are non-indigenous Islamic tales and historical tales (*babad*) from Cirebon. Weintraub (1990: 21), who investigated the musical aspects of *pantun* performances by the storyteller Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, lists stories

3 This sung beginning of a *pantun* story (*rajah*) is an invocation in which the singer invokes the protection and blessing of the gods, asking pardon for any possible mistakes he might make in his telling of the story. The Baduy *rajah* will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.5 below.

4 The text of Pleyte (1910) originated in Cirebon in the Preanger area: see the table with Pleyte’s publications of *pantun* texts in Van Zanten (2016a: 413–414).

5 See, for instance, the recordings made by Ajip Rosidi, Andrew Weintraub and myself, listed in Appendix 1 in Van Zanten (2016a: 428–429).

about the gods, like *Batara Kala*, which was used by Enjum for the purification of a person, as a fourth category.

This chapter raises the issue of the relationship between the content and context of the Baduy *pantun* to the wider category of Sundanese *pantun*. This is still rather blurred and should be investigated in more depth. So far, Eringa (1949) has given the most thorough discussion of the text and socio-cultural background of a *pantun* story and in his work he frequently refers to the Baduy. Kartini and others (1984) have presented the synopses of thirty-five and Sumardjo (2013) has presented the synopses of eighteen of the wider category of Sundanese *pantun* stories in Indonesian. Weintraub (1990: 167–197) has supplied synopses of five stories, recorded in the Bandung area, in English. Nevertheless, the most important sources for the full text of a *pantun* story are still the publications produced by C. M. Pleyte between 1907 and 1916, and those of Rosidi in the 1970s. The text analyses in Kartini and others (1984) and Sumardjo (2013) are still heavily based on these manuscripts and less on original field-work data collected by the authors. Sumardjo (2013: 3) wrote that he had never attended a *pantun* performance and had ‘only read several *pantun* stories and *pantun* transcriptions’.

Sundanese *pantun* stories are recited at such ceremonies as circumcisions, weddings or harvest celebrations. They are also narrated on the occasion of the purification (*ruatan*) of a person, or that of a house or some other object (*ruat tumbal*, see Weintraub, 1990: 14; see also Pleyte, 1910: xx-xxii; Eringa, 1949: 14–19). This statement is equally valid for the Baduy *pantun* and below I shall mention the recitation of a *pantun* story for the inauguration of a new hamlet (*nukuh lembur*) in the Baduy village Kanékés in 2014. See also Sections 4.4 and 4.5 above for *pantun* stories recited during circumcision rituals. It is said that on such occasions, the story may be recited from about eight o'clock in the evening and can last until five o'clock in the morning. However, I have not heard a Baduy recitation lasting for more than 3–4 hours. The *pantun* stories are said to come ‘from the abode of the gods’ (Eringa 1949: 38–9; Van Zanten 1993: 156) and, before the recitation begins, incense will be burnt, an offering (*sasajén*) will be placed before the player and in the *rajah*, mentioned above, he will ask permission from the gods and the ancestors to tell the sacred story.

The Baduy also have stories (*dongéng*) that are less connected to their rituals than the *pantun* stories are. Furthermore, Baduy oral literature also includes children’s and women’s songs, formal speech, magical formulae (*mantra*, *jampé*) and the songs used purely for entertainment, like the above-mentioned *sisindiran* or *susualan* (see also *Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975; Hamidimadja 1998). Pleyte (1912) presented the full text of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling*

and three Baduy fables in the original Sundanese with a Dutch translation plus comments: *Oa jeung Aul* (Oa and Aul),⁶ *Ratu Manuk* (The king of the Birds)⁷ and *Séro jeung Keuyeup* (The Otter and the Tortoise).

In this publication Pleyte (1912: 254–261) also included several short *sisindiran* poems, and the transcribed texts of two myths of origin: *Mula Nagara Baduy* (The Origin of the Baduy Community) and *Déwa Kaladri* (The God Kaladri: the big-bellied son of the highest god, Batara Tunggal). The story about the origin of the Baduy community is particularly interesting because it mentions that the Baduy are descendants of the king of Pajajaran and his followers: at the time of the Islamization of Pajajaran the king, who did not want to become Muslim, left Pajajaran with his followers and founded the hamlets Cibéo, Cikeusik and Cikartawana (Pleyte 1912: 261–266). Currently the Baduy strongly deny that they are descendants of the Pajajaran king and his followers, who supposedly fled to Kanékés when the kingdom fell to the sultan of Banten in 1579. See for a recent overview of the publications on Baduy history Wessing and Barendregt (2005) and also the remarks by Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 90–91) discussed on the first two pages of Chapter 3 above.

Geise (1952: 109–116) has also presented a few Baduy stories about the origin and organization of the Baduy society and its relationship with the outside world, particularly mentioning the very important relationship between Baduy society and the rulers of Banten in Sérang: in a classificatory sense the Baduy are the elder brothers of the rulers in the north, as related in the story of *Budak Buncireung* (Geise 1952: 116; see also Garna 1988: 48, 405–408). This relationship is reconfirmed each year in April–June when a Baduy delegation sets out on a three-day trip to offer some agricultural produce and craft products to the regent (*bupati*) of Rangkasbitung and the governor of Banten province in Sérang during the *séba* ceremony. In 1905 the *séba* delegation consisted of seven Baduy (Pleyte 1909: 494), but about a century later its size increased from about 500–600 Baduy men in 2003 to almost 2,000 in 2015. The Banten government has seized upon the opportunity to promote this ceremony, which fits in very well with its policy of making the Baduy an object of cultural tourism (*obyek wisata budaya*); see further Section 2.4 and Van Zanten (2004: 145–147).

Pantun stories are already mentioned in Old Sundanese manuscripts. The manuscript *Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian*, dating from 1518, mentions four *pantun* titles: ‘If you want to know about the *pantun* [stories]

6 *Oa* is a kind of grey monkey (gibbon) and *aul* is a fablulous animal which is supposed to resemble a monkey. It continuously spits around itself (Eringa 1984).

7 Pleyte (1912: 237, 241–243) remarked that this story about the administrative structure of the world of the birds is a reflection of the major organizational principles of Baduy society.

Langgalarang, *Banyakcatra*, *Siliwangi* [and] *Haturwangi*, ask the *pantun* singer⁸ (Atja and Danasasmita 1981: 14, 40). These four titles are not mentioned in the list of thirty-nine titles supplied by Eringa (1949: 9–13) – in addition to the *Lutung Kasarung* story which is presented in his book – nor in the list of twenty-six titles mentioned by Rosidi (1973: 110–1), seventeen of which were not included in Eringa’s list. Altogether this adds up to almost sixty different stories. On the Internet, I have seen one list which contains 127 titles of *pantun* stories, but for the moment it will be safer to restrict the number of known at present as *pantun* stories to about sixty.

Basing himself on De Haan (1910–12, Vol.2: 287), Eringa (1949: 7) concludes that the earliest printed remark about the existence of *pantun* stories was made in a report by Abraham van Riebeeck (later Governor-General of the Dutch Indies) in 1704: ‘In the evening before and during dinner we had Javanese music about Ratu Pajajaran [the king of Pajajaran]. ...’⁹ Spanoghe (1838: 303) mentions that the (Inner) Baduy are ‘only allowed to recite *pantun* stories (*pantong*), singing a song in which a story of long ago is told’.¹⁰

In their book on three Old Sundanese poems, Noorduynd and Teeuw (2006: 10–11, 278–281) briefly discuss the relationship between the *pantun* tradition and the written Old Sundanese poetry. As do the ancient written texts, the *pantun* singer favours an octosyllabic verse line and ‘Both types of texts bear a formulaic character; especially the *pantun* sung by Baduy bards contain a number of formulas or formulaic expressions, identical or similar to those found in Old Sundanese poems ...’ They also point out that there is a close correspondence between the introductory part of a text in Old Sundanese manuscripts and the sung introduction (*raja*) of the *pantun*, the invocation in which the singer asks for the protection and blessing of the gods in the event of any possible mistakes he might make when telling the story. Section 6.5 below will briefly discuss a few issues mentioned in the recited texts of the two Baduy *raja* which I recorded.

6.2 Baduy *Pantun* Stories

The annotated list of *pantun* titles compiled by Eringa (1949: 9–13) does include *pantun* stories which had been stated earlier by Meijer (Jacobs and

8 *Hayang nyaho di pantun mah: Langgalarang, Banyakcatra, Siliwangi, Haturwangi; prèpantun tanya.*

9 *’s Avonts voor en onder ’t eeten hadden wij ’t Javaens musijq van Ratoe Padjadjaran ...*

10 [The (Inner) Baduy] ‘... *mogen niet anders zingen dan Pantongs (een zang waarin eene of andere geschiedenis van lang verledene tijden verhaald wordt).*’

Meijer 1891: 135) to belong to the Baduy repertoire. Meijer listed ten Baduy *pantun*, their ‘entire repertoire’, which were still being performed and he had heard from Baduy performers whose the names are given:

Jasini performed:	<i>Bima Wayang, Gajah Lumantang, Kuda Gandar;</i>
Yasti performed:	<i>Kuda Wangi, Langga Sari, Radén Tegal, Ranggah Séna;</i>
Sarsimin performed:	<i>Paksi Ke(u)ling, Panambang Sari;</i>
Anonymous performed:	<i>Kidang Panandri.</i>

A summary of each of these ten stories, considered to be specific to the Baduy, is attached by Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 153–166). Meijer also gave five titles of *pantun* which were known to the Baduy bards but could no longer be performed: *Badak Singa, Ciung Wanara, Kidang Pananjung, Lutung Kasarung* and *Matang Jaya*. Meijer stated that only a few Baduy, who belonged to different families, could recite *pantun* stories (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 135). He also remarked that, beyond the Baduy area, there were no *pantun* performers in Banten, the westernmost region of Java. Other *pantun* performers could only be found to the east of Kanékés in the Preanger area, the mountainous area of west Java situated roughly between Bogor and Ciamis.

Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 143) pointed out that most male heroes of the *pantun* stories bear an honorific title which is the name of an animal: Badak (rhinoceros), Ciung (*béó*, a kind of blue-black starling which can be taught to speak), Gagak (crow), Gajah (elephant), Galudra (a mythical bird; Indonesian: *garuda*), Kidang (small deer), Kuda (horse), Lutung (black monkey), Munding (buffalo), Naga (mythical snake), Paksi (bird), Ranggah (deer) or Singa (lion). They added that the name of heroines is often preceded by *Lénggang* (‘brightly shining’).

At this point, I would like to make a few additional remarks about these honorific titles. Cloud (*méga*) in combination with a name is frequently found in *pantun* stories, for instance, the story of Paksi Keuling. This story also tells of a hero called Méga Kumendung, that is, ‘Cloud which protects with its shade.’¹¹

11 *Mendung* means ‘dark clouds’, ‘clouded’, ‘overcast’, used for the sky, and also metaphorically for a person’s face. It is in this sense it occurs in the first line of the *pantun* text given by Eringa (1949: 138): *Bul kukus mendung ka manggung*, ‘I burn incense, in dark clouds rising’ (see also Section 6.5 below). However, *mendung/ngabendung* can also mean ‘to screen off shade’, ‘overshadow’, and in this respect Coolsma (1884) mentions as an example ‘an eagle gliding in the air’ which ‘obscures the sun’. Bearing this in mind, the name Méga Kumendung might be translated as ‘the cloud which protects [us from the sun] by its shade’, possibly referring to a king/hero who mediates between the gods and the king’s

'Cloud' also occurs in women's names, for instance, Nyi Méga Langlayang Buuk Lenggang Larang Kancana. The names of plants, like *saninten* (edible chestnut) in Saninten Kancana, *rinu* (kind of pepper plant, *piper cubeba*) in Rinu Wayang, Rinu Rarang and Rinu Kasih, *kembang* (flower) in Kembang Panarikan and *pucuksari* (opening flower) in Pucuksari Ratna Wentang are sometimes used in women's names. Also associated with the names of women are objects specific to the female world, for instance, *sumur* (well) in Sumur Bandung (see Kartini and others 1984: 28, 48, 53, 66, 68, 80, 109). This list is certainly not exhaustive, but to delve any deeper here is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Although nowadays most Baduy stories are also not unfamiliar in other parts of west Java, a comprehensive discussion of the differences in content and performance still remains to be done. Kartini and others (1984) supplied the structure and a summary of thirty-five Sundanese *pantun* stories taken from the literature. As some of these are variant versions of the same story, in fact they have actually supplied twenty-seven different in total. Although Kartini and others mentioned that fourteen in this set of thirty-five stories are categorized as 'from Banten' (Kartini and others 1984: 10), they did not give a precise indication of what they consider a 'Baduy *pantun*' to be.¹² Pleyte has stated that *Badak Pamalang* may have been a Baduy story (Pleyte 1916: 537, Eringa 1949: 9) and he also mentioned that he transcribed the story *Paksi Keuling* directly from a performance given by the Baduy storyteller Japar/Dascin (Pleyte 1912; see Section 6.3 below).

Eringa (1949: 8–9) was fairly critical of Meijer's summaries of the ten *pantun* stories in Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 153–166): he considered these too short and also postulated that much information had just not been obtained, probably because the Baduy did not want to part with this. Eringa pointed out that the long *pantun* stories given by Pleyte about twenty years later seem to confirm the suspicion that the short versions recorded by Meijer were incorrect renderings. He also cast doubts on Meijer's remarks that the stories *Lutung Kasarung* and *Ciung Wanara* were no longer performed: as these two stories belong to the most sacred of the repertoire, it was far more likely that the Baduy simply did not want to disclose their contents to an outsider. My audio recording of the *Lutung Kasarung* story told by the Baduy storyteller Sajin in January 1977 (see below) corroborates Eringa's criticism. After recording the *pantun* story,

subjects/the hero's followers. I am grateful to Clara Brakel who referred me to Coolsma's dictionary for *kumendung*, although I remain entirely responsible for the interpretation of Coolsma presented here.

12 In the 1980 report on which this publication is based, they used the category 'Banten/Baduy' on page 24.

I was told by the Outer Baduy Talsim, who accompanied the Outer Baduy storyteller Sajin, that *pantun* stories should be considered to be part of ‘religion’ (*agama*) and not ‘art’ (*kesenian*) (Van Zanten 1995: 530), adding that I had obtained the sanction of the Baduy to make this recording.

During my fieldwork among the Baduy, usually I only managed to obtain limited and conflicting information about which Baduy *pantun* stories are still performed. However, on 2 April 2003 I did gather some interesting information from the former Baduy musician Usman and on 5 April 2003 from the Inner Baduy Karamaén.¹³ The information from Usman and Karamaén proved to be consistent, as both of them told me that the three most important stories were *Raja Lumintang*, *Langga Sari* and *Lutung Kasarung*. The other stories are used less often. The *Langga Sari* story, which takes about six hours to perform, is used for ‘curing the rice’ (*pengobatan padi*), that is, to protect it from diseases and insects,¹⁴ and when moving into a new house. The *Raja Lumintang* story, which takes two nights to perform, is used for such celebrations as marriages and circumcisions. Karamaén stated that the *Lutung Kasarung* story, which takes three to four hours to perform, is an ‘Outer Baduy story’, used for marriages, but that it is not performed in the Inner Baduy area.¹⁵ Usman said that the *Lutung Kasarung* story was suitable for ‘everyday’ (*sehari-hari*) happenings, which means that it could be used for many purposes.

Usman added that a *pantun* recitation might last for just a few hours. For instance, the ‘curing’ of the rice in the Inner Baduy area takes three to four hours *pantun* performance. However, a recitation can also take the whole night (eight-nine hours) with just a short break of half-an-hour for a meal. Moreover, if the story is too long to be recited in one night, it will be told in parts over several nights. This breaking up into parts also occurs in the performance of longer *pantun* (and *wawacan* and *wayang*) stories told in the Priangan: the entire story can take two or three nights to perform.

On 2 April 2003, the *pantun* singer Sawari told me that *Raja Lumintang* was the longest story and took him three nights to perform. The shortest story was

13 Usman is of Inner Baduy descent. He has been living in the resettlement hamlet Cipangembar since 1978 and therefore no longer belonging to the Baduy community. Usman is very knowledgeable about Baduy music and I interviewed him several times between 1992 and 2014. Karamaén lives in the Inner Baduy hamlet Cibéo. He is also very knowledgeable about music. See further Appendix 3.

14 Djatisunda (1995: 9) mentions that the stories from the *pantun* Linggasari [*Langga Sari*?] are often used as medicine for the rice.

15 This contradicts what Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 83) wrote, namely that this story *Lutung Kasarung*, especially in the Inner Baduy area, belongs to the sacred ones (*tergolong sacral*), because it tells about how to look after the rice.

Paksi Keuling and took three hours to perform. Sawari considered the *Lutung Kasarung* story was too long for one night. At the inauguration (*nukuh lembur*) of the new hamlet Campaka, Kanékés, which I attended in 2014, a *pantun* recitation of the story of *Langga Sari*, was told for two-and-a-half hours on the night of Wednesday 4 June– early morning Thursday 5 June, 2014 (see Section 6.4 below).

Pantun singer Anirah said that the *pantun* story *Buyut Orényéng* was used for asking protection when going for a hunt. It should be performed at least once a year and at a location where two rivers meet (A2016-1: 20).¹⁶ According to a neighbour of Anirah in Kaduketer 2 a section of about five minutes from the *Buyut Orényéng* story would be performed during the circumcision ritual, when the boys (and girls?) are ceremonially bathed in the river, just before they will be circumcised in the morning of the third day (*bubaran*, A2016-1: 38; see also Sections 4.4 and 4.5 about circumcisions in 2016). This was later partially denied by Anirah: it is a section of the *pantun* story *Langga Sari* that will then be performed.¹⁷ According to Anirah the *Langga Sari* story consists of two parts: *Langga Sari Matang Wangi* that is mostly used for the curing of rice, and *Langga Sari Matang Jaya* that is used for weddings and circumcisions (A2016-1: 43–44). Hence the *Matang Jaya* story mentioned by Jacobs and Meijer (see above) most probably is a section of the *Langga Sari* story.

When asked, Ayah Anirah also commented on the other *pantun* stories mentioned by Jacobs and Meijer. According to Anirah the *Gajah Lumantang* was probably *Raja Lumantang*, a story that he knew about, but that he could not perform himself. This story tells about life after death, what human beings can expect after they die (compare end of Section 4.6). In contrast to what Karamaén and Usman told me, Anirah said that this story was not often performed. When performing the storyteller has to sit a little lower than the veranda on which the people sit, who attend his performance. Anirah added that currently such houses with a special place for the performer are rare (A2016-1: 42). The story *Kidang Panandri (Jaya)* mentioned by Jacobs and Meijer was the same as *Raja Lumantang*, and mainly sung with the Inner Baduy. The story *Kuda Gandar* was part of the story *Langga Sari*. Anirah knew *Kuda Wangi* as the normal story (*dongéng*) *Sang Ratu*, but not as a *pantun* story that is recited.

Ayah Anirah's made an intriguing remark about the story *Radén Tegal*, mentioned by Jacobs and Meijer. He knew the title, but could not perform this story

16 In July 2016 both Anirah and Karamaén said that 'orényéng' means 'bad, not good, mad' (half human – half animal?; A2016-1: 40, 47).

17 This may be the episode of *Béngkong séda sakti*, 'the sacred person who carries out the circumcision', taken from the *Langga Sari* story, mentioned in Section 4.4.

himself. This story was used in the *kawalu* fasting months or when a woman was over time with her pregnancy. Anirah told that in Cikeusik there may still be storytellers who can perform this story, but it could also be that this knowledge has disappeared with the older teachers (A2016-1: 43–44).

6.3 *Pantun* Texts and Audio-Visual Recordings since 1905

While he was employed in Batavia (Jakarta) in the 1900s and 1910s, Cornelis Marinus Pleyte (1863–1917) took the opportunity to study the oral literature of the Sundanese, including the Baduy. Without any doubt Pleyte is one of the main sources for *pantun* recitations in the past (see also Eringa 1949: 7–9). Interestingly Pleyte also paid attention to the music played when a *pantun* was being performed and also supplied some information about his methodology and the social setting of the performance in his publications. He heard Baduy *pantun* performers on a number of occasions. For instance, in Pleyte (1907: 6) he writes about the performances of Sundanese *pantun* which he attended in the Banten region, including some by Baduy performers: ‘Excellent was of course the elder (*kokolot*) from Cibéo, one of the Inner Baduy hamlets. We were able to listen to his [*pantun*] singing in Sérang for four nights; he sang the genuine, unadulterated ancient story’.

Pleyte’s main Baduy informant for the oral literature of the Baduy was Japar, formerly called Dascin (see photograph of him in Pleyte 1912: 214), a former Inner Baduy and son of a high-ranking official (*girang seurat*) of Cikeusik, who became Muslim and lived at the Regent’s court in Sérang. On the basis of his personal observations and his discussions with Japar, Pleyte (1912: 217) reported that: ‘Baduy are loath to allow strangers to study their customs (*adat*)’. After he had perceived Japar’s reluctance to talk about the Baduy way of life, Pleyte proceeded more circumspectly. He began by asking Japar to tell about his travels in west Java, beyond the village of Kanékés. This request presented no problem and gradually the road was paved for the transcribing of some Baduy stories, including the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* as recited by Japar (Pleyte 1912: 215–221).

As far as I know, at that time (about 1905–1915) Pleyte did not use any audio recordings for his transcriptions of *pantun* texts. Presumably in the description of his methods (Pleyte 1912: 217–221, 291) he is referring to his collaboration with Japar between 11 June and 10 September 1911.¹⁸ Japar recounted his travels

18 On the basis of Pleyte’s letter of 10 September 1911 to Snouck Hurgronje, kept at the Leiden University Libraries Or.8952 A: 831, in which he wrote about his fieldwork on Baduy *pantun*.

through west Java, told stories and also ‘plucked his *kacapi* and sang about the vanished greatness of his people tirelessly night after night’ (p. 218). As he talked and recited, Pleyte ‘kept writing down’ what Japar said (p. 219). Although not explicitly stated, I assume that afterwards Pleyte did check his notes with the performer Japar, as he did remain in contact with him.¹⁹ Most probably the music transcription of the beginning of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* by ‘a very gifted female pianist’ whose name is not given ‘at her explicit request’ was accomplished in a similar manner (see transcription of the music ‘Lagoe pantoen – Pantoen-melodie’ on the four unnumbered pages in Pleyte 1912, after p.425). In the case of the other *pantun* texts, Pleyte relied either on performances which he had attended or on existing manuscripts, such as those from Tegal (Pleyte 1916). Only the story mentioned in Pleyte (1912) was based on the recitation of a (former) Baduy; none of the other stories had been recited either by a Baduy or someone from Baduy descent. See for a list of the published texts of *pantun* stories by Pleyte Table 1 in Van Zanten 2016a: 413–414)

As said, the only complete story text performed by a (former) Baduy was *Paksi Keuling* published in 1912. Pleyte (1916: 56) remarked that, only in the two *pantun* manuscripts (*Rangga Sawung Galing* and *Deugdeugpati Jayaperang*) from Tegal, situated about 70 km east-south-east of Cirebon, is there any indication about where the performer commences the melodically more elaborate singing. In these two *pantun* texts from Tegal, Pleyte gave a few titles of the melodies. These given melodies are: *Dayungan* (‘Rowing’, p.65), *Mojang Dandang* (‘The girl dresses herself before departure’, p. 69, 474), *Ponggawa Nyurung* (‘the officials push’, p. 84, 487), *Silir* (a kind of dance, p. 93, 482, and 489) and *Tonggérét Pakuan* (‘The cicada of Pakuan’, p. 472). Discussing the Priangan tradition, Sukanda (1978: 9–10) described these ‘songs’, which alternate with the recitation of the story, as *lagu panganteb pantun*, that is, ‘songs to intensify the (beauty of the) *pantun*’. In the first half of the nineteenth century, they were one of the sources for songs in the Tembang Sunda Cianjuran repertoire (Van Zanten 1989: 21–23, 1993: 148).

I was particularly interested in the letters between Pleyte and Snouck Hurgronje, because of the wax cylinder recording of the commencement (*raja*) of a *pantun* recitation made by Snouck Hurgronje around 1905 (see below). Did Pleyte help to find the performer for this recording, not to mention the other

19 In a letter to Snouck Hurgronje dated 30 September 1912 (Leiden University Libraries, Or. 8952 A: 832, page 8), Pleyte wrote that he had just received a letter in which Japar had written about another Baduy, who had left Kanékés and had just been awarded a diploma for passing the ‘second class’ of the School for Indigenous People (*Inlandsche School*) in Rangkasbitung.

Sundanese recordings made by Snouck Hurgronje at that time (see Van Zanten *accepted for publication*)? Did Snouck Hurgronje and Pleyte discuss the possible use of the phonograph for recording some more *pantun* parts – on average about three minutes long – on wax cylinders?²⁰ Unfortunately, the letters from Pleyte to Snouck Hurgronje in the period between 27 April 1905 to 13 January 1915²¹ say nothing whatsoever about audio recordings. No letters from Snouck Hurgronje to Pleyte have been preserved in this collection.

In the 1980s I recorded four *pantun* stories (one story recorded twice) as recited by Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, who followed the Priangan tradition (Van Zanten 1993). I only recorded (parts of) two Baduy *pantun* stories: *Lutung Kasarung* in 1977 and *Paksi Keuling* in 2003. These recordings were both made outside the Baduy village Kanékés. By 1992 several *pantun* bards were in fact willing to make an audio recording, but only outside Kanékés. I was then told that, within Baduy territory, the recitation of *pantun* stories can only take place within a ritual context (Van Zanten 1995: 521). Although *pantun* stories were not my main concern, I did continue to ask permission to record a *pantun* in ritual context in Kanékés in both 2003 and 2013, but this was never granted. Only in 2014 and 2016 was I invited to attend *pantun* performances in ritual context in Kanékés, but I had to remain outside the house in which it took place and was not allowed to make any recordings (see Section 6.4 below and Sections 4.4 and 4.5 above).

In this section, I would like to discuss the audio(visual) recordings of *pantun* in west Java in general and put the very limited number of Baduy recordings available in that perspective. In 1993 I wrote, ‘As far as I know there are no audio recordings of *pantun* before the 1970s. Dutch scholars like Pleyte and Meijer wrote down only the texts of *pantun* around 1900’. (Van Zanten 1993: 148). I was wrong. Probably the earliest audio recording of the beginning of a *pantun* story was made in Jakarta (?) by Snouck Hurgronje on a wax cylinder around 1905. On Cylinder I-10, kept at the Leiden University Libraries, is written ‘Djampé njawer. Lagoe Galoeh’ (*Jampé nyawér. Lagu Galuh*). It is almost certain that the male performer is singing the introductory song to a *pantun* story (*rajah*). The text from this (digitalized) old recording is very difficult to catch, but it is clear that the gods are being entreated for their forgiveness, as the beginning

20 Like the *rajah*, the melodically more elaborated sections (*lagu*) in the *pantun* recitation would seem to have been suitable for such 2–4 minute recordings on wax cylinders. Weintraub (1990) presents a musical analysis of several *lagu* sung by Enjum from Ujungberung in the 1980s.

21 Cod. Or. 8952, A: 830–834, to be found on the Internet of the Leiden University Libraries, <https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl>.



FIGURE 44 Hands of Yanci from Cikadu, Kanékés, who is playing *kacapi* zither when recorded in Kompol by the author, 27 July 1976

runs: 'I beg forgiveness/from above, from the ancestors/the song of the gods descends/of the gods and goddesses [...] I beg forgiveness'.²² Musically the recitation definitely resembles the recitation of *pantun* stories (Van Zanten *accepted for publication*).

In the 1970s Ajip Rosidi recorded thirty *pantun* stories on tape and transcribed and published the texts of about twenty stories, including three Baduy stories (Rosidi 1973).²³ In his introduction to the *pantun* story *Buyut Orényéng* (Sajin 1974), Rosidi is very critical about the quality of the recorded stories performed by the Baduy bards Sajin (two stories) and Yanci (one story). He did not include a summary of the *Buyut Orényéng* story in this publication because 'the summary of the story *Lutung Kasarung* [Sajin 1973] that I made the other day was more based on a reconstruction in my own imagination. Many parts

22 'Pun! Sapun!/Ka luhur ka sang rumuhun/Ka handap tembang batara/Sang batara sang batari [...] Amit ampun ...' Compare also Pleyte (1907: 30) who gives similar lines in the *raja* of a *pantun* story.

23 It is not clear where these important audio recordings are kept at present (November 2019) and what the quality of the recordings is after some forty-five years. The most likely places seem to be either the personal archive of Ajip Rosidi or the University Library in Leiden/KITLV collection. However, neither Ajip Rosidi nor Leiden University Libraries in Leiden know the present location of the tapes.

that did not connect, or were not logical, I made logical and related. Surely, such work cannot be validated!

In the 1980s, when I allowed Mr Moh. Kosasih Atmadinata († 2002) listen to my recording of the *Lutung Kasarung* story performed by Sajin in 1977, he also said that he could not make much sense out of the story. It is possible that this difficulty arises because ‘the sentence structure of the Baduy language is different to that of ordinary Sundanese and is therefore difficult for people from outside the Baduy area to understand’ (Hamidimadja 1998: 18).

Difficulties in understanding the Baduy properly were reported by Blume as early as 1822. In his journey to the Baduy area, he was accompanied by a Sundanese guide, ‘a sub-*demang* [kind of police officer], who had learned a little of the [Baduy] dialect through his earlier contacts’. This guide had ‘difficulties in translating the answers given by the Baduy into Malay with the requisite accuracy’ (Blume 1993 [1822]: 37). Van Hoëvell (1845: 409–410) confirmed the difference between the Baduy language and the surrounding Sundanese by citing Blume, adding the remark: ‘It is Sundanese as spoken in the mountains of Banten, but mixed with words which are not used by the other population’.

Audio(-visual) recordings, especially the digitalized copies which can easily be played repeatedly without affecting the quality of the recording, can be a great help in solving the problem of our still limited understanding of *pantun* texts and music. Undoubtedly there are audio or audio-visual recordings of Baduy music, possibly including *pantun*, in personal archives in Indonesia. In the 1990s, I did hear recordings of the *kacapi* player Yanci (Figure 44) at the home of the late Enoch Atmadibrata (1927–2011). Furthermore, the late Atik Soepandi (1944–2004) also told me that he possessed recordings of Baduy music. As should the Rosidi recordings from the 1970s, before the reels and cassette tapes have decayed entirely and become useless, these audio (visual) recordings should be digitalized and kept safely in a public library or some other public institution. A table with the audio/audio-visual recordings of the Sundanese *pantun* of which I am aware is presented in Van Zanten (2016a: 428–429).

The following sections, besides talking about some anthropological and musicological aspects of my own audio-visual recordings of Baduy *pantun*, also briefly discuss a few passages from the beginning (*raja*) of these recordings. Facing methodological difficulties similar to those about which Ajip Rosidi spoke, I hope that my attempts will inspire others to do further research and deepen our understanding of the Baduy *pantun*. Some of the *pantun* texts discussed in Section 6.5 were taken from the transcriptions supplied by Rosidi’s project mentioned above, like Sajin (1974). If not stated otherwise, the texts were transcribed from the recordings by the present author. I mainly used Erin-ga (1949; 1984) and sometimes the translations by Pleyte to check the (many)

Baduy words that I did not know. I then consulted Baduy experts, mainly the *pantun* performer Anirah in 2016. I also discussed the texts with my assistant Mumu; for him the texts were also difficult to understand.

6.4 Own Recordings and Observations of *pantun* Storytellers²⁴

My first audio recording of a Baduy *pantun* story was made in January 1977. After I had made my first recordings of Baduy music in and around Kanékés in June and July 1976, in September of that year a group of Baduy came to my house in Jakarta, where I recorded the *angklung* ensemble, and the *calung* and *gambang* xylophones. I learned that the *angklung* could not be played in Kanékés in June and July that year, as the season for *angklung* was closed at that time and had opened again 20 August 1976. I had told my Baduy contact Talsim from Gajéboh that I was also interested in recording a *pantun* story.

In the afternoon of Saturday 8 January 1977, Talsim arrived at my house in Jakarta with the *pantun* bard Sajin, who was going to perform the *Lutung Kasarung* story. Sajin said that he then was about fifty years old (that is: born around 1927) and that he lived in the Outer Baduy hamlet Cisadané, about 1½ – 2km northwest of Cikeusik. Sajin was the teacher of another Baduy bard Yanci, who lived in Cikadu, about 2 km north of Cisadané. In July 2016 the storyteller Anirah told that Sajin was also known as Aki Janggot ('Grandfather Beard') and that he was one of the six *pantun* teachers at his time (see further Van Zanten 2016a: 418, footnote 29). For this performance Sajin had borrowed a small Baduy *kacapi* with eleven strings, made of white *lamé* wood, from Bernard Suryabrata. Ajip Rosidi has said that in August 1971 Sajin refused to play on a zither supplied by the organizing Proyek Penelitian Pantun dan Folklor Sunda, because it was not a *kacapi*, but 'a *siter* [flat zither], which had more than nine strings'; he only used *kacapi pantun* with nine strings (Sajin 1973: 11). Possibly Sajin also had problems with the fact that the flat *siter* was not white, but varnished (brownish-yellow; see also Section 7.4).

After having a meal together, we began preparations for Sajin's performance. Sajin had asked for a white cloth to be erected like a tent or a baldachin (*lawon bodas*) under which he would recite the story. One of our bed sheets was used to construct the *lawon bodas* baldachin. A towel rack on a table and two music stands in front formed the somewhat unstable supporting structure for the white bed sheet. Talsim and Sajin had not brought an offering (*sasajén*) with

24 See for a more detailed account Van Zanten (2016a: 417–423).

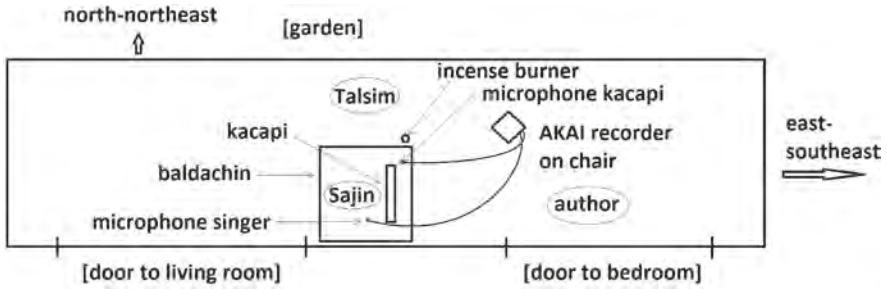


FIGURE 45 Position of the *pantun* bard Sajin on the floor under a white 'baldachin', facing east-south-east when recording the *Lutung Kasarung* story. Jakarta, 8–9 January 1977

them and had not asked me to supply the components of an offering, among them different kinds of rice, sugar, biscuits, cigarettes and sweets. *Pantun* performers whom I recorded later always had an offering in front of them before commencing the recitation, including the former Baduy Sawari (below; see also Van Zanten 1993: 145, 2012: 130.)

This 'baldachin' was placed on our veranda and as he performed Sajin sat on the ground under this baldachin with the zither on his lap. The incense burner (*padupaan*) was placed on the ground between Sajin and Talsim: see Figure 45.

The performance began at 20.20. Incense was burnt and Sajin murmured a prayer (*jampé*) for about 2–3 minutes. Then he began to sing the introduction (*raja*) to the *pantun* recitation which is more or less the same for all *pantun* stories sung by a particular singer. The beginning of the Baduy *raja* will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.5 below. Once in a while Sajin smoked, drank coffee and adjusted the tuning of the *kacapi*. At the end of the performance, Talsim said that after the end of January the *pantun* and all types of music could not be played for three months, during the fasting period (*kawalu*) in the Baduy months Kasa, Karo and Katiga. A short summary in English of the *Lutung Kasarung* story in the non-Baduy, Priangan, version may be found in Van Zanten (2016a: 430–432).

My second audio-visual recording of a Baduy *pantun* was in 2003 and it was the story Paksi Keuling recited by Sawari (ca. 1948–1 June 2016). He had been an Inner Baduy, living in an Outer Baduy hamlet Cikadu, before he migrated to the area outside Kanékés in the late 1970s. Consequently he no longer belonged to the Baduy community at the time of recording.²⁵ Although he could play the *kacapi*, as I had recorded his playing and singing with *kacapi* in 1992

25 See on this situation Van Zanten (2004: 137–141), and Sections 2.2 and 2.3.

(Van Zanten 1995: 530–531, 541), on this particular evening Sawari did not accompany himself on a *kacapi*.

On Wednesday evening 2 April 2003 between 20.10 and 21.50, Sawari performed part of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* in the house of another former Baduy Nalim in Margaluyu, Rangkasbitung.²⁶ Sawari stopped the performance regularly and began to explain the story. Before the recitation commenced, incense was burnt, an offering (*sasajén*) was made and a magical formula (*jampé*) was murmured. For the offering Sawari had asked us to buy the following ingredients: 2 litres uncooked rice, 1 kilogram white sugar, 5 bags of tea, 5 eggs, 9 bags of coffee, 5 buns, 1 packet Marie biscuits, 1 bottle with *limun* (kind of soft drink), 3 wafers, 5 pieces of *Sukro* (*krupuk*, chips, usually made with shrimps), 10 pieces of *Sukro kecil* (small *krupuk* chips) and peppermints. These ingredients were bought in the local shop for a total of Rp 23,000 (about € 2.50, US\$ 2.72).

Sawari had also asked for some yellow cooked rice (*nasi kuning*) and a packet with ten cigarettes, which were supplied. Only some of these ingredients of the offering were placed on the ground as he recited (see Picture 1 in Van Zanten 2012: 130). For instance, the white sugar, the cooked and uncooked rice, and the bags of coffee and tea were missing. As usual, the offerings were taken home by the performer after the performance.

I recorded and documented this performance on minidisk and digital video camera. Unfortunately my video recordings turned out very dark. One of my Leiden students, Nanni Tempelman, who also recorded this recitation on digital video, allowed me to use her film material for analysis. Also present was Mumu Zaénal Mutaqin, who assisted me in transcribing our discussions from the recording on minidisk; see also Section 3.4–3.5. A short summary in English of a Baduy version of the *Paksi Keuling* story, based on existing literature, can be found in Van Zanten (2016a: 432–434).

6.4.1 *Direction that the Pantun Performer Should Be Facing*

Sawari told that the direction the performer should face depends on the night on which he performs, if the performance is for planting rice or curing the rice from diseases, that is, connected to the goddess of rice Déwi Asri.²⁷ This recitation took place on Wednesday night (*malam Kemis*). The storyteller Sawari faced south-west and did not fully face the audience in the room (see Picture 1 in Van Zanten 2012: 130). When sowing rice in the daytime on

26 Nalim is the eldest son of the former Baduy secular village head, Samin, who migrated to Cipangembar in 1978. See also Section 5.4.

27 The last part of this sentence is important, as discussed below, and was unfortunately not mentioned in my article on Baduy *pantun* (Van Zanten 2016a: 421–423).

TABLE 8 Direction that the *pantun* performer is facing in relation to the night on which he is performing for planting rice and curing the rice from diseases

<i>Direction</i>	<i>Night on which the pantun story is told according to</i>		<i>Day of planting rice (Sawari 2003)</i>	
	Sajin 1977	Sawari 2003	Sumardjo (2013:8)	
North		Friday night/ <i>malam</i> Saptu	Friday night	Saturday/Saptu
Northeast		Saturday night/ <i>malam</i> Ahad	Saturday night	Sunday/Ahad
East	Saturday night	Sunday night/ <i>malam</i> Senén	not used	Monday/Senén
Southeast		Monday night/ <i>malam</i> Salasa	Wednesday night	Tuesday/Salasa
South		Tuesday night/ <i>malam</i> Rebo	Monday night	Wednesday/Rebo
Southwest		Wednesday night/ <i>malam</i> Kemis	Tuesday night	Thursday/Kemis
West		Thursday night/ <i>malam</i> Jumaah	Thursday night	Friday/Jumaah
Northwest		not used	not used	not used

Thursday (*dinten Kemis, hari Kamis*), Baduy also have to commence sowing in the south-western corner of the field and proceed in a clockwise direction, the direction in which the mythical snake moves (*gilir naga*). Sawari told that the relationship between the day and direction the storyteller should be facing is as presented in Table 8.

Garna (1988: 261, 264) gives a similar relationship between day and ‘appropriate’ direction to that obtained from Sawari in 2003, except in his case north was the direction omitted; instead, the direction north-west was used on Friday night/Saturday. In his book on symbols in Sundanese *pantun* stories, mentioned above, Sumardjo (2013: 8) does not explain how he obtained his information on Baduy *pantun* which differs considerably from my field data and those of Garna, and this does not make sense to me. In the schedule, Sajin is facing east on Saturday night (*malam Minggu*), which he and Talsim had said

was the right direction in 1977. Following Sawari's scheme he should have been facing north-east on Saturday night.

Sawari's scheme, including the relation with the planting of rice, has been confirmed by several other Baduy. First of all the storyteller Anirah confirmed this *gilir naga* scheme on 10 July 2016 for *pantun* storytelling concerning the rice. Karamaén from Cibéo added that this *gilir naga* scheme was also followed when performing the *pantun* for hunting: *Buyut Orényéng*. These performances take place in the 'time devoted to Déwi Asri' (A2016-1: 40).

Further, on 3 April 2003 the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) Daénah, who held office from 1997 to April 2015, and some other people, including the *kacapi* player Satra, explicitly confirmed that the planting on a Thursday should begin in the south-western corner and continue in a clockwise direction (*gilir naga*). Later, on 13 December 2013, Aki Daénah, the father of Daénah, also confirmed the relationship between the direction and day of a performance as given by Sawari. He also confirmed that one direction is definitely not used, but he was not sure whether it was north-west or north.

The direction in which the mythical snake moves (*gilir naga*) is also observed during the ceremony of the betrothal (*ngarérémokeun*) of the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri to the earth, Partiwī. The *angklung* players walk around a basket of rice in a clockwise circle (*gilir naga*), that is, the 'holy' direction in many parts of Asia. When *angklung* players are singing songs purely for entertainment, they walk around a circle in an anti-clockwise direction: the direction in which the *koréd* knife (Figure 23) moves when it is used for weeding (*palélé koréd*);²⁸ see also Geise (1952: 34–40) and Van Zanten (1995: 533–537). This anti-clockwise direction was also called *mapag naga*, to meet the *naga* snake, by Rasudin (A2013: 27).

Besides the *pantun* performances recorded outside Kanékés, Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003, I have heard *pantun* stories performed inside Kanékés in 2014 and 2016 without being able to record the performances. The *pantun* performances in July 2016 were in the context of circumcision rituals and have been described in Sections 4.4 and 4.5. The 2014 one was at the inauguration ceremony (*nukuh lembur*) of the hamlet Campaka, near Kaduketug in Kanékés,

28 The *koréd* is a small hoe which looks like a short sickle with a broad blade; see Figure 23 in Section 2.7. Held in the right hand when weeding, it moves in anti-clockwise direction. Budi (2015: 239–240) mentions the terms *ider naga* and *ider munding* that are used for a clockwise and anti-clockwise circular movement around Subang. According to Dinda Budi, in the *ngaseuk* rice ritual in Ciptagelar it is only the clockwise direction that is used when planting. Zoetmulder (1982) mentions several Old Javanese manuscripts in which the Sanskrit verb (*m*)*apradakṣiṇa*, 'to go around or turn in a clock-wise direction' is used.

from about 21:45–24:15 in the evening of Wednesday 4 June 2014 (day 9 of the Baduy month Kalima). See Campaka hamlet in Figure 46 and the making of sweets in preparation for the inauguration in Figure 47. On this occasion the story *Langga Sari* was performed by the storyteller (Ki Pantun) Anirah from Kaduketer 2. I was not allowed to be present in the house in which the performance actually took place in of the presence of Baduy elders (*kokolot*). My attendance was restricted to the veranda of a house opposite that in which the *pantun* story was being performed. Although I could not see what was really going on and was not allowed to make audio-visual recordings or take photographs, the singing was clearly audible and I noticed that the musical manner of performing was very similar to that I had heard and recorded from Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003.

The next day in 2014 the former secular village head Asrab (1990–1994) told me that the *pantun* storyteller Anirah had also used a kind of tent or baldachin, as Sajin had done in 1977. Asrab said that it was made of *boéh larang* cloth,²⁹ but when I asked he replied that he would not have called this a *lawon bodas*: a *lawon bodas* construction was used for circumcisions and was larger than the construction used by Anirah. In this respect compare also Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 71), who describe the use of white cotton for covering the inside of the temporary awning (*papajangan*) under which the teeth of Baduy girls and boys are filed.

At circumcisions (*sunatan*) and human weddings (*nikahan, kawinan*), a *pantun* storyteller should be facing the south, the ‘holy direction’, according to most of my informants, including *jaro* Asrab, *carik* Sapin, Arpani from Kadujangkung and musician Karamaén from Cibéo (A2016-1: 37–38, 40). This is different from the rituals for the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci (Déwi Asri) and for hunting, when the position of the *pantun* follows the ‘holy snake’ (*gilir naga*) as mentioned above and summarized in Table 8. A neighbour of Anirah in Kaduketer 2 expressed this as follows: if there are elders (*kokolot*) present, the *pantun* performer faces the south, if it is performed on the fields as medicine for the rice (*pengobatan padi*) it follows the *gilir naga* (A2016-1: 38). This confirms what was told by the secular village head Saijah (see Section 4.1): there is music for the gods, and specifically the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri and her children, and music for human beings during the ritual meals at feasts (*hajat(an)*), like weddings and circumcisions (A2016-1: 1–2). *Angklung* and *pantun* may be used for both music for the gods and music for human beings, but *keromong* can only be used for human beings.

29 See also footnote 31, Van Zanten (2016a: 418) on the *boéh larang* cloth.



FIGURE 46 Campaka hamlet on the day of inauguration in the evening, 4 June 2014



FIGURE 47 Making of *wajik* sweets from glutinous rice flour, bought in plastic bag, coconut milk and sugar for the coming inauguration ritual (*nukuh lembur*) in Campaka, 30 May 2014

The *pantun* performer Ayah Anirah was the only one who said that the fixed position of the *pantun* storyteller at circumcisions was such that he was facing the west, instead of south. He also said that at (human) weddings the *pantun* player follows the *gilir naga* on the three possible performing days: *malam* Kamis (Wednesday evening-Thursday morning, facing southwest), *malam* Senén (Sunday evening-Monday morning, facing east: not used?) and *malam* Selasa (Monday evening-Tuesday morning, facing southeast) (A2016-1: 44). I very much doubt this information by Ayah Anirah, as it contradicts his own statements and what several other important informants have said.

6.5 Recited Text and Performing Aspects of *Pantun* Recitation

In this section I shall restrict myself to discussing small parts of the texts recited by Sajin and Sawari, mainly from the opening of their *pantun* performance, that is, the *rajah* (*pamunah*), in a modest attempt to describe the differences in performance styles of the Baduy bards and *pantun* performers in the regions east of Kanékés.

A *pantun* recitation begins with a standardized opening (*rajah*, *rajah pamunah*) and the recitation might end with a *rajah pamungkas*. Looking at the full *pantun* texts obtained by Pleyte and the project of Rosidi, it appears that the *rajah* of a particular bard remains fairly constant and is independent of the story being told. Be that as it may, unquestionably we can conclude that there can be considerable divergence between different performers. This is confirmed by the findings of Weintraub (1990) and Van Zanten (1993). I have also pointed out that in his *rajah* the *pantun* performer Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, apparently followed the tradition presented in Pleyte (1910: 135–136) and Eringa (1949: 121–130): an eastern Priangan tradition from Bandung to Ci-amis, South Cirebon. For instance, on 5 September 1981, Enjum began his *rajah* in the *Lutung Kasarung* story as presented in Table 9 (Van Zanten 1993: 156).³⁰

The Baduy *rajah* follow another tradition. This is also indicated by the different musical aspects of the performance styles. In Van Zanten (1993: 147–148) I noted that in Sajin's recitation, the dramatic effects are less pronounced than in the performances of Enjum. Sajin's virtuosity on the accompanying *kacapi* is far less than Enjum's, and sometimes he does not touch the instrument for

30 The English translation of the Sundanese text here presented is slightly different from the 1993 one.

TABLE 9 Beginning of *raja* as recited by Enjum (Bandung) in the *Lutung Kasarung* story, 5 September 1981

1	Astagfirullah al adzim (5x)	Heaven forbid!
2	Bul kukus mendung ka manggung	I burn incense, in dark clouds ascending.
3	Nyambuung ka awang-awang	It rises and spreads in the air,
4	Ka manggung neda papayung	High up in the air, to ask protection.
5	Ka pohaci neda suci	To the heavenly nymphs to ask sanctification,
6	Ka déwata neda maap	To the gods to ask pardon.
7	Kuring rék diajar kidung	I want to perform singing,
8	Nya kidung carita pantun	To sing a <i>pantun</i> story,
9	Ngahudang carita anu baheula	To re-create a story from the past,
10	Nyukcruk laku nu rahayu	Following the beneficial actions,
11	Nyilokakeun	In <i>siloka</i> (symbolic) form,
12	Mapay lampah nu baheula	To follow the course of actions of the past.

many minutes at a stretch. On the other hand Sajin's speed of recitation varies much more than Enjum's speed; from very slow to very fast. Listen to <AV12> (1'45") with text transcribed in Table 10 and items 1 and 2 on the Demonstration cassette tape with Van Zanten (1989). See also the text and music transcription of a small section of Sajin's recitation in Van Zanten (1995: 529–530, 540–541).

In 2016 the *pantun* performer Ayah Anirah called the slow and drawn-out recitation '*haleuang pada cirambay*', literally, 'singing with tears in your eyes'. He called the fast, hurriedly (*kenceng*) and animated singing '*haleuang pada ramé*' (A2016-1: 67, Audio recording D 2016-15: 1h06m-1h10m). Anirah demonstrated these two ways of singing that are given in the following audio recordings: (1) reciting (*haleuang*) in the *cirambay* (drawn-out) way in <AV13> (2'15") and (2) reciting in the *pada ramé* (animated) way in <AV14> (23"). At the end of <AV13> Anirah says that the *pada ramé* singing is twice as fast as the *cirambay* singing ('*dua kali lipat*').

In 2016 Anirah also said that Baduy bards use five different voice types for the characters in a story. In the *pantun Langga Sari Matang Jaya* you have the character Oa (a kind of grey monkey – gibbon) with a particular voice and his elder companion Kai Lurah Pajajaran (the Honourable village head of Pajajaran) who has a different voice and talks differently. This village head of

Pajajaran often laughs. Anirah demonstrated this laughing in <AV15> (23”) and he also demonstrated the voice of Kai Lurah Pajajaran’s wife in <AV16> (11”).

In the *raja*, both Sajin (in 1977) and Sawari (in 2003) describe their singing as *kawih*, not as *kidung*, which is commonly used in the Priangan tradition, as represented by the above example of Enjum from Bandung. Presumably, *kawih* is the oldest Sundanese term known for singing/song or vocal music. The Sundanese *kidung* is an incantation to avert illness, theft and other possible evils when venturing into places which might harbour spirits (Eringa 1984; Van Zanten 1989: 15, 17–18). See also my remarks about the text of the song *Kidung Rahayu* in Section 7.3.

In my recording of 1977 Sajin began his *raja* as presented in Table 10 (starting with line 3). The text was transcribed from the recording; the transcribed text and translation are ‘approximate’ and should be looked at critically. The sections marked by plus signs at the beginning and end (+ ... +) indicate melodically more elaborated phrases (‘songs’) that are embedded in the recitation.

In line 4 of Table 10 Sajin mentions the ‘animated’ (*pada ramé*) singing that was demonstrated by Anirah’s singing in <AV14> in 2016. Garna (1988: 122, 130, 167) remarks that *dunia ramai* (*ramé*) is used to indicate ‘the world outside Kanékés that is ruled by the kings (*raja-raja*) of Banten, such as found in the mythology and Baduy folklore, Budak Buncireung ...’ According to Garna ‘*orang ramai*’ (*orang ramé*) is used for those people who deal with outside matters, that is, matters concerning the ‘outside rulers’ that are dealt with by the *jaro pamaréntah* and the *tanggungan jaro duabelas*. In the context of a *pantun* recitation, *pada ramé* singing seems to mean: singing that is not immediately connected to the ritual context, distracts from asceticism, and is concerned with worldly matters. See further below.

In lines 6–8 Parungkujang is the name of a kingdom near the mountain Kujang and mentioned in the story Déwa Kaladri as notated by Pleyte (1912: 267–291) and nowadays a village bordering west of Kanékés (see also below). *Parung* is a shallow part in the river, where you may cross; *kujang* is a knife that is used by the Baduy to clear the fields. In west Java it is also used as a symbol of Sundanese identity.

In my recording of 2003 Sawari began his *raja* as presented in Table 11.³¹ In lines 21–25 of Table 11 the Sundanese word *méga* means ‘cloud’. In Section 6.2 was mentioned that in the *pantun* stories it is also used as a kind of title, like in the name for a man Méga Kumendung that occurs in the story *Paksi Keuling* (*Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975: 20; Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 163,

31 Film 2003 Sawari 1, c. 1:00-3:24; copy of film made by Nanni Tempelman.

TABLE 10 Start of *raja* recitation *Lutung Kasarung* by Sajin, January 1977

+ ... + means: a melodically more elaborated section ('song' in recitation); <AV12>; see also Music Transcription Tr 5 below.

[... a few seconds missing in recording, probably:

1	Mun cik diajar ngawih	[Well, if I want to start singing
2	Kawih urang kaulinan (? , Sajin 1974: 1)]	My singing is playing]
3	[0:00] [...] Kawih sindir bangbalikan	Singing of allusions in <i>bangbalikan</i> form
4	Kawih sendén pada ramé	Singing by the female singer-dancer at festivities
5	Kawih tumpang	This singing is an additional gift
6	Cénah Parungkujang	from Parungkujang
7	Lain tumpang Parungkujang	Well, not an additional gift from Parungkujang
8	Tunggal ^a tumpang Parungkujang	The contribution from Parungkujang strikes [us] [?]
9	Tunggal tumpanganeun kawih	This singing is meant to hit
10	Nguang-ngiung ^b nabeuh irung	Whining through the nose
11	Nguak-nguik nabeuh ceuli	(means) coming incoherently to the ear
12	Nabeuh irung cikiblungan ^c	To murmur unintelligibly (is like) tapping the surface of the water with your hands
13	Nabeuh ceuli kakawihan	The singing touches the ear
14	Kawih teu puguh mubusan ^d	Incoherent song will not sink in properly
15	+Kawih tatambalan ^e tiiseun	+Singing is a medicine to calm down
16	Paranti ngasuh nu pundung	A means to look after those who are angry
17	Paranti ngambat nu leumpang+	A means to get the attention of those who are leaving+
18	Paranti ngalega nu ngalingsig	A means to comfort those who have been ill
19	Paranti mangdaya tineung [1:45] [...]	A means to strengthen our feelings of longing

^a I take it that *tunggal* is used here as *teunggeul*, to hit, to strike (Eringa 1984).

^b *Nguang-nguik*?

^c In Sajin (1974: 1) is given 'cicimplungan'; this is definitely not what is said in my recording.

^d In Sajin (1974:1) one of the sentences reads: 'Kawih teu puguh buusan'.

^e *Tatambalan* is 'that what has been repaired or mended' (clothes); *tatamba* (from *tamba*, medicine): to use medicine or to search for cure.

TABLE 11 *Rajah of Paksi Keuling by Sawari, May 2003*

+ ... + means: a melodically more elaborated section ('song' in recitation)

1	[1:00] Latih kurang diajar ngawih	With insufficient training I practise singing
2	Kawih sindir bangbalikan	Singing allusions in <i>bangbalikan</i> form
3	Kawih sindir [sudat?] manik	Singing of allusions is cutting the jewel
4	Mamah sendén pada ramé	Mother female singer-dancer at festivities
5	Nguak-nguiuk nabeuh irung	Mumbles incoherently through her nose
6	Nguak-nguiuk nabeuh ceuli [1:31]	And it incoherently strikes [our] ears
7	[Unggah dina?] babasanana	A figure of speech comes to my mind:
8	Hujan poyan horéng	Rain during sunshine, say!
9	Pongporang dipotong-potong	The <i>pongporang</i> tree is cut into pieces
10	Dijieun rakit untang-anting	A raft is made to go there and back
11	Kapit unglur amis	It is swung nicely in opposite directions [?]
12	Mata(k) +paranti mupulihkeun	This leads to +a means to report on
13	Paksi Keuling di Pakuan Pajajaran	Paksi Keuling in Pakuan Pajajaran
14	Pasilir-silir ku angin	The place where the soft wind blows
15	Kakebut-kebut ku ombak banyu horéng + [2:25]	Undulated by the waves, say!+
16	Nya kéong na paké pasang	The snail takes a partner
17	Pasang duaanana	A couple, both of them
18	Na pasang duaan	A couple of two
19	Guru ahung Guru ahung	Teacher, hail! Teacher, hail!
20	Basa [baku?] ka luhur ka manggung	The usual language is going up into the air
21	Ka méga beureum ka méga hideung	To the red cloud to the dark cloud
22	Ka méga [Pacik?]	To the Pacik cloud
23	Méga Si Karambangan	The cloud Karambangan
24	Ka méga Si Karambangan	To the cloud Si Karambangan
25	Ka méga Si [Gereg?]	To the cloud Si Gereg
26	?	?
27	?	?
28	Kasih kawenang-wenang	Grant me permission

TABLE 11 *Rajah* of Paksi Keuling by Sawari, May 2003 (*cont.*)

29	Nyaritakeun lalakon Paksi Keuling	To tell the story of Paksi Keuling
30	Lalakon baheula diciptakeun ayeuna [2:59]	A story of the past that is now [re] created
31	Bisi ngebut nu sasih	Possibly I will mention the month
32	Ku ... pamali? .. alus	... forbidden? ...
33	Nyebut ngaran, ngaran pamali	To tell the names, the forbidden names
34	Ménta agung paralun	I ask forgiveness
35	Panjang hampurana	Full forgiveness
36	Nya lalakon carita pantun	As it is a pantun story
37	Lalakon Paksi Keuling	The story of Paksi Keuling
38	Ratu ti Pakuan	King from Pakuan
39	Ménak di Pajajaran, horéng [3:23][...]	The nobles in (the) Pajajaran (kingdom), say!

Pleyte 1912: 377). Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 77) state that there are 18 levels of 'nature' (*alam*) or 'worlds' (*dunia*) between the upper world (*buana nyungcung*) and the central or human world (*buana pancatengah*) and the lowest levels, that is nearest to the human world, are called Méga Munggul, Méga Malang, Méga Beureum, Méga Si Karambangan, Méga Si Kareumbingan and Méga Si Antrawela.

From Tables 10 and 11 it becomes clear that the texts of Sajin's and Sawari's *rajah* use many similar words and are different to the text of a *rajah* in the Priangan *pantun* tradition represented by Enjum in Table 9. I have not heard or seen Sawari's first two words in the first sentence, *latih kurang*, in the transcribed *rajah* texts of other Baduy storytellers.³² By adding these two words, Sawari reinforces the idea that he is not a competent performer: *latih kurang diajar ngawih*, 'practising singing without sufficient training ...' Possibly by using this apologetic statement, Sawari wanted to express his idea that, because he had lived outside Kanékés since the late 1970s and had been surrounded by Muslims, he lacked sufficient practice, because he was not often asked to perform *pantun* stories. He describes himself as someone just learning and practising: he is 'being taught

32 See, for instance, the two Baduy *pantun* recordings by Rosidi which commence *Urang diajar ngawih*, 'I shall practise singing' (Sajin 1973: 1) and *Mun cik diajar ngawih*, 'Now then, I shall practise singing' (Sajin 1974: 1).

TABLE 12 Lying when telling a *pantun* story (Sajin 1974: 10)

1	Hayang agung paralun	I beg pardon from the gods
2	Menta panjang pangampura	I keep asking forgiveness
3	Hampura sangiang sora	Forgiveness [from] the god of the voice
4	Tanda ja kami diajar	It is a sign that I am learning
5	Mun bohong nyari-nyari	When I lie in search for the truth
6	Mun bohong sakala kapeung	When I sometimes lie
7	Asa mundur bebedugan	[It is like the removal of the drums from the mosque
8	Asa maling kanyaringan	It looks like a thief waking up?]
9	Ulah nuding ka kacapi	Do not blame the <i>kacapi</i>
10	Ulah ngabantah ka sora [...]	Do not blame the voice

to sing' (*diajar ngawih*). These words are used by all Baduy *pantun* storytellers; farther to the east they use words with a similar meaning, *diajar ngidung* (Eringa 1949: 138–9, 209; Van Zanten 1993: 156), also repeated in the example of Enjum above. They are asking themselves whether they are competent to tell a 'story from heaven'. In their sung opening (*raja*) Baduy storytellers like Sawari also ask the forgiveness of the gods: 'Grant me permission to tell the story of *Paksi Keuling*, a story of the past which is now [re]created' (lines 28–30 in Table 11).

Sajin (1974: 10, 11) twice presents a much stronger text, in which he tells that, because he is still learning, he may sometimes lie (*bohong*) when trying to get to the essence of the story; see Table 12.

Both Sajin and Sawari mention that the performer should not 'mumble incoherently through the nose', because 'incoherent song will not sink in properly'. I suppose this is also expressed by the words 'Singing of allusions is cutting the jewel' (*sudat manik*): the singing of allusions, often to express erotic feelings and love, is 'damaging' to the essence of a *pantun* story. In Sawari's version it is clear that it is the entertainment, the 'incoherent speech' of the 'Mother female singer-dancer at festivities' which the *pantun* performer should take pains to avoid. The *pantun* stories are more than just entertainment and the storytelling should be done in a proper way, that is, underpinning the duty to live an ascetic way of life. If this advice is followed, the *pantun* recitation will be a good medicine for the members of the audience: 'Singing is a medicine to calm down, A means to take care of those who are angry, [...], A means to intensify our feelings of longing'. (Table 10, lines 15–19, <AV12>.)

Of particular interest is the passage in Sajin's *raja* in which he talks about the former kingdom of Parangkujang: '*Kawih tumpang [...]* *Parungkujang*'. (Table 10,

TABLE 13 Metaphor of the false gong From Van Zanten 1989: 194, and recorded on accompanying cassette tape #1; listen to <AV17>

1	[5:22] Goong di barat, goong di timur	The gong/gamelan in the west, the gong in the east
2	Goong di kalér, goong di kidul	The gong in the north, the gong in the south
3	Goong pélog sosorogan	The <i>pélog</i> gong is out of tune
4	Goong sumbang pangrampogan	A false gong is at risk of being stolen
5	Paranti ngéléhkeun musuh	The means to beat the enemy
6	Lain éléh ku hadéna	Will not fail if in good order
7	Éléh ku sumbangna baé	(But) will be defeated when out of tune
8	Éléh deungeun-deungeun tamba [5:53]	Fail because of strange medicine.

lines 5–8; <AV12>.) This passage was also sung by the former Baduy Japar in 1911 (Pleyte 1912: 292): *Kawih tumpang Parungkujang*. These words might mean: ‘Singing as an additional gift from Parungkujang’ and this is presumably meant in a pejorative sense, namely: presenting an undesirable and moreover unsuitable type of singing. Parungkujang is the name of a kingdom near Mount Kujang, mentioned in the story of *Dewa Kaladri* noted by Pleyte (1912: 267–291). Another version of this story is known as *Budak Buncireung* or *Budak Buncir*; see, for instance, Geise (1952: 109–16, 176–81, 218–22, 239–42) and Hamidimadja (1998: 77–84).

The Baduy believe that when the time comes in which the relations between them and the outside world will deteriorate, the village of Kanékés will be attacked by the still existing village of Parungkujang which will be ‘supported by the government’ (Geise 1952: 115). Pennings (1902: 370) mentions that the people living in the vicinity of Kanékés were free to move around there to trade their wares; the highest spiritual leaders (*girang puun*) had even given their permission for the building of an Islamic settlement (*ampian, ampéan*) Cicakal in Kanékés, by the people ‘from Parungkujang lying to the west of Kanékés’. See also my remark about the period in April 2003 when the USA and the UK were about to invade Iraq. The Baduy feared that this could be the beginning of the third World War on religion, in which they might possibly be wiped out by the outside world (Van Zanten 2004: 141; see also Section 2.4). According to Anirah (A2016-1: 62), until this day Baduy people are not allowed to buy land in Parungkujang. If forced by economic reasons they may only temporarily work on land in Parungkujang. See also Bakels and Boevink 1988: 78).



FIGURE 48

The *pantun* storyteller Anirah looks at a mobile phone in his house near the rice fields in Cikapéék, outside Kanékés, 16 July 2016

This reference to a less beneficial way of singing (enunciating incoherently through the nose like the *sindén* with the gamelan and presumably the singing introduced from Parungkujang), contrasts with the (proper) *pantun* recitation is also found elsewhere in Sajin's 1977 recitation. He there uses the metaphor of a false gong or gamelan, standing for a king and his kingdom that are ill and in disorder (Table 13).

See further Sajin (1974: 108) and Pleyte (1912: 316). I have pointed out that the false tuning of musical instruments (*sumbang*, which also means: incest) is a metaphor for human relationships which are fundamentally wrong. The false musical instruments indicate that the social order is disturbed and the society affected will fall apart (Van Zanten 1994: 88–90). It is therefore important that the *pantun* performer tells the story in the correct manner and that his instrument is properly tuned.

In July 2016 the *pantun* storyteller Anirah supplied texts for finishing a story (*raja pamungkas*) and for continuing story after a break (A2016-1: 42–43). The *raja pamungkas* (part of?) he gave during an interview is given in Table 14.

At the same occasion Anirah presented a text for continuing a *pantun* story after a break; see Table 15.

TABLE 14 Words for ending a *pantun* story

1	Nu kurung di tungtung disaur	Our story comes to an end ^a
2	Nu séda di tungtung sabla	The magic words (of the ancestors) will stop
3	Nu hadé geusan nunda carita	The good things have been done, the story has been finished

^a This is a rather free translation. *Kurung* is cage and *nu kurung* literally ‘what is in the cage’; *di tungtung disaur*: ‘the end of what will be said.’

TABLE 15 Words for continuing a *pantun* story after a temporary end

1	Mula awaking	I will start
2	Maké pasaduan ^a pantun	To ask forgiveness for the <i>pantun</i> story
3	Rék nyaritakeun	I want to tell
4	Popotongan nu baréto	The part that was not told yesterday
5	Sisikian ^b kalamari	Several seeds of yesterday
6	Ayeuna rék dicaritakeun deui	I would like to start telling

^a According to Pleyte (1912: 294, footnote 6) the transcribed *pantun* singer elsewhere used *rajah* instead of *pasaduan*.

^b I am not sure about this word; in my field notes I wrote *sisi kitan*, instead of *sisikian*.

Music Transcription Tr 5 represents the first 19 lines of Sajin’s recited *rajah* as given in Table 10 above and recorded in <AV12>. The original was about a semitone lower than in this transcription and the *kacapi* accompaniment is not included. From the transcription it is clear that the range of the voice is a little smaller than one octave: from a lowest note D to the highest note B. In the transcription the major notes are notated as D, E, F#, A and B (d); see also Music Transcription Tr 1 in Section 5.1. The intervals between the notes are taken to be ‘more or less the same’: the *saléndro* tone system. It may also be seen from the transcription that the number of notes per time unit varies considerably. Hence the two singing styles *cirambay* (for instance in line 1) and *pada ramé* (for instance in line 6) are both used in the beginning of the *rajah*.³³

33 Compare Pleyte (1907: 26–27) who reported that the head (*kokolot*) of Cibéo, who could also play the *kacapi*, had said that there was only one melody for performing a *pantun* story and it was called *jurit* (fight). I have not heard this word myself from Baduy.

Rajah pantun

Introduction to Lutung Kasarung pantun story recited by Sajin from Cisanané, 1977

Recorded on LK.1 00-1:45, Jakarta, 8-9 January 1977
original is one semitone lower

Rubato ca. ♩ = 84

Voice

Ka-wih sin-dir bang-ba-li - kan Ka-wih sen-dèn pa-da ra-mè

Ka-wih tum-pang Cē-nah Pa-rung - kü-jang La-in tum-pang

Pa-rung-ku-jang Tung-gal tum-pang Pa-rung - kü-jang Tung-gal tum-pang

pang - an - eun ka-wih Ngu-ang-ngu-ik na-beuh i-rung Ngu-ak -

ngu-ik na-beuh ceu - li Na-beuh i-rung ci - ki-blung-an Na-beuh ceu-li

ka-ka-wih-an Ka-wih teu pu-guh mu-bu-san Ka-wih ta - tam-bal-an ti - i-sean Pa-ran-ti

nga-suh nu pun-dung Pa-ran - ti ngam-bat nu leumpang Pa-ran-ti nga-le-ga nu nga-ling-sig

Pa - ran - ti mang - da - ya ti - neung

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 5 Beginning of *rajah* in *pantun* recitation by Sajin, 8–9 January 1977. Listen to <AV12>; see translation of text in Table 13 above

Goong sosorogan

From pantun story Lutung Kasarung, recited by Sajin from Cisadané, 1977

Rubato ca. ♩ = 70 Recorded in Jakarta on LK4, 5:28-5:51, 8-9 January 1977

Voice

Goong di ba-rat, goong di ti-mur Goong di ka-lér, goong di ki-dul

Goong pé-log so-so-rog-an Goong sum-bang pang-ram-pog-an Pa-ran-ti ngé-

léh-keun mu-suh Lain é-léh ku ha-dé-na

É-léh ku sum-bang-na ba-é É-léh deu-geun-deu-geun tam-ba

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 6 Sajin's *pantun* recitation of text about the false gong, Jakarta, January 1977

Music Transcription Tr 6 represents Sajin's recitation of the text given in Table 13 (metaphor of the false gong) and recorded on <AV17>. This text was sung after about 1½ – 2 hours of singing, and it seems that Sajin was singing on a slightly higher pitch than the one used in the *raja*h at the beginning. Moreover, Sajin was still using a *saléndro* tone system, but the intervals between the notes D, E, G, B-flat, C (d) were slightly different from those in the *raja*h. The whole-note and one-and-a-half note intervals in one octave are now: 1–1½ – 1½ – 1–1, whereas in the *raja*h singing it was closer to 1–1 – 1½ – 1–1½. This is confirmed by the used PRAAT analysis. It seems to support what was said in Section 5.1: conceptually the *saléndro* tone system is equidistant, but in practice Baduy musicians deviate from this model and have little problems to change between different versions of the *saléndro* system. This is similar to what Simon Cook and I have said about Cianjuran music: 'in a cognitive sense the Sundanese *saléndro* tone system is equidistant' (Cook 1993; Van Zanten 2014: 216–217).

During the *raja*h Sajin strummed the *kacapi* about fifteen times. In the *goong sosorogan* section represented in Table 13 and transcription Tr 6, he did not play the zither. Immediately after finishing the recitation of the *Lutung Kasarung* story I recorded the tuning of the Sajin's zither that was later analysed. These results are also summarized in Table 16 below. If the instrument would have been tuned according to a perfect division of the octave (interval of 12 semitones or 1200 cent) in 5 equal parts, the cent difference

TABLE 16 Tuning of Sajin's *kacapi* with 11 strings (1977)

String#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Hertz	479	433	364	323	280	240	221	178	163	142	126
≈ Western	a ¹ #	a ¹	f ¹ #	e ¹	c ¹ #	b	a	f	e	c#	B
semitone and cent deviation	+48	-28	-28	-37	+19	-50	+8	+29	-21	+37	+42
Cent difference between strings	175	301	207	247	267	143	375	152	239	207	

between each pair of consecutive strings should have been 2.4 semitone or 240 cent. However, Sajin's zither had intervals that are much smaller (175, 143, 152 cent) and much larger (301, 375 cent). It seems that for individual players there is a great tolerance for actual size of musical intervals, within the general *saléndro* model.

In 2003 it was less clear that Sawari was singing in a *saléndro* tone system, at least it was less clear than in Sajin's performance in 1977. However, Sawari used more embellishments (grace notes) in his singing than Sajin.

In this chapter I have tried to summarize what we know about Baduy *pantun*, which is still fairly limited, because we have not yet collected and analysed sufficient field-data. It is also essential that more audio and audio-visual recordings are made available. These would be useful both to check earlier conclusions and as a basis for more musical analysis. The data I have presented here are based on my two recordings of Baduy *pantun* by Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003 and short fragments sung by Anirah in 2016.

What has been said of the Baduy *pantun* is also more or less true of the *pantun* in the wider area of west Java. So far the full texts of *pantun* stories collected by Pleyte and Rosidi remain the major sources publicly available. The large collection of thirty audio-recorded *pantun* of Ajip Rosidi's project in the 1970s should be traced and, if still existing, soon become available in digitalized form; before the tapes will have decayed. Fortunately the unique recording of the beginning of a *pantun* made by Snouck Hurgronje in 1905 has recently been digitalized and is now available for analysis. See further Van Zanten (2016a: Appendix 1) for a list of about forty audio-visual recordings of Sundanese *pantun* stories, including five recordings of Baduy stories.

The next chapter will look at the music for entertainment, which resembles what was called the *pada ramé* singing in the *pantun* recitation: animated singing that is not immediately connected to the ritual context, but concerned with worldly matters, mainly human love, and that may distract from the major Baduy task of practising asceticism (*tapa*).

Song Texts in Music for Entertainment

This chapter will examine some song texts performed in music for entertainment that I recorded in 1976, 1992 and 2003, and that are presented in Appendix 4. A few of these texts were published in Van Zanten (1995), some with the transcription of the sung melody. A performed text is not necessarily a text ‘as it should be’ according to theory, and I will pay attention to the performing aspects of the texts that I recorded. Section 7.1 discusses earlier publications of song texts, in particular as presented by Van Hoëvell (1845), Meijer (1890) and Pleyte (1912). In Appendix 4 you may find some remarks about methodological issues concerning the collection of my texts.

The texts are in the form of 4-line *susualan* or *sisindiran* that are called *pantun* elsewhere in Indonesia and not to be confused with the Sundanese *pantun* stories discussed in Chapter 6. Section 7.2 will treat formal aspects of the texts and Section 7.3 will discuss themes in the song texts performed by the female singer Raidah in March 2003. Section 7.4 will conclude this chapter with a discussion of major themes in the other *susualan* in Appendix 4.

A particular melody (song) may be used with different texts, and the performers may make new, or partially new, texts. Also a particular *susualan* text may be sung with different accompaniment (*angklung*, zither + violin, etc.). For instance, I recorded the song *Kembang Beureum* (Red Flower) with *keromong* accompaniment and also with the combination of *kacapi* and *rendo* accompaniment. Moreover, the song was also played instrumentally: I recorded *Kembang Beureum* played by solo instruments *rendo* (1976), *suling lamus* (1976, 1992) and *kacapi siter* (2003). The Inner Baduy Karamaén from Cibéo told me that there is no difference in the use of the voice when singing *susualan* (*wawangsalan*) or *pantun* stories, as I had suggested in my 1995 article (A2003-2: 6; Van Zanten 1995: 530–531).

7.1 Earlier Publications of Song Texts

Probably the earliest publication of Baduy sung texts was by Van Hoëvell (1845: 411–427), who presented the verses that he ‘with the help of the Lebak regent wrote down after hearing it from their mouth’. He called these verses *panton* and presented the Sundanese texts with a Dutch (annotated) translation. On page 427 Van Hoëvell warns that for the greater part these verses

may also be found in the other Sundanese regions, 'even in the Priangan and Cirebon'. Sometimes literally, and sometimes a few words are slightly different. Anyway, we should be aware that only a few of his presented texts are unique for the Baduy community, he wrote.

Van Hoëvell also supplied evidence of the musical exchange between the Baduy and the outside world. On p. 421 he commented in footnote 2 that these verses are sung in the evening with *angklung* and that on such occasions there are many in the audience who come from outside the hamlet ('*kampong*'). Although it is not exactly clear what he means by the Baduy '*kampong*' and who these outsiders are, it shows that there were no attempts to keep these verses hidden for outsiders, as happens with ritual music.

Moreover, in the 19th century several authors reported that Baduy groups also play their music outside Kanékés. Van Hoëvell (1845: 428–429) mentions the *suling* flute (presumably *suling lamus*), the two-string bowed lute *rendo* and the *kacapi* plucked zither that accompany singing by 'two boys of twelve or fourteen years old'. Those groups play for entertainment in Kanékés, but also outside Kanékés: 'Often such a group of five instrumentalists and singers descends from the Baduy mountains into the plains of Lebak to perform their melodies during feasts and solemn happenings: but then they always are Outer Baduy; the Inner Baduy do not leave their hamlet'.

Meijer (1890: 471) was critical about Van Hoëvell's work. He commented that Baduy do not know *susualan* and that Van Hoëvell was wrong in stating that (some of) the published verses came from the Baduy. According to Meijer (1890: 475–6), the *susualan* in South Banten correspond with 'the Malay *pantun* in Batavia', and these texts are part of the repertoire of the comedian (*ogel*), and street musicians who accompany themselves on an *angklung* set (*pangangklung*), a bamboo xylophone (*calung*), or drums (*doblang*, *bedug*). The performer tries to get the audience laughing and 'The villagers listen with pleasure to their *sisindiran*, but these are mostly not fit for European ears. He sees no objection at all to express himself as crudely as possible. Nevertheless, Jai, Jasma, Sarilah and Saripah [women's names] happily listen to his very daring wits and without bashfully casting down their eyes now and then'. In his 1890 article Meijer only presented the 'innocent' (*onschuldige*) stanzas that he found in South Banten and left out the ones that he considered too crude (Meijer 1890: 476–477).

In Section 3.3 and especially the part 'Criticism by Jacobs and Meijer (1891) and Pennings (1902)' I already commented that I find Meijer's criticism on Van Hoëvell not entirely justified. In the light of my own recordings and research by others, it seems highly improbable that in the 19th century 'they [Baduy] do not know such poetry' as published by Van Hoëvell in 1845 (Meijer 1890: 471.).

Baduy know about temptations, including the sexual ones, and the musical setting is suitable for performing these *susualan*, sometimes with ‘daring wits’. *Susualan*, like most Indonesian poetry, should not be read in a book, but performed. Apparently this is a safe way to ‘discuss’ erotic feelings and sexual issues in their communities. When I asked information about song titles or song texts, often the explanation was given with some shy smiling. In 2003 the Inner Baduy Karamaén from Cibéo said that the ‘atmosphere’ (*intonasi*) for singing *susualan* (*wawangsalan*, *bangbalikan*) is called *ngabojégan*: poking fun, making jokes. On 5 June 2014 Karamaén played three instrumental *tarawélé* pieces that I recorded on audio and video. The songs were called ‘To drop in at the widow’ (*Noong Rangda*), ‘To sway one’s arms when happy’ (*Keupat Reundang*) and ‘The widow throws her arms around him’ (*Rangda Ngeukeupan*). Karamaén and his companion, a smith from Cibéo, were laughing and clearly amused when mentioning and explaining these song titles to me and my assistant Mumu (film 2014-2, 32’, 34’, 38’).

Twenty-two years after Meijer, Pleyte (1912) published his long article ‘Baduy Brainchildren’ (*Badoejsche Geesteskinderen*) that we already mentioned as one of the important sources for the Baduy *pantun* stories. This article also contains *susualan* texts with a Dutch translation and introductory notes. Pleyte (1912: 254) contradicted Meijer by mentioning that at Baduy gatherings there ‘may be much fun, as in other parts of Sunda’, as the rising Baduy generation is also very capable of playing word games (*bangbalikan*, a special form of *susualan*: see below). The evening parties where the youngsters meet and alternately sing to each other, must have been very cheerful. Pleyte (1912: 255) called these meetings during the evening, in which ten to twelve unmarried boys take place, each with their *kacapi*: *ngaroronda*. On such occasions they sing about love (*‘Eros waart alsdan bovenal rond ...’*) and Pleyte presented examples of *susualan*. According to him the Baduy were equally passionate and the men equally charmed by the ‘eternal female’ (*das ewig weibliche*) as other human beings (Pleyte 1912: 256–257). From Pleyte’s report it is not clear whether women also sang the *susualan* at that time, as they do nowadays.

I leave a thorough discussion of the contents of the stanzas (*susualan*) published by Van Hoëvell (1845), Meijer (1890) and Pleyte (1912) to others. However, on first sight I find it striking that only very few lines in these earlier publications are also found in the *susualan* that I collected (Appendix 4). This may be an indication that there is much improvisation of the texts and little standardization. This contrasts with some parts of the texts in *pantun* stories, like the introduction (*raja*), as discussed in Chapter 6 above, that seem to have core elements that were the same over at least about one hundred years.

Before discussing the contents of the texts that I recorded myself, Section 7.2 will discuss a few issues about the formal structure of the texts.

7.2 Formal Aspects of the Song Texts

Baduy song texts in music for entertainment are mostly presented in *susualan* (or *sisindiran*) form. A *susualan* is ‘an allusion, consisting of a combination of words that suggests the real meaning by sound association and the like’ (Eringa 1984: 718). Most *susualan* in Appendix 4 consist of 4-line verses in which the first two lines are the ‘rind’, ‘skin’ or ‘cover’ (*cangkang*) ‘without meaning’, followed by the last two lines with the ‘content’ or ‘essence’ (*eusi*), the real meaning. The last syllables of the first and third lines are in rhyme and this also holds for the second and fourth lines. An example is given in verse 3 of the song *Kacang Asin*, sung by the female singer Raidah on 26 March 2003:

Ari kacang kacang asin	Peanuts, salted peanuts
Asinna dibeungkeutan	The salt is put to it
Abdi isin abdi isin	I am ashamed, I am ashamed
Isinna ku dideukeutan	The shame is because we were close together

This example also shows that most lines consist of eight syllables, which is one of the characteristics of the classical Sundanese verse form (*purwakanti*; see Van Zanten 1989: 65–66); only line 2 has seven syllables. In fact, in a musical performance this preferred length of eight syllables per line is often broken and words are repeated and/or stopgaps added. The *performed* text of line 4 consisted of 12 syllables, ‘*Isinna mah, isinna ku dideukeutan*’: ‘The shame, the shame is because we were close together’ (see Appendix 4).

Another example is stanza 7 of the performed text of ‘2003–04 *Jalan*’ in Appendix 4, in which the musical performance <AV18> includes repetition and addition of text:

Kanikir mah kanikir	The <i>kanikir</i> plant
Jeung kembang gambir	And the <i>gambir</i> flower
Kanikir jeung kembang gambir	<i>Kanikir</i> and <i>gambir</i> flower
Jungjunan, tangkal honjé jeung kanyéré	My lord, the <i>honjé</i> and <i>kanyéré</i> trees
Dipikir beki kapikir	I am worrying all the time
Horéng mantak (2x) rajét haté	This causes my heart to break

If we take away the words of the first two lines that are later repeated, the word ‘*Jungjunan*’ in the fourth line and the repeat of ‘*horéng mantak*’ in the 6th line, we obtain the ‘pure’ *susualan* form, the theoretical form with four lines of 8 syllables each:

Kanikir jeung kembang gambir	<i>Kanikir</i> and <i>gambir</i> flower
Tangkal honjé jeung kanyéré	The <i>honjé</i> and <i>kanyéré</i> trees
Dipikir beki kapikir	I am worrying all the time
Horéng mantak rajét haté	This causes my heart to break

If the sound patterns of lines 1–2 and lines 3–4 are parallel the *susualan* is termed a *paparikan*. This is – to some extent – the case in the above example. A *wawangsalan* or *bangbalikan* is a *susualan* in which the first two lines paraphrases some word not mentioned in the text. See examples and more details on performed *susualan* (*sisindiran*) for instance Van Zanten (1989: 68–70). Pleyte (1912: 257–259) presents a few *susualan* of which both the ‘rind’ and the ‘content’ consist of 3, 6 or 7 lines. Not all the different forms of *susualan* will be treated in this chapter, but rather the content and some performance aspects. However, before that I would like to make a short remark about the *macapat* verse forms that seem to be fairly common around Kanékés, but not used by the Baduy.

Macapat verse forms, originating from central Java, have been used for Islamic teachings since Islam entered west Java. We still find the reading and reciting of exemplary deeds of Islamic saints (*manikaban*) in west Java, including South Banten. Referring to Julian Millie’s work, I wrote (Van Zanten 2011: 250) that these gatherings are meant ‘to seek divine favor (*barokah*) from Allah through the intercession of Sheikh Abdulqadir al-Jaelani (471–561, 1077/78–1166 CE), a saint whose tomb has become a place of veneration in Baghdad (Millie 2003: 1, see also Millie 2006)’. Millie (2003: 2) also mentioned that ‘[T]he custom of *manikaban* is widespread and growing at the present time [...] and most frequently performed in the homes of the followers of the sufi order known as the Tarik Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah ...’ Meijer (1890: 470) already mentioned that this custom was practised in South Banten. This was confirmed on 21 July 1976 when I recorded a non-Baduy, Pak Oyo from the *dangka* hamlet Cihandam, just north of Kanékés (see Figure 13 in Section 2.2). He sang solo songs in *macapat* verse forms that Julian Millie later identified as *manikaban*.

Again, the Baduy do not use the *macapat* verse forms, but only the classical *purwakanti* and the *susualan* forms. The *susualan* may be sung with accompaniment of *keromong*, *angklung*, *kacapi* and *suling*, and *kacapi* and *rendo*.

The same text may be sung with different accompaniment, also a stanza may be sung twice in the same song. Section 7.3 below will discuss the *susualan* texts as performed by the female singer Raidah and her companions in March 2003 in Kaduketug 1. Section 7.4 will comment on the other texts presented in Appendix 4.

7.3 Song Texts Used in Performance by Female Singer Raidah in 2003

The collected song texts in Appendix 4 are possibly biased. It may be that, for instance by self-censorship of the musicians, I obtained ‘innocent’ verses and that I did not hear the most ‘crude’ ones: words that Meijer (1890: 477) used for describing the texts that he did or did not include in his publication. However, all ethnographic data have a bias, and the given texts are only one way of looking at the Baduy community. This chapter discusses the recorded texts in connection with some performative aspects: the musical context in which the texts are presented. The presented analysis will be relatively simple. However, the Baduy song texts and the performative aspects deserve a more comprehensive analysis.

Most song texts for entertainment presented in Appendix 4 are about love, sometimes erotic and/or expressing sexual longing for someone, sometimes exposing frictions between husband and wife and a separation. The past is another theme in some of the songs, and others include advice on how to live properly. And, indeed, some texts are a little blunt or crude as Meijer said, but most texts allude to matters in a veiled form: they are *susualan* with some layers of meaning.

The discussion of the content and some performance aspects of the *susualan* will start by looking at the performance by the female singer Raidah on the evening of 26 March 2003. She was accompanied on violin (*viol*) by her husband Arip and on a flat *kacapi siter* by Satra (Satrawinata); see Figure 49. In the last three songs a male singer, Salim, sang a few verses in alternation with Raidah (Figure 50). This evening took place at the end of the Baduy month Kasa, the first of the three fasting months (*kawalu*). I had asked for this performance at the house of the secular village head Daénah, because I recorded Raidah (earlier written as Raida) also in 1992 and I knew she was a well-known performer; see also Van Zanten (1995: 531–532). My assistant Mumu transcribed the texts from the recordings and these were checked with others, including the zither player Satra. Then we discussed the notated song texts with Raidah, Arib and Mumu a few days after the recordings. See further the methodological remarks in Appendix 4.

Between about 20.15 and 22.50 Raidah, Arib and Satra played eleven songs, altogether with about seventy *susualan*. In between the songs, there were discussions, people smoked and drank coffee or tea. Now and then people in the audience reacted to the words sung by Raidah. In the last three songs of this evening, starting from 2003–09 *Kapergok*, the young man Salim sang a few stanzas. He ‘answered’ the text sung by Raidah before. This type of singing by a man who is ‘breaking into’ the performance by a female singer is common in Sunda and called *alok*. I will now discuss the song texts performed that night and follow the order in which they were sung. The first song was *Kidung Rahayu*.

7.3.1 *Kidung Rahayu*

In 1995 I wrote that ‘[T]he Baduy do not use *kidung* in the Sundanese sense of ‘singing’ an incantation to avert illness, theft, and possible evils when entering places that might harbour spirits’ (Van Zanten 1995: 529; compare Van Zanten 1989: 17–18). However, this text of the song *Kidung Rahayu*, recorded in 2003 at the start of the performance and recording session, apparently denies this.



FIGURE 49 From L to R violin player Arib, his wife and female vocalist Raidah and the zither player Satra, interviewed by Mumu during their performance in Kaduketug, 26 March 2003

Here it seemed to be used as an incantation to avert evil influences and to supply holy prosperity: 'In the name of God ...' and 'burning incense rises into the air ...' In stanza 4 Raidah sings about the 'wind of prosperity' (*bayu rahayu*) and 'wind of love' (*bayu asih*) that are living 'in the present world'.

The text further reminds the audience that they are the descendants ('children') of the famous Siliwangi, king of the Hindu kingdom Pajajaran (14-16th century CE), who had his seat near the present-day Bogor. This seems not entirely in line with the current 'official' Baduy view as presented in the beginning of Chapter 3: a strong denial that they are descendants of people who fled Pajajaran when the Islamic forces took over in 1579. It may be that this song text came from outside the Baduy community, because in general the Sundanese consider themselves to be the 'children of Siliwangi'. This *Kidung Rahayu* text finishes with: 'we respectfully give you all this, we present it, although we are ignorant, I and my friends'.

The beginning (*rajab*) of a *pantun* story contains similar elements as this *Kidung Rahayu* text; see Section 6.5 above. I do not know how common such *Kidung Rahayu* text is. It may be that the time of this recording, in one of the fasting months of *kawalu*, had some influence on this opening text. During the circumcision rituals that I attended in Kadujungkung and Cicakal Leuwi Buleud in 2016, the *keromong* regularly played *Kidung Rahayu* and also *Kidung Opat-Lima* (see Sections 4.4 and 4.5). Unfortunately I was then not allowed to record the activities and I was not able to obtain the text of these songs. Also, at that time *Kidung Rahayu* and *Kidung Opat-Lima* were not played at the start, but in between other songs. Further, the song *Kidung* is not only played by gamelan with vocal part, but also instrumentally by the *elét* and *suling lamus*.

7.3.2 *Tepang Sono*

The second song was *Tepang Sono* (Affectionate Meeting) and it also shows some aspects of an 'opening'. Raidah addresses the 'Highly honoured one(s)' (*jungjunan*) for whom she is going to perform 'the Sundanese arts from previous generations, the heritage from our ancestors'. She hopes that she will not fail in bringing the right feeling of affection across. If the musicians fail, make mistakes, she apologizes.

7.3.3 *Daun Hiris*

The third song was *Daun Hiris*, (Leaves of the *hiris* shrub) that can be found in Kanékés and the legumes are eaten by the Baduy. This is the first song of that evening that is about a love relation. A woman complains that her lover (husband?) no longer seems to care about her. She addresses him as '*panutan*': the person to follow because you love him. Whatever she does to get him back, he

has turned away from her: there are many temptations. She talks about the beautiful *hiris* leaves with its yellow flowers that we may see near the fishpond. But in the next stanza the singer confesses that she is jealous of the *hiris* leaves at the edge of the ravine, seemingly comparing the dangerous position of that plant with her own unavoidable fate. She is using nature as a metaphor for her human feelings, as is common in Sundanese songs.

7.3.4 *Jalan*

The main theme of this song ‘The road/to travel’ is again a broken love relation. The singer expresses despair: ‘my thinking is chaotic, sad memories fill my mind’, ‘I am worried about the angry person, how shall I face him?’, ‘my friend has become a stranger’ and ‘my heart is weeping’. However, the performer also gives advice: ‘do not desire that woman, she will make you ill because of thinking about her’, ‘you can help each other, in case of a mistake, forgive each other’ and ‘when a person is patient, surely he/she will become prosperous’.

It occurred twice in this song that the performer praised important people in the audience: the secular village head (*Apa lurah*, who had a ‘nice character’) and also the village secretary (*Pa Haji Sapin*, whom we like). The performance took place on the veranda of the house of the village head Daénah and he attended the whole evening. Also the village secretary (*carik*) Sapin was present during this performance. Sapin was born in Kanékés, but his family migrated in 1978, and he became a Muslim and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, hence the polite way of addressing him was ‘Mr. Haji Sapin’.

7.3.5 *Gunjaér Mundur*

The song ‘The *gunjaér* fish retreats’ again offers a metaphor in nature by looking at the fish that retreats to the village square (stanza 1) and a small canal (stanza 2). The performer asks us (her lover?) not yet ‘to go home’, to retreat, because she wants to wait. Apparently she is still in doubt about the possibility of a good relation with her lover. This song expresses longing for a love relation without difficulties and anxiety that it may turn out badly: ‘I am worried, I am thinking about and longing for you, it would be nice if you came to me’, followed by ‘How shall I become quiet, sir? Let it not disappear within a month’ and ‘where do I ask for help? My heart is so disturbed!’ One stanza text offers wisdom: ‘Sorrow and sweetness, sir, will go together’. Stanza 9 of this song is exactly the same as the performed stanza 8 of the previous song *Jalan*.

7.3.6 *Kacang Asin*

The text of this song ‘Salted peanuts’ is fairly simple and repeated in the *susu-alan* 1–3: ‘I am ashamed, the shame concerns the two of us’ and ‘the shame is

because we were close together'. Further Raidah repeated stanzas from earlier songs and with little variation: *Jalan* (stanzas 10, 4 and 1), *Gunjaér Mundur* (stanzas 10 and 6), *Kacang Asin* (stanzas 1 and 3). The 4th stanza is a special one. This *susualan* occurs a few times in my collection with some variation. The word *kaniaya* means 'injustice', 'cruel', 'oppressed', 'maltreated', or 'to punish' (Eringa 1984, *KUBS* 1976). I suppose that in this context it means ill-treatment of a woman by her lover.

7.3.7 *Bayu-Bayu*

The song 'Vitality' or 'Breath of Life' is not about love, but rather a *memento mori*: your life is short and remember that one day you will die. In the 3rd *susualan* it says: 'Life is governed by death, death's time is not known; that also holds for me, there is a return to the origin'. We 'live in this world as strangers' and we should not be jealous or greedy. We should not live like animals, but praise god, live like ascetics. Baduy believe that after death their spirit will return to where it came from: Sasaka Parahiang near Cibéo (see also Section 2.1).

7.3.8 *Poho Kabalik*

This song 'Forgetting to go home' starts by saying that 'we are enjoying happiness, like the happy people who forget to go home'. The second stanza is more serious: 'Although she does not live licentiously, elder brother, your wife is slandered; I am shaking, overcome with troubles'. Further, this song text warns: 'do not get distracted, otherwise it will cause confusion' and 'let not a charm of love be cast on you'. The singer also warns for the many good female singers: 'it feels as if you are put to sleep, especially when it is enjoyable'. Then 'the tiredness is not felt, work forgotten, no worrying about being rattled by fatigue'. However, these many distractions are no better than your wife who is waiting for you.

7.3.9 *Kapergok*

In this song 'Caught red-handed' and the following two songs Raidah's singing was alternating with a male singer Salim. This type of musical dialogue between a female singer and an *alok* singing man is much appreciated by the audience, and sometimes the singers are very inventive when improvising on *susualan* texts. I estimate Salim was at that time in his early twenties and I think he came from Kaduketug (see Figure 50).

In this musical dialogue the female singer started off: 'Hey (elder) brother, what are you doing? We happen to meet as if we are a couple in love'. The male singer denies this: he was not attracted to her when they met the other day. He

then was just dreaming that he would be a rich man. She should not think that they were a couple in love, because ‘it will increase your jealousy’. The female singer answers that she does not want to become a couple, because ‘there is already proof that you have a girlfriend’. She accuses the boy of often switching and ‘people watch this critically!’ Then the boy reveals that he apparently hoped to have a chance with this girl: ‘don’t be rude [...] you dare to become angry at me, as if inviting [us] to split up’. The girl states again that she does not want to become a couple, because he already ‘shares his heart’ with someone else. After this the two singers repeated a few earlier *susualan*, sometimes with some variation.

After the start of *Kapergok* and singing the first *susualan* (stanza 0 in Appendix 4), the musicians started again and repeated this stanza (stanza 1 in Appendix 4). This time, after the first sentence of the female singer (‘Hey, brother, what are you doing?’), the village secretary shouted: ‘I am drinking coffee!’ This type of interaction increases the happy atmosphere of the performance. The recording of *susualan* 1–3 of *Kapergok* may be heard in the audio-visual example <AV19>.



FIGURE 50 On the right Salim, who ‘broke in’ at Raidah’s performance with *alok* singing; on the left is Satra playing the *kacapi siter*. Kaduketug 1, 26 March 2003

Kapergok

Verses 1-3 sung by Raidah from Balimbing and Salim from Kaduketug, 2003

Recorded in Kaduketug on MD 2003-09, 39:53-41:10, 26 March 2003

Accompanied by Arip (*viola*) and Satra (*sitar*)

$\text{♩} = 72$

Voice

[Raidah:] Hey eng-kang é - ta keur na - on Ka-sam-pak pa - du - du - a -
 4 an Ka-sam-pak pa-du-du-a-an Sing ho-réng keur bo-bo-goh-an Sing ho-réng mah keur
 7 [Salim:] bo - bo - goh - an Hey e-néng tong sung-ku - sang-ka Ha-ri - ta
 11 téh keur nga - la - mun Ha-yang mah ja - di je - le - ma beung-har U - lah nyang - ka sam -
 14 [Raidah:] ba - rang-an Nga-ge - dé-keun tim - bu - ru - an A-yeu-na mah eng - kang, ab-di
 18 se - rah-keun Hen - teu ho - yong dipang-du - a - keun Buk-ti -
 21 na bo-ro a-kang-na téh jeung a - wé - wé Eng-kang tos mi - du - a ha-té [...]

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 7 *Susualan* 1, 2, and 3 of song *Kapergok*, as sung by Raidah and Salim in Kaduketug, 26 March 2003. Listen to <AV19>

Music Transcription Tr 7 presents a part of the musical dialogue between Raidah and Salim in the song *Kapergok*. In the transcribed *susualan* 1, 2, and 3, Raidah sang the first and third stanza and Salim the one in between. The used *saléndro* tone system is represented by the notes c - e-flat - f - g - b-flat - [c] and this more or less represents the real pitches (with standard a^1 equal to 440 Hz).

In his *susualan* Salim (bars 9–16) repeated the melody sung by Raidah before (bars 1–8), with a few variations, partly because he had to adjust for more or less syllables. In the following *susualan* (bars 16–23) Raidah introduced a new melody that was not repeated by Salim. Instead, the transcribed music in

Tr 7 is repeated three more times, with slight variation. That is, the *susualan* of *Kapergok* are sung to two different melodies. Hence in stanza's 1, 4, 7 and 10 the melody is the same and sung by Raidah. In stanza's 2, 5, 8 and 11 the melodies are also the same as in stanza's 1, 4, 7 and 11, but sung by Salim. Stanza's 3, 6, 9 and 12 are also sung on the same melody, however, this melody is different from the one used for the other stanza's. The melodic line lies in a lower pitch range than the first one. These stanzas were again all sung by Raidah.

My music transcription suggests that Raidah used more musical embellishments (grace notes, mordents and pitch vibrato)¹ than Salim. However, on the whole, the emphasis seems to lie on the correct rendering of the partially improvised song text, rather than on the melodies and embellishments. The tempo indication of 72 beats per minute is only an average.

7.3.10 *Daun Puspa*

In this song 'Puspa Leaves' there were no jokes about a love relation as in the former one. The song seems to evoke a feeling of intimacy and the main issue is the sweetness of love: 'my dearest love, we were carried away by the wind of affection'. Nature around the couple was witness of these sweet memories of the lovers: the leaves of the tall *puspa* tree and also the nicely blinking stars. The female singer started by reminding her lover about his words that their love would not disappear in future, in contrast to the *puspa* leaves that wither and become dry. 'Your keen eye seduced my heart; when we separate it will cause a lingering illness'. Then the male singer confirms in a *susualan* that the *puspa* leaves have been witness from the start, when they expressed their wish to live together and love each other. Now these *puspa* leaves are falling and still witnessing their love. Raidah then finished by repeating the first two stanzas that she had sung before.

7.3.11 *Ucing-Ucingan*

This song 'Children's games' was the last one of the performance that evening. The title Ucing-Ucingan also refers to the word *ucing*, cat. In the 'cover' or 'rind' (*cangkang*) of most *susualan* of this song is mentioned that the 'spotted cat' has five, three, or two hairs, it has a tail, a multi-coloured skin or hair like the *hiris* shrub. The lines with the content (*eusi*) of the *susualan* do not always show a very clear meaning. The first line of the 'content', that is, third line of the *susualan* stanza, is invariably taken to be 'often I want to play' (*sok hayang*

1 Compare, for instance, Van Zanten (1989: 163) for embellishments in Cianjuran music in the Priangan.

ulin-ulinan) by Raidah. Presumably the ‘playing’ (*ulin*) also alludes to erotic playing (compare also Van Hoëvell 1845: 418, 421–422). Only stanza 5 and 10, sung by Salim, are different in this respect. A line with fairly clear meaning is ‘When I am worried, I want to take [the cat] along’ (stanza 7). In this context the ‘cat’ is a metaphor for ‘girl’. In the last stanza (number 10), Salim sings that he hopes his friend will become his partner and that he may use medicine (*obat*) to make the process go smoothly.

So far the discussion of the song texts in the performance by Raidah and her companions in 2003, who could be considered to be ‘professionals’ in the Baduy community. After the performance people who had attended went home. I paid Arip as representative of the group (Rp 100.000, about € 10, US\$ 11). In the beginning of the concert we had stopped to get the transcription of the sung texts down on paper (see Figure 49). However, as this took much time and was not very interesting for the audience (see Figure 51), we then left this checking for later. Eventually Mumu and I discussed the transcribed texts with Raidah three days later, on Saturday night 29 March 2003, 20–22.35. For this session on the checking of the notated texts I paid Arip Rp 50.000 (about € 5, US\$ 5.5) for the group.



FIGURE 51 Young woman and girl in the audience of the performance by Raidah et al., Kaduketug 1, 26 March 2003

7.4 Major Themes in Other Song Texts

In 1976 I collected six songs sung with *angklung* accompaniment. As said, these *angklung* texts in Appendix 4, part A, are less close to the performances than Raidah's texts discussed in Section 7.3 above. However, they show enough interesting features to be briefly discussed. The singer with *angklung* accompaniment is always a man, and not playing one of the instruments himself. The recordings of singing in 1992 (Part B, Appendix 4) are even less reliable, and I decided to include only part of those text transcriptions here.

7.4.1 Moral Advice

Two stanzas of the 1976 song *Ngasuh* (To take care) give moral advice. The first one says that unmarried boys are already sitting close to the girls, and it means to say that this is improper behaviour. In stanza 3 it says that, if you are in love, you should not show this; you should be able to disguise it. Further advice is given in stanza 2 of 1992-01 *Ceuk Arileu*: 'The man who does not think easily ends the marriage – do not take him'. Close to the last one is the text 'A man who does not think does not realize that women may not like him' (D, 2003-13, stanza 12).

Advice is also given in part D of Appendix 4, and recorded in 2003. These *susualan* were recited without singing and reasonably reliable. Good advice is given in several stanzas:

- 'Although we are distracted, do not forget the one you love' (D, 2003-12, stanza 15)
- 'If you really don't want it, let it not come to a break' (D, 2003-12, stanza 16)
- 'Do not fall in love with your guest(s), when she/he goes home you will miss her/him' (D, 2003-13, stanza 11).

Good advices are also given in the *susualan* that were given by a person from the Inner Baduy hamlet Cibéo:

- 'Although we do forget, do not forget about love' (D, 2003-15, stanza 4)
- 'But then again, when we go to someone, we must be aware of god' (D, 2003-15, stanza 10)

The Inner Baduy also have erotic feelings and express these:

- 'Don't smile and [sit] close by, it may be that I want you' (D, 2003-15, stanza 9).

Also for the Inner Baduy a good relation may end:

- 'Yesterday we talked, today we end our marriage' (D, 2003-15, stanza 8).

7.4.2 Hurt by Outsiders

In the Cibéo collection (2003-15) there are some interesting *susualan* that may be seen as expressions of common feelings in the Baduy community:

- ‘This stupidity is your own mistake! Because of stupidity you will be hurt by strangers’ (D2003-15, stanza 6).

Baduy very much feel that they should not make mistakes when dealing with people from outside their community. There is a general feeling that they may be misled and exploited by outsiders. Therefore they try to avoid being tricked. They want to stay independent as much as possible, also in their dealings with the Indonesian authorities, as I have pointed out in Chapter 2, especially Sections 2.1, 2.3 and 2.4.

7.4.3 *Dirty Words*

Some of the stanzas with ‘dirty words’ may be found in the *susualan* collection from Kaduketug (2003–13):

- ‘Grandmother does not want to get up, she is farting incessantly’ (stanza 2);
- ‘The woman has a bald head, if you get near [you will notice] she stinks from farting (stanza 3);
- ‘Nowadays the women fart a lot and wet the bed even more’ (stanza 9).

There are only three such examples in my collection, but it is remarkable that they all concern women with undesirable characteristics: farting, having a bald head and wetting the bed. In 1995 I wrote that I heard boys singing ‘some dirty phrases’ in the early morning after the ceremonial marriage of the goddess of rice to the earth (Van Zanten 1995: 534). These sung words were ‘old penis/scrotum’ (*kontol péot*), definitely referring to the male genitals (A1992-1: 64). Hence Baduy do know dirty words and sometimes use them in *susualan* and this contradicts what Meijer (1890: 477) wrote.

7.4.4 *References to Music and Dance*

I also looked at references to music and dance in the *susualan* of my collection. There are a few interesting passages, like:

- ‘Why do the *gamelan* musicians not shout encouragements? Because they have not been given a hot drink (tea)’ (2003–12, stanza 13).

The *gamelan* musicians are supposed to shout encouragements (*senggak*) as comments on what the puppeteer (*dalang*) or the female vocalist (*sindén*) has said or sung. It is generally felt as enhancing the good atmosphere of the performance. This is similar to what I described in Section 7.3 above for the song *Kapergok* in which Raidah sang ‘Hey, elder brother, what are you doing?’ and in response the village secretary shouted that he was drinking coffee. When a group performs the host and hostess are responsible for supplying food and drinks for them. If the *gamelan* musicians do not get their drinks, they will not get into the right mood and the performance will be less cheerful and animated (*ramé*).

Stanza 2 of 1992-01 and stanza 12 of 2003-13 both start with the line ‘the *kacapi* is ornamented with woodcarvings’. This is the first line of the ‘rind’ (*cangkang*) and the words may only be taken because of the wanted sound association. However, this sentence is remarkable in the sense that the Baduy zithers made in Kanékés do not have any woodcarvings and are made from plain white *lamé* wood. Therefore this line probably refers to a zither made outside Kanékés and the *susualan* may have been taken from outside the Baduy community. The only ‘decoration’ of *kacapi pantun* may be a white cross (*tumbal*) put on the sound board with some kind of chalk, like the one on Yanci’s *kacapi* in Van Zanten (2016a: 417) and the violin in Figure 54 below. This is used to protect the player from bad outside influences (see also Van Zanten 1989: 94–95).

In stanza’s 2 and 3 of 1992-7 (*Néng Gaya*), the vocalist (Raidah) mentions that the drummer (*tukang kendang*) has a style, or manner (*gaya*) of drumming, the *kacapi* player has a style of playing, and the *rendo* player has a style of playing. Each time she adds that she also has a style and her style is the same as the one of the drummer, the zither player and the violin player. They all have the same style and they are very good! In a more general sense this text seems to emphasize that all people are equal.

Another *susualan* raises the ‘singing contest’ of boys when trying to find a wife (*ngaroronda*): ‘Do not be ashamed to be jealous when we sing in turns’ (1976-4, stanza 4). On these occasions the boys may accompany their own singing on a *kacapi*. Music is frequently used for courting and it is especially the softer instruments, like the *karinding* Jew’s harp and the *kacapi*, that are used, sometimes for accompanying the singing. It is said that the *karinding* is still frequently used by Inner Baduy women when courting. Apparently some sounds of the *karinding* may allude to word sounds in a *susualan* (Ukang Sukarna, A2003-2: 13).

7.4.5 *False Instruments and Social Order*

Two of the Baduy *susualan* in Appendix 4 speak about the *suling* that is out of tune (*silung*, plural *sarilung*) and this is taken as a metaphor for the person, who is ‘confused’ (2003-12, stanza 7 and 2003-14, stanza 2). This text also shows repetition of the vowel pattern in reverse order: u-i and i-u in the second line (that is, chiasmic assonance; see Eringa 1949: 106; Van Zanten 1989: 66). I have discussed this *susualan* text, also used in Cianjuran singing of the Priangan, and pointed out that a badly tuned instrument may also be used as a metaphor for a social situation that is out of order and unbalanced (Van Zanten 1989: 105, 194–195; 1994: 87–90; 1997: 46). In my collection these two *susualan* were just quoted and not performed, however texts about ‘false gongs’ are found in the

Baduy *pantun* stories as shown in Section 6.5 above and specifically in Table 13 and Music Transcription Tr 6.

The next chapter is about music produced by wind and string instruments. This includes flutes played by human beings, but also instruments that make sound produced by the wind. The string instruments include different types of zithers and violins. Most of these instruments can be played on their own, but also in small groups, like the Raidah ensemble discussed in Section 7.3 above.

Wind, String and Other Instruments

This chapter will discuss instruments that are played on their own, or in combination with one or two other instruments, mostly for entertainment. In the overview in Section 1.2 it was already mentioned that the Outer Baduy have four types of flutes, all made of bamboo: *elét*, *suling lam(b)us*, *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét* (also called *taléot*). They also have four string instruments: the *kacapi* (*pantun*) zither, (*kacapi*) *siter* flat zither, the two-string bowed lute *rendo* and the four-string bowed lute *viol* (violin). After discussing these wind and string instruments, the last section will briefly mention a few other instruments that may also be played on their own: *gambang* and *calung* xylophones, and *karinding* Jew's harps. Of the here mentioned instruments the Inner Baduy are only allowed to play the side-blown flutes *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét*, the *kacapi pantun* zither and the *karinding* Jew's harp.

Baduy say that the *lamus*, *kumbang* and *tarawélét* flutes are also used for courting purposes. In a way this is not surprising, as in many regions of the world flutes are thought to have magical powers. In the 1930s Kruyt reported this for Indonesian flutes, mainly in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. He described the Indonesian flute as a 'vessel full of life force with which one may create life', and the creative powers of the wind, 'the breath of the universe', are explicitly mentioned. Kruyt's conclusion is that in the past the ritual use of flutes in Indonesia may have been more common than in the 1930s (Kruyt 1938: 249, 268, 269).

Like the Baduy *kacapi pantun*, the *rendo* and gongs in the *keromong* ensemble have no decorations, except for a possible white cross (*tumbal*) to protect the player and the audience from evil spirits; see also Sections 6.4 and 7.4 above. This chapter will not discuss the magical powers of Baduy flutes and other musical instruments and rather concentrate on the physical aspects and the produced music. The instruments will be briefly described, with special attention to the two side-blown flutes and the music produced on these instruments, because nowadays they are rarely found in the Outer Baduy area. The other instruments are more common, and very similar instruments may also be found outside the Baduy area, although we only have limited information on this.

First the flutes will be discussed and thereafter the string and other instruments. Figure 52 shows eight flutes that I bought, or that were given as a present to me in different years. The flutes are listed with the year in which I obtained this specimen. The *tarawélét* and *suling kumbang* obtained in 2014 were



FIGURE 52 The four types of Baduy flutes. From top to bottom: two *elét*, one *suling lamus*, three *tarawélét* and two *suling kumbang*

^a Karamaén from Cibéo made two *tarawélét* that I bought on 5 June 2014 and I distinguish these flutes by 2014R and 2014NR. I do not possess *tarawélét* 2014R (2014 Recorded), the one on which Karamaén played in my film and audio recordings that day. That *tarawélét* was given to my assistant Mumu. The Non-Recorded *tarawélét* that I possess is indicated by 2014NR. It appeared that these two *tarawélét* (2014R and 2014NR) although having similar appearances, produced slightly different notes (see below).

damaged during the journey, as will be explained below, and repaired by the present author with transparent tape.

A photograph showing the *elét* (1976), *suling lamus* (1976) and *tarawélét* (1979) was earlier published in Van Zanten (1989: 100), in the same picture with three other Sundanese end-blown bamboo flutes: six-finger hole *suling*, four-finger hole *suling degung* and the four-finger hole *suling saléndro*. From that picture it becomes clear that the Baduy *suling lamus* is very similar to the six-finger hole *suling* as used in, for instance, Cianjuran music. Whereas the Baduy *elét*, *suling kumbang*, and *tarawélét* are always played on their own, the *suling lamus* may be played on its own, but also in combination with the *kacapi* and/or the *rendo*. Such trio was already reported by Van Hoëvell (1845: 428) and it is still used, also with a violin and flat *kacapi siter*; instead of the *rendo* and *kacapi pantun*. See Section 7.3 above, in which I described such instrumental group accompanying the female vocalist Raidah. Further, apart from the mentioned flutes, there are other instruments not blown by human beings but by the wind (Aeolian flutes): *calintuh* pipes, and the *kolécér* idiophone, a kind of propeller: see Section 1.2 and Figure 9 above.

Below the flutes will first be described and the musical aspects discussed, such as the circular breathing technique used for the two end-blown flutes, *suling lamus* and *elét*. This technique is not used in the present-day playing of the 60-62cm *suling*, very similar to the Baduy *suling lamus*, in the other parts of West Java. As far as I know, in the Sundanese region outside the Baduy area this circular breathing technique for wind instruments is only used for the Sundanese shawm (double reed wind instrument): *tarompét*. The circular

breathing technique is common all over the world, though, and has already been applied for many centuries, not only for playing musical instruments, but also for producing crafts by smiths and glass blowers.

The *kumbang* and *tarawélét* are not blown with circular breathing, and blown in a more discontinuous way and with short breathing pauses. These flutes produce part of the main notes by using overtones of the lowest notes, as will be explained below.

8.1 *Kumbang* Flute

The *suling kumbang* is a transverse or side-blown flute with two finger holes. *Suling kumbang* may mean ‘flute of the bumblebee’ and the *kumbang* (or *bangbara*) bumblebee is a metaphor for someone in love. At the side of the blowing hole is a piece of about 10 cm of bamboo added to the natural partition (*ruas*) in the bamboo and in the form of a spearhead; this piece seems to have no musical function. Some people remarked that the flute with a sharpened point could be used to defend the player when attacked by a tiger (A1976: 33–34). Hidding (1932: 79–80) mentions the *maung kumbang*, a black tiger, and tells us that a man of nobility may turn into a tiger and that therefore people do not talk about a ‘tiger’ in the forest, but about the ‘nobleman (*ménak*) of the forest’. It may be that the name of the *kumbang* has been derived from this association. Anyway, the pointed end seems not suitable for defending yourself against a tiger; the large knife (*golok*) that every Baduy man wears seems far more suitable for this purpose, although probably also not sufficient. Moreover, today tigers are no longer to be found in Kanékés.

Here I will present an anecdote about this flute with a sharp point attached to it. In June 2014 the *suling kumbang* just bought from Karamaén from Cibéo did not fit my suitcase and I had wrapped it in paper to be carried as cabin luggage on the plane. However the airline personnel in Jakarta Cengkareng Airport did not allow this. Especially when they saw the sharpened point at the end of the flute they said that this would never pass the security check. The sharpened point of the *suling kumbang* may have been associated with the *bambu runcing*, the sharpened bamboo spears that were used by Indonesian villagers, in particular during the independence war against the Dutch in 1945–1949.¹ In this situation the best choice seemed to send the flute with the

1 Geise (1952: 110) mentions the story Budak Buncireung, in which a spear from *tamiang* bamboo (*tamiang pugur*) from which the leaves and branches have been removed, should be used to kill the monster Si Iwak Gentur.

suitcase in the luggage compartment and, in an improvised way, wrapped only in paper with one of my shirts around it. On arrival in Amsterdam the flute had three cracks of about 10-20cm near the first finger hole. Unfortunately the *tarawélét* packed in my suitcase was also damaged at this journey! Fortunately I could repair the damage with transparent tape such that the flutes can be used again.

I have two *suling kumbang* made in the Inner Baduy area. The first one was presented to me together with a *tarawélét* by Ukang Sukarna, then the secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés on 16 July 1979 (A1979: 2). The second *kumbang* was bought on 5 June 2014 from player Karamaén from Cibéo, who had made this flute himself (A2014-1: 56–59; audio and film recording). The *kumbang* are said to be made from *tamiang* bamboo and the lengths are 69.8 and 72.5 cm, as measured on the inside from the partition in the bamboo until the open end, that is, without the sharp point. The 1979 flute seems indeed to be made from *tamiang* bamboo. However, the 2014 flute is thicker and I am not quite sure that this is *tamiang* (what Karamaén told me), the kind of bamboo used for most Sundanese flutes.

Karamaén explained that there is a relation between the outer circumference of the flute near the blowing hole and the position of the two finger holes and the blowing hole. The circumference (*beulitan*; literally: what you wind around something) was measured with a piece of strong grass or something similar. This length was called one *rumbak*.² The total length of the *kumbang* from the partition to the open end should be about 9 *rumbak*. The position of the finger holes is also expressed in *rumbak* units. The second finger hole, nearest to the open end, is taken about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *rumbak* from the end of the flute; the distance between the two finger holes should be about $5-5\frac{1}{2}$ *rumbak* and the distance between the first finger hole and the partition should be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ *rumbak*. The mouth hole is a few centimetres from the partition in the bamboo; Karamaén did not express this last distance in *rumbak*. For the flute made by Karamaén in 2014, the outer diameter near the mouth hole of the *kumbang* is 2.6cm, so for this flute one *rumbak* is about $2.6 \times \pi = 8.2$ cm. Similarly, for the 1979 *kumbang* one *rumbak* is $2.2 \times \pi = 6.9$ cm. In Table 17 below I have presented some distances on these flutes in cm and also in *rumbak* units. It may be seen that on these two *kumbang* the actual distances in *rumbak* do not deviate too much from Karamaén's theoretical model.

2 I did not find *rumbak* as a measure of unit length in *KUBS* (1976), Zoetmulder (1982) and Eringa (1984). However, it may be related to what is given by Eringa and *KUBS* as the Sundanese word *tumbak*, a measure of length of about 3.77 metre. Eringa gives this as the old Dutch measure of length: a *Rijnlandse roede*.

TABLE 17 Measurements of two *kumbang* flutes in cm

Year in which the <i>suling kumbang</i> was obtained	1979 (July)		2014 (June)	
	cm	<i>rumbak</i>	cm	<i>rumbak</i>
Total length of flute	81.7		83	
Length from partition to open end (inside measurement)		69.6 10.1		72.5 8.8
Length of sharpened point		11.7		9.8
Width of partition		0.4		0.7
Outer diameter at about 5 cm from partition, almost at the position of the mouth hole	2.2		2.6	
1 <i>Rumbak</i>	2.2 x $\pi = 6.9$	1	2.6 x $\pi = 8.2$	1
Outer diameter at about 5 cm from the open end of flute	2.3		2.7	
Inner diameter at the open end of the flute	1.7		2.1	
Second finger hole (farthest from mouth hole)				
Lower edge, position from open end	11.5	1.7	12.2	1.5
Upper edge, position from open end	12.2		13.1	
Diameter	0.7		0.8–0.9	
Distance to first finger hole (lower edges)	35.1	5.1	38.4	4.7
First finger hole (nearest to mouth hole)				
Lower edge, position from open end	46.6		50.6	
Upper edge, position from open end	47.3		51.4	
Diameter	0.6–0.7		0.8–0.9	
Distance to mouth hole (lower edges)	19.4		18.9	
Distance lower edge to partition	23.0	3.3	21.7	2.6
Mouth hole				
Lower edge, position from open end	66.0		69.3	
Upper edge, position from open end	67.4		70.7	
Diameter	0.7–1.4		1.1–1.4	
Distance to partition (lower edges)	3.6		3.2	
Ratio length from partition: inner diameter	41		35	

On 20 July 1976 I made audio recordings of three songs played by the Outer Baduy Sarjai from Gajéboh, but I did not get the names of these songs. In 1992, 2003 and 2013 I could not find any Outer Baduy who played *suling kumbang*. It was only in 2014 that I recorded the *suling kumbang* again, played by the Inner Baduy Karamaén from Cibéo. I met Karamaén for the first time in 2003 and then he played the *kacapi*. In 2014 Karamaén explained that the Inner Baduy only play the *suling kumbang* and the *tarawélét* in a shed in the fields (*saung huma*) and not in the hamlets (*lembur*). On the request of Karamaén the June 2014 recording therefore took place in a shed in the fields near the new hamlet Cicampaka, between the Outer Baduy hamlets Cihulu and Kadujangkung, just after Cicampaka had officially been recognized as a new Baduy hamlet by the leaders in the *nukuh lembur* ceremony (see Section 6.4).

The musical repertoire of the *suling kumbang* is limited. In 2014 Karamaén played three songs: *Noong Sosog* ('To have a look at the ditch [with fish trap]'), *Pileuleuyan* ('Have a good trip' – when going away to start work in the gardens, according to Karamaén) and *Noong Buwu* ('To have a look at the fish trap').³ He told that these were the only songs that he knew and that he had learned the songs from his family. He added that in the whole Inner Baduy area on the *suling kumbang* you would only hear these three songs played and the songs were not played on other instruments. As mentioned already, the *suling kumbang* players do not use the circular breathing technique that is applied when playing the end-blown flutes: the Outer Baduy *elét* and *suling lamus* (*lamus/lambus* means 'bellows'). When playing Karamaén kept the *kumbang* and *tarawélét* flutes pointing to his right side; for both instruments he used his right forefinger for closing the second finger hole, farthest from the mouth hole, and his left forefinger for closing the first finger hole, nearest to the mouth hole.

The production of notes on the *kumbang* by Karamaén is presented in Table 18. The different notes are produced by opening and closing the two holes and by blowing louder or softer to produce overtones (strengthening certain harmonics). As compared to the length, the inner diameter of the bamboo tube (the bore) of the *kumbang* is too narrow to produce the fundamentals. Therefore the lowest produced notes on the *kumbang* are the first overtones: octaves of the corresponding fundamentals. If the player blows harder, the next produced note will be the second overtone of the fundamental and a fifth (about 700 cent) higher than the first overtone. Blowing harder again will produce the

3 I am not sure about the meaning of *sosok*. Coolsma (1884) gives *sosokan* = *susukan*, ditch, small canal. It seems that in this context this ditch is used for placing the fish trap (*buwu*).

TABLE 18 Production of notes on *kumbang* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014

Mouth hole and finger holes (as seen from player)	lowest octave: first overtone of fundamental	second overtone of fundamental	third overtone of fundamental
[M ● ●)	a ¹ #	f ²	a ² #
[M ● ○)	c ²	g ²	
[M ○ ○)	d ² #		

The f² may also be produced by opening the hole closest to the mouth hole and keeping the other hole closed:

[M ○ ●)			
---------	--	--	--

third overtone that is a fourth (about 500 cent) higher than the second overtone (see also Marcuse 1975: 554).

In Table 17 the ratio of this length of the flute (from the partition) to the inner diameter is given as 41 (= 69.6: 1.7) for *kumbang* 1979 and 35 (= 72.5: 2.1) for *kumbang* 2014. On the other side-blown flutes of the Baduy, the *tarawélét* to be discussed in the next section, overtones are also used as a major addition to the tone material. However, on the *tarawélét* the fundamentals can be produced because the bore (inner diameter) is relatively wider than on the *kumbang*. The ratios length of flute: inner diameter are given in Table 18 below: 22 (= 43.8: 2.0) for *tarawélét* 1979, 21–25 (= 48.0: 2.3–1.9) for *tarawélét* 1992 and 15 (= 57.3: 2.8) for *tarawélét* 2014NR. These *tarawélét* values are lower than for the *kumbang* that cannot produce the fundamentals.

It should be understood that the produced notes are represented by approximations of Western tones (equal-tempered model with a¹ = 440 Hertz). It is easy to blow a little harder or softer on the flutes (all kinds: *kumbang*, *tarawélét*, *lamus* and *elét*) and produce a slightly higher or lower tone. In the used outline of the *kumbang* in Table 18, M indicates the mouth hole, ○ is an open finger hole and ● a closed finger hole; further square bracket '[' indicates the closed end near the mouth hole and the round bracket ')' the open end of the flute.

By strengthening the higher harmonics the player can cover a whole octave with five notes. Karamaén used glissando from one note to another and occasionally did not open a hole entirely, so that a kind of 'in-between' note was produced. This happened several times when he played the grace note higher than f² (both finger holes closed); in this fast movement the finger on the last

finger hole was opened only partially and this produced $f^{2\#}$ rather than g^2 . In the Music Transcriptions Tr 8 and Tr 9 I have always notated this as g^2 .

Ordering the notes from low to high frequency (from 'large' / *gedé*, to 'small' / *leutik*), we may present the notes produced by the *suling kumbang* as played by Karamaén on 5 June 2014 in approximate Western staff notation (with $a^1 \equiv 440$ Hertz) as $a^{1\#}$ (or $b^{1\text{-flat}}$), c^2 , $d^{2\#}$ (or $e^{2\text{-flat}}$), f^2 , g^2 , $a^{2\#}$ (or $b^{2\text{-flat}}$). These five notes may be considered to form an equidistant pentatonic tone system: *saléndro*.

As said, Karamaén produced the note f^2 by overblowing the lowest note, but this note could also be produced by opening only the finger hole closest to the mouth hole. This seems the better way for producing this fourth note. According to my field notes this was also done on the *kumbang* that I tried in Kanékés in 2003 and for the flute obtained in 1979. In April 2003 I measured the notes of a *suling kumbang* that belonged to Arwan from Kaduketug 1 (neighbour to village head Daénah) by ear. Arwan had obtained the flute from his father and it had been made in the Inner Baduy area, he said (A2003-2: 13). The flute was about 64 cm long. The relative notes, measured by ear and with reference to a tuning fork with $a^1 \equiv 440$ Hz, were more or less consistent with the more precise measured notes of the *kumbang* in 2014 and 1979. The notes and their production are listed in Table 19, with the exception of the 1976 *kumbang* for which I do not have this information.

From Table 19 it follows that the four *suling kumbang* each produce notes, likely to be taken from some system that is almost equidistant pentatonic. That is, the octave is divided in five almost equal tone intervals of 240 cent. Outside the Baduy area such division is called the *saléndro* tone system, and currently Baduy also use this term (see Section 5.1).

Tr 8 and Tr 9 present the Music Transcriptions in Western staff notation of the *kumbang* pieces *Noong Sosog* and *Pileuleuyan* as played by Karamaén on 5 June 2014. Again, the two flat signs at the beginning of the staff line have nothing to do with the Western concept of 'key', but are just meant to avoid writing flat-signs for each individual note e and b. As said, especially the fast grace note written as g^2 often sounds more like $g^{2\text{-flat}}/f^{2\#}$, because in the production the right finger hole is only partially opened.

Music Transcription Tr 11 presents the transcription of the *kumbang* piece 1 as played by Sarjai from Gajéboh on 20 July 1976. I do not have this *kumbang* and also no film or still images that would give information on the production of the notes that were played at that time. Therefore I first presented a PRAAT picture with the played frequency during the 45 seconds of the song in Music Transcription Tr 10. It becomes clear that on Sarjai's *kumbang* the lowest notes c^2 , d^2 and e^2 are being played, and also notes g^2 , and c^3 that are probably overblown notes. The notes $a^{2\text{-flat+}}$ and $b^{2\text{-flat-}}$ are more problematic. I assume

TABLE 19 Approximate Western notes produced on four *kumbang* flutes

Flutes obtained in 1979 (tube length without sharpened end: 69.6 cm), the one measured in the field 2003 (64 cm), and the one played by Karamaén in 2014 (72.5 cm). I have no pictures of the *kumbang* played by Sarjai in 1976 (first row), and therefore no information how the notes were actually produced on his flute. I guess it is similar to what was obtained for the other three flutes; I put the two notes a²-flat/a² on this flute in the same column.

<i>Kumbang</i> 1976 by Sarjai (production unknown)	c ²	d ²	e ²	g ²	a ² -flat/a ²	c ³
Production known on following three flutes:	M ● ●	M ● ○	M ○ ○	M ○ ●	M ● ○	M ● ●
<i>Kumbang</i> 1979, 69.6 cm	b ¹	c ² #	d ² #	f ² #	g ² #	b ²
<i>Kumbang</i> 2003, 64 cm	c ²	d ²	f ²	g ²	a ² #	c ³
<i>Kumbang</i> 2014 by Karamaén, 72,5 cm	b ¹ -flat	c ²	e ² -flat	f ²	g ²	b ² -flat

that the long notes a²-flat+ are produced by overblowing the d². The 'extra' note in between the 'saléndro' notes, slightly lower than b²-flat is always very short (written as grace note) and might be produced by opening and closing a hole for a very short time. This would need further investigation. Sarjai's first piece, represented in the PRAAT picture of Music Transcription Tr 10, has been transcribed in staff notation in Music Transcription Tr 11 and may be heard in <AV22>.

From these transcriptions it becomes clear that both *kumbang* players use many notes that I have notated as grace notes, smaller in size than the 'notes of the melody'. As already remarked in Section 5.1 (transcription of music for

Noong Sosog

Suling kumbang played by Karamaén from Cibéo, 2014

Transcribed from recording made 5 June 2014

Kumbang $\text{♩} = 60$

[0'']

[19'']

[37'']

[52'']

[end: 58'']

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 8 *Noong Sosog* played on *kumbang* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. <AV20>

Pileuleuyan

Suling kumbang played by Karamaén from Cibéo, 2014

Transcribed from recording made 5 July 2014

Kumbang flute $\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 60$

[0'']

[19'']

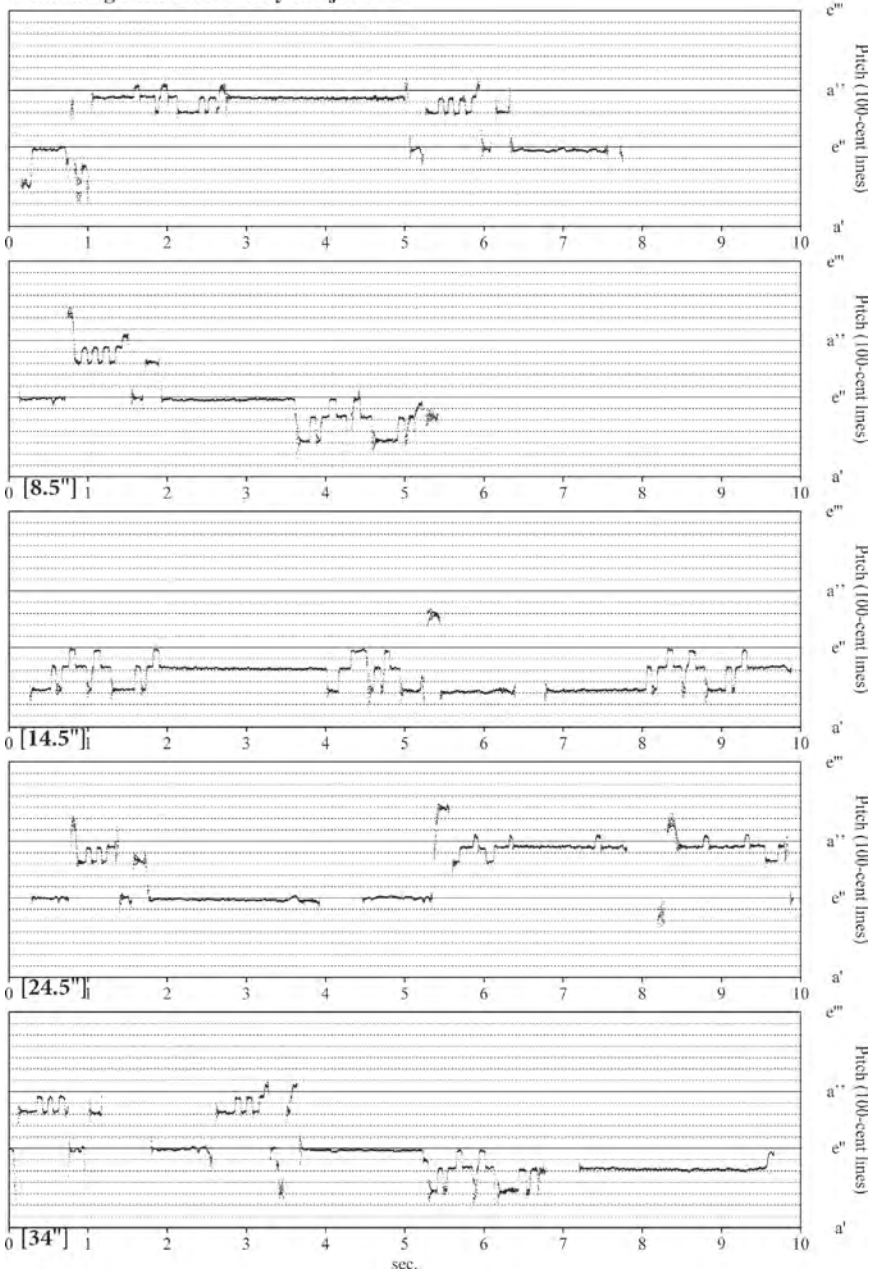
[29'']

[end: 37'']

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 9 *Pileuleuyan* played on *kumbang* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. <AV21>

analysis), the musicians themselves did not differentiate between grace notes, or musical ornaments and notes of the melody. The 'ornaments' that I transcribed were in Western terms: appoggiatura or note of complement, double appoggiatura, shakes or trills (pitch vibratos: 'tr' in the transcriptions), mordents, and

Kumbang flute: Piece 1 by Sarjai 1976



MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 10 PRAAT picture of piece 1 played on *kumbang* flute by Sarjai, Gajéboh, 20 July 1976. <AV22>

Kumbang piece 1 - 1976

(*Suling kumbang* played by Sarjai)

Transcribed from recording B5#9 on 20 July 1976

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 11 *Kumbang* piece 1 played by Sarjai, 20 July 1976; see also Music Transcription Tr 10. Listen to <AV22>

turns. Further, Karamaén used glissando: that is, gliding from a note to another one by relatively slowly opening or closing a finger hole. Almost all players of the different Baduy flutes used glissando, but only from a higher to a lower note, indicated by a declining line, and not from a lower to a higher note.

In contrast to Karamaén, Sarjai did not give names to the three pieces he played on his *suling kumbang*. His style is different from Karamaén's playing in June 2014. For instance, Sarjai played trills on several notes, which was not done by Karamaén. On the whole Karamaén played less ornaments than Sarjai. Both *kumbang* players used much more musical ornamentations than, for instance, the voices in Music Transcription Tr 7 of *Kapergok*. In Section 7.3 I already remarked that one reason will be that the text of the *susualan* is important and using many musical ornaments may obscure the text.

8.2 *Tarawélét* Flute

Like the *suling kumbang*, the *tarawélét*, also called *tarawélot* or *taléot*, is a transverse or side-blown flute with two finger holes.⁴ However, unlike the *suling*

⁴ There is not much standardization of terminology. The *taléot* is also described as an ocarina (earthenware wind instrument) in the Banjarian region and other parts of west Java; like the

kumbang, both finger holes of the *tarawélét* are close together and near the open end of the flute. I have three *tarawélét*, one obtained in July 1979 from the village secretary Ukang Sukarna (A1979: 2), the second was given to me by *jaro* Asrab on 6 November 1992 (A1992-2: 17), and the last one was obtained in June 2014. According to *jaro* Asrab the second instrument came from the *puun* of Cikartawana and it was made of *tamiang* bamboo. The last one was made by Karamaén. He used *buluh* (or *wuluh*) bamboo for the flute, which is slightly thicker than the *tamiang* bamboo used for the *suling kumbang*. The position of the holes in the flute were also expressed in *rumbak* units, the circumference of the flute cylinder near the mouth hole. A *tarawélét* should be about 5 *rumbak* long, according to Karamaén. The first finger hole should be about one *rumbak* from the open end of the *tarawélét* and the distance between the two finger holes should be about $\frac{1}{2}$ *rumbak*. My three flutes (Figure 52) are slightly longer than 5 *rumbak*: 5.7, 5.8 and 6.5 *rumbak*. The lowest hole is respectively 0.9, 1.1 and 1.2 *rumbak* from the open end and the distance between the two finger holes is, in the same order, 0.5, 0.7 and 0.6 *rumbak*. I interpret these measurements, presented in Table 20, as more or less confirming what Karamaén said.

Note that the inner diameter of the three *tarawélét* is between 2.0 and 2.5 cm, which is larger than the 1.7 cm inner diameter of the *suling lamus* and *suling kumbang*. Further, the *tarawélét* are shorter than the *kumbang*. As discussed above, this affects the ratio given in the last row of Table 20, and practically it means that the *tarawélét* can produce the fundamentals in the lowest octave, this in contrast to the *kumbang*.

The notes played by Karamaén on the in 2014 recorded *tarawélét* 2014R and the approximation in staff notation are presented in Table 21. On this *tarawélét* 2014R the three basic notes are about: e (ca. 330 Hertz), f# and a- (somewhat less than 440 Hertz). In the second octave these notes e, f# and a- are repeated an octave higher (first overtones), and two higher notes b and c# are added by blowing more fiercely and producing the second overtone of e¹ and f#¹ (both about one fifth higher than the first overtone). This is similar on the other three *tarawélét* listed in Table 21. The *tarawélét* all have three notes in the lowest octave and five notes in the higher octave, consisting of the first and second

élet it is played by boys herding cattle or keeping the birds away from the rice fields (*Ensiklopedi Sunda* 2000; see also Kunst 1973: 375 and Soepandi 1995b: 198). Budi (2015: 134) gives the name *toléat* for 'a wind instrument made of *tamiang* bamboo' in Ciptagelar. Masunah et al (2003-1: 15) describe a *toléat* and give a photograph showing an end-blown flute with 7 finger holes, very similar to the *élet*. On the website <http://www.auralarchipelago.com/auralarchipelago/toleat> [visit 4 December 2018] another *toléat* is played and described as 'a kind of single reed bamboo instrument' in the Subang region. This is definitely different from the Baduy *taléot/tarawélét* that does not use a reed.

TABLE 20 Measurements of three *tarawélét* flutes in cm

Year in which the <i>tarawélét</i> was obtained	1979	1992	2014NR (not recorded)
Total length of flute	44.8	49.0	58.0
Length from partition to open end (inside measurement)	43.8 (5.8 <i>rumbak</i>)	48.0 (5.7 <i>rumbak</i>)	57.3 (6.5 <i>rumbak</i>)
Width of partition + end piece	1.0	1.0	0.7
Outer diameter at about 5 cm from partition, almost at the position of the mouth hole	2.4	2.4–2.55	2.8
1 <i>rumbak</i>	7.5	8.4	8.8
Outer diameter at about 5 cm from the open end of flute	2.4–2.5	2.3–2.55	2.9–3.0
Inner diameter at the open end of the flute	2.0	2.3–1.9	2.5
Second finger hole (farthest from mouth hole)			
Lower edge, position from open end	7.8 (1.1 <i>rumbak</i>)	7.9 (0.9 <i>rumbak</i>)	10.2 (1.2 <i>rumbak</i>)
Upper edge, position from open end	8.5	8.8	11.1
Diameter finger hole	0.6–0.7	0.7	0.8
Distance to first finger hole (lower edges)	4.7 (0.7 <i>rumbak</i>)	3.8 (0.5 <i>rumbak</i>)	5.4 (0.6 <i>rumbak</i>)
First finger hole (nearest to mouth hole)			
Lower edge, position from open end	11.8	12.4	15.6
Upper edge, position from open end	12.5	13.2	16.4
Diameter finger hole	0.6–0.7	0.6	0.7–0.8
Distance to mouth hole (lower edges)	28.3	32.6	37.6
Distance lower edge to partition	27.3 (3.8 <i>rumbak</i>)	35.2 (4.2 <i>rumbak</i>)	41.7 (4.7 <i>rumbak</i>)
Mouth hole			
Lower edge, position from open end	40.8	45.1	53.2

TABLE 20 Measurements of three *tarawélét* flutes in cm (*cont.*)

Year in which the <i>tarawélét</i> was obtained	1979	1992	2014NR (not recorded)
Upper edge, position from open end	42.1	48.4	54.7
Diameter mouth hole	1.0–1.3	0.7–1.4	1.1–1.5
Distance to partition (lower edges)	2.7	2.7	4.3
Ratio (length from partition: inner diameter)	21.9	20.9–25.3	14.9

overtones of the three notes in the lowest octave. The three *tarawélét* listed in Table 20 and the recorded one in 2014 (2014R) produce approximately the notes listed in Table 21 and we may consider this to be *saléndro* tone systems. In the Table M indicates the mouth hole, ○ is an open finger hole and ● a closed finger hole, like used for the *kumbang* in Table 18.

On 5 June 2014 Karamaén played three *tarawélét* pieces that I recorded on audio and video. These are the only three pieces for *tarawélét* that I recorded during my fieldwork. The songs were called *Noong Rangda* ('To drop in at the widow'), *Keupat Reundang* ('To sway one's arms when happy') and *Rangda Ngeukeupan* ('The widow throws her arms around him'). He told that these three songs were handed down from the ancestors, and that there were no other melodies (*lagu*) for the *tarawélét*. In each of the three *tangtu* villages (Cibéo, Cikartawana and Cikeusik) they used this repertoire; see interview on film 2014-2: 39'. See also remarks about the song titles in Section 7.1.

From film recording <AV23> and transcription Tr 12 it may be heard and seen that Karamaén started *Noong Rangda* in the lowest octave with only the three notes e – f# – a (first line) and then moved to the second octave, in which five tones can be played. From there on he stayed in this second octave emphasizing the notes a, e and f#. The ornamentation mainly consists of appoggiaturas and upper and lower mordents. However, in the third and last line we find runs of three grace notes (e – f# – a). In the last line these ornaments are sometimes extended with a repeat of the two last grace notes (e – f# – a – f# – a) or a repeat of the first two notes of this run (e – f# – e – f# – a). These ornamentations are close to the physical possibilities on the flute: e (produced M ● ●), f#

TABLE 21 Approximate Western notes produced by the three *tarawélét* listed in Table 20

In the second column the length of the tube is given; the notes are rounded to the nearest semitone

Production	M ● ● M ● ○ M ○ ○ M ● ● M ● ○ M ○ ○ M ● ● M ● ○							
	lowest octave	first overtones	second overtones					
1979 43.8cm	f ¹ #	g ¹ #	a ¹ #	f ² #	g ² #	a ² #	c ³ #	[d ³ #]
1992 48cm	e ¹	f ¹	g ¹	e ²	f ² #	g ² #	b ²	c ³ #
2014NR 57.3cm	c ¹ #	e ¹	f ¹	d ²	e ²	f ²	a ²	a ² #
2014R unknown	e ¹	f ¹ #	a ¹ -	e ²	f ² #	a ² -	b ²	c ³ #

Noong Rangda

(*Tarawélét* flute played by Karamaén)

Transcribed from recording made on 5 June 2014

Tarawélét $\text{♩} = 60$

[0'']

[12'']

[26'']

[39'']

[51'']

[1'03''] [end: 1'13'']

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 12 *Noong Rangda* played on *tarawélét* flute by Karamaén, 5 June 2014. Listen to <AV23>

(produced M ● ○) and a (produced M ○ ○). In the other two melodies played by Karamaén, *Keupat Reundang* and *Rangda Ngeukeupan*, he started immediately in the second octave and the three notes in the lowest octave were not used at all. Further the ornaments in these two melodies very much resemble those in the transcribed *Noong Rangda* melody.

8.3 *Lamus Flute and Elét*

The end-blown and six-finger hole *suling lamus*, the ‘bellows flute’, presumably got this name because its player uses the circular breathing technique: a constant flow of air is blown into the flute and the sound does not stop while the player is breathing. The *Ensiklopedi Sunda* (2000) mentions under *lamus* that the circular breathing technique takes a long time to master and that some people think it may have negative health effects: players may get bad teeth, sunken cheeks and hernia. The circular breathing technique is also used when playing the Minangkabau *saluang* flute in West Sumatra. In 1996 staff of the conservatory in Padang Panjang told me that it took their music students at least three months to master this technique.

The *lamus* flute is very similar to the ring flutes as used in the Cianjuran and *gamelan degung* ensembles of west Java, but today the flutes in these ensembles are not blown with the circular breathing technique. Brandts Buys and Brandts Buys-Van Zijp (1926: 57–58) discuss the playing of a 6-finger hole end-blown Sundanese *suling* by a player in the 1920s, who was working on a kina estate south of Bandung, on the Péngaléngan plain, but originated from Garut. This player also used the circular breathing technique and Brandts Buys and his wife mention that they had not seen this circular breathing technique used for the Sundanese and Javanese *suling* before.

The length of the Baduy *lamus* is about 60 cm. Most Baduy players close the highest three finger holes (near the mouth piece) with forefinger, middle finger and ring finger of the left hand and the lowest three holes may be closed by the same fingers of the right hand. This is also the most common way of using left and right hand in other parts of west Java (Van Zanten 1989: 101). Ayah Hamdan from Kadujangkung did it the other way around: he closed the highest finger holes with his right hand and the lower three with his left hand (A1992-1: 56, photograph).⁵ As the *lamus* is very much like the

5 See Spennemann 1984 for general remarks about right- and left-handedness in the pictures on the Borobudur.

flutes most common in Sunda, I will refer to the description I gave for a 62cm long *suling* as used in Cianjuran and the 37cm long *suling degung* in Van Zanten (1989: 99–105) and this section only presents a few characteristics of the Baduy *lamus*.

The *lamus* is made of *tamiang* bamboo, like most bamboo flutes in west Java. In July 1976 I followed and filmed Péi from Kompol to find pieces of bamboo for making *suling lamus* and *elét*. He said that the bamboo should still be greenish at the time of cutting the pieces. Then the bamboo should dry in the sun during daytime and taken inside during the night for one to one-and-a-half month, before you could start making the flutes. The mouthpiece of the *suling lamus* is made at a partition of the bamboo and the duct for the air flow is closed with a ring made of the dry leaf of the coconut palm tree (*dawn kalapa paéh*). This 'ring' is called *syiwér* (Péi, Kompol 1976), or *siwér* (Hamdan, Kadujangkung 1992; Nasinah, Gajéboh 2003; Sardi, *dangka* hamlet Cikarého near Kompol, 2014); *sumber* in other parts of Sunda.

In July 1976 Péi used the outer circumference of the bamboo tube as a unit for the measurements of the *suling lamus*. In October 1992 Hamdan from Kadujangkung and in May 2014 Sardi from Kompol also explained that the outer circumference (*beulitan*, *b*) was the basis: the total length of the *lamus* should be $8\frac{1}{2}$ times the circumference. However, Péi and Sardi used slightly different distances for the top part of the flute, that is, from the highest hole to the mouth hole: for this Péi took a distance of four times the circumference, and Sardi said it should be five times this circumference.⁶ The circumference of the *lamus* that I possess (see Figure 52 and Table 23 below) is 6.6cm, and the distance of the highest finger hole (*liang*) to the mouth piece is about 28cm, or $4.2 \times$ circumference. Hence this is closer to what Péi said, and that holds also for the Baduy flute played by Narse from Nagrék (photo in Van Zanten 1989: 108) and Yati from Gajéboh (photo in Van Zanten 1995: 524). According to Péi the lowest finger hole should be a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2} b$ from the lower end of the flute. The next two holes should be on consecutive distances of $\frac{1}{2} b$; the lowest of the next three holes should be $1b$ closer to the mouth hole and the holes should be $\frac{1}{2} b$ apart. See the scheme in Table 22 below.

In 1976 I obtained a *suling lamus* in Gajéboh, probably from the player Yati or Narse. See Table 23 below for its measurements. This flute is about 62cm long, like the flute used for Cianjuran music in Van Zanten (1989: 98, Figure 4).

6 On 26 May 2014 I took a photograph of Sardi's not yet finished *suling lamus*, to be used by himself, and here this distance was indeed taken close to five times the circumference.

TABLE 22 Péri's scheme for finger holes in units *b* (circumference) and relation to length of *lamus* flute ($8\frac{1}{2}b$)

M				○	○	○	○	○	○	
	1	2	3	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE 23 Measurements of *lamus* flute in cm

		In units of circumference	According to scheme Péri
Year in which the <i>suling lamus</i> was obtained	July 1976		
Obtained from	Yati, Narse? (Gajéboh)		
Total length of flute	62	9.4	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Outer diameter near blowing end	2.1		
Outer diameter lower end	2.2		
Circumference (<i>beulitan</i> , <i>b</i>) near blowing end	2.1 x $\pi = 6.6$ cm		
Inner diameter of the flute at lower end	1.7		
Diameter of each finger hole	0.5–0.6		
Position upper part finger holes from lower end of flute			
sixth finger hole (farthest from mouth hole)	10.9	1.7	1.5
fifth finger hole	14.5	2.2	2
fourth finger hole	18.1	2.7	2.5
third finger hole	25.1	3.8	3.5
second finger hole	28.5	4.3	4
first finger hole	32.3	4.9	4.5
Distance upper part first finger hole from partition	28.0	4.2	4

TABLE 24 Production of notes on *lamus* flute by Nasinah, Gajéboh, March 2003

Mouth hole	left hand			/	right hand			Approximate Western note (PRAAT analysis)
M	○	●	○	/	○	○	○	c ² #
M	●	●	○	/	○	○	○	a ¹ #
M	●	●	●	/	○	○	○	g ¹ #
M	●	●	●	/	●	●	○	f ¹
M	●	●	●	/	●	●	●	d ¹ #

The finger holes of this *suling lamus* are slightly more spread than the finger holes of the Cianjuran flute, otherwise the two flutes are very similar; this is also clear from Photo 20 in Van Zanten (1989: 100), where this *suling lamus* is included.

From Table 22 and the last two columns in Table 23 it follows that this *lamus* is close to the measurements that Péi gave for the total length and position of the finger holes, expressed in the circumference of the flute near the mouth hole (b). It seems that most Baduy players make their own *lamus*, but some prefer to buy a flute from a person who is known to make good flutes.

On film <AV24> it may be seen that Nasinah from Gajéboh used the finger-settings for producing the different notes of the (approximate) *saléndro* system, as presented in Table 24.

Other Baduy *lamus* players used a similar system. The *lamus* player Ojél, from Kadujangkung, did not move the middle fingers, but just lifted the index and ring finger of both hands to produce different notes on 17 October 1992. That is, he did the same as Nasinah, except for the middle note (g¹# of the scheme), for which Ojél also closed the second hole from the bottom. This is fairly similar to what Cianjuran flutists do: the closing of the middle hole for each hand by Nasinah and Ojél is a small adjustment to the frequency of the ‘Cianjuran tones’ (see Van Zanten 1989: 127).

Music Transcription Tr 13 represents the song *Kembang Beureum* (Red Flower) played on the *lamus* by Yati from Gajéboh. The recording dates from 19 July 1976 and was made in Gajéboh. In the transcription I used the following notes from low to high for Yati’s playing: c¹, d¹, f¹, g¹, b¹-flat c², d², f².

Kembang Beureum

Lamus flute played by Yati - 1976

Recorded on B5#4 in Gajéboh, 19 July 1976

♩ = 60

Lamus flute

[0'']

[10'']

[22'']

[32'']

[end: 42.5'']

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 13 *Kembang Beureum* played by Yati on *suling lamus*, Gajéboh, 19 July 1976. Listen to <AV25>

To me the Baduy *lamus* sounds 'darker' than the Cianjuran flutes. The limited range of notes used may be one of the reasons for this: in the above transcription the highest note is f^2 and the lowest one d^1 . This is a relatively small range that does not include the highest possible notes, but I also think that the 'dark' sound may be caused by organological factors. This needs further investigation. When we compare our transcription of the *lamus* song *Kembang Beureum* with the three transcriptions that Brandts Buys and Brandts Buys-van Zijp made in Garut (1926) we may see some similar ornaments like shakes, lower mordents, turns and glissando. I will not further discuss these issues here, as it falls outside the scope of this book.

8.3.1 *Elét*

The *elét* is an end-blown flute, 15–20 cm long with five finger holes. It is only played by Outer Baduy boys and men and, like the *lamus*, with the circular breathing technique. Apparently the circular breathing technique is not immediately mastered when learning to play the *elét*: in a sound film made 26 July 1976 I recorded a boy of about 14 years old (son of Péi?), who played the *elét* by regularly taking a short break for breathing. The *elét* type of flute is called *bangsing* in other parts of west Java. Soepandi and Atmadibrata (1977: 9) and Soepandi (1995b: 64) describe the *elét* as a 'vertical flute in Banten with three

(finger) holes'. Soepandi (1995b: 18) states that the Baduy have an '*elét* with two and a *tarawélét* with three (finger) holes'. Presumably this is a mistake. The only Baduy *elét* that I saw and recorded have five finger holes and the *tarawélét*, discussed in Section 8.2 above, only have two finger holes. One of the problems is also that there is little standardization of terminology for Sundanese music in different regions. See also my remarks about the variety of meanings for the *toléat* and *taléot* musical instruments in Section 8.2.

Some Baduy (Péi in 1976, Usman A1992-1: 30, Sardi A2014-1: 10) were of the opinion that the *elét* cannot be played inside the house or even not in the hamlet; the best place to play would be the open field. This is partially because the *elét* is associated with herding buffalo or goat and these animals are not allowed inside the Baduy area (compare also the buffalo materials used in knives of the Outer Baduy in Section 2.7). Sardi added that whistling without an instrument (*ngahéot*) should also not be done inside the house. Others, like Nasinah from Gajéboh, whom I recorded in 2003, were less strict and of the opinion that you were allowed to play the *elét* on the veranda of the house, be it not for 'too long'. Hence I could record Nasinah playing the *elét* on his veranda in Gajéboh (see film <AV24>). Sardi from *dangka* hamlet Cikarého near Kompol contrasted the atmosphere of playing *elét* and *suling lamus* by saying that the *elét* was good for playing in daytime and the *suling lamus* better for playing during the evenings, when it was quiet. This opposition between daytime and the cooler night that is better for contemplation while making music is a fairly common idea in west Java; see also Van Zanten (1989: 1, 94).

In July 1976 I obtained an *elét* that had just been made by Péi in Kompol and in March 2003 I bought an *elét* made by Nasinah in Gajéboh. In July 1976 I filmed Péi making a *suling lamus* and two *elét*. The piece of bamboo (*awi apus* = (Ind.) *bambu tali*)⁷ used for the *elét* is such that there is a partition in the bamboo at the lower end of the flute, that is partially opened when making the flute. The upper end of the bamboo is initially open and used for making the mouth hole with a stop, that is, a separate piece of wood filling most of this open tube and leaving only the duct for blowing air into the flute (like in the Western recorder).

Péi explained that the length of the *elét*, without the top ring with the duct, should be such that, when taking the flute in your hand, it should reach from the palm to the end of your stretched thumb, that is, about 15cm.⁸ For

7 *Gigantochloa apus* (Bl. Ex Schult.f.) Kurz, Sastrapradja et al. 1977: 50–51.

8 This seem to conflict with other information: the *elét* should be about 20cm long, that is, the distance between tops of thumb and little finger when spread as much as possible. This distance is called one *jeungkal*: *sajeungkal*.

the *suling lamus* Péi used the circumference of the tube of bamboo as a unit of measurement, like Karamaén had explained for the *suling kumbang* and *tarawélét* (see above: Karamaén called this length one *rumbak*). However, for the *elét* Péi used the width of his index just below the nail as unit, that is, about 1.7–1.8 cm between the holes. The distance between the finger holes should be one such unit + width of one finger hole, and the upper part of the first (top) finger hole should be about 2 units from the ring with the duct. The total length of the *elét* below the top ring with the duct should be about 6.5 units + the space for 5 finger holes. This is about right for the two *elét*, given in Table 25 below.

While playing, both Péi in 1976 and Nasinah in 2003 closed the three highest holes (near to the mouth hole) with the forefinger (f), middle finger (m) and ring finger (r) of the left hand (LH). The lowest two holes were closed by index and middle finger of the right hand (RH). This was also done by the boy (Péi's son?) that I filmed playing the *elét* in July 1976. Péi told that in general only the four lowest holes are used when playing and that the highest hole remains closed. The production of the notes is presented in the scheme in Table 26. Like before, in the used outline of the *elét*, M indicates the mouth hole, O is an open finger hole and ● a closed finger hole.

In <AV24> you may see and hear Nasinah from Gajéboh playing both the *lamus* and the *elét* and the circular breathing he used in 2003. The long notes are used for breathing. Although generally many grace notes and other ornaments are used in the *elét* music, there also is the influence of the individual player. Nasinah's playing in 2003 was less virtuoso than Yati's *elét* playing and also than Péi's playing in 1976 to be discussed now.

Music Transcription Tr 14 is taken from a recording of an *elét* played by Péi at his house in Kompol on 25 July 1976 (AV26>). I took the notes in the transcription about one semitone higher than those given in Table 26 to avoid the many accidentals (#), that is, from low to high: a², c³, d³, f³, g³, a³, c⁴, d⁴. This *elét* range of notes lies about two octaves higher than the range of notes on the *lamus*. The transcribed piece is *Tumpak Sadok* ('To drive in a two-wheeled, horse-drawn carriage') from tape B5, #20. As compared with the other Baduy flute playing this *elét* playing is more ornamented. Moreover, Péi regularly uses glissando: gliding from one note to another by relatively slowly opening or closing a finger hole. Péi only used glissando from a higher to a lower note, like the other Baduy flute players.⁹ With the many

9 See the undulating declining line, for instance in the sections between 22" and 23" (note a³ to note f³) and between 57" and 58" (note g³ to note d³) after the start.

TABLE 25 Measurements of *elét* flutes in cm

Year in which the <i>elét</i> was obtained	July 1976	March 2003
Obtained from	Péi (Kopol)	Nasinah (Gajéboh)
Used for tube	<i>Awi apus</i>	<i>Awi</i>
Used wood for stopping the flute at the blowing end	<i>Harendong</i> (or <i>jengjeng?</i>)	<i>Jékol</i>
Total length of flute	15.9	18.5
Outer diameter original piece of bamboo near blowing end	1.7	2.7
Inner diameter of the flute	1.2	1.9
Length of bamboo ring for mouthpiece	1.6	2.4
Length from stop in ring to open end (inside measurement)	14.1	15.9
Lower part mouth hole from bottom end	13.9	15.3
Outer diameter tube near hole at the back	1.5	2.2
Outer diameter at about 2 cm from the lower end of flute	1.4	2.1
Diameter of hole made in partition at lower end	0.5	0.5
Diameter five finger holes	0.2	0.5
Position upper part finger holes from lower end		
fifth finger hole (farthest from mouth hole)	1.8	2.0
fourth finger hole	4.0	4.4
third finger hole	6.3	6.9
second finger hole	8.5	9.6
first finger hole	10.6	12.3

fast ornaments in this music, I have sometimes used $1/64$ notes (with three 'flags') in the transcription, instead of small grace notes. The piece starts and ends on the note d^3 that is produced by closing the upper three holes. The long notes are mostly d^3 and the higher fifth a^3 . This is another example of the fifth-relationship in Sundanese music (compare for Cianjuran also Van Zanten 1989: Chapter 7).

TABLE 26 Approximate Western notes produced on two *elét*

Production of tones on <i>elét</i>	Produced tone in nearest Western semitone						
	Péi (1976) Nasinah (2003)						
Mouth piece	Finger holes						
	Left hand (highest)			Right hand			
	f	m	r	f	m		
M	●	●	●	●	●	g ² #	f ² #
M	●	●	●	●	○	b ²	g ² #
M	●	●	●	○	○	c ³ #	a ² #
M	●	●	○	○	○	e ³	c ³
M	●	○	○	○	○	f ³ #	d ³ #
M	○	○	○	○	○	g ³ #	f ³ #
M	○	○	○	●	●	b ³	g ³ #
M	○	○	○	○	●	[c ⁴ #]	[a ³ #]

8.4 String Instruments

The Outer Baduy play several string instruments: two zithers, *kacapi pantun* and the flat (*kacapi*) *siter*, and two bowed lutes, the two-string *rendo* and the four-string *viol* that is very similar to the Indian and Western violin. Of these string instruments the Inner Baduy are only allowed to play *kacapi pantun*. This instrument is used by a *pantun* storyteller to accompany himself, but also for accompanying other instruments or just playing alone for entertainment.

8.4.1 *Kacapi Pantun*

The Baduy *kacapi* mentioned in Dutch reports of the 19th century is the *kacapi pantun*. As far as I know, Van Hoëvell (1845: 428–429) was the first one to describe the *kacapi*: a ‘kind of long guitar, with six equally thick brass strings of unequal length, which are plucked with both hands’. Van Hoëvell also gives a clear drawing of the instruments he described, a *kacapi pantun* zither and a *tarawangsa* of the Baduy people he visited. The dictionary of Coolsma (1884)

Tumpak Sadok

Elét flute played by Pèi, 1976

Recorded in Kompol on B5#20, 25 July 1976

♩ = 60

Elét

[0'']

[15'']

[28'']

[44'']

[55'']

[67'']

[80'']

[end: 87'']

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTION TR 14 *Tumpak Sadok* played by Pèi on *elét* flute, Kompol, 25 July 1976. Listen to <AV26>

describes the *kacapi* as a 'kind of lute', generally with six strings, but in some cases with up to fifteen strings. Pleyte (1907b: 26–27) describes the *kacapi pantun* and *tarawangsa* and presents drawings of both instruments. According to Pleyte, the older Sundanese bards use *kacapi pantun* with six or seven brass strings, whereas their younger colleagues increase the number of strings to 11, 14, or 15 so as 'to be able to pluck all songs on the instrument' (see further Van Zanten 1989: 91).

Kacapi pantun and *rendo* are made from plain white *lamé* wood; however, compare Section 7.4 and Appendix 4, 1992-01 *Ceuk Arileu* stanza 2. The small

pyramidal-shaped bridges are called *susu* or *inang*, words that also mean ‘women’s breasts’. See for further symbolism of the Sundanese *kacapi* and its player Van Zanten (1989: 93–98; 2008). In 2003 Satra mentioned that the small bridges (*susu*) of the *kacapi* I had just bought in Gajéboh were probably made of *karanji* (*ranji*) wood (A2003-1: 51). The wooden tuning pegs (*pureut*) on the side were made of *pinang* palm wood. Satra called the supporting beam under the soundboard of the *kacapi pantun*: *palang panguat*, crossbeam for strengthening. He also said that the unvarnished *lamé* wood of the *kacapi* was sometimes protected against insects by treating it with diesel fuel (*solar*) mixed with camphor (*kapur barus*, *kamper*). Karamaén said that the wooden tuning pegs and small bridges (*inang*) were made of the strong wood on the outside of the *pinang* (= *jambé*) palm: *ruyung pinang* (A2003-2: 7). Both Satra and Karamaén said that the *kacapi pantun* strings (*kawat*) were made of the brake or clutch cables of a motor or bicycle.

Pleyte (1907: 26–27, footnote 1) writes that for *pantun* accompaniment the Baduy zithers always have 6 strings, according to an elder (*kokolot*) of Cibéo, who is described as a fairly good *kacapi* player, and these strings are called (from low to high): ‘*indung* (tuned c#), *bangbrang* (f), *heuleut* (g), *bangbrang anak* (a), *pangadi anak* (c) and *anak* (d)’.¹⁰ As described in Section 6.4 the *pantun* recitation that I recorded in 1977 was accompanied with an eleven-string *kacapi*. It seems that for *pantun* accompaniment the number of zither strings is not very important for present-day Baduy players; however the zither should be a *kacapi pantun* and not a flat *siter*.

Baduy use a variety of playing techniques for the *kacapi pantun*. The *pantun* performers Arwa from Ciatang in 2013 and also Yanci from Cikadu in 1992 played their *kacapi* with two index fingers.¹¹ The crooked left hand fore finger is used for hitting the lower strings with the nail and the right hand fore finger is used for plucking the higher strings by moving down and slightly towards the player, that is, using the flesh of the finger top. In Tembang Sunda Cianjuran music this hitting with the nail of the forefinger moving away from the player is called the *sintreuk* technique and plucking towards the player is called the *toél* technique. It is, for instance, used for the fast runs of the *kacapi indung* zither (*pasiupan* and *kemprang* playing) and the playing of the smaller *kacapi rincik* zither. However, in Cianjuran the right and left fingers do the opposite of what the Baduy players do: Cianjuran musicians use the *sintreuk* technique with

10 ‘*De Badoeysche katjapi heeft steeds zes snaren genaamd: indoeng, gestemd: c, kruis bangbrang f, heuleut g, bangbrang anak a, pangadi anak c. en anak d, ...*’ (Pleyte 1907: 26–27).

11 See film 2013-1, 5:44-10:36; film 1992-3, 17:48-33:40; see also the Illustrations 1 and 2 in Van Zanten (2016: 417, 419) and Photos 15, 16, 18, 19 and 24 in Van Zanten (1989: 108)

the forefinger of the right hand and the forefinger of the left hand pushes the strings with towards the player with the *toél* technique (Van Zanten 1989: 86, 142, 181).

In 1992 another *kacapi pantun* player, Saiwin, used an instrument with 13 strings when accompanying a *rendo* (played by Darmin, later called Daénah) and *suling lamus* (played by Saléh Rahman). He played with two crooked forefingers and hit the strings with the nails of both the left and the right forefinger. This technique was also applied by Yanci from Cikadu in 1992 when he accompanied Darmin on *rendo* and a *lamus* player; see <AV27>.

8.4.2 *Siter and Falsetto Voice*

The flat *siter* is undoubtedly borrowed from outside Kanékés. It is not made by the Baduy themselves, but bought in the large cities, such as Bandung. On 4 April 2003 and 14 December 2013 I filmed Aki Armad (= Hamdan) from Kadu-jangkung (films 2003-2, 53:30–58:08; 2013-2, 30:08–33:04) while playing a flat zither (*siter*) with 20 strings that he had bought in Bandung. For playing he used the forefingers of both hands by plucking the strings moving down and slightly towards the player, called the *toél* technique in Cianjuran music. On this *siter* he also used what is called the *kait* technique for Cianjuran music (Van Zanten 1989: 149–153), that is, using thumb and forefinger of both hands. On 26 March 2003 I recorded Satra (Satrawinata) from Kaduketug on a *siter* with twenty strings, when he accompanied the female singer Raidah and her husband-violinist Arib from Balimbing (see Section 7.3). Satra only used what is called the *kait* technique of playing in Cianjuran: forefinger and thumb of both hands and for the lower notes he also occasionally used the middle finger of the left hand, like it is done in Bandung (A2003-1, 42–45, 49–51).

As reported, Baduy zither players rarely accompany their own singing of *susualan*. I only recorded Sawari in 1992 and Sadiman in March 2003, who both accompanied their own singing with zither playing. Sadiman used a twenty-string flat zither for this; he did not use a falsetto voice when singing, like Sawari had done in 1992. (Van Zanten 1995: 530; A2003-1: 27, audio MD2003-6). In <AV31> Sawari may be heard when singing one verse of the song *Budak Bagus* in falsetto voice and accompanying himself on the *kacapi siter* in Cipangembar, 12 October 1992; see the text and translation in Appendix 4, item 1992-05.

8.4.3 *Rendo*

Only the Outer Baduy, not the Inner Baduy, have a bowed lute with two strings, called *rendo*. The bow (*pangését*) is kept in the right hand and the instrument on the left. The right string, as seen from the player, is used to play a melody. The left string is (only?) used to pluck the last note of a musical phrase on the

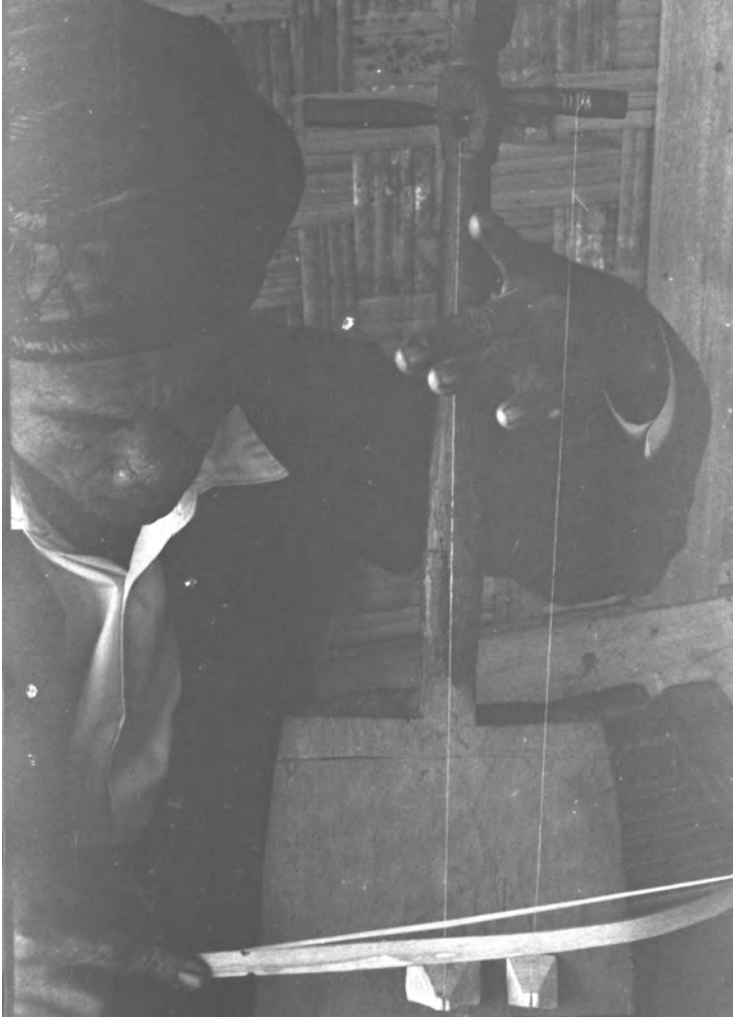


FIGURE 53 The position of the left hand in relation to the two strings of the *rendo*. Player Asmali from Nagrék (now called Cepakbungur or Cibungur?), recorded in Kompol, 26 July 1976

open string (Figure 53). The interval between the *rendo* strings is a fifth, and the higher right string is tuned after the 6th string of a *kacapi*, if the instruments are played together (A1992-2: 25–26). Compared to *rebab* playing, this technique is a kind of reversal: the *rebab* string on the player's left is bowed, and the right string is only occasionally used (Van Zanten 1989: 108, 129). The *rendo* is becoming a rare instrument and seems to become replaced by the violin (*viol*, *biola*), often locally made.

Little is known about the history of the Baduy *rendo*. The word *rendo* is not known to most Sundanese and it does not appear in the Old Sundanese manuscripts discussed in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006). However, at least one manuscript mentions the related two-string bowed lute *tarawangsa* found outside the Kanékés region (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 417). In 1817 Raffles described the two-string bowed lute that is called *tarawangsa* nowadays as: ‘trawánga a musical instrument of the Sundas’ (West Java). He also mentioned that the *tarawangsa* was ‘by no means general’. The Baduy *rendo* is smaller than, but very similar to the Sundanese *tarawangsa*. However, the *rendo* does not have the wood carving on the top of the neck of the instrument, like shown on the pictures of *tarawangsa* by Raffles (1817: plate between pp.168–169, 472), and Pleyte (1907: after p.26). Did the Baduy develop their *rendo* from the *tarawangsa*? The village secretary Ukang Sukarna told me that the Baduy adopted the *rendo* from the people in Citorék (A1992-1: 41). I have no further evidence of this.

The *rendo*, *tarawangsa* and the *kacapi* all have their strings disappearing through holes in the soundboard. This construction makes these string instruments ‘Sundanese’ and the *kacapi* are in this respect definitely different from East Asian large zithers (see further Van Zanten 1989: 84–97). Unfortunately the pictures and additional information in printed books since 1817 (Raffles) do not give much solid information on the *rendo*. Both Van Hoëvell (1845: after p. 428) and Pleyte (1907: after p. 26) present pictures of what they call *tarawangsa* (and *kacapi*) and that show this special ‘Sundanese’ fixing of the strings. However, their *tarawangsa* pictures show instruments that have three strings, whereas the earlier picture of this instrument (Raffles 1817: plate between pp. 168–169) showed two strings, like the Baduy *rendo* that I recorded in 1976 and 1992; see also Figure 53 above.

Van Hoëvell (1845: 428) seems to have been the first and only person to use the word ‘*rendo*’ in print before 1950 and he described it as ‘a kind of trio, called *rendo*’ consisting of zither, bowed lute and bamboo flute. The word *rendo* was used for an ensemble, not just for the bowed lute. He called the bowed Baduy lute *tarawangsa* and described it as ‘a kind of violin, with three copper strings that are played with a bow made of horse hair attached to a bent bamboo stick’. Did Van Hoëvell really visit the (Outer) Baduy in Kanékés, or was he misled by the Baduy, as later authors suggested (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 2; Pennings 1902: 378)? Did he visit the Karang group living near to Kanékés; was the instrument from there? See also Section 3.2 above. I was not able to solve the problem of where and when the Baduy *rendo* originated with the pictures and information from the past. On the available evidence it seems most likely that the Baduy started to develop their own two-string bowed lute (*rendo*) from examples they saw around them (*tarawangsa*), similarly to what happens now with the *viol*.

Film <AV27> shows a fragment of the trio consisting of *kacapi* (played by Yanci from Cisadané), *rendo* (played by Darmin, alias Daénah, from Cisaban) and *lamus* (possibly played by Ojél from Kadujangkung), recorded in Kadujangkung, 8 November 1992. The musicians play a 29-second excerpt of the song *Adu Ua*, also called *Ngadu*.

8.4.4 *Viol*

The Baduy *viol* is similar to the Indian and Western violin. When playing, the most common position is when one end is resting on the floor, like with the *rendo* (and *rebab*). Some players keep the instrument under the chin, like the Western violin. It seems that most Baduy *viol* (*biola*) players make their instrument and its bow themselves. Sardi (alias Anton, Omo) from Cikarého, Kompol, said that he made the body of the *viol* from *lamé* wood. Usually this was treated with varnish containing the bark of the *gintung* (*gadog*) tree that was also used to varnish the *koja* bags. For the bow (*pangését*) Sardi also used *lamé* wood and for the hair on the bow he used the plastic of fishing lines (*kenur*). The black hairy fibres around the sugar palm tree (*injuk*) and horse hair could also be used for the hair of the bow. The *injuk* gave a better sound, but it was more work to apply it. The *viol* strings were made from cable used for the brakes of a motor cycle. Sardi also possessed an old *viol* with a white *tumbal* cross on its soundboard, used to avert calamities (*tolak bala*). The resin (*menyan*) used for the hair of the bow was attached on two places on the side of the *viol*: see Figure 54 and A2014-1: 10–11.

The *viol* player Judi used the tuning of the strings, from right to left as seen from the player and from high to low as approximately: g^2 , d^2 , c^2 , g^1 (recorded on DAT 92-08, 1:31:47–1:32:46, Gajéboh, 17 October 1992). According to the zither player Satra the strings of the Baduy violin are tuned according to the *kacapi* strings, in the *saléndro* tone system, and the total range covers one octave: the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th string of the *viol* are tuned (from high to low, right to left) according to the 1st, 3rd, 4th and 6th *kacapi* string. Hence the intervals between the strings of the violin, from high to low are more or less: one Western fourth (about 500 cent), a major second (about 200 cent), and again one fourth. According to Satra the lowest *viol* string is rarely used when playing (A2003-2: 14). Sardi from Kompol confirmed that he tuned the strings of his *viol* with intervals of a fourth, a second and again a fourth, and corresponding to the *saléndro* tuning of the *kacapi* strings 1, 3, 4, 6.

8.4.5 *Rebab*

In current practice the *rebab* is forbidden to all Baduy. In the 1970s and earlier the *rebab* apparently was allowed to play with the *keromong* ensemble in the Outer Baduy area. The *rebab* is very important in the Sundanese *saléndro*



FIGURE 54 Old violin with white cross to avoid calamities; in the background a violin, bow and flute in construction by Sardi from Cikarého, Kompol, 26 May 2014

gamelan outside the Baduy community. As mentioned in Section 3.1, Bernard Suryabrata presumably made the earliest recordings of Baduy music in the RRI radio studio in Jakarta, starting in 1956. Those early recordings include *keromong* music and the *rebab* is part of that ensemble, together with the *suling lamus*. The present author recorded the Baduy *rebab* playing in the *keromong* ensemble in June and July 1976 (Van Zanten 1995: 527). However, since about 1980 the *rebab* became forbidden in Kanékés. As already mentioned in Section 5.3 one of the reasons for this might be that the *rebab* is associated with Islam (Van Zanten (1989: 107–110).

8.5 Xylophones and Jew's Harp

8.5.1 Gambang or Gambang Kayu

The *gambang* or *gambang kayu* (wooden *gambang*) is a trough xylophone that is used in the Baduy *keromong* ensemble, but also on its own. The *gambang* as used in the *keromong* ensemble seem to have generally 14–16 wooden keys. However, the *gambang* in the *keromong* ensemble in Kompol, recorded in July 1976, had twenty keys (see film <AV06>). The only *gambang* that I recorded on its own, in Jakarta on 9 September 1976, had ten wooden keys and the resonator trough was carved from a single block of wood (see Figure 55). The larger *gambang* have troughs made from planks fixed together with nails.

The keys lie loose on a thick piece of rope or rubber and a few nails between the keys may keep them more or less in place. They are arranged in such a way that the frequency in Hertz of the produced tones is increasing from left to right, as seen from the player. The tuning is supposed to be equidistant



FIGURE 55 *Gambang (kayu)* with ten keys lying over a wooden trough in one piece, played by Injal from Gajéboh in Jakarta, 9 September 1976

pentatonic (*saléndro*) and with their two beaters the players seem to play mostly in octaves, that is, they simultaneously hit keys lying 5 keys apart: 1 and 6, 2 and 7, etc. This needs further investigation.

In Sections 4.4, 4.5, 5.3 and 5.4 above I have described that since about 2005–2010 the *keromong* ensemble started to include two *gambang* xylophones. One is used to play the melody and the other one, the *gambang kendang* (drum xylophone), takes the role of the drum, which is very pronounced in Sundanese gamelan, but not allowed with the Baduy *keromong* (see also Van Zanten 2015).

I have no detailed information on the wood used for making *gambang* parts: the trough, the keys and the beaters. It seems that currently Baduy tend to use stronger wood for the keys (teak or iron wood) than in the past. The small *gambang* that was played by Injal and that I recorded in September 1976 in Jakarta (Figure 55) does not consist of this very strong wood. The instrument was made by Sanusi from Kaduketug and I bought it for Rp 8000 (then about € 18, US\$ 20; see also Table 3 in Section 2.6). This *gambang kayu*, played solo by

Injal in Jakarta, September 1976, may be heard in <AV28> in the piece *Reundeu Beureum*.

8.5.2 *Calung*

The *calung* is also a xylophone, but the keys are made from bamboo and similar in shape to the bamboo tubes as used in the *angklung* instruments. There are a few different forms of the *calung*. I have only recorded (and bought) a *calung*, played as a single instrument in the form of a xylophone in September 1976 and not seen the instrument around afterwards. The frame of this instrument is a light construction of bamboo and the 16 keys are fixed with a chord to this frame: see Figure 56 (see also the lower picture of *calung rantay* in Soepandi 1995b: 46). The *calung* xylophone in Figure 56 was, like the *gambang kayu* in Figure 55, made by Sanusi from Kaduketug and it took him three days. I also bought this instrument for Rp 8000 (about € 18, US\$ 20 at that time; see also Table 3).

The arrangement of the keys is similar to the *gambang*, with the low frequency notes on the left and the high frequency notes on the right as seen from the player. The playing is done with two beaters and the simultaneous notes seem to be mostly one octave apart, like in the playing of the *gambang* xylophone. The *Ensiklopedi Sunda* (2000) mentions that this type of *calung* or *calung gambang* is usually called *gambang rancag* in Kanékés.

Van Hoëvell (1845: opposite p. 357, 429–430) presents a drawing and describes a slightly different Baduy *calung* with twelve keys attached to two chords. The chords are not attached to a bamboo frame, but tied to a tree at one end and kept between the knees of the player sitting on the ground at the other end. It looks like a rope ladder and with the larger keys above. According to Van Hoëvell the player uses two sticks from a soft wood, like kapok (*randu*), to hit the keys. This kind of bamboo xylophone is called *calung rénténg* in the *Ensiklopedi Sunda* (2000). I have not seen this type of *calung* in or around Kanékés. However, the *calung rantay* or *calung rénténg* is presented with a video of the music recorded in 2017 on <http://www.auralarchipelago.com/auralarchipelago/calung> [last access 11 April 2019]. The *calung* keys are sometimes fixed on just one stick and thus become portable; this type is called *calung jingjing* (see pictures in Masunah *et al* 2003-1: 16, and Soepandi 1995b: 46–48). On the audio recording <AV29> Sarjai plays the piece *Aceuk* on the *calung* xylophone in Figure 56 in Jakarta, 9 September 1976 (2'33").

8.5.3 *Karinding*

The *karinding* is a Jew's harp (or trump) made of a piece of about 8cm x 1.4cm of the rib of a sugar palm (*kawung*) leaf or bamboo (A2003-2: 5; Van



FIGURE 56 *Calung* xylophone with 16 keys played by Sarjai from Gajéboh in Jakarta, 9 September 1976

Zanten (1995: 525)). The sound of this idiophone is produced by a vibrating lamella, reed or tongue that is cut out of the body and only attached to it on one of the small sides. The Baduy *karinding* is placed on the small flat part cut out of a bamboo tube of about 40 cm long and open at both ends to produce a better resonance: see Figure 57. In this picture the lower *karinding* is shown upside-down, as seen from the player.¹² The player keeps the resonator and the *karinding* in his left hand, such that the loose end of the vibrating strip is just inside his open mouth. Beating with the right hand on the *karinding* frame, causes the narrow lamella to vibrate and produce a tone. By changing the shape of the mouth some overtones in the frequency spectrum become louder. This is a well-known principle for Jew's harps all over the world. Film <AV30> (47") shows two men playing *karinding* together in

12 Kunst (1973: 360) mentions that in west Java one end of this resonator tube is sometimes resting on the ground 'when playing in a squatting position' while the other end is kept near the mouth and the *karinding*. This would implicate that the resonator tube would be 60-80cm long; however, Kunst does not give a picture of such long resonator tube.



FIGURE 57 Two *karinding* Jew's harps with resonator made by Karamaén from Cibéo in 2003. The upper instrument is in the correct position and the lower one upside-down, as seen from the player

Gajéboh, July 1976. See also photographs in Kunst 1973: Vol.2: 443 and Van Zanten 1995: 526.

Soepandi (1995a: 18) mentions that the *karinding* is made from *bunar*, a thin kind of *tamiang* (Eringa 1984) or *talang* bamboo.¹³ Pleyte (1912: 258) gives a short Baduy poem (*bangbalikan*) in which it says that the *karinding* is made from the 'black sugar palm' (*Na karinding kaung hideung*).

The *karinding* is played by Inner and Outer Baduy, both men and women. Nowadays the *karinding* seems a rarely played instrument in the Outer Baduy area. The instrument may be played for entertainment, but the playing was (is?) often used for courting purposes. An unmarried girl or boy may use her/his *karinding* playing to attract the attention of an unmarried boy/girl. The former secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés Ukang Sukarna said in 2003 that the *karinding* may also produce sounds that refer to words in a *susualan* stanza (A2003-2: 13). In 2003 Karamaén from Cibéo described the importance of the *karinding* to the Inner Baduy by saying that this was also music 'to entertain Déwi Asri', the goddess of rice. He also said that the roots of rice plants were often eaten

13 *Schizostachyum brachycladum* Kurz (Sastrapradja et al. 1977: 48–49).

by the mole cricket (*gaang*). However, this harmful insect was afraid of the sound of the *karinding* and therefore it could be chased away by playing this instrument (A2003-2: 5). According to the *Ensiklopedia Sunda* (2000) the *karinding* used to be played by boys herding buffalo's or sheep (outside Kanékés), like the earlier mentioned *elét*.

I recall that the *karinding* is also used in the *go-goongan* ensemble, established around 2012–2013 and discussed in Section 1.2. Listen to the audio fragment <AV32> (1'50") of the song *Buah Gedang*, made in Cipondok on 1 July 2014. The recording was made while moving around with the digital recording machine and built-in microphone to get the different instruments singled out; first the *siter* is relatively loud (with singing, etcetera) and after about 1 minute the *karinding* can clearly be heard. It remains to be seen how this *go-goongan* music will develop in the coming years.

See also Spiller (2015) about the revival of the Sundanese *karinding*. In his article Spiller (2015: 155) also mentioned that Sundanese *karinding* was recorded at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago by Benjamin Ives Gilman. According to Daryana (2017: 357, 359, 361), in the area around Bandung the Jew's harp has successfully been integrated into new forms of music, resulting in about 200 '*karinding* music groups' in 2016. This apparently was achieved since 2008, mainly through the music band Karinding Attack (= Karat), founded by the pioneers of the Metal music community Ujungberung Rebels. These music groups have also shown interest in the 'traditional' (*buhun*) forms of *karinding* playing. Elsewhere in the world the integration of Jew's harps in pop music has been going on already for several decades.

In earlier chapters I have described music that may be used for ritual purposes, like *angklung* and *pantun*. In the present chapter I focussed on music of Baduy instruments that may be played on their own, or in combination with a few other instruments. This music is mainly for entertainment, like the *susualan* discussed in Chapter 7. This type of music is less bound to the seasons for planting and harvesting rice, marriages and circumcisions. These instruments can always be played, except for the special fasting days in each of the three *kawalu* fasting months (see Table 5, Section 4.1).

I devoted relatively much attention to the side-blown flutes, *kumbang* and *tarawélét*, because these instruments seem to have become rare in the Outer Baduy region. On the whole we still lack detailed information on instruments in the Sundanese rural areas. This chapter was a modest attempt to correct this in the very limited area of the Baduy.

As mentioned in Section 1.3, one of the purposes of this book is to supply a context for better understanding the audio-visual recordings (films, photographs and audio) that I made of the Baduy in and around Kanékés between

1976 and 2016. Other questions I addressed in this book are the role of music and dance in Baduy society and how the Indonesian authorities have been dealing with the intangible cultural heritage of this indigenous group. The following and last chapter will briefly come back to some of the central issues of this book: the sustainability of the Baduy community and their music and dance in the Indonesian context. It further suggest a few topics that could be researched in future.

Concluding Remarks

How will Baduy be able to use their singing as a medicine in the coming years? This last chapter will summarize the preceeding chapters and briefly come back to the question of sustainability of Baduy music, as already raised in Section 3.5. How do the Baduy want their community to develop in the context of the larger Banten and Indonesian society? What are the possibilities for reaching this goal of sustainable development of the Baduy community? How resilient is their musical culture in times of change? How should scholars, other groups, NGOs and local and Indonesian authorities be involved? In the beginning of 2020 we may even ask what we can learn from the Baduy case in the light of the possible relation between the environmental status and pandemics like the Covid-19 one. However, this chapter will in particular focus on the future of Baduy living culture (ICH) in relation to the mainstream culture of the Indonesian nation state.

In several parts of this book ecological issues that affect the sustainability of the Baduy community and its music were mentioned. One major problem is caused by the increasing Baduy population: shortage of agricultural land and the prescription of the *Sunda wiwitan* religion that farming should be on non-irrigated fields. The increasing population also causes an increasing demand for firewood, wood for building houses, etc. When the size of the available forest decreases, this also means that there is less space for wild animals, and therefore also the availability of some materials for making musical instruments. One particular case is the membrane for drums of the *angklung* ensemble. In Section 5.2 I mentioned that for this purpose only the skin of the *mencek* deer could be used, and currently this animal is rarely found in Kanékés.

This last chapter will also briefly look at the 2003 UNESCO convention of safeguarding ICH, because in 2010 Indonesia listed the element Indonesian Angklung, including a small part on Baduy *angklung*, on the Representative List. The possible influence of this UNESCO convention on the sustainability of Baduy music will be discussed. At the end of this chapter I will give a few suggestions for new research.

9.1 Negotiating Rules and Mutual Respect

Baduy want to live in a simple and ascetic way, without much luxury. Their village Kanékés may be considered to be a large monastery or holy place

(*mandala*). The inhabitants practise asceticism according to the ancestral rules and this means in the first place that Baduy have to plant rice on *huma* rice fields and that they are not allowed to use irrigated *sawah* rice fields, fertilizers or pesticides. Generally, they are very aware that they have to care for their natural surroundings and culture for their future. The ancestral rules and their religion tell them how to do this.

Baduy music may be classified according to the degree with which it is connected to their religion, or meant for entertainment. I have shown how some Baduy music is related to the rituals concerning the planting of rice and keeping it healthy when it grows. This is ‘music for the gods’ and in particular for Déwi Asri, the goddess of rice, and her children, the grains of rice. It concerns the whole of the Baduy community and their religion. The *angklung* ensemble plays an important role in the ritual where Déwi Asri is engaged to the Earth. Rituals to cure the rice from diseases involve *pantun* stories and/or *angklung* music: singing is a medicine. The *karinding* Jew’s harp, the wind-blown *kolécér* idiophone (large propeller) and the *calintuh* pipes are also considered to entertain the children of the rice goddess.

Other important rituals that involve music are the life-cycle events, such as circumcisions and weddings. The music then played is mostly music for human beings, and mainly concerns Baduy in one or more hamlets and their families. These rituals make use of *pantun* storytelling and *keromong* music. *Pantun* storytelling is also important in several other rituals, like the official recognition of a hamlet (*nukuh lembur*), the curing of human beings from illnesses and for purification rituals, as described in Chapter 6.

A third category is Baduy music used for human entertainment as discussed in Chapter 7 (*susualan* singing) and Chapter 8 (mainly instrumental music). The *angklung* and *keromong* ensembles are not exclusively used in rituals, but also frequently for human entertainment. In particular the *angklung* ensemble may also be used for entertaining some important guest. In Section 4.1 I gave the example of the planned performance in Cibolégér on 20 July 2016 to welcome the president of Indonesia, although at the last moment he did not come and the performance was cancelled. The date for this visit fell outside the *angklung* season and therefore the *angklung* could not be played inside Kanékés, but would be performed in Cibolégér. I also mentioned a newspaper article saying that a Baduy *angklung* group performed in Jakarta on 6 April 2016, which was outside the *angklung* season (Van Zanten 2017: 96–97). Since the revival of bamboo music in west Java at the end of the twentieth century Baduy *angklung* music seems to have been used more frequently for entertaining outsiders. Moreover, the Baduy have expressed their interest in playing *angklung* in foreign countries. For the Baduy ‘singing is a medicine to calm down,

a means to take care of those who are angry ...' (Table 10, Section 6.5) and this beneficial influence of singing may be shared with others.

The Baduy rules are negotiated and also cause vivid discussions among the Baduy, because they do not necessarily all agree with the decisions taken by the leaders. In this book I have given a few examples of these negotiations from literature and also from my own fieldwork experiences. Some rules are more important than others. Especially if it concerns less important rules the Baduy leaders go for practical solutions rather than dogmas. If they think it may be beneficial for their community, they tend to tolerate the breaking of rules, rather than insist on doctrines. This is more difficult for ritual music that has to be transformed to performances for tourists. However, as long as the music is played outside Kanékés, currently much seems to be allowed.

The Baduy community has its own territory, village Kanékés, that is designated to them and they have relatively much autonomy in deciding how to rule the village. Nevertheless, the Baduy do not live on their own and the community also has to negotiate with outsiders: neighbouring villagers, several types of businesses, NGOs and Indonesian authorities. Most people outside Kanékés are Muslim and the great majority of them are farmers, who use *sawah* for planting rice and other agricultural activities. However, Pleyte (1909: 523–526) and Geise (1952: 14–15) both emphasized that the differences between the Baduy and the Muslims around them should not be exaggerated; see also Wessing and Barendregt (2003: 89). According to Geise (1952) conflicts about land were in the first place of an economic nature and not religious, although Baduy land use is based on their religion *Sunda wiwitan*.¹ However, since Geise's book there was the 1965 Indonesian army coup and the subsequent mass murders that caused many trauma. In the last decades we have seen extremists in the world and in Indonesia, who say they are defending Islam, but actually committing atrocities on minority groups and individual civilians. Do the words of Geise still hold at the present time?

The safety of Baduy society is negotiated with the local and Indonesian authorities, because the Baduy depend on the 'rulers of the north' who are supposed to protect them in times of upheaval and war. Today these rulers are in particular the head of the sub-district Leuwidamar, the regent of Lebak in Rangkasbitung, the regent of Sérang and the governor of Banten Province in Sérang. In return, the Baduy pay their respect to the rulers by presenting them

1 At the end of Section 2.2 I mentioned that Kartodirdjo (1973) came to similar conclusions for the wider Sundanese region: rural protest movements made use of the religious leaders and Muslim ideology, but were in fact based on strictly economic claims.



FIGURE 58 Baduy men building a new entrance post at Kaduketug 1, Kanékés, when entering from Cibolégér on the right. On the blue sign on the right visitors are asked to keep the environment clean from garbage. Kaduketug 1, 6 July 2016

with agricultural products and handicrafts during the yearly *séba* ceremony after the harvest. They may also give their advice and do some forecasting.

There always has been interaction between the Baduy and the outside world. The term used in the 1970s-1990s, 'isolated community' (*masyarakat terasing*), is therefore not appropriate to describe the Baduy community. The Baduy formulated this themselves in their guidelines for 'cultural visits' (*Saba budaya*) as follows:

The Baduy community is not an isolated community, but a community that is relatively open and it maintains a positive interaction with other communities, although with respect to protective measurements their need for specific regulations is very essential.²

2 'Masyarakat Baduy bukanlah masyarakat terasing, tetapi masyarakat yang relatif terbuka dan menjalani interaksi positif dengan masyarakat lainnya, meskipun demikian dalam upaya perlindungan, kebutuhan aturan-aturan spesifik menjadi sangat mendasar.' (Peraturan Desa Kanekes 2007: 13).

See also Section 3.5. Figure 58 reflects this process of negotiation with the outside world: a small entrance post was built in July 2016 to make it easier for tourists to register their visit to Kanékés and on the blue notice board the visitors were asked to keep the village clean. This photograph also shows the path that marks the border between Kanékés (left) and Cibolégér (right). The motorcycle has been parked just outside Kanékés.

9.1.1 *The 2003 UNESCO Convention on Living Culture*

One may ask how the complicated relationship between the indigenous group and the larger Indonesian society can be maintained in future. In 1909 Pleyte already wondered how long the Baduy would be able to continue their ascetic way of life: the temptations of the modern world were many. Pleyte made very important contributions to our knowledge of Baduy society. However, he formulated his questions about the future of Baduy society in terms that show an evolutionist viewpoint, not uncommon for that time, and that we would now describe as colonial, not respectful, patronizing and paternalistic:

Finally, we probably may ask the question: Will it be for a long time that the Baduy will persevere with their isolation? According to my conviction they will not, because apparently they are receptive to the higher civilization that charms them furtively.

PLEYTE 1909: 523

I showed that in the Suharto era (1966–1998), the era of development (*pembangunan*), the Indonesian authorities used similar language when dealing with the Baduy (Van Zanten 2004: 132–134; see also Persoon 1998).

In Van Zanten (2004; 2017) I addressed the question of sustainability and showed that there is no simple solution. How sustainable is the Baduy way of living, how can they make sure that their remarkable society will survive the spiritual and physical threats to Baduy culture in the coming years? To a large extent this will depend on how those with power (government institutions, large enterprises, NGOs, but also religious communities) will deal with the physically less powerful Baduy. It will also depend on the mutual respect between Baduy and other communities. The term ‘respect’ (to other communities, to cultural diversity) is frequently used in the 2003 UNESCO convention ratified by Indonesia and discussed below.³

³ See the text of the 2003 convention and its Operational Directives on <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>, but also the very instructive Aide-mémoires on <https://ich.unesco.org/en/forms>. [Last access 21 January 2019.]

In 1998 Gerard Persoon was fairly pessimistic on the prospects of small ethnic or indigenous groups. According to him, the government looks upon these groups as 'deviating from the cultural mainstream, and policies are aimed at bringing these people back into the mainstream of Indonesian life'. (Persoon 1998: 281; see also Section 3.5). He also noted that Indonesians for the greater part stayed outside the international discussions and 'international treaties are seen as irrelevant to the Indonesian context'. (p. 295). However, he saw some positive changes in the attitude of some prominent Indonesian anthropologists, who started to use terms like 'ethnocentrism', 'imposing dominant values', and 'use of force and violence' when describing official policies (p. 298).

Twenty years after the Suharto downfall in 1998 this critical evaluation of governmental policies became slightly more common in newspaper articles, but also in scientific ones. Indonesia also became more involved in the international discussion on indigenous groups when they ratified the UNESCO Convention on the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage on 15 October 2007. Under this convention Indonesia agreed, for instance, to act according to article 15 of this convention:

Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.⁴

By joining the 2003 UNESCO convention, Indonesia can no longer avoid a serious dialogue with communities, such as indigenous/minority groups. The international standards have been accepted and Indonesia can be held accountable for upholding these standards.

As indicated in Section 2.2, in the last few years, there have been signs that the approach of local authorities has changed into the direction of more respect for minorities, social justice for all and avoiding economic exploitation. This will undoubtedly help to realize a sustainable development for the Baduy, and other indigenous groups.

Mostly the Baduy leaders have clearly mentioned their problems when meeting government officials. I described a few of those problems in Chapter 2, for instance, registration of the *Sunda wiwitan* religion, the land shortage for agricultural fields and the sustainability of nature around them. Often these

4 See <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> [last access 20 February 2019.]

issues are raised in the context of the *séba* ritual, when a Baduy delegation travels to Leuwidamar, Pandeglang, Rangkasbitung and Sérang to pay their respect to the rulers. The Baduy indigenous group then asks to be taken seriously by the local rulers; the rulers should respect Baduy culture. This means, for instance, that in the case of the 2019 *séba* the dates set by the spiritual rulers of the Baduy should have been respected and not changed.⁵

9.2 Safeguarding, Cultural Tourism and Future Research

Sustainability of Baduy music, and generally ICH, is not the same as just economic sustainability, although the two are connected. According to UNESCO the three dimensions of sustainability are: social, economic and environmental. 'Inclusive social development' includes, for instance, food security, health care, gender equality, access to clean and safe water and sustainable water use. 'Inclusive economic development' encompasses income generation, decent work, impact of tourism on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage and vice versa. 'Environmental sustainability' includes knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, environmental impacts in the safeguarding of ICH, community-based resilience to natural disasters and climate change.⁶

With its diversity of ethnic groups Indonesia has a potential to use cultural tourism as a source of income. Like several other countries Indonesia has tried to increase cultural tourism in the last decades. As mentioned in Chapter 2 in the early 2000s the government of Banten Province declared the Baduy to be an 'object of cultural tourism', after stimulating cultural tourism to Kanékés already for several years.⁷ The money involved in the tourist industry seduced several Baduy ascetics to do things they were not supposed to do according to the ancestral rules, as explained in Van Zanten 2004; see also Section 2.4 of this book.

5 A newspaper report called the 2019 *séba* meeting in Sérang 'less happy', because it had been moved from 9 to 4 May 2019, against the wishes of the Baduy. See <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/pelaksanaan-dimajukan-seba-baduy-2019-berlangsung-kurang-meriah.html>. See also Section 2.4 about the 2019 *séba*.

6 See the Operational Directives of the ICH section of UNESCO on <https://ich.unesco.org/en/directives> [last access 19 November 2019]. UNESCO here also stresses the relation between ICH and peace.

7 Printed maps in 2003 showed the village Kanékés with the text 'Wisata budaya suku Baduy' printed in it: 'cultural touristic [site] of the Baduy ethnic group.' Nowadays on Google Maps there is a text 'Desa Wisata Suku Baduy' at the position of Kaduketug 1 (Kaduketug Jaro) near Cibolégér: 'touristic village of the Baduy ethnic group'; see <https://www.google.com/maps/@-6.5984535,106.2283934,1982m/data=!3m1!1e3>. [Last access 22 November 2019.]

In Section 2.4 I also mentioned that in the last few years the Banten government increasingly stimulated the *séba* ritual as a touristic event. The attention for the *séba* is part of a change in the provincial policies concerning tourism. As Baier and Budi (2015: 208) wrote: rice harvest rituals (*sérén taun, ngunjal*) have been stimulated throughout West Java and ‘become major attractions for internal tourism and for popular discourse about the nature of Sundanese culture in the greater Indonesian context’. See also Budi, Soedarsono, Haryono and Narawati (2014).

Indonesia has always paid much attention to cultural policies. Consisting of people from many different regional cultures its authorities had to answer the question ‘what sort of people should Indonesians strive to become?’ (Yampolsky 1995: 701). It was therefore no surprise that Indonesia was very interested in the UNESCO programme of Masterpieces and the following 2003 ‘Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’ (2003 convention). The Indonesian government proposed the element ‘Indonesian Angklung’ with a small part on Baduy *angklung*, and in 2010 this element was inscribed on the Representative List of the 2003 convention.⁸ In Van Zanten (2017: 93) I wrote about some shortcomings in the 10-minute film on the UNESCO site:

[t]he emphasis is very much on the diatonic *angklung* as practiced in the Saung Angklung Udjo. This is a group of well-known performers and makers of *angklung* instruments in Bandung that regularly performs for Indonesian and foreign tourists. However, this film also includes a small section “old *angklung*” (*angklung buhun*) and that is on Baduy *angklung*. I have shown several shortcomings in the representation of the Baduy *angklung* by Indonesia, especially in this film. The most important shortcoming of the film is that “the pictures of men planting rice in wet rice fields (*sawah*), just before the Baduy *angklung* is shown (minutes 3:37-4:04), suggest a wrong association, as the Baduy only use dry rice fields (*huma*)” (Van Zanten 2012: 138-139). The use of irrigated rice fields is strictly forbidden to the Baduy and it is one of the core elements of their religion *Sunda wiwitan*.⁹

8 See all the elements inscribed by Indonesia in one of the three international lists with the descriptions, pictures and a short film: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>. [Last access 21 January 2019.]

9 Whereas the suggested relation between *sawah* and Baduy *angklung* in this film is a major mistake, the question of the *angklung* players wearing slippers, sandals and long trousers (Van Zanten 2012: 138) is far less important. Moreover, I also recognise some people playing *angklung* in this film to be Outer Baduy, and this was confirmed by *jaro* Daénah in 2014.

It is of course very difficult for governmental institutions and researchers to get all ethnographic details correct, however, it is our duty to try at least. One obvious way to achieve this is to involve the Baduy community as much as possible in describing their intangible culture heritage and involving them in developing and implementing safeguarding measures. This is in fact what UNESCO asks from the States Parties that ratified the 2003 convention. The international lists are only a small component of the 2003 convention. On the national and regional level similar approaches should be used: cooperation of the authorities and NGOs with communities, groups and individuals in safeguarding their own ICH.¹⁰

In Section 2.4 I pointed out that tourism in Kanékés has had some positive economic effects, but it was also a burden when the visiting groups of tourists became (too) large. In that respect stimulating tourists to attend the *séba* in Sérang is much less a burden because it takes place far away from the Baduy community in Kanékés. It is worthwhile to investigate more possibilities for such type of cultural tourism. There have been attempts to keep most cultural tourists out of the Inner Baduy area in Kanékés, and keeping them much nearer to the main entrance of Cibolégér-Kaduketug. Why should tourists all aim for visiting Cibéo in the Inner Baduy area? In the Cibolégér-Kaduketug area cultural tourists already have the opportunity to buy woven cloths, knives, and other utensils. Maybe they could also be entertained by music (and dance?) performances at the entrance and buy some publications (in print, on DVD, etc.) about the Baduy. However, most attempts to keep cultural tourists away from the Inner Baduy region seem to have failed.

Safeguarding ICH also includes raising awareness and transmitting knowledge to younger people, and therefore education is an important factor. On 15 December 2013 a group of secondary schoolchildren was planning to walk from Kaduketug 1 to Cibéo (Figure 6). Just before they departed in the morning, the accompanying headmaster said that the children should not forget to practise speaking in English to each other during their walk to Cibéo. Was this excursion not meant for understanding the Baduy and their culture a little better? It seems that schoolchildren of the large cities who visit Kanékés could be better prepared for this excursion before they arrive. NGOs, local and regional authorities could help here to improve the situation. This includes teaching the teachers.

Coming to the end of this book, we may ask which other questions still remain for future research. I have indicated that my book would for the greater

10 The article by Masunah (2012) tells how this was done with *angklung* developed for cultural tourism in Ciater village in Subang.

part be descriptive. In the first place I wanted to describe Baduy music and dance on the basis of my fieldwork data. I also wanted to mention the most important existing literature and comment on the reports of the 19th century visitors of the Kanékés region. My research was not aimed at answering more fundamental, theoretical questions, like the impact of tourism and hand phones on Baduy society, or the sustainability of the cultural policies. However, I raised some of these more general issues, because it is impossible to get a proper understanding of Baduy music without looking at the wider social context.

How will the Baduy solve the problems related to the shortage of land for agriculture? Will they seek expansion of the area of Kanékés or get more judicial power in the areas with *dangka* hamlets? Will most of the younger people migrate to places outside Kanékés? Maybe in future research, former Baduy, who migrated and got higher education like the former secretary Sapin, could become more involved in the documentation of music and dance.

The descriptive part of this book could also have been expanded by including more music-technical analysis than I did. Preferably, we should first get a better idea of the Baduy concepts concerning music. For instance, in Section 5.2 I said that the lower tuned *angklung* instruments played 'ostinato patterns' that accompanied the 'melody' in the higher instruments. These parts were called respectively 'melody' and 'ornament' by others. Using the most suitable terminology seems especially important, if we want to look at Baduy music and dance in the wider Sundanese context: does it supply us with more understanding of Sundanese music, especially in the past? It may also be worthwhile to concentrate more on the Inner Baduy music than I could do. As mentioned, for the Baduy the main task of practising asceticism is to work on the rice fields in the proper way, that is, following the rules of the ancestors and the *Sunda wiwitan* religion. This also includes playing music in a ritual context: mainly *angklung* music and *pantun* storytelling. I think that the relation between the music played in ritual context and music played for entertainment could be further studied.

When taking safeguarding measures, we should always ask who benefits. Unfortunately, there are several examples in which the Baduy themselves did not benefit. On the contrary, they were exploited by outsiders. Here is a task for scholars, NGOs, local and regional authorities to assist the Baduy.

A Map of Kanékés and a List of Its Hamlets

Kanékés village (*désa*) lies in the Leuwidamar subdistrict (*kecamatan*) of the Rangkasbitung district (*kabupaten*) of Lebak and in the Banten province (*propinsi*) in west Java (see Figure 1). In this Appendix 1 I shall discuss the boundaries of Kanékés village that have been fixed and documented around 1800 and explain how I constructed the map of Figure 2. I shall present the list of 64 hamlets obtained from the Kanékés secretariat in July 2016, according to their administrative system and also in alphabetical order. As far as I know there is no new, fairly accurate map publicly available for the position of the Kanékés hamlets since the map produced by Geise (1952). Judistira Garna (1987, 1988) did not make his own maps and supplied copies of old maps by Van Tricht (1929), Koolhoven (1932) and Geise (1952). Recent books give no map at all (for instance, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010), or the supplied map is not accurate (for instance, Erwinantu 2012). Therefore I produced a new map, by making sketches in Kanékés of the relative position of the hamlets in 2014 and 2016, and by also using the Bing and Google aerial photographs available on the Internet. This process also gave me some more understanding as regards the vulnerability of Baduy hamlets for fires: many hamlets have been moved a little and/or got another name because of a fire that entirely destroyed the hamlet.

1 The Borders of Kanékés

Before the beginning of the 19th century the Baduy apparently lived in a far greater area, from Cisimeut and Lebak to the Indian Ocean (Laut Kidul) in the south. Van Tricht (1929: 69) mentions that the 1929 boundaries of Kanékés had already been established at the end of the eighteenth century, and were based on agreements between the Baduy and the sultan of Banten. According to Van Tricht, these boundaries were documented by Patih Derus, an administrator in the Lebak District, in the beginning of the 19th century and later in the 19th century mentioned in a report by the inspector Spaan: ‘The boundaries of Kanékés that were established by Patih Derus more than one hundred years ago are verbatim known [*woordelijk bekend*] to the Baduy as it is the basis of their independent existence’. Van Tricht (1929: 69–70) supplies the list of 69 identifications by natural objects (the start and finish being the same) that the Baduy enumerate, starting in the southeast at the origin of the Cidikit Tengah river, then along the south, west, north and east border; see Table 27 below. On the basis of these orally known boundaries the Baduy were able to convince the Dutch Indies government that

their region should be extended, ‘everywhere where it had been occupied unlawfully by the Muslim neighbours around them over the years’ (Van Tricht 1929: 69).

In the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch Indies government wanted to start rubber plantations south of Rangkasbitung. Hence it was necessary to establish which land could be used for plantations and which parts for agriculture and living of the population in this area (Garna 1987: 21). In this way the Dutch Indies government again formally determined the boundaries of Kanékés, along the lines of the boundaries established more than a century ago. See also the geological map with 24 Outer Baduy hamlets in Koolhoven (1932: 65, 70). In the beginning of 1986 these boundaries were marked by concrete poles around Kanékés (Garna 1987: 21).

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 58–62) present a list of the present natural objects marking the boundaries of Kanékés as determined in the 1980s by the Badan Pertanahan Nasional (BPN, National Cadastral Bureau). They report that these boundaries are enumerated in the 2002 decision ‘to establish the detailed borders [concerning] the collective land rights of the indigenous community of the Baduy in Kanékés village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak region dated 16 July 2002’ by the district head (*bupati*) of Lebak.¹ Comparing this 2002 list with the less detailed one presented by Van Tricht in 1929, shows that the borders of Kanékés have been very stable since the beginning of the 19th century. These lists are also consistent with the Baduy’s description of the borders as given by Garna (1988: 412). However, Garna’s list of natural objects runs counter-clockwise: from the southeast (starting point Hulu Ciburalang, Hulu Cidikit Tengah) to the north, west and south. The listings in Van Tricht and Kurnia & Sihabudin are both clockwise: from the same starting point at Hulu Cidikit Tengah in the southeast to the south, west, north and south again.² A comparison of the lists in Van Tricht and Kurnia and Sihabudin is given in Table 27 below.

2 Maps and Hamlets

There are several maps with hamlets of Kanékés available in print. However, as mentioned, most maps are not very accurate and/or not adjusted to the present situation.

-
- 1 Surat Keputusan Bupati Lebak Nomor: 590/kep.233/Huk/2002 tentang *Penetapan Batas Batas Detail Hak Ulayat Masyarakat Adat Baduy di Desa Kanekes Kecamatan Leuwidamar Kabupaten Lebak* tertanggal 16 Juli 2002.
 - 2 When playing the *angklung* in a secular setting, the players and dancers follow a circle in a counter-clockwise direction and when playing in a ritual setting, the clockwise direction is taken by the players (Van Zanten 1995: 533–537; see also Sections 4.2 and 6.4 above). Apparently the listing of the natural objects that constitute the border of Kanékés do not have restrictions: clockwise or counter-clockwise.

TABLE 27 Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects

In 2002 according to Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 58–62) and at the beginning of the 19th century according to Van Tricht (1929: 69–70); see also Garna 1988: 410–411.

Words for some natural objects used in the names:

<i>cepak</i>	flat, flattened	<i>karang</i>	rock	<i>ranca</i>	swamp, morass
<i>curug</i>	waterfall	<i>leuwi</i>	deep part in a river	<i>sirah,</i> <i>hulu</i>	source, origin of river
<i>guha</i>	cave	<i>muhara,</i> <i>muara</i>	mouth of river	<i>tanjakan</i>	slope
<i>gunung</i>	mountain	<i>pasir</i>	hill, small mountain		
<i>hulu,</i> <i>sirah</i>	origin of river, source	<i>pental</i>	spread out, fallen in a sprawling position (?)		

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 61–2)

1. Pasir Lumao
2. Pasir Seuhang
3. Karang Kentrung
4. Karang Sendet
5. Karang Membreng
6. Kadudipray
7. Pasir Lutung
8. Gunung Handeuleum
9. Guha Badak
10. Gedeng Ranji
11. Cipinang Ading
12. Muhara Cipinang Ading
13. *Follow Cibarani to the north*
14. *Go up to Muara Ciawi*

Van Tricht (1929: 69–70)

1. Hulu Cidikit Tengah
2. Lumaok
3. Pasir Seuhang
4. Karang Ngajajar
5. Pasir Lutung
6. Guha Badak
7. Cipinang Gading
8. *(Along) Cibarani [river]*

TABLE 27 Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects (*cont.*)

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 61–2)	Van Tricht (1929: 69–70)
15. <i>To</i> Peundeuy Gede	9. Curug Cipanyairan
	10. Leuwi Gedé
	11. Pasir Limus Marin
16. Karedok Binung	12. Karedok Ranca Binong
17. Tunggul Ki Sereh	
18. Pasir Peuteuy	
19. Sirah Cilame	13. Sirah Cilamé
20. <i>To</i> Lame Gede	
21. Cipicung Cangked	14. Batu Preda (Cipicung Cangker)
22. <i>To</i> Pasir Puyuh	15. Gunung Pasir Puyuh
23. <i>To</i> Batu Peredah	
24. <i>To</i> Batu Congcot	
25. <i>Go up to</i> Gunung Bulangit Beulah Samper	16. Cadas Beunang Natah
26. <i>To</i> Curug Cineunggeul	17. (<i>Along</i>) Cibulangit [<i>river</i>]
27. <i>To</i> Sumur Tapak	
28. <i>Go up to</i> Lame Gede	
29. <i>To</i> Cepak Pang Rereban	
30. <i>To</i> Ranca Bodaan	18. Ranca Bodaan
31. <i>To</i> Pancuran Lojor	
32. <i>Go up to</i> Tunggul Ki Maung	19. Tunggul Ki Sereh Gedé
33. <i>Go down to</i> Pental Kadu Abuy	20. Kadu Cupu
34. <i>To</i> Monggor Citolok	
	21. Lodor Saat
35. <i>To</i> Curug Ciater	22. Curug Ciater
36. <i>To</i> Pental Angsana Gede	
37. <i>To</i> Ki Hiang Lawang	
38. <i>To</i> Lame Gede	
	23. Pasir Baléor
39. <i>To</i> Muara Ciawul	24. Muara Cihaur

TABLE 27 Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects (*cont.*)

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 61–2)	Van Tricht (1929: 69–70)
40. <i>To Dukuh Lojor</i>	
41. <i>To Cikahalang</i>	
	25. Pasir Mangli
42. <i>To Kiara Ubang</i>	26. Kiara Ubang
43. <i>To Pangsalakan</i>	27. Pangsalakan
44. <i>To Batu Sahu</i>	
45. <i>To Sirah Cibangkong</i>	
46. <i>To Angsana Gede (Juru Tilu/3)</i>	
At 46. West: Village Parakan Beusi, District Bojongmanik	
47. <i>Sirah Ciseel Koneng</i>	28. Sirah Cisaél Konéng
48. <i>To Cikadubitung</i>	
49. <i>To Muara Cikadubitung</i>	
50. <i>Follow Ciujung (river) downstream</i>	29. <i>(Along) Ciujung [river]</i>
51. <i>Then go up to Muara Cinambo</i>	30. Muara Cinambo
52. <i>Follow the Cinambo (river) to the east</i>	
53. <i>Go on to Cigoél</i>	
	31. Kiara Gedé
	32. Binglu Haseum
54. <i>Go on to Ciboleger</i>	33. Sirah Cibaleger Saat
55. <i>To Sirah Cibuyur</i>	
56. <i>To Cikaranglayang</i>	
57. <i>Go up the Tanjakan Rokrak</i>	
58. <i>To Batukangkot</i>	34. Batu Kangkot
59. <i>To Ranca Karahkal</i>	
60. <i>To Gedeng Cangcaratan</i>	
61. <i>To Cilenggor</i>	
	35. Cadas Lemprak
62. <i>To Sumur Beunang Natah</i>	36. Sumur Tatah
	37. Pental Muncang Gedé
63. <i>Take footpath to Pental Gunung Sarani</i>	38. Pental Sarani
64. <i>Go down to Sirah Ciangsana</i>	

TABLE 27 Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects (*cont.*)

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 61–2)	Van Tricht (1929: 69–70)
65. <i>Follow the river Cianggsana to Muara Cianggsana</i>	39. (<i>Along</i>) Cianggsana [<i>river</i>]
66. <i>Go on to Cimangseuri until its mouth, then to Liang Lubang Sikumprung</i>	40. (<i>Along</i>) Cimangseurih [<i>river</i>]
67. <i>Then follow the Cisimeut upstream</i>	41. Cadas Buluh
	42. (<i>Along</i>) Cisimeut [<i>river</i>]
	43. Leuwi Pangangenan
	44. (<i>Along</i>) Cisimeut [<i>river</i>]
68. <i>To Muara Cibayangtung</i>	45. Muara Cibayangtung
	46. (<i>Along</i>) Cibayangtung [<i>river</i>]
69. <i>Go up to Monggor Nangpelem</i>	
	47. Pental Lamé Copong
70. <i>To Cipaniktik</i>	48. Muara Cipanitih
	49. (<i>Along</i>) Cipanitih
71. <i>To Cihandeong</i>	50. (<i>Along</i>) Cihandeung [<i>river</i>]
72. <i>To Muara Cisarogang</i>	51. Muara Cisorogan
	52. (<i>Along</i>) Cisorogan [<i>river</i>]
73. <i>Go up at Kadu Hileud</i>	
74. <i>By footpath to Pental Monggor Binglu</i>	
	53. Muara Cikomboj
	54. Peundeuy Gedé
	55. (<i>Footpath to</i>) Karang Combong
75. <i>To Ungkal Gedug Batu Sahulu</i>	56. Ungkal Gedug
76. <i>Go down to Citamiang</i>	
	57. Guha Bancét
77. <i>To Kawung Luwuk</i>	58. Kawung Luwuk
78. <i>To Tunggul Nangka</i>	
79. <i>To Cukang Bungur</i>	
80. <i>To Guha Bancét</i>	
81. <i>Short-cut to Cimedene</i>	
82. <i>To Muara Ciputat</i>	
83. <i>Go up to Gunung Leutik (triangle)</i>	59. Gunung Leutik

TABLE 27 Stability of boundaries of Kanékés village as marked by natural objects (*cont.*)

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 61–2)	Van Tricht (1929: 69–70)
At 83: Southeast: Village Cicalembang, District Muncang; North: Village Karangcombong, District Muncang; West: Village Kanékés, District Leuwidamar	
84. <i>To</i> Awi Ngajajar	60. Ranca Kiara Rangrang
85. <i>To</i> Batu Lolo	61. Mental Awi Gedé
86. <i>Shortcut to</i> Ranca Hideung	62. (<i>Along</i>) Cibatuu Hideung
87. <i>To</i> Muara Cicalembang	63. Muara Cibatuu Hideung
88. <i>Follow the</i> Cidikit <i>upstream</i>	64. (<i>Along</i>) Cidikit [<i>river</i>]
89. <i>Go up at</i> Lodar Cisaat	65. Curug Garihul
	66. Parakan Piteuk
90. <i>To</i> Ranca Lolo	
91. <i>To</i> Hulu Cisaat (Ciburalang)	
92. <i>Until</i> Gunung Kendeng, <i>go west</i>	67. Muara Teluh
	68. (<i>Along</i>) Cidikit Tengah [<i>river</i>]
93. Tugu Perwelu (Juru Tilu)	
At 93: south: Cikate Village, District Cijaku; east: Cicalembang Village, District Muncang; northwest: Kanékés Village, District Leuwidamar	
94. <i>Go on to</i> Gunung Pamuntuan, <i>a top of the</i> Kendeng <i>mountains. Connecting to the starting point.</i>	69. Hulu Cidikit Tengah (= <i>starting point</i>)

Hence I decided to make my own map (Figure 2), based on the information available in 2016. The maps given by Van Tricht (1929: opposite page 72), Koolhoven (1932: 65, 70; this is a geological map) and Geise (1952: last, unnumbered page) give boundaries of Kanékés that are identical. These maps are based on the boundaries given in Table 27 and very close to a Dutch map from 1926, that was reprinted by the army of the United

States in 1943 (*U.S. Army* 1943) and that covers Kanékés except for the most southern part, but just including Cikeusik. Garna (1988: 22, 138) also used maps similar to those in Van Tricht, Koolhoven and Geise.

In December 2013 I also took a picture of the map used by the administration of Kanékés. The boundaries of this map were again almost identical to the earlier mentioned ones. This map of the secretariat was probably based on the map made by the National Cadastral Bureau (Badan Pertanahan Nasional, BPN) around 1985 that was mentioned above. Hence I trusted that I could take the boundaries of the village according to these maps by Van Tricht, Koolhoven and Geise.³

Hence in my map the boundaries of Kanékés are the same as those published by Geise (1952) and Koolhoven (1932). Then I put the different hamlets (*lembur, ampian, ampéan*; Indonesian: *kampung*), as listed below, in position.⁴ For several reasons that was more difficult: in the different sources there is conflicting information about the name and position of hamlets. Moreover, in the 1980s the Lebak regency introduced its own administrative system for Kanékés with three 'blocks' that each included one of the Inner Baduy hamlets: Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo. Like for other villages and towns in West Java, these 'blocks' were divided into smaller units RW (*Rukun Warga*: community groups) that consist of several RT (*Rukun Tetangga*: neighbourhood groups; see Garna 1987: 21–2). This administrative system is now also used by the present secretariat of Kanékés. In practice this means that mostly one hamlet forms just one RT and one RW consists of three to six hamlets. In Table 29 below the hamlets have been listed according to the administrative system as used by the village secretariat in July 2016.

The satellite photographs available on the Internet⁵ were useful for marking the position of lake Dan(g)dang Ageung and the hamlets on my map. This was combined with my knowledge of the position of the Outer Baduy hamlets obtained by walking through Kanékés. The results may be found in Figure 2. As both hamlets and rivers very often use the prefix 'Ci' (from *cai*, water) I have underlined the names of rivers and tributaries and printed them in blue, like the rivers themselves; the names for the hamlets are all printed in black.

3 It was interesting that the village administration initially had produced a map with many details on it. When the Baduy leaders saw this map, they asked for removal of most that information. The adjusted map that we saw on the wall of the secretarial office had less than ten of the about sixty hamlets on it; however, the three Inner Baduy hamlets Cibéo, Cikartawana and Cikeusik were included.

4 Lists of hamlets in Kanékés were obtained from the secretary Sapin in June 2014 and from the secretariat's scheme on public notice boards at the secretariat and the house of the secular village head in July 2016.

5 In particular I used the Bing maps on <http://www.bing.com/maps/?FORM=Z9LH4>, section Indonesia-Banten-Lebak-Ciboleger, and the Google maps like <https://www.google.com/maps/@-6.5979083,106.2280043,1709m/data=!3m1!1e3>. [Last access 19 December 2018.]

One of the major problems of making an updated map was the change of names of several hamlets. For instance, the following names of hamlets on the map in Geise (1952) do not appear in the 2016 list of the village secretariat: Curugséor (or Kaduketer, according to Van Tricht 1929: after p.72), Boncérét, Cipeucang and Cipokol. Similarly, the names of hamlets Cihalang and Bojongpaok given by Koolhoven (1932: 70, 65) do no longer exist. The more recent changes will be discussed below.

Over time some hamlets have moved to a different place, mostly because there had been a fire that destroyed the whole hamlet or the greater part of it. Erwinantu (2012: 71) mentions that Cibéo was entirely burnt twice and that then its position was moved. On 2 June 2014 the father of the village head Daénah and his neighbour in hamlet Cikadu Lebak told that during their lifetime the neighbouring hamlet Cikadu Pasir was burnt twice. Hence it was first moved and after the second fire rebuilt again on its present place. From 8 to 9 August 1993 I paid a short visit to Kanékés and stayed in the newly built official residence of the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) Asrab in Kaduketug.⁶ I was then told by Asrab that on 6 August that year 51 houses in Cikeusik burnt down and only the house of the spiritual leader (*puun*) had been saved. Similarly Kaduketug Gedé (113 houses and also the rice barns) was entirely burnt on 16 October 2009;⁷ this was also confirmed by the secular village head Daénah in 2013. The most recent big fire was in Cisaban 2 on 23 May 2017 and 84 houses and about 100 rice storage barns (*leuit*) were destroyed. It apparently started at the fireplace in one of the houses around 18:00; none of the 365 inhabitants (of 105 families) was killed.⁸ On 12 September 2019 Pasir Ciri, a new *babakan* of Kadu Gedé, was destroyed by a fire that burnt 37 houses. There were no casualties, but a special gamelan was also destroyed in the fire (see Section 5.4). An unknown number of rice barns (*leuit*) had also been destroyed. From the satellite photographs we may see that for some hamlets the rice barns are clearly separated from the houses, such as in the three Inner Baduy hamlets, Cibéo, Cikartawana and Cikeusik.⁹ This is a precaution, so that when there is a fire the rice barns may be saved. See also Figure 59.

6 Building the official residence for the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) was done in 1992; the hamlet now called Kaduketug 1 that grew around this residence is therefore sometimes referred to as 'Babakan Jaro'.

7 See, for instance, Internet articles of 16 October 2009: '113 Rumah Baduy Terbakar, Posko Didirikan' and 'Duh, Rumah dan Lumbung Padi Warga Baduy Terbakar' on <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2009/10/16/16021723/113> and <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2009/10/16/15322366/Duh> [last access 28 January 2019.]

8 Personal information from Mumu Zaénal Mutaqin, 26 May 2017. See also, for instance, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3510126/satu-kampung-baduy-luar-kebakaran-warga-bu-tuh-bantuan-logistik>. [Last access 4 October 2020.]

9 Koorders already reported in 1864 for the three Inner Baduy hamlets that the rice barns (*leuit*) were placed 'not in the immediate neighbourhood' of the houses, but together near the shed where the rice is pounded. (Meinsma 1869:329).



FIGURE 59 Rice barns (*leuit*) built across the Ciujung river and thereby separated from the houses of Gajéboh. 11 December 2013

The possible changing position and/or renaming of a hamlet was already reported by Koorders, who started his visit to the Inner Baduy area on 5 July 1864. Under the guidance of the secular village head ('the *jaro* appointed by the government': *jaro pamaréntah*) Tarpi from Cibéo, Koorders was heading for Cisamodor: '... Cisamodor, the aim of our journey. In describing this settlement there are some characteristics that also hold for both other Baduy hamlets, Kartawana and Cibéo'. (Meinsma 1869: 328). Koorders described Cisamodor as a hamlet that was occupied six years ago, after Cikeusik had been left:

The *kampung* Cisamodor, they said, had been established six years ago, when the former inhabitants from the long-deserted *kampung* Rawayan, marked on Melvill's map of Banten, that was first moved to the presently also deserted *kampung* Cikeusik had settled here. The *kampung* has fifteen houses and "*koeren*" or families. ...

MEINSMA 1869: 330

We do not know how accurate this report was, or whether the Baduy mislead Koorders by using another name (see also Section 3.3, in particular the criticism by Jacobs and Meijer). At the moment the name Cisamodor is not used for this hamlet, but only

TABLE 28 Different names for the three Inner Baduy hamlets from 1822–2016

July 2016	Ritual name (Geise 1952: 22; Garna 1988: 232)	Koorders (Meinsma 1864: 328, 330)	Blume (1822:31)
Cibéo	Parahiang	Cibéo	Ciboam
Cikartawana	Kadu Kujang	Kartawana	Kadu Kujang
Cikeusik	Pada Ageung	Cisamodor, (Cikeusik, Rawayan)	Kanékés

Cikeusik or Pada Ageung. However, on the map in Geise (1952: after p 266) the name Pasir Samodo was used for a hill in Kanékés, west of Gajéboh.

Hence the names used to indicate the three *tangtu* hamlets have been changing over the last two centuries. Moreover there are the ritual names for these three hamlets. I have summarized this in Table 28.

Whatever happened in the past as regards the name of hamlets, also happens today. In June 2014 the secretariat listed the hamlet Cicakal Tarikkolot next to Cicakal Muara (in RW 07), like Kurnia and Sihabudin in 2010. In 2016 the name Cicakal Tarikkolot had disappeared and the secretariat had listed Cicakal Muara and Cicakal Leuwibuleud instead. I was then told that after a serious fire in Cicakal Muara the hamlet's position was slightly moved and it was then called Cicakal Tarikkolot. However, the Baduy living in that hamlet gradually moved their houses back to the old place, which was again called Cicakal Muara. Compare also Dinda S.U. Budi's report on the changes of the position of the hamlet Kampung Gedé Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, about 40km southeast of Kanékés. This hamlet was moved because of an order (*wangsit*) given by the ancestors to the elders and since 1943 this happened seven times until 2015 (Budi 2015: 79–83, 103, 318).

The hamlets or settlements (*lembur*, Indonesian: *kampung*; Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 31 used *ampéan*) sometimes have the same name, when they are near to each other, like Kaduketug 1 (established in 1992 and currently also called Kaduketug Jaro, with the official house of the secular village head, and bordering Cibolégér, just outside Kanékés), Cipondok (earlier also called Kaduketug 2) and Kaduketug Gedé (the oldest Kaduketug hamlet; earlier called Kaduketug 1). Other hamlets, such as the four Gajéboh hamlets, got different names right from the beginning: Gajéboh (oldest one), Balimbing or Cibalimbing (since about 1993), Maréngo (since about 1995) and Kuya or Cikuya (since about 2012). A hamlet growing next to an existing one is also called *babakan* (newly established hamlet), for instance Babakan Sorokokod that is now called Ciwaringin. A group of houses becomes a hamlet, when it gets a 6 to 8 metre-long

wooden trough in an open, roofed space (*saung lesung*) for the communal pounding of rice and after the official recognition ceremony by Baduy leaders (*nukuh lembur*; see Section 6.4) has been performed.

Like the names of the hamlets, the hills and mountains seem to change names over time. For instance, in 2014 people in Cisaban Tengah/Cisaban 2 did not know a hill Pasir Bingu that appears on Geise's map. This hill near Karangcombong, just outside Kanékés, was called Gunung Lémok by them. This is not reflected in my map in Figure 2, in which I kept the names of the hills as published by Geise in 1952.

Below I present a list of the 64 hamlets in Kanékés, including the names of the heads of RT and RW, that were registered by the secretariat of Kanékés in July 2016. These hamlet names were compared to those given by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 68–71), representing the situation in January 2010. This last list is identical with the 58 hamlets mentioned in *Peraturan Desa Kanékés* (2007: 4–5). In May 2014 there were 62 hamlets on the list of the village secretary: two less than in 2016. The hamlets Cilingsuh and Cicangkudu, listed by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 69–71), no longer exist according to the village secretary Sapin and information from the inhabitants of Cikadu. I assume that on the 2016 list Cilingsuh was renamed to Cikadu Babakan and Cicangkudu was renamed Cepakhuni. Further, there were six new hamlets added between the 2010 and 2016 lists: Cepakbungur (or Cibungur, formerly called Nagrék?), Cicampaka, Ciémés, Cikuya, Ciranji Pasir and Kaduketug Kalér (see also Sapin in A2014-1: 61).

Between 2010 and 2016 several hamlets (RT) got another number or were administratively moved from one RW to another. Between June 2014 and July 2016 the overall administrative structure as supplied by the Kanékés secretariat remained fairly stable. However, 15 of the 64 RT hamlets had been given another number. Further, 6 of the 13 heads of RW's had been replaced and 16 of the 64 heads of RT's had been replaced, or added when the hamlet was established between 2014 and 2016. In Table 29 below I also included the number of families and people living in each hamlet, as given by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010). These figures are not consistent (and I have indicated the major inconsistencies), but give a general idea about the size of a hamlet.

Not included in this list are the Kumpul hamlets (Cicengal 1, Cicengal 2, Cikaréo/Cikarého, Cirancak, and Lebak Kiara)¹⁰ and the other *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. The resettlement hamlets dating from the resettlement projects of the 1970s (Cipangembar at an old rubber plantation in Pasir Kopo, Gunung Tunggal; Margaluyu and Pal Opat; Sukatani, Jalupang Mulya village) have not been included, as the inhabitants – in contrast to the *dangka* hamlets – do no longer follow the Baduy rituals and are therefore no longer recognized as members of the Baduy community.

10 Erwinantu (2012: 88) gives: Kumpul, Ceupakbuah, Cikaréo, and Cicengal.

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016

List of hamlets, with the names of the RW head (*pangiwa*) and RT head and total number of RW inhabitants in July 2016 according to the village secretariat. Further the number of families and inhabitants in 2010 per hamlet after Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 69–71.

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur, ampéan kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
1	01-Sajum	01-Sarman	Kaduketug (1): seat <i>jaro pamaréntah</i> since 1992; present seat of <i>dangka Singalayang</i>		46	137
2		02-Sarikam	Cipondok (present seat of <i>dangka Warega</i>)		61	229 ^a
3		03-Juned	Kaduketug Gedé/ - 2: <i>dangka Carungan</i> and present seat of <i>dangka Sirahdayeuh</i>		152	408
4		04-[no name]	Kadukaso		11	32
5		05-Sarwan	Cihulu: <i>dangka Cipatik</i>		68	237
6		06-Arka	+Kaduketug Kalér/ Kaduketug 3 (new)		-	-
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 01</i>	1033	338 ^b	1043
7	02-Ailin	01-Pulung A	+Maréngo		42	180
8		02-Ijom	Gajéboh		91	440
9		03-Diman	Balimbing/Cibalimbing		46	212
10		04-Sarja	Cigula		41	156
11		05-Pulung B	Cikuya (new)		-	-

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur; ampéan kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 02</i>	860 ^c	220	988
12	03-Su'eb	01-Sangsang	+Kadujangkung		71	246
13		02-Kaisan	Karahkal		86	337
14		03-Omo	Kadugedé		25	100
15		04-Mulyono	Campaka/Cicampaka (new)		-	-
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 03</i>	792 ^d	202 ^e	683
16	04-Rajak	01-Asdi	Kaduketer 1		65	270
17		02-Caisin	+Kaduketer 2		20	89
18		03-Ayah Jamah	Cicatang 1		16	78
19		04-Ayah Sainah	Cicatang 2		36	122
20		05-Juned	Cikopéng		47	174
21		06-Nasim	Cibongkok		14	47
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 04</i>	818	198	780
22	05-Emod	01-Samid	Sorokokod		90	392
23		02- Sangsang	Ciwaringin		42	172
24		03-Nalim	Cibitung		15	57
25		04-Jarip	Batara		63	247

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur, ampéan kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
26		05-Arta	Panyerangan		79	102 ^f
27		06-Akin	+Kadukohak ^g		88	339
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 05</i>	1398	377	1309
28	06- Naikin	01-Asdi	+Cisaban 1		153	629
29		02-Sarmain	Cisaban 2/Babakan Cisaban		71	274
30		03-Asmin	Leuwihandam		67	205
31		04-Saiman	Cirancakondang/ Rancakondang		9	44
32		05-Asra	Kaneungai		11	36
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 06</i>	1254	311	1188
33	07- Behong	01-Saidi	Cipalér Lebak/Cipalér 1		99	375
34		02-Sardin	Cipalér Pasir/Cipalér 2		39	166
35		03-Caikin	+Cicakal Leuwibuleud/ Leuwibuleud		80	267
36		04-Salia	Cicakal Muara/- Muhara ^h		6	18
37		05-Samani	Cepakbungur/Cibungur (was Nagrék?)		-	-
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 07</i>	822	224	826

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur, ampéan kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
38	08-Jasir	01-Empang	Cicakal Girang 1		50	185
39		02-Hadna	Cicakal Girang 2		19	72
40		03-Sayuti	Cicakal Girang 3		27	89
41		04-Takin	Cipiit Lebak		21	88
42		05-Talsin	+Cipiit Pasir/Cipiit Tonggoh		42	224
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 08</i>	651	159	658
43	09-Taki	01-Sarda	Cikadu Lebak		62	224
44		02-Pulung	Cikadu Pasir		61	228
45		03-Salim	+Cikadu Babakan ⁱ		16	62
46		04-Aja	Cijangkar		7	38
47		05-Naisin	Cijéngkol		39	199
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 09</i>	617 ^j	185	751
48	10-Arsilin	01-Salim	Cisagu Pasir		44	161
49		02-Agus	Cisagu Lebak		23	113
50		03-Rohim	Babakan Eurih		17	104
51		04-Ardi	+Cijanar		62	257
			<i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 10</i>	667	146	635 ^k
52	11-Alim	01-Talci	+Cibéo (<i>tangtu Parahiang</i>)		152	553

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur, ampéan kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
53		02-Ayah Asid	Cikeusik (<i>tangtu</i> Pada Ageung)		113	451
54		03-Ayah Dalkin	Cikartawana (<i>tangtu</i> Kadu Kujang) <i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 11</i>	1212	303	1164 ^l
55	12-Salim	01-Sarim	Ciranji Lebak		48	170
56		02-Sarpin	+Ciranji Pasir (new)		-	-
57		03-Asmani	Cikuléngséng/ Cikulingséng		13	49
58		04-[no name]	Cibagelut		20	78
59		05-[no name]	Cepakhuni (or Cicangkudu; new)		15	45
60		06-Atim	Ciémés (not yet formally recognized) <i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 12</i>	619 ^m	96	342
61	13-Kemik	01-Alcin	+Cisadané		61	220
62		02-Arji	Batubeulah		38	131
63		03-Naitim	Cibogo		79	265
64		04-Ayah Ardi?	Pamoéan/Pamowéan <i>Total number of families/inhabitants in RW 13</i>	924	226	809
<i>Total in Kanékés (2010)</i>					2 985 ⁿ	11 176

TABLE 29 Hamlets in Kanékés arranged according to RW and RT, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	#RW, name	#RT, name	Hamlet or settlement (<i>lembur</i> ; <i>ampéan</i> <i>kampung</i>) July 2016; + indicates the domicile of the head of the RW (<i>pangiwa</i>)	Total # inhabitants RW in July 2016	# families 2010	# inhabitants 2010
<i>Total in Kanékés (July 2016)</i>				11 667	[3402]	

^a Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010) give 119, but this is a mistake: there are 125 male and 104 female inhabitants.

^b Kurnia and Sihabudin give 302; according to the sum in RW 01 this number should be 338.

^c This number of inhabitants of RW 02 is 128 lower than given by Kurnia and Sihabudin in 2010. I do not know the reason for this.

^d This number of inhabitants is 109 more than given by Kurnia and Sihabudin in 2010.

^e Number as given in Kurnia and Sihabudin; according to the sum in RW 03, this number should be 182.

^f According to Kurnia and Sihabudin the number of inhabitants is roughly 3.7 times the number of families in a hamlet for 2010 (and 3.4 for 2016, according to the figures of the Kanékés secretariat), so these figures for Panyerangan are presumably not accurate.

^g In 2010 Kadukohak was administratively included in RW 06, and not in RW 05 as in 2014 and 2016.

^h Kurnia and Sihabudin give the hamlet Cicakal Tarikkolot, which was a temporary name for Cicakal Muara, after it was destroyed by fire and moved to a different place (see above).

ⁱ I assume that Cikadu Babakan is the hamlet that was called Cilingsuh by Kurnia and Sihabudin.

^j I do not know why this number is 134 below the one given by Kurnia and Sihabudin.

^k Kurnia and Sihabudin give 658; according to the sum of the inhabitants per hamlet this should be 635.

^l Kurnia and Sihabudin give 1170; according to the sum of the inhabitants per hamlet this should be 1164.

^m This RW 12 consists of some new hamlets and that may be the reason that the total number of inhabitants has almost doubled: from 342 in 2010 to 619 in July 2016. Ciémés is not yet officially recognized (with *nukuh lembur* ritual) and consisted of five houses in July 2016.

ⁿ Kurnia and Sihabudin give 2948 families and 11 172 inhabitants, but I presented the sum for all RW and the sum for all RT given in this table. For July 2016 the secretariat gave the total number of families in Kanékés as 3402.

In Table 30 the hamlets have been listed alphabetically. For each hamlet the RT and RW were given, according to the list of the village secretary in July 2016. This 'list 2016' is slightly different from the list given in Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 69–71) and the earlier list supplied by the secretariat in 2014. Because the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés play an important role in Baduy society, these are also included in Table 30.

TABLE 30 Alphabetical list of hamlets in Kanékés and the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, July 2016

Classification RW/RT according to village secretariat							
#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT	#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT
-	Babakan Cisaban: see Cisaban 2			34	Cipalér Lebak/Cipalér 1	07	01
1	Babakan Eurih	10	03	35	Cipalér Pasir/Cipalér 2	07	02
2	Balimbing	02	03	36	Cipiit Lebak	08	04
3	Batara	05	04	37	Cipiit Pasir/Cipiit Tonggoh	08	05
4	Batube(u)lah	13	02	38	Cipondok: present seat of <i>jaro dangka</i> Warega	01	02
5	Cepakbungur/Cibungur (new)	07	05	39	Cirancakondang/ Rancakondang	05	04
6	Cepakhuni/Cicangkudu	12	05	40	Ciranji Lebak	12	01
7	Cibagelut	12	04	41	Ciranji Pasir (new)	12	02
-	Cibalimbing: see Balimbing			42	Cisaban 1	06	01
-	Cibengkung (Nangkabengkung, Bengkung): <i>dangka</i> Padawaras, outside Kanékés	-	-	43	Cisaban 2/Babakan Cisaban	06	02
8	Cibéo (<i>tangtu</i> Parahiang)	11	01	44	Cisadané	13	01
9	Cibitung	05	03	45	Cisagu Pasir/Cisagu 1	10	01
10	Cibogo	13	03	46	Cisagu Lebak/Cisagu 2	10	02
11	Cibongkok	04	06	47	Ciwaringin	05	02
-	Cibungur: see Cepakbungur			-	Eurih: see Babakan Eurih	-	-
12	Cicakal Girang 1/Sirah Cicakal 1	08	01	48	Gajéboh	01	02
13	Cicakal Girang 2/Sirah Cicakal 2/Babakan Cicakal Girang	08	02	-	Garéhong see Cilénggor	-	-
14	Cicakal Girang 3	08	03	49	Kadugedé	03	03
-	Cicakal Hilir: see Cicakal Muara			50	Kadujangkung	03	01
15	Cicakal Leuwibuleud	07	03	51	Kadukaso	01	04
16	Cicakal Muara/Cicakal Hilir	07	04	52	Kaduketer 1	04	01

TABLE 30 Alphabetical list of hamlets in Kanékés and the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, July 2016 (cont.)

#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT	#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT
-	Cicakal Tarikkolot: see – Muara			53	Kaduketer 2	04	02
17	Cicampaka/Campaka (new hamlet)	03	04	54	Kaduketug (1): seat of <i>jaro pamaréntah</i> and since 2016 seat <i>jaro dangka</i> Singalayang	01	01
-	Cicangkudu: see Cepakhuni			55	Kaduketug Gedé/ Kaduketug 2: <i>dangka</i> Carungeun?; seat of <i>jaro dangka</i> Singalayang until 2016;	01	03
18	Cicatang 1	04	03	56	Kaduketug Kalér/- 3: new, north of Kaduketug Gedé	01	06
19	Cicatang 2	04	04	57	Kadukohak	05	06
20	Ciémés (not yet formally recognized)	12	06	-	Kamancing: <i>dangka</i> Waréga or Sanghyang Panunggulan outside Kanékés	-	-
21	Cigula	02	04	58	Kaneungai	06	05
-	Cihandam: <i>dangka</i> Sirahdayeuh ^a outside Kanékés	-	-	59	Karahkal	03	02
22	Cihulu: <i>dangka</i> Cipatik	01	05	-	Kompol: <i>dangka</i> Garukgak outside Kanékés	-	-
23	Cijandar	10	04	-	Leuwibuleud: see Cicakal L.		
24	Cijangkar	09	04	60	Leuwihandam	06	03
25	Cijéngkol	09	05	61	Maréngo	02	01
26	Cikadu Babakan (former Cilingsuh?)	09	03	-	Nangkabengkung: see Cibengkung		
27	Cikadu Pasir	09	02	-	Nungkulan: <i>dangka</i> Sindang Nyair outside Kanékés	-	-
28	Cikadu Lebak	09	01	62	Pamoéan/Pamowéan	13	04

TABLE 30 Alphabetical list of hamlets in Kanékés and the seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés, July 2016 (*cont.*)

#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT	#	Hamlet (alphabetical)	RW	RT
29	Cikartawana (<i>tangtu</i> Kadu Kujang)	11	03		Panyaweuyan/ Panyaweuhan: <i>dangka</i> Inggung outside Kanékés	-	-
30	Cikeusik (<i>tangtu</i> Pada Ageung)	11	02	63	Panyerangan	05	05
31	Cikopéng	04	05	-	Rancakondang: see Cirancakondang	-	-
32	Cikuléngséng	12	03	-	Sirah Cicakal: see Cicakal Girang	-	-
33	Cikuya (new hamlet)	02	05	64	Sorokokod	05	01
-	Cilénggor (= Garéhong): <i>dangka</i> Sanghyang Asuh outside Kanékés	-	-	-	Waringin: see Ciwaringin		
-	Cilingsuh: became Cikadu Babakan on 2016 list						
-	Cinangsi: on list 2010, not on lists 2014 and 2016						

^a Sirah Dayeuh/Sirahdayeuh and other *dangka* hamlets are mentioned in *pantun* stories, such as in Paksi Keuling (Pleyte 1912: 417).

The Baduy Calendar

It is important to have some knowledge about the complicated Baduy calendar, because it is connected to the agricultural activities and it determines the music seasons. Information on the Baduy calendar and its seasons (*mangsa, musim*) may be found in the literature, although it is not always very precise. In 1995 I noted that in my discussions with Outer Baduy 'it appeared that much confusion is caused by the complicated timetable for planting and harvesting rice on the various fields of the Inner and Outer Baduy'. (Van Zanten 1995: 528).

Already in 1822 Blume presented names of the twelve Baduy months: Kasa, Karo, Katiga, Kaopat, Kalima, Kanam, Kapitu, Kadalapan, Kasalapan, Kasepuluh, Hapit Lemah and Hapit Kayu. The names Katiga until Kasapuluh are in fact numbers: the third, the fourth ... the tenth (month). Blume (1993 [1822]: 37, footnote) also noted that the first month Kasa always starts with the new moon and, according to him, that was in 1821 (or 1822?) on the 25th November.¹ However, it should be noted that the Baduy consider the agricultural year, and therefore the agricultural calendar, to start with the month Kapat (or Kaopat, Sapar/Safar) with the activities of clearing the fields for the new agricultural year. Since 1970 this happened between April and June, in the dry season of west Java; see Table 31 below. Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 78) note that the Baduy 'know exactly in which month they are, which they calculate from the position of the sun and several star constellations' and that, when listing the months, they always start mentioning the month Sapar (Kapat, Kaopat), as it is the month 'in which they start to cultivate the *huma sérang*', that is the start of the new agricultural season. As most rain falls in the months October-December, the rice for the majority of the Baduy should be planted in September-October (see also Iskandar & Iskandar 2016: 700).

Proudfoot (2007: 123) states 'In broad terms Muslims expect their calendars to predict the phases of the moon, Christians expect their calendars to match the seasons of the year, and Hindus and Chinese expect their calendars to do both'. The Baduy calendar falls in the last category: in principle it follows the yearly seasons, and it is therefore based on the solar year. However, the Baduy calendar is also based on 12 lunar months of 29 or 30 days. Regularly adjustments are made to fit the shorter lunar year of 12 months (about 355 days) to the solar year of 365¼ days, a difference of about ten days. Further, the Baduy week consists of seven days, from Sunday to Saturday: Hadma,

¹ Van Tricht (1929:94) quotes Blume: in 1822 was 1 Kasa ≡ 5 November (not 25 November). This is clearly a mistake by Van Tricht, as follows from his other information.

Nenpat, Salu, Bojuh, Mispan, Manep and Tupan (Garna 1975:86), although nowadays the Baduy mostly use the Sundanese/Indonesian names for the days; compare also Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 79) and Van Tricht (1929: 93).

Since the 1970s the beginning of the agricultural year (in Baduy month Sapar/Kaopat) has been in the range between the beginning of April to the beginning of June (see Tables 31 and 32 below). Even when accepting the shifting relation between the Baduy and Western calendars that Proudfoot mentions, it is difficult to explain the large differences between Blume and Pleyte's findings and those of later researchers. In 2003 the Kanéks date 1 Kasa fell on 4 March and the fourth month Sapar, in which the *séba* ritual takes place and the new agricultural year begins, started on 2 June (≡ 1 Sapar). Blume (1993 [1822]: 37) reports that in 1821 the Baduy year (1 Kasa) started on the new moon of 25 November, that is, more than 3 months earlier than in 2003. Van Tricht (1929:94) mentions that Blume's given relation between the two calendars, Baduy and Western, remained more or less unchanged from 1822 until 1907, as Pleyte (1909: 495) reported that in 1907: the Baduy date 14 Kasapuluh ≡ Western date 30 August, which means indeed that in 1906 the date 1 Kaso was also around 25 November.

Spanoghe visited the Baduy area with the party of Blume in 1821–1822 and 'over a year later' again in 1823. On this second occasion there were religious festivities going on in the Inner Baduy hamlets. The notes that Spanoghe made about this journey were posthumously published in 1838 (Spanoghe 1838: 296–297). In his notes Spanoghe (1838: 300–301) wrote:

Kawalu is a feast that is celebrated with meals on some day in the first and also in the second month of the year. *Kawalu tutug* is celebrated on a particular day in the third month, like the previous ones, with meals. The day before each of these festive days will be spent with fasting. The fasting starts with sunrise and ends towards three o'clock in the afternoon.

Although it is not really clear which calendar is meant in the phrase 'in the first and also in the second month of the year', it seems that Spanoghe is referring to the Western calendar. If so, the three *kawalu* months would fall in January–March, which would be more in line with what we found for the period after about 1970.

Pleyte (1909: 494) also reported that 'around Christmas', December 1905, when he stayed with the Regent of Sérang, he saw a group of seven Baduy men 'who had come down from the mountains to pay their yearly homage to the Regent and offered him honey, bee wax, a complete set of kitchen utensils, and a piece of *boéh larang* cloth'. Here Pleyte clearly talks about the *séba* ceremony of three days that takes place in the fourth Baduy month (*Kapat, Kaopat, Sapar*), and which during the last fifty years took place between the beginning of April and the beginning of June (see below). Further, Van Tricht noted that in 1929 (or 1928?): 14 Kasapuluh ≡ 30 September which means

that in 1928 the date 1 Kaso was around 25 December and – if no ‘pragmatic adjustments’ were made by the spiritual leaders – in 1929 the date 1 Kaso would have been around 15 December which is also mentioned by Van Tricht.

Proudfoot (2007: 107, footnote 56) sees a confirmation in Van Tricht’s own account (Van Tricht 1929: 92–5) that the Baduy calendar remained seasonal from 1822 to 1928. I have no explanation why there is a difference of about three Western months between the Baduy years since the 1970s and the period between 1822 and 1928.

Proudfoot (2007: 107, footnote 56) writes that the Baduy ‘rustic calendar could be managed through continuous pragmatic adjustment, rather than with the overheads of calendrical rules’. It seems that these adjustments are mainly done by changing the duration of the month Hapit Kayu. This was confirmed to me by Ayah Mursid in 2014. The exact start of a Baduy ceremony or the agricultural year is determined by the spiritual leaders in the *tangtu* hamlets Cikeusik, Cibéo and Cikartawana. In practice the dates on the calendar are determined by using a small piece of wood (*kolénjér*) and a longish bamboo piece (*sastra*) both with signs on them; see pictures and explanations in Van Tricht (1929: opposite p.88) and Garna (1988: 244–265).

According to Proudfoot (2007: 107, footnote 56) the Baduy ‘track the seasons by observing the positions of the stellar constellations Orion (*kidang, guru desa*) and the Pleiades (*kartika*), and the flowering of certain plants’. The position of the Orion sign of the zodiac determines the main agricultural activities concerning the rice.² Dana-sasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 41; see also Garna 1988: 205 and Iskandar 1992: 70–71) present the following sayings and their meaning:

- a. ‘Orion starts to be seen, and the *kujang* knife for working in the fields comes down’ (*tanggal kidang turun kujang*), that is, the agricultural work starts in the months Kapitu and Kadelapan, around July-September. Before the *kujang* knife is used, it has to be purified by a sacred formula (*mantera*).
- b. ‘Orion approaches its highest point at dawn’ (*kidang rumangsang*). At this time of the year the cut branches and grass have to be dry and piled up to be burnt in the month Kasalapan (September-October).
- c. ‘Orion is in the zenith [at dawn]’ (*kidang muhunan*). At this time of the year the (rice) fields have to be clean and ready for planting (*ngaseuk*). The planting happens in the month Kasalapan (September-October).

2 In the region of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, about 40 km southeast from Kanékés, the beginning of the agricultural season is also marked by the appearance of the constellations Orion and Pleiades (Budi 2015: 15–16, 333), although Budi calls them ‘the orient belt’ (Orion) and ‘bin-tang kerti’ (Pleiades: Kartika/Kerti/Kereti(ka)).

- d. 'When Orion disappears, the *kungkang/walang sangit* insect [very harmful to the rice] comes down' (*kidang ilang turun kungkang*). The planting of rice (*ngaseuk*) has to start in time. When the planting starts too late the rice will be struck by the insects when it starts to form the grains. It is also believed that during the time that Orion cannot be seen (this happens during about 40 days) the good and bad spirits will roam around (December).

It seems that, in general, odd numbers are better, more fortunate than the even numbers; see, for instance, Geise (1952: 47–48, 51, and 246). In this book I gave a few examples. At the planting ceremony (*ngaseuk* and *muuhan*) each hole should be filled with five or seven rice grains (see Section 4.2). The *séba* ceremony should start on the day 1, 3, 5 or 7 of the Sapar month (see below), and the number of dancers with *angklung* music should always be an odd number larger than 1: 3, 5 or 7 (see Section 5.2).

Further information on the Baduy calendar may, for instance, be found in Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 78), Van Tricht (1929: 92–95), Geise (1952: 32–46) and Iskandar (1992: 65–67).

Table 31 above gives the correspondence between the Baduy and Western months in a few years since the 1970s. For 1973 I used the data supplied in Garna (1974–1975, Part II and III: 38) with some additional information from my fieldwork in June and July 1976. For 1985–86 I used the information provided by Iskandar (1992: 65–67); for 1992, 2003 and 2013 I used my own fieldwork data. Square brackets, like [1 Kasa ≈ 1 Febr.], mean that this statement has been derived from other correspondences of the calendars in that year, going back in the Baduy year.

The following Table 32 presents the start of the yearly *séba* ceremony between 2003 and 2019. The departure from Kanékés should always fall on one of the days 1, 3, 5 or 7 Sapar.³ Hence the table gives an overview of the end of the agricultural Baduy year and the start of a new agricultural year: between the beginning of April, until the beginning of June in the period 2003–2019. As discussed in Section 2.4, in the *séba* ceremony the Baduy present several agricultural products and handicrafts to the 'rulers of the North': the sub district head (*camat*) of Leuwidamar, the regent (*bupati*) of Lebak in Rangkasbitung, the regent of Banten and the governor of Banten Province in Sérang.

3 My information contradicts what Danasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 36) and Garna (1988: 338) wrote, namely that the *séba* starts on day 1 of the Sapar month. It may be that, with the increasing attention for the *séba* by the Banten authorities, the Baduy wishes of starting on 1 Sapar will have to be adjusted to the possibilities to receive them in Rangkasbitung, Pandeglang and Sérang. In Section 2.4 I mentioned that in 2019 the Baduy were not very happy about the change of the date in Sérang, from 9 May to 4 May 2019, apparently because the Saturday suited the tourists better.

TABLE 31 Correspondence between Baduy and Western calendars since 1970s

	1973	1985–6	1992	2003	2016
Kasa	January	January-February	[1 Kasa ≈ 5 Febr.]	1 Kasa ≡ 4 March ^a	[1 Kasa ≈ 11 Febr.]
Karo	February	February-March		1 Karo ≡ 3 April	
Katiga	March	March-April			
Sapar (≡ Kapat, Kaopat)	April	April-May	[1 Sapar ≈ 3 May]	5 Sapar ≡ 6 June (start <i>séba</i>)	7 Sapar ≡ 13 May (start <i>séba</i>)
Kalima	May (1976: opening gamelan season)	May-June			
Kanem	June	June-July			1 Kanem ≡ 1 Syawal (Idul Fitri), 6 July 2016
Kapitu	July	July-August			
Kadalapan	August (20th August 1976: opening <i>angklung</i> season)	August-September			
Kasalapan	September	September-October	25 Kasalapan ≡ 23 Oct: 'engagement' of rice Outer Baduy		
Kasapuluh	October	October-November	11 Kasapuluh ≡ 7 Nov		
Hapit Lemah	November	November-December			
Hapit Kayu ^b	December	December-January			

^a It should be noted that the Baduy day starts at sunset and is therefore about six hours ahead of the day on the Western calendar.

^b Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986:37) and Garna (1987:90; 1988: xxi, 84) place the month Hapit Kayu before Hapit Lemah. I think this is a mistake: it does not correspond with the older and newer publications and also in my own fieldwork the information was that Hapit Kayu came after Hapit Lemah.

TABLE 32 Date of the start of the *séba* ceremony and number of participants between 2003 and 2019

Much information can be found on www.Kompas.com, when searching for 'Seba Baduy'. My assistant Mumu often informed me about the number of participants and other details. Years marked with + contain information by Mumu. The 'great *séba*' (*séba gedé*) means that there had been a good harvest that year, and the 'small *séba*' (*séba leutik*) means that the harvest was less good.

Year	Start in Kanékés	Arrival in Sérang	Number of participants		
			total	panamping	tangtu
2019+	3 May	4 May	1.035	1019	16
2018	20 April (≡ 7 Sapar)	21 April	1.388: <i>séba leutik</i>	1343	45
2017+	28 April (≡ 3 Sapar)	29 April	1656: <i>séba gedé</i>	1576	80
2016+	13 May (≡ 7 Sapar)	14 May	1317	1300	17
2015+	24 April (≡ 4 Sapar)	25 April	1957: <i>séba gedé</i>	1763 + 125 dangka	69
2014	2 May	3 May	1120: <i>séba gedé</i>	1102	18
2013	[17 May]	18 May	1797	1727	70
2012	27 April	28 April	1388		
2011	8 April	9 April	1482	1383	99
2010	18 April	21 April	630 (950?): <i>séba leutik</i>	605	25
2009	2 May		<i>Séba gedé</i>		
2008	9 May	10 May	987	962	25
2007	21 April ≡ 5 Sapar		1030: <i>séba gedé</i>	1007	23
2006	1? May	2 May	781	759	22
2005	14? May	15 May	-		
2004	21? May	22 May	470		
2003+	6 June ≡ 5 Sapar?		597: <i>séba gedé</i>	527	70
1907	-	around Christmas	7 (Pleyte 1909: 494)		

List of People Interviewed and/or Recorded

The information on the listed people was obtained with prior informed consent. As I have pointed out, this did not solve everything and it left me with choices as to how to present this information. I hope there is a right balance between what could and what should not be published in this book.

When looking at this list of people, it should be realized that the name of most persons changes over time, like in other rural areas of west Java. A name is attached to the period of her/his life, function or situation. When a Baduy man and his wife get their first child, they are called after this child's name. If the child is called Arwa, his father will be called Ayah Arwa (father of Arwa) or just Arwa, and his mother will be called Ambu Arwa (Sundanese) or Ibu Arwa (Indonesian: mother of Arwa). The secular village head from 1997 to 2015 is called Daénah, but before he got his first child he was called Darmin. Similarly, Ayah Daénah's father is called Aki Daénah (grandfather of Daénah). This also means that a particular name X may indicate a male or female person (Ayah X or Ambu X), depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl. Geise (1952: 70) already called this very confusing and added that a way out would be to use the name given at birth. However, his respondents quite often did no longer know that name. Moreover, Baduy do not like to be called by the name given at birth, if it does no longer fit their present status in their family. See, for instance Aki Armad below, who was called Ayah Hamdan when I recorded him in 1976 and 1992. When I called him 'Ayah Hamdan' in 2016 he pointed out to me that he already had a grandchild and should be called after him: 'Grandfather Armad' (A2016-1: 10).

A child's name at birth is usually given by the midwife (*Ambu Beurang* or *Ambu Girang*) on the seventh day. A son's name will mostly start with the first part of the father's name and a daughter's name will start with the first part of the mother's name, although this seems to be less common than before. Further, a child may be called Runtah or Cudih, which means 'thrown away', 'garbage', 'trash', when s/he is frequently ill. In this way it is hoped that the bad spirits will not bother it any longer. A child may also temporarily be given to foster parents for the same reasons and in that case it is called Pulung (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 65–67; Garna 1988: 244–245; Permana 2001: 50–52).

Anik/Arpani

Grandson of *jaro pamaréntah* Samin (b. 1979). Since 2002 he was the person in Kadujangkung responsible for daily matters concerning the gamelan that I gave back to the Baduy

community in 1979. In 1992, after discovering that this gamelan was kept outside Kanékés, I asked *jaro* Samin's sons, Nalim and Narja, to return the gamelan set to Kanékés. The gamelan arrived in Kanékés only at the end of 2002 (Van Zanten 2004: 143–5; 2009: 299–302). In July 2016 the gamelan was moved to the official house of the *jaro pamaréntah* in Kaduketug, as had been my intention from the beginning. See further Section 5.4 above.

Anirah

A *pantun* storyteller (Ki Pantun) living in Kaduketer since about 2008; see Figure 48. He was born in the Inner Baduy hamlet of Cikartawana in 1968 and married an Inner Baduy woman. Because of his wife's misbehaviour they had to divorce and leave Cikartawana. His wife was sent to Sorokokod in the Outer Baduy area for 40 days around 2000. At that time this hamlet was the residence of the *jaro dangka* Inggung (this residence is now in Cisaban, according to Anirah), who was responsible for correcting the behaviour of Anirah's wife and to make her ritually clean again: *dibersihi* (A2016-1: 45, 64). After this period of 40 days in Sorokokod the couple married again and went to live in Kadujangkung. Around 2008 they moved to Kaduketer 2, where they still lived in 2016.

From 2002 to 2016 Anirah was responsible for the spiritual (*batin*) matters concerning the *keromong* I gave back to the Baduy community in 1979; that gamelan arrived in Kanékés only at the end of 2002 (Van Zanten 2004: 143–145; 2009: 299–302) and was stationed at the official house of the *jaro pamaréntah* in Kaduketug 1 in July 2016. However, it seems that somewhat later the gamelan was moved to Pasir Ciri/Kadu Gedé and it was burnt there in the big fire of 12 September 2019 (see Section 5.4).

During the night from Wednesday 4 June to Thursday 5 June 2014 Anirah recited part of the *pantun* story Langga Sari from about 21:15 to 24:15. The *pantun* was recited on the occasion of the official recognition and initiation (*nukuh lembur*) of the hamlet Campaka (Cicampaka) as one of the Baduy hamlets. I could be present at a distance and listen, but was not allowed to take any photographs or recordings of this performance (see Section 6.4). In July 2016 I had several long interviews with Ayah Anirah in which he also demonstrated different voices and styles in reciting *pantun* stories (see Section 6.5).

Anirah also makes sets of *angklung* instruments, *rendo* and *kacapi* (A2016-1: 65). His name at birth seems to have been Hasan (A2014-1: 23).

Antawi

Son of Asrab, now living outside Kanékés and therefore no longer considered to be a Baduy. I filmed him in 1992, when he was about 8 years old and running with a *kolécér* propeller.

Arib

Player of violin and married to singer Raidah. Recorded in combination singer, violin and *kacapi* in 2003; see Figure 49. He died in Maréngo in March-April 2016 at an age of 50–60 years.

Armad (Aki -): see *Hamdan*

Arman

Secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés since 1 July 2016, when he replaced Sapin.

Arpani: see *Anik*

Arsunah

Daughter of former secular village head Asrab who was much involved in the organization of shops in Kanékés and who owns a shop in Kadujangkung (December 2013).

Arwa

Carita pantun player in Cicatang. Visit: 11 December 2013; see photograph in Van Zanten (2016a: 419). Arwa died in in 2014.

Arwan (bin Asmari)/Aruan

Neighbour of secular village head, at least since 2003. He sells Baduy cloths and clothes at his house in Kaduketug 1, near Cibolégér. Arwan and his children (and grandchildren) have no agricultural land and therefore cannot grow rice and vegetables. His wife weaves the cloths they sell. Arwan is very much involved in music playing: *angklung*, *keromong* and the newly formed *go-goongan* ensemble. On his identification card of April 2003 it was registered: full name Arwan bin Asmari, born in Lebak 2 June 1974 and with the *Sunda wiwitan* religion (A2003-2: 09).

Asrab

Former secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés (1990–1994, and *ad interim* 1996–7 after village head Pulung had died in office). With my research assistant Enip

Sukanda I stayed in his house in Kadujangkung in 1992. *Jaro* Asrab is now living in Kaduketug Gedé and sometimes at the house of his son in Cikapéék, outside Kanékés. When he was village head the first official residence of the secular village head was built in Kaduketug about 100 metres from the border of Kanékés near Cibolégér in 1992–3. This was the start of what is now called Kaduketug 1 that had already become a full-grown hamlet when I visited Kanékés again in 2003. Some family members of Asrab (and Mursid – see below) are occupants of the Campaka hamlet that was inaugurated in June 2014; see also Section 6.4.

Daénah

Secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) from 1997 to 2015 and in July 2016 still living in Kaduketug 1. He was born around 1965; see Figures 6 and 12. In 1992 I recorded him as *rendo* player Darmin from Cisaban (DAT 1992-14; <AV27>). My assistant Mumu and I stayed at his official house during our visits in March–April 2003, December 2013, and May–June 2014. Hasman (2012: 24) states that Daénah's full name (name at birth?) is Uyut Narinah. Daénah stayed in office for 18 years, which is exceptionally long, as most *jaro pamaréntah* since 1945 kept that job for about 5 years. The reason given for him leaving office in June (April?) 2015 is that he suffered from diabetes. Daénah's successor became Saijah. In July 2016 Daénah still seemed to play a very important role in Baduy public affairs behind the scene: his house was about 15m from the official house of the secular village head Saijah. Daénah was described as exceptionally rich for Baduy standards. He owned a lot of land,¹ mainly outside Kanékés and in 2012 he bought his own *keromong* set of instruments. Daénah died on 23 March 2019.

Darmin

Alias Daénah. *Rendo* player, originating from Cisaban and recorded in 1992: see <AV27>. He changed his name to (Ayah) Daénah when his first child was born: see there.

Hamdan

Player of *suling lamus* and *kacapi* in Kadujangkung, born around 1955. He is son-in-law of the late *jaro pamaréntah* Samin. I recorded him in 1976, 1992, 2003 and 2013

1 One informant said in July 2016 that Daénah possessed more than 100 ha of land (A2016-1: 67). I had no opportunity to check this figure.

and I interviewed him in 2014 and 2016. Since the birth of his grandchild he is called Aki Armad.

Harépin/Sanip

Pantun storyteller from Karahkal. He learned to recite from Ayah Anirah. I heard his performance of the Langga Sari story during a circumcision ritual in Kadujangkung on Saturday night 2 July 2016, from 21:05-23:52. However, I was not allowed to see the performer or record his recitation (see Section 4.4).

Husein

From 1989–1992 the non-Baduy secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés, assisting the secular village head. At that time he was living in Cibolégér and he still lived there in July 2016. He took the job of *carik* over from Ukang Sukarna, who asked for retirement in 1989. However, the Baduy were not very satisfied with Husein's work, and in 1992 they asked Ukang to come back as *carik*. Ukang agreed, but asked for someone to help him. This assistant was Sapin, who eventually replaced Ukang as *carik*, officially appointed in 2007 and staying on until 1 July 2016.

Judi

Player of *viol* violin, born around 1970 and living in Kadujangkung. Recorded in Kadujangkung 17 October 1992, more than one hour on DAT 1992–8. Judi moved from a hamlet in the western part to a hamlet in the eastern part of Kanékés.

Karamaén

Inner Baduy from Cibéo who is very knowledgeable about Baduy music; born around 1965–1970. I first met him in April 2003, and afterwards interviewed him several times in the Outer Baduy area. Besides playing the *kacapi*, *karinding*, flutes and *angklung*, he also makes these instruments. In April 2003, I audio-recorded him playing the *kacapi*, and in June 2014 I audio-recorded and filmed his playing of the two side-blown flutes: the *kumbang* (see <AV20>) and the *tarawélét* (see <AV23>; see further A2003-2: 4–8 and A2014-1: 56–59). See in also Sections 5.2 (*angklung*), 6.2 (*pantun*), 8.1 (*kumbang*) and 8.2 (*tarawélét*) in this book.

Kasmin

Mentioned by Hamdan (Aki Armad) in December 2013 as the owner of the house in Kadujangkung where the gamelan that I presented to the Baduy in 1979 was kept and played from 2002–2016 (A2013: 48; see Section 5.4). Maybe this Kasmin is the one who left Kanékés in the 1980s and became Muslim (*haji* Kasmin Saelani), businessman and involved in local politics; see Section 2.5.

Lambri

One of the seven ‘jaro adat’ (that is, *jaro dangka*) and therefore addressed as Olot (from *kokolot*, elderly person, leader, head) Lambri. He played the *keromong* in the gamelan of Daénah on 9 December 2013 (A2013: 35–6).

Muchsim/Muksin

Social worker in resettlement project since 1978. He lived in Cipangembar and died in 2001 (A1979: 5; A2003-1: 64).

Mursid

Alias Alim (born around 1965), from Cibéo, who often represents the Inner Baduy on ceremonial occasions such as the official reception of an indigenous community (*mas-yarakat adat*) from Riau on 12 December 2013 at the house of the secular village head (A2013: 37–40, Figure 12). I filmed and photographed this meeting, including a part of Mursid’s speech. In his book Erwinantu mentions Mursid regularly as a source of information (see, for instance Erwinantu 2012: 51–56) and he is the main informant in the book by Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010).

Nalim

Eldest son of former secular village head Samin, who migrated to Cipangembar in 1978. Nalim was born in 1953 or 1954. He became Muslim and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, like his father Samin, paid for by the Indonesian authorities. On 2 April 2003 I recorded the *pantun* story Paksi Keuling, performed by Sawari, in Nalim’s house in Margaluyu, Rangkasbitung. The family of Samin came from Kadujangkung, and I met

haji Nalim again at the circumcision ritual in Kadujangkung on 3–4 July 2016. Nalim's younger brother is Narja, who became Seventh Day Adventist and has a house in nearby Cipangembar.

Narja

One of the sons of Samin, the secular village head who migrated to Cipangembar with a group of eighty Baduy families in 1978. Narja was born about 1966 and he still lives in Cipangembar with about five other families of Baduy descent, including his brother-in-law Usman who is very knowledgeable about Baduy music. Narja became Seventh Day Adventist and his family suffered from the pressure put on the resettled Baduy by the Indonesian authorities to become Muslim (see Van Zanten 2004: 137–141). In 1992 I recorded the *kacapi* player Sawari at Narja's house in Cipangembar and I interviewed Narja also in 2003, 2013 and 2014. Narja's children went to school and university. Around 2000 Narja started renting and buying land in Bandung. I met him again during the circumcision ritual in Kadujangkung 3–4 July 2016. He then arranged that the small *bendé* gong was moved from his house outside Kanékés and added to the gamelan that I returned to the Baduy in 1979 and that was now kept in Kadujangkung (see Section 5.4). Now this gamelan was complete again and a few days later it was moved to the official residence of the *jaro pamaréntah* in Kaduketug 1.

Nasinah

Player of *lamus* and *elét* flutes in Gajéboh. I recorded him on audio and film and he supplied very useful information on these instruments on 23–25 March 2003 (see Section 8.3 and film <AV24>). At that time he must have been about 70 years, born around 1933, although he told his age was 85. He makes the *elét* himself, but he cannot make the *lamus* and buys these. Nasinah told that he had been in Bali three times and that he had played his flutes there on the marketplace. He is also involved in selling woven Baduy cloths with his wife, Ambu Icot, who is very knowledgeable about Baduy cloths (see also Hasman and Reiss 2012: 46–49).

Néngsi

One-but-youngest daughter of Asrab and sister of Antawi, with one son Animani (b. ca. 2008). Néngsi is living next to her father and mother in Kaduketug Gedé (A2013: 48–9). I filmed the making of palm sugar by Néngsi's husband in July 2016 (A2016-2: 12–15).

Ojél

The leader of the *angklung* ensemble in Kadujangkung in 1992. He was also RT (head of a neighbourhood group) and gave important information on *angklung*, *keromong* and *lamus* (see Sections 5.1, 5.3, 8.3). I also recorded him playing the *suling lamus* during the night from 17–18 October 1992 (A1992-1: 37–39, 42, 47–48).

Péi (Sapéi)

One of the main informants in 1976, living near Kompol, very knowledgeable about Baduy performing arts. Once he was an Inner Baduy, born around 1930, but he either committed a serious offence and was banned from Kanékés, or he decided himself to leave Kanékés. He travelled in Java and Sumatra before he settled near Kompol, in a *dangka* hamlet outside Kanékés, where still about 400 Baduy lived in 1976. At the time I met Péi (23–26 July 1976) he was relatively rich: he possessed 12 hectares of land and 5 water buffalos (*kerbau*) for breeding. I filmed him making two end-blown flutes: a six-finger-hole flute (*suling lamus*) and a small five-finger hole flute (*elét*). Further, at his house we recorded (audio and sound film) the – at that time famous – gamelan in Kompol (<AV06>, 2'30"), and also Baduy players of *kacapi*, *rendo* and *suling*. Péi played the *elét* in <AV26> that is transcribed in Music Transcription Tr 14. Péi also arranged that I could film the ceremonial stamping of rice (*genék*, *gendék*) to announce a wedding in the Babakan Kompol (A1976-7: 37–46, <AV10>). Péi died 14 July 1979, according to *jaro pamaréntah* Samin (A1979: 6). I met his widow again in Cikaréo, Kompol, on 1 June 2014.

Pulung

(Very common name) Secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) since 1994, after Asrab stepped down. Before that time he assisted Asrab and I met him several times, when I stayed with Asrab in Kadujangkung in 1992. Pulung also came to Bandung with Asrab in November 1992 to the house in Ujungberung where I stayed. I had agreed to contribute 4 million rupiah (about US\$ 2,000, € 1440) for buying farmland outside the Baduy area of Kanékés to be used by the village head in office. This land was not for private use, but attached to the office of the village head, like other communal land attached to Baduy officials. Asrab and Pulung collected the money and Pulung signed the contract I made with *jaro pamaréntah* Asrab as a witness (see Van Zanten 2009: 295–297; see also Section 2.5). Pulung died in office in 1996 and he was temporarily replaced by Asrab and Ralim, until Daénah was appointed as *jaro pamaréntah* in 1997.

Raida(h)

Singer recorded with her husband Arib on violin and *kacapi* player Satra (MD 2003–8 and MD 2008–9), and with gamelan in 1992 (DAT 1992–14). She is well known in Kanékés. See also Section 7.3 about her performance of *susualan* singing with *siter* and *viol* accompaniment in 2003.

Ralim

Temporary secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés, after Pulung died in office in 1996. He was in office (*ad interim*) together with the former village head Asrab (also in office from 1990–1994) until Daénah was appointed in 1997. In December 2013 he was part of the *angklung* group in Kaduketug led by *jaro angklung* Rasudin.

Rasudin

Jaro angklung in Kaduketug 1, living next to the *jaro pamaréntah*. I interviewed him several times in December 2013 about his *angklung* (with photographs) and Daénah's gamelan. He regularly performs with his *angklung* group outside Kanékés and you may order his group for a performance by phoning him on his hand phone (A2013: 26–8). See also Section 5.2.

Saidi/Saidi Putra

Saidi from Kaduketer 2 has been 'responsible for the group of twelve *jaro*': *tanggung* *jaro duabelas* for about 40–50 years until about 2008. In 2002 he became responsible for the *keromong* that I returned to the Baduy in Cipangembar in 1979 (resettlement hamlet outside Kanékés) and that was kept in Kadujangkung since December 2002 (A2013: 48). Later the *pantun* storyteller Anirah became responsible for looking after the rituals for this gamelan. For last developments see Section 5.4. Around 2008 father Saidi was replaced by his son Saidi Putra. The old *tanggung jaro duabelas* Saidi must have been in his nineties when I met in his house in Kaduketer in July 2016; at that time he said that he was a hundred years old (A2016-1: 39). The post of *jaro duabelas* is one of the most important ones for regulating Baduy live according to the rules of their ancestors; see also Section 2.1. In 2016 I had an interesting conversation with Saidi (Putra) on the tolerance with respect to young men dancing with Baduy female singers/dancers of the *keromong* ensemble, although it was officially forbidden: see Section 1.2.

Saijah/Saija

Secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés since June (April?) 2015 as successor of *jaro* Daénah. All visitors to Kanékés have to report to him in his official house in Kaduketug 1, just on the border with Cibolégér. Saijah came from Ciranji, where had also been head of an *angklung* group (*jaro angklung*). In July 2016 Saijah encouraged the development of the newly established *go-goongan* music group (see Section 1.2, Figure 8, <AV32>).

Sajin/Sacin

Bard of *pantun* stories with own accompaniment of *kacapi*; from Cisadané hamlet, born around 1930. I made an audio recording of him reciting the *Lutung Kasarung* story in January 1977 (Van Zanten 1995: 529–530, 540–541; 2016a: 417–420). Sajin was also recorded by Ajip Rosidi and the text of the recited *pantun* stories *Tjarita Lutung Kasarung* and *Carita Buyut Orényéng* were transcribed and published (Sajin 1973; 1974). See also Van Zanten (1993: 146–148, 153) and (A1992-1: 24). Sajin was also known under the name Aki Janggot, ‘Grandfather Beard’. According to Anirah he was one of the teachers of *pantun*. See Sections 6.4 and 6.5; listen to <AV12> and <AV17>.

Samin

(Common name) Secular village head of Kanékés from 1966–1968 (?) and reappointed by the Baduy leaders from 1976–1981. Samin was the appointed village head of Kanékés, but in 1978 he moved out of Kanékés with 80 Baduy families to the newly opened resettlement hamlet Cipangembar in Gunung Tunggal, and so he had in fact ceased to belong to the Baduy group.² Samin became Muslim and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, paid for by the Indonesian authorities, like several other former Baduy, including his son Nalim and the secretary of Kanékés until 2016, Sapin. In 1979 I gave the Baduy gamelan that I had bought in April 1976 back to the Baduy people as represented by the secular village head Samin; see a description of this in Van Zanten 2004: 143–145, Van Zanten 2009: 299–302 and also Section 5.4 in this book. I did not meet with Samin again during my fieldwork in 1992, because he died in December 1991. In 1992 I was

2 See also Persoon 1994: 345–346, 361 for the important role played by Samin in this resettlement process. Samin’s role is also described by Bakels and Boevink (1988: 77–88), however, they used the name Sapin, which is not correct.

told by *jaro* Asrab that Samin was officially punished by the leaders for migrating to Cipangembar with a group of Baduy families in 1978 (A1992-1: 54).

Sapéi: see *Péi*

Sapin/Safin

Secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés between 1992 and 1 July 2016. He is a former Baduy, born in Karahkal in 1966, and now lives outside Kanékés in Pal Opat near Cipangembar (both Baduy resettlements were established in the late 1970s). Sapin became Muslim after he migrated and the regent of Rangkasbitung has paid for his pilgrimage to Mecca. He finished the 6 years of secondary school and was in constructing work when he became assistant to Ukang Sukarna, the secretary of Kanékés, in 1992. During our visit in 2003 most of the daily work as secretary was done by Sapin and Ukang was only in the background. From 1992–2007 Sapin was not paid for this job (A2003: 26, A2013: 53). After obtaining a bachelor's degree in government administration (at the Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, STISIP) in Rangkasbitung, in 2007 he was officially appointed as *carik* Kanékés and since then his salary has been paid by the Indonesian authorities (A2013: 53). In 2014 Sapin had a small office in Cibolégér, about 100 meters from the official residence of the *jaro pamaréntah*. He became civil servant at the Resident's office (*kabupaten*) in Rangkasbitung on 1 July 2016 and he was replaced by Arman. Arman had already been working in the secretarial office of Kanékés before that time.

Sardi

Active in the set-up of an *angklung* group (*jaro angklung*) in hamlet Cikarého, Kompol, a *dangka* village outside Kanékés. Sardi was born as Omo (I estimate around 1980), and when he became the father of a son Anton, he was called Ayah Anton, the father of Anton. He divorced and remarried. In 2014 he had a child that was first called Misjaya and then, because the child did not grow very well, it was renamed Sardi. So, in May 2014 he was called after this child, Ayah Sardi. Sardi plays flutes, including *elét* and *suling lamus*, and is also learning to play the violin (A2014: 37). He supplied interesting information on these instruments and also on the ceremonial *angklung* playing. For instance, he mentioned that after sowing the rice (*ngaseuh*) in the Outer Baduy ceremony the *angklung* players and their leader (*jaro angklung*) play the song Maréngo while sitting on the ground with the owner of the field (A2014: 9–15); see Section 4.2.

Satra/Satrawinata

Kacapi (*siter*) player from Kaduketug 1 recorded on 26 March 2003 (MD 2003-8), accompanying female singer Raidah with violin player Arib (Raidah's husband): see Figures 49-50; listen to <AV18> and <AV19>. He supplied good information on *kacapi pantun* (A2003-1: 42-45, 49-51). According to Satra, the *rebab* is not allowed in Kanékés (A2003-2: 4).

Sawari

Kacapi player and performer of *pantun* stories. In 2003 Sawari was about 55 years old, that is, he was born around 1948. Sawari died around 1 June 2016 at the age of about 68 years. He was of Inner Baduy descent, living in an Outer Baduy hamlet Cikadu, before he migrated to the Cipangembar hamlet, outside Kanékés, in 1978. Therefore he no longer belonged to the Baduy community at the time of recording in 1992 and 2003.³ I recorded his *kacapi* playing and singing with falsetto voice for entertainment (*susualan, sisindiran*) in 1992 (Van Zanten 1995: 530-531, 541); listen to a section of the song Budak Bagus in <AV31>. On Wednesday evening 2 April 2003 I recorded part of the *pantun* story Paksi Keuling and on this occasion Sawari did not accompany himself on a *kacapi*; see further Sections 6.4, 6.5 and 8.4, and Van Zanten (2016a: 420-423).

Sukanda, Enip

Assisted me on the fieldwork in Kanékés, 1992. At that time he was staff member of the Bandung conservatory (ASTI: Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, now ISBI: Institute Seni Budaya Indonesia).

Talsim (Talpin, Talfin)

One of the main informants in 1976 who also regularly visited Bernard Suryabrata in Jakarta. From 11-13 June and 19-21 July 1976 we stayed in his house in Gajéboh and most audio and film recordings were made on the veranda of his house or the house of the nearby *jaro dangka* (A1976: 7-20; 31-7). In September 1976 Talsim came with an *angklung*

³ See on this complex situation further Van Zanten (2004). See also Bakels and Boevink (1988: 71) on Sawari.

group, a *calung* player and a *gambang* player to our house in Pasar Rumpit, Manggarai, Jakarta (A1976: 49–50). We recorded the *angklung* group there in our garden during the night of 8–9 September and the *calung* and *gambang* players separately during noon, 9 September. In January 1977 Talsim came with the *pantun* bard Sajin (Sacin) to our house in Jakarta. Sajin then recited the epic story (*carita pantun*) *Lutung Kasarung*, accompanied by his *kacapi* playing, that I recorded during the night of 8–9 January 1977 (A1976-7: 71–2); see Sections 6.4–6.5. Talsim had died when I visited Kanékés again in 1992.

Tinggal Arda

Head of Cepakbuah (RT04), Kopol (RW08?), village Sangkanwangi; this is one of the few Baduy *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés that is still populated by Baduy people. In June 2014 Ayah Tinggal was the leader of the Kopol gamelan that was under the leadership of Péi when I recorded the gamelan in 1976 (with different instruments; see film fragments <AV06> from 1976 and <AV08> from 2014). According to his identity card (KTP: *Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) that he showed to me in June 2014 and that was valid until 2016, Tinggal Arda was born in Gajéboh in 1969. His mother came from Kopol and when he was twelve years old she moved with him to Kopol again. On his identity card it said for religion (*agama*): ‘Islam’, as the religion ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ was no longer recognized by the central Indonesian government since 2011 (see Sections 2.3 and 2.4).

Ukang Sukarna

Non-Baduy, born in 1940 and living in nearby hamlet Bulakan, Cisimeut village. He was secretary (*carik*) to the secular village head of Kanékés from 1970–1989 and again from 1992–2007. Ukang had asked for retirement from this unpaid job of *carik* in 1989 and was replaced by Husein. However, the spiritual leaders (*puun*) were not satisfied with Husein, and Ukang was persuaded to become secretary again in 1992. Since that time he was assisted by Sapin, a former Baduy who had migrated in the 1970s. Sapin gradually took over from Ukang and officially became the new secretary, appointed and paid by the Indonesian authorities in 2007, in consultation with the Baduy leaders. Ukang has always been very helpful.

Uk Sukaya/Sukaya di Karta

Uk Sukaya assisted me in the fieldwork with the Baduy in June and July 1976. At that time he was member of the performing arts group led by Bernard Suryabrata (*alias*

Bernard IJzerdraat, *alias* Kawat: see also footnote on Suryabrata in Section 3.1) in Jatinegara, Jakarta. Uk Sukaya also supplied the *kacapi* accompaniment for the *suling* player Sulaeman Danuwijaya in concerts and on a gramophone record that appeared in 1975.

Usman

A former Baduy, living in the resettlement hamlet Cipangembar since 1978. Usman is a descendent of the *puun* of Cibéo. His mother was from Cibéo and his father from Cikartawana in the Inner Baduy area. Usman was born in Cisagu, an Outer Baduy hamlet in Kanékés, around 1945. His wife is also from Inner Baduy descent. She is a daughter of former secular village head Samin († 1991), who led the resettlement of 80 Baduy families in 1978, while still the village head of Kanékés. Usman became Christen (Seventh Day Adventist), like his brother in law and neighbour Narja, son of Samin. Usman was and is interested in music. When living in Cisagu he was *jaro angklung*, the leader of an *angklung* group and now he is organizing music in church. Usman is very knowledgeable about Baduy music and I interviewed him several times between 1992 and 2014 (A1992-1: 30–35, A1992-2: 30–31; A2003-1: 58–60; A2013: 50–51, 54; A2014-1: 15–7).

Yanci

Kacapi player and performer of *pantun* stories with own accompaniment of *kacapi* from Cijéngkol, born around 1950 (see Figure 44 and picture in Van Zanten 2016a: 417). Yanci died between 1992 and 2003. I recorded him on audio and film in 1976, and again on 8 November 1992 playing only instrumental *kacapi* music. See film fragment <AV27> in which Yanci plays with *rendo* (by Darmin) and *lamus* (by Ojél). Ajip Rosidi recorded Yanci performing a *pantun* story, but was not very satisfied with the results; see Section 6.3.

Song Texts for Entertainment

1 Methodological Issues Concerning the Collection of Song Texts

The song texts in this Appendix 4 consist mostly of four-line verses (*susualan* or *sisindiran*) for entertainment and were discussed in Chapter 7. Song texts of *pantun* stories were here excluded and treated in Section 6.5. The texts were collected in a number of ways. I ordered the texts more or less according to the time of recording the songs or notating the texts:

- A. Texts of songs recorded and notated in 1976 (*angklung*);
- B. Texts of songs recorded in October 1992 (*angklung*, *kacapi*, vocalist + *kacapi* + *rendo*);
- C. Song texts recorded and notated in 2003 (vocalist + *kacapi siter* + *viol*);
- D. *Susualan* notated from reciting the poems, not performed in singing, in 2003:
 - 2003–12 Collection Ina from Pal Opat (16 *susualan* stanzas);
 - 2003–13 Collection Kaduketug (14 *susualan* stanzas);
 - 2003–14 Collection Hamdan (4 *susualan* stanzas);
 - 2003–15 Collection Cibéo (10 *susualan* stanzas).

In 2003 I made a special effort to get song texts of a better quality, because transcribing from a recording, as I did for most 1992 recordings, is not always very reliable. Most of the texts presented in this Appendix 4 date from 2003.

When recording in and around Kanékés in June and July 1976, I did not manage to write down any song text, although I had recorded singing, for instance with the *keromong* in Gajéboh. Only in September 1976 I managed to obtain texts of six songs sung with the *angklung* ensemble. With the information supplied by the Baduy players these texts were written down in Sundanese by Uk Sukaya,¹ during and immediately after the performance in the garden of our house near Pasar Rumput, Manggarai in Jakarta, around midnight 8–9 September 1976 (tape B15, items 1–5, and B16, item 1). These *angklung* song texts were slightly corrected by the Baduy village secretary Sapin in 2003. During their playing the *angklung* players walk around in a circle. The solo singer is not playing an instrument as well, but I did not make enough efforts to record his singing of the texts properly. Anyway, the presented texts are only approximations of what is actually to be heard on the *angklung* recordings. It is clear that the singing

1 Uk Sukaya assisted me in the fieldwork with the Baduy in June and July 1976; see also Appendix 3.

in the recordings is much longer than the presented texts in Section A of Appendix 4. The main reason is that in the performed text some lines and whole stanzas are being repeated.

During my 1992 fieldwork only a limited number of song texts were written down. The *angklung* texts in Section B of this Appendix were written down by Enip Sukan-da, who assisted me at that time, immediately after the recording. Again, these texts are only a part of what was actually performed. In 1992 I pushed the *kacapi* player Sawari to sing with his own *kacapi* accompaniment. Until then I had only recorded *kacapi* players that performed instrumentally, but I knew that they could also sing, because they performed *pantun* stories (for instance, the players Sajin, Sawari and Yanci). Hence Sawari sang two songs (*Piit Mandi*, and *Budak Bagus*) to his own *kacapi* accompaniment. He used a falsetto voice and the texts were immediately written down. I reported on this with a music transcription of the vocal part of *Piit Mandi* in Van Zanten (1995: 530–531, 541). From the recording of *Budak Bagus* (<AV31>) it is clear that Sawari repeats parts of the text and adds a few words.

In October 1992 I also recorded the vocalist Raidah, who was then accompanied by the *kacapi* player Yanci and the *rendo* player Darmin, who later became *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah (1997–2015). I did not have the opportunity to write down the texts of the songs at the time of recording. Only later I transcribed some texts from these recordings and published a few results in Van Zanten (1995: 531–532, 542–543). As I recorded Raidah again and obtained more reliable texts of her songs in 2003, I concentrated on these 2003 texts and only included a few of the 1992 texts in this Appendix 4.

In 2003 I tried to get more, and more reliable, song texts. I recorded the vocalist Raidah again with the accompaniment of her husband Arib playing the *viol/biola* and Satra (Satrawinata) playing a flat *kacapi siter*. My assistant Mumu Zaénal Mutaqin transcribed the texts from the recordings and we discussed the notated song texts with Raidah, Arib and Mumu a few days after the recordings and after these had first been checked with others, including the *kacapi* player Satra. Most of the 2003 texts are from Raidah's eleven songs discussed in Section 7.3: *Kidung Rahayu*, *Tepang Sono*, *Daun Hiris*, *Jalan*, *Gunjaér Mundur*, *Kacang Asin*, *Bayu-Bayu*, *Poho Kabalik*, *Kapergok*, *Daun Puspa*, and *Ucing-Ucingan*. This set of songs contains about seventy *susualan* stanzas. From this collection it becomes clear that certain lines or stanzas are repeated in a particular song, or used in other songs. I did not try to find out which *susualan* are unique for the Baduy. I suppose that many of the texts presented here are also known in the larger Sundanese area.

Sapin, in 2003 the *de facto* secretary of Kanékés village, corrected the texts that I had collected and notated before (roughly the texts now to be found in parts A and B). Sapin also wrote down sixteen 4-line stanzas (*susualan*) that were recited by Mrs Ina of Baduy descent and living near his house in Pal Opat, Leuwidamar (included in '2003–12 Collection Ina from Pal Opat'). At that time Mrs Ina also recited a stanza from Cibéo

that was meant to cast a spell on someone (*pélét*) in order to arouse love. Sapin refused to write down this stanza and it is not in this collection. A few days later Sapin also notated fourteen *susualan* recited by boys at the house of *jaro pamaréntah* Daénah in Kaduketug, which are included in the '2003–13 Collection Kaduketug' below.

In April 2003 I asked the musician Hamdan/Aki Armad from Kadujangkung, whether he could sing while playing his *kacapi siter*. He said that he could not combine the two and he started singing a *susualan* without zither accompaniment. He repeated this by reciting/half singing and my assistant Mumu wrote down the four *susualan*, which may be found in the '2003–14 Collection Hamdan' below. Similarly, this happened with the ten *susualan* we collected from an Inner Baduy living in Cibéo (possibly Karamaén): these were recited and notated by Mumu and are to be found in the '2003–15 Collection Cibéo' below.

A *Song Texts Notated in 1976*

1976-01 Ngasuh

(*angklung*, B15#1, 1976)

1. Bubuay pucuk kacapi,

Nilas awi nu muranténg

Bubuhan budak lalaki,

Acan kawin geus paréréndéng²

2. Sok hayang ka gula lima

Sakojo di kaparakeun

Sok hayang ka urang dinya,

Ngagojod ngararasakeun

3. Nguseup bogo meunang
paray,³

Angin barat katimurkeun

Mun bogoh ulah katara,

Kudu bisa nyalimurkeun

4. Ngala humbut ngala jantung,

To take care

The *rotan* blossoms, the sprouting of the *kacapi* tree

The bamboo that hangs over is cut off.

The group of boys,

Not yet married, already sitting close to the girls.

Often I want to go to the five pieces of sugar

Being put together in one packet of ten pieces

Often I want to go to the person over there

To lie under a blanket and feel [her].

Fishing *bogo* fish and catching *paray* fish

The wind from the west is veering round to the east

When you are in love, do not show this

You should be able to disguise it.

Get the young palm sprouts, get the banana blossom

² In version by Uk Sukaya: *paparéndéng*.

³ In version by Uk Sukaya: *leng kapara*.

Ngala owér di kojaan	Get the banana blossom in the plaited bag
Hayang imut ka nu jangkung,	I want to smile at the tall one
Hayang noél ngabogaan.	I want to touch and to possess her/him.

1976-02 Ayun-Ayunan*(angklung, B15#2, 1976)*

1. Mulung limus meunang
malang,

Digarogot di beutina
Hayang imut jeung kahayang,
Dasar bogoh ti tadina

Rocking

I picked up the mango, I got the policeman of the
village

I munched it to the stone
I want to smile and I have a desire
I am really in love, for some time already

2. Meuyeum ganas dina eurih,
Di jalan ka Cikoléar
Beuteung kami panas peurih,
Dilalar teu disaréan

To let pineapple ferment in the tall grass
On the road to Cikoléar
My stomach feels hot and painful
People passed and nobody slept in my house.

3. Cai mulang, cai malik,
Muhara ka Ciangsana
Hayang mulang hayang balik,
Ngumbara kieu rasana

The water runs back, the water returns
To the estuary at Ciangsana
I want to go home, I want to go back
And live with my wife,⁴ that's what I feel

1976-03 Kokoloyoran*(angklung, B15#3, 1976)*

1. Sok hayang ka gula lima,
Sakojo di kaparakeun
Sok hayang ka urang dinya,
Ngagojod ngararasakeun

To roam about

[= stanza 2 of song *Ngasuh*; see there]

2. Mulung binglu rag-rag
kembang,
Sahulu rag-rag ka situ
Mun rék ilu ulah semang,
Mun daék buburuh nutu⁵

I pick up a mango, flowers fall
One falls over there
If you want to take part, do not be afraid
If you want to do the work of rice pounding

4 Eringa (1984) gives for *ngumbara*: 'temporarily staying in a foreign region (for work, study)', however, I was told that the Baduy also use *ngumbara* for: 'following your wife, going to where she is living' (A2003-1: 23).

5 Uk Sukaya wrote '*mutu*', but in 2003 Sapin suggested it should be '*nutu*' from *tutu* (pounding).

3. Awi wulung cangkilungan, The dark bamboo is affected by beetles
 Saruas dipaké miruha [mirua?] A piece of bamboo is used to make fire
 [Nu burung siling kilungan?], Yes, I will support you without further questions
 Pantés gé da saruana That is understandable and makes no difference.

1976-04 Randa Ngéndong*(angklung, B15#4, 1976)*

1. Peuteuy leubeut raranggeuyan, The *petai* bean tree is full of strings of fruit
 Di jalan ka huma jauh The road to the rice field is long
 Meungpeung deukeut We are together, so let's be happy,
 wawageuyan,
 Jaga mah urang pajauh Later we will be far away from each other

2. Ngundeur hiris sabubugan, Collecting many beans
 Di jarami ketan hideung In the field with stubbles of black glutinous rice
 Nu geulis gugurubugan, The beautiful girl startles every time
 Nyeueung kami kuru hideung When she sees that I am thin and black

3. Ngala suluh ngala daun, Get firewood, get leaves,
 Ngala piturubeun panjang Get the cover for the rice pot
 Henteu tulus ka nu jauh, I do not go to the ones far away
 Hayang seubeuh⁶ budak lanjang I want to enjoy myself with the girls

4. Ka hilir ka girang deui, Going downstream and upstream again
 Kaburuan ki nangkoda The skipper is in a hurry
 Teu isin teu wirang teuing, Do not be ashamed, do not be abashed too much
 Timburuan karoronda⁷ To be jealous when we sing in turns

1976-05 Pileuleuyan*(angklung, B15#5, 1976)*

1. Hayang udud daun kawung, I want to smoke a cigaret made of the sugar palm
 leaf
 Teu kawasa ngabakoan I have no means to smoke tobacco

6 Literally: 'get saturated'.

7 Van Hoëvell (1845: 424) gave a very similar *susualan* stanza that runs, in his Sundanese spelling: *Ka hilir ka girang deuhi, Kembang peuteui raranggeuyan; To isin to wirang deuhi, Bareng peuting rereudjeungan*. He translated this as: 'Going down as well as going up, the *peuteuy/petai* flowers are sprouting; do not be shy and ashamed, because we shall meet tonight.'

- Hayang ilu jeung nu jangkung, I want to follow the tall one
Teu kawasa ngadagoan I can no longer wait
2. Susukan jalan Cileungcang, The irrigation stream along the road to
Cileungcang
Di péngkong di kakolongkeun Is dammed up and there is a hole dug under it
Isukan kami neuk leumpang, Tomorrow we shall go
Pacuan ngaroromongkeun Don't speak ill of us.
3. Teu kukup naék kalapa, I cannot climb a coconut tree
Teu ka wawa ku leueurna I am not able to do so, because it is slippery
Teu kukup daék ka randa, I am not in a position to want to go to the widow
Teu ka wawa ku heureuyna I cannot do so, because she teases me

*1976-06 Ceuk Arileu**(angklung, B16#1, 1976)*

1. Cai mulang, cai malik, [= stanza 3 of song *Ayun-Ayunan*; see there]
Muhara ka Ciangsana
Hayang mulang hayang balik,
Ngumbara kieu rasana

People say that there are many bends in the river

2. Jamang hideung dikancangan, The black shirt is supplied with buttons
Di kancangan ku rajasa Furnished with buttons of tin
Budak hideung mantak nineung, The black boy, because of his desires
Ti peuting teu ngeunah rasa During the night he has no pleasant feelings
3. Nguseup bogo meunang paray, [= stanza 3 of song *Ngasuh*; see there]
Angin barat katimurkeun
Mun bogoh ulah katara,
Kudu bisa nyalimurkeun

B *Texts of Songs Recorded in October 1992**1992-01 Ceuk Arileu**(angklung, DAT 92-7, A1992-1: 42)*

1. Ceuk arileu, ceuk arileu (2x) People say that there are many bends in the road
Samping poléng kahujanana The woven checkered sarong has become wet by
the rain
Ceuk ka dieu, ceuk ka dieu Sister, come here, sister, come here
Kami goréng kaédanan I am really crazy about you

People say that there are many bends in the road

2. Kacapi ukir-ukiran ⁸	The zither is ornamented with woodcarvings
Tangkal salak jatakéan	The <i>salak</i> bush and the <i>gandaria</i> bush
Lalaki euweuh pikiran	The man who does not think
Gancang nolak teu makéan	Easily ends the marriage – do not take him.

1992-02 Oyong-Oyong Bangkok *The frogs swim to their hearts' content*
(*angklung*, DAT 92–7, A1992-1: 42)

1. Oyong-oyong bangkong	The frogs swim to their hearts' content
Ka cai teu dimandikeun	At the river they do not bathe
Omong-omong bohong	Many lies are told
Ku naon teu dijadikeun	Why did it not happen?
2. Hayang teuing geura beurang	My desire is great, it will soon be noon
Geus beurang ka panyacaran	When it is noon we will go to the field that is cleared from bushes
Hayang teuing geura beunang	My desire is great, I want to have it soon
Geus beunang teu panasaran	When I have it, I shall be satisfied

1992-03 Oray-Orayan *To move like a snake*⁹
(*angklung* DAT 92–7, A1992-1: 42)

1. Oray welang oray hideung	The very poisonous snake, and the black snake
Oray sanca digawingkeun	The python is suspending
Ulah melang ulah nineung	Do not be anxious, do not be eager
Poé Salasa dikawinkeun	On Tuesday you will be married

Title unknown (1992)

[The following stanza was not sung, only the text was recited. It consists of three lines and it may not be complete. It was said (A1992-1: 30) that the singer of this stanza hopes that the person to whom it is directed will understand this as a sign of her/his love to him/her.]

8 According to Sapin: '*untir-untiran*'; this word is not in the dictionaries Coolsma (1884), KUBS (1976) and Eringa (1984). Sapin is supported by the fact that Baduy *kacapi* zithers made in Kanékés are never ornamented with woodcarvings, but made of plain white *lamé* wood; see also Section 7.4. Stevens and Smidgall-Tellings (2010) give *untir* (Javanese) to be the same as *puntir*, 'plaited, twisted'; Eringa (1984) gives for *puntir* 'turning around'. The translation for *kacapi untir-untiran* could then be: 'the zither is turning around.'

9 *Oray-orayan* is a children's' game in which 'the participants walk after each other, while keeping their hands; the first one tries to catch the last one' in the row (Eringa 1984).

Seura siuh hujan ti jauh	The rustling sound of the rain far away
Seura séah hujan silantang	The swishing sound of the rain that falls over there
Sora kumbang di sagara	The sound of the bumble bee is everywhere ('in the ocean')

1992-04 Piit Mandi

(male voice of Sawari + *kacapi*,
DAT 92-7, A1992-1: 33)

The piit bird takes a bath

Piit mandi jeung dadali	The ricebird takes a bath and the eagle
Manuk hurang ¹⁰ kagirangkeun	The shrimpbird goes upstream
Hayang balik diiringkeun	I want to go home and be escorted
Hayang pulang kawiwirangan	I want to go home because I have been made ashamed

1992-05 Budak Bagus

(Male voice of Sawari + *kacapi*,
DAT 92-7, 38:50-41:45, A1992-1: 34.
Performed text is more elaborate,
but difficult to understand.)

The handsome boy

Ngala suluh kayu hirup	I fetch firewood, still alive on the trees
Pancer paéh dipotongan	The root will die when it is cut
Hayang ilu saumur hirup	I want to accompany you during my whole life
Kalah paéh jeung popotongan	To defeat death and divorce

1992-06 Kembang Beureum

(Vocalist Raidah with *rendo* and
kacapi accompaniment, DAT 92-
14, 14'40"-16'35", 8 Nov. 1992)

Red flower(s)

1. Kembang beureum nu babeureum [2x]	Red flowers in several shades of red
Harép jambu médena [2x]	I would like to have <i>jambu monyet</i> fruit
Kieu meureun, kitu meureun [2x]	Whatever the situation
Lalajo jeung bébénéna [2x]	I shall look for my fiancée

10 In Van Zanten (1995: 541) I wrote *manuk kurang*, however, from the recorded discussion on DAT 92-7 it is clear that it should be *manuk hurang*, the 'shrimp bird' that catches small fish from the streams (*KUBS* 1976).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. Kembang laja | The <i>laja</i> flower [used as a herb] |
| Kembang bonténg di astana | The cucumber flower at the grave |
| Kaniaya ngumbara | Ill-treatment will come |
| Nu awon kieu rasana | Bad things give these feelings |
| 3. Kumaha mayu [nu?] manahna | How about the heart? |
| Sampé nulén kahujanan | Which became really wet by the rain [?] |
| Kumaha nu manahna | How about the heart? |
| Sangkan ulah kaédanan | I hope that it will not hopelessly fall in love |
| 1992-07 Néng Gaya | <i>Girl with style</i> |
| (Vocalist Raidah, DAT 92-14, 17'20"-20'16", 8 November 1992) | |
| 1. Nu engkang gaya, abdi gé gaya | The style of living of my elder brother, I also have a style of living |
| Duh, sarua mah, sarua pada gayana | Oh, it is exactly the same, it is the same style of living |
| Nu engkang jempol, abdi gé jempol | If my elder brother is good, I am also good |
| Deudeuh sarua mah, sarua pada jempolna | My dearest, it is exactly the same, the same goodness |
| 2. Nu engkang aksi, abdi gé aksi | The way of acting of my elder brother, I also have a way of acting |
| Deudeuh sarua mah, sarua pada aksina | My dearest, it is exactly the same, the same way of acting |
| Tukang kendang gaya, euh, abdi gé gaya | The drum player has a style of playing, oh!, I also have a style |
| Deudeuh sarua mah, sarua pada gayana | My dearest, it is exactly the same, the same style of playing |
| 3. Tukang kacapi gaya, euh, abdi gé gaya | The zither player has a style of playing, oh!, I also have a style |
| Deudeuh sarua mah, sarua ngiringan gaya | My dearest, it is exactly the same, we follow the same style |
| Tukang rendo jempol, abdi ogé ngiring jempol | The bowed lute player is very good, I am also very good |
| Deudeuh sarua mah, sarua ngiringan jempol | My dearest, it is exactly the same, we are all very good |

1992-11 Turun Daun**Falling leaves**

(Vocalist Raidah, DAT 92-14, 1h
1'25" – 1h 4'18", 1992, accompanied
by Yanci on *kacapi* and Darmin on
rendo)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Sarikaya kembang laja | <i>Sarikaya/sirikaya</i> fruit and flower of the <i>laja</i> bush |
| Kembang bonténg di astana [2x] | The cucumber flower in the graveyard |
| Nu kaniaya (2x) ngumbara | Ill-treatment will come |
| Nu awon kieu rasana ¹¹ | Bad things cause these feelings |
| 2. Kumaha (mah) (2x)
mulunganana | How do we pick up and collect things |
| Sangkan urang kahujanan | When we have become wet by the rain? |
| Kumaha (mah) (2x) na mayungan | How can we protect [ourselves] with an umbrella? |
| Sangkan ulah kaédanan | Do not get mad in love |
| 3. Balimbing(na) (2x) jadi di pipir | The <i>balimbing</i> fruit grows at the side |
| Paré peuteuy ku badori | Rice, <i>peuteuy</i> beans and <i>badori</i> shrub |
| Abdi moal (2x) tiis pikir | I am not quiet |
| Mun tacan (mah) (2x) laksana diri | As regards not yet accomplishing my wish |
| 4. Kuring (mah) (2x) dina babantu | I am assisting others |
| Melak bonténg di basisir | To plant cucumber at the beach |
| Mipalay sanés kitu | Do not desire that woman |
| Abdi moal tiis pikir | I am not without troubles |

C Song Texts Recorded and Notated in 2003**2003-01 Kidung Rahayu**

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003-
08,15:47-21:40, recorded 26 March
2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

1. Bismilah ngawitan kidung In the name of God we start [the song] Kidung

11 This stanza is very similar to *Kembang Beureum*, stanza 2, and *Apa Roda*, stanza 2, also sung by Raidah in 1992.

- Abdi nye(m)bat asma Gusti (2x) I call the name of God
 Kidungna kidung rahayu The [song] Kidung [means] singing about
 prosperity
 Rahayu (mah) nu maha suci [soci] Prosperity that is very holy
 (2x)
2. Bul kukus ngelun ka manggung The burning incense rises into the air
 Nyambuung (mah) ka awang- It rises and spreads in the air
 awang (2x)
 Di luhur sausut rambut Above the edge of the hair
 Di handap sausap dampal Below the sole of the feet
 Di tengah mah puseran [puteran?] In the middle the great navel
 ageung
3. Nu ti kidul nu ti kalér Those from the south and from the north
 Di tepis ngiring basisir [Are] along the beach
 Nu ti kulon nu ti wétan Those from the west and east
 Suku gunung lamping pasir [Are] at the foot of the mountain, at the slope of
 the hill
 Nu ngagegek panca tengah Those who live in great numbers in the middle
 Apa lurah apan kenal di sadayana Sure Mr. villagehead, it is known by all,
 Putra putri Siliwangi [Are] the children of Siliwangi
4. Nya ingsung bayu rahayu I am the wind of prosperity
 Bayu mulus bayu asih The prosperous wind, the wind of love
 Bayu sajatining manik The wind that is really precious
 Ngadiri alam kiwari It is in the present world
 Ngajajah alam ayeuna (2x) It lives in the world today
5. Neda agung sampura sun Respectfully we beg forgiveness
 Ka Gusti nu welas asih From God who is full of mercy
 Nyanggakeun mah sadaya-daya We respectfully give you all this.
 Nyanggakeun ti kabodoan We present it, although we are ignorant,
 Sima abdi (mah) sapara kanca I and my friends.
 Amin ya Robal alamin Amen to God, Amen
 Ka Gusti nantayungan To the allmighty God

2003-02 Tepang Sono

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003-08,
 22:06-28:42, recorded 26 March
 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

Affectionate meeting

1. Jungjunan ari ngahaturkeun Highly honoured one(s), I present you
Ieu lagu Patepang Sono This song 'Affectionate Meeting'
Patepang mah di panggung seni (2x) We meet at the stage for the arts
Nu manis Which is pleasant
Bilih abdi, bilih abdi da kirang It is possible that I am less affectionate
sono
2. Nyanggakeun mah silaturahmi I give you a bond of friendship
(2x)
Ieu lagu Tepang Sono [Through] this song 'Affectionate Meeting'
Ku abdi mah patepang di Meet with me at the town square
alun-alun
Bilih abdi kirang sono It is possible that I am less affectionate
Pamugi keursa ngamalum I hope that you will forgive me
3. Mangga urang hayu sasarengan, Let us be together, highly honoured one(s),
jungjunan
Majengkeun mah seni kagungan Let us practise¹² the arts that we have
Seni Sunda tuturunan apan The Sundanese arts from previous generations
Warisan karuhun urang The heritage of our ancestors
4. Jungjunan ari ngahaturkeun Highly honoured one(s), I present you
Ieu lagu Patepang Sono This song 'Affectionate Meeting'
Patepang mah sareng sim abdi Experience together with me
(2x)
Nu manis ieu lagu Patepang Sono The sweetness of this song 'Affectionate
Meeting'
- [whole stanza repeated]
5. Patepang mah di parapatan (2x) We meet at the crossroad
Kumaha dicarék nyangéjo How can you forbid to steam the rice?
Da puguh mah jungjunan As you know, honoured one, the bumblebee is
bangbara hérang bright
Kumaha mah dikaréh sono How do we stir [bring about?] affection?
Da puguh abdi téh melang I am concerned about this.
6. Ieu lagu Tepang Sono apa This is the song 'Affectionate Meeting'
Patepang mah sareng sim abdi Meet with me
Nyanggakeun mah ti kabodoan And receive it in humbleness

12 Literally: develop

- Sim abdi sapara kanca [From] me and my companions
7. Jungjunan ari ieu lagu Patepang Sono
Patepang mah di panggung seni (2x)
Nu manis ari ngahaturkeun Ieu lagu Patepang Sono
Honoured one, as to this song 'Affectionate Meeting'
Let us find it at the stage for the arts
This sweetness, I present
This song 'Affectionate Meeting'
8. Patepang mah di parapatan (2x)
Jungjunan bilih abdi ka kirang sono
Pamugi mah keursa ngamalum Ka abdi sapara kanca
We meet at the cross-road
Honoured one(s), possibly I will be less affectionate
I hope that you will forgive me
Me and my companions
- 2003-03 Daun Hiris** *Leaves of the hiris plant*¹³
(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003-08, 29:53-35:43, recorded 26 March 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi siter* by Satra and *viol* by Arib)
1. Teuteup deudeuh moal burung dipisono
Haté kuring moal beunang dibobodo
Daun hiris saksina nu ngémploh héjo
Atuh panutan diantosan ti baréto
Oh, my love, let it not happen that we do no longer care about each other
My heart cannot be mislead
The fresh and green *hiris* leaves are witnesses
Oh, my love, I have been waiting for a long time
2. Daun hiris kembangna kumbyang koronéng
Kaéndahan ayana di sisi émpang
Panutan émut basa kuring anténg nyawang
Duh waktu mitineung haté jadi honcéwang
The *hiris* leaves and its yellow flowers
Their beauty can be seen at the side of the fishpond
My love, remember when I was quietly at home and contemplating
When thinking about you, my heart became troubled.

13 Leguminous plant

3. Ngabibita daun hiris sisi gawir I am jealous of the *hiris* leaves at the edge of the ravine
 Aduh ampun, takbir teu beunang Oh, fate cannot be avoided
 dipungkir
 Beurang peuting abdi teu weléh Day and night I incessantly try
 ihtiar
 Geuningan sulaya panutan But you do not care at all
 tambélar
4. Buktina ngaraheutan Look, I have been wounded for a long time
 sapanjangna
 Pupuasan naon pilandongeunana Which medicine can cure this?
 Mingkin lami badan téh tambah The longer it lasts, the deeper my sorrow
 tunggara
 Aduh ampun seueur pisan Oh, there are so many temptations!
 gogodaanana
 [repeat of stanzas 1, 2 and 3]

2003–04. Jalan***The road/to travel***

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003–08, 47:29–55:53, recorded 26 March 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi siter* by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

1. Turiang mah turiang dina Shoots of rice between the stones
 babatu
 Turiang dina babatu „
 Apa lurah anu bageur Mr. village head you are nice¹⁴
 Melak pandan di basisir To plant *pandan* bushes on the beach
 Mikapalay sanes kitu Do not desire that woman
 Matak jadi gering pikir It will make you ill because of thinking [about her]
2. Mangandeuh keur The parasitic plants are flowering
 karembangan
 Renggangna urang petikan They stand alone and we pick them
 Mikadeudeuh mikahéman To love each other, to care for each other with
 love

14 The performance took place at the house of the head (*jaro pamaréntah*) of Kanékés, Daénah; he was present during the performance.

Paanggang mah paanggang silih antosan	Far apart we wait for each other
3. Di basisir loba layu (2x) Pa Haji Sapin anu sayang Diala ku nu dibuat	Near the beach are many <i>layu</i> fishes Mr. Haji Sapin we like you ¹⁵ It is taken by the one who did it [caught the fish?]
Pikir abdi keur tagiwur Sok asa kasuat-suat	My thinking is chaotic Sad memories fill my mind
4. Pongporang di luhur gunung Saung di handapeunana Abdi melang ka nu pundung Kumaha (2x) néanganana?	The <i>pongporang</i> tree high up the mountain The shelter that stands below it I am worried about the angry person How shall I face him?
5. Peupeujeuh (2x) mah gunung kabitur Peupeujeuh gunung kabitur, apa Mésér kupat dibabonan Peupeujeuh abdi rék wangsul Ulah ngupat (2x) kaawonan	Mind the mountain that becomes visible Mind the mountain that becomes visible, sir To buy many packs of cooked rice Mind me, I want to go home Do not pack bad things
6. Kikinciran-kikinciran sihoréng (2x) [Obat kabeuleum dipikiran-dipikiran?] Sing horéng mah sing horéng Sobat kadeungeun	The propellers, well, well! It is thought that the medicine was burnt Well, well, My friend has become a stranger [compare <i>Ucing-Ucingan</i> , stanza 10]
7. Kanikir mah kanikir Jeung kembang gambir Kanikir jeung kembang gambir Jungjunan, tangkal honjé jeung kanyéré Dipikir beki kapikir Horéng mantak (2x) rajét haté	The <i>kanikir</i> plant ¹⁶ And the <i>gambir</i> flower <i>Kanikir</i> and <i>gambir</i> flower My lord, the <i>honjé</i> and <i>kanyéré</i> trees I am worrying all the time This causes my heart to break

15 Haji Sapin was present at the performance. He is a former Baduy who migrated and became Muslim. Sapin was assistant-secretary of the village head from 1993–2007 and became secretary (*carik*) from 2007–July 2016.

16 *Kanikir* or *ulam raja* is a plant of which the leaves may be eaten.

Kami melang kami nineung	I am worried, I am thinking about and longing for you
Saé sumping ka sim abdi	It would be nice if you came to me
4. Angka dua angka tilu Dikuras mah dina lomari deui Badé didua badé ditilu Mangga waé asal ulah dinyenyeri	The cipher two, the cipher three Are again cleaned out in the cupboard You want to be with two, or with three? Go ahead, as long as it does not harm
5. Tong tulus nanjak ka huma Bilihna mah manggih sumamun Kedah saé ka sasama Budi manis saé semu	Do not go up the hill to the rice field You may be very lonely there It must be good to be together If you behave well, it will turn out to be so
6. Ka mana ngaitkeun kincir Ka kalér katujuh bulan Ka mana niiskeun pikir apa Moal palér ku sabulan	Where to hook up the spinning wheel? To the north, the seventh month How shall I become quiet, sir? Let it not disappear within a month
7. Ka mana marénta payung Sakieu panas poéna Ka mana marénta tulung [pulung?] Sakieu panas haténa	Where do I ask for an umbrella? It is so hot today! Where do I ask for help? My heart is so disturbed!
8. Ka mana mayunganana Sangkan ulah kahujanana Ku naon nulunganana apa Sangkan ulah kaédanan	Where should we place the umbrella? Let it not start raining Why do I ask for help, sir? Let it not come to madness
9. Kumaha disada heulang [...]	[= <i>Jalan</i> , stanza 8: see there]
10. Ka mana jalan ka Cibuluh Mun nanjak ka Cimandiri Ka saha abdi nyaluuh [ieuh] Mun mendak tunggara diri	Where goes the road to Cibuluh If you go uphill to Cimandiri? To whom do I go When I am in distress?
11. Ka Baros jalan ka Lembang Mésér bensin di kaléngan Sanaos tacan kasorang Batin tetep sasarengan	To Baros, the road to Lembang To buy petrol in a tin Although I am not yet struck with sorrow [If so] my spirit will stay with him
12. Manuk piit jeung kapinis Di lebah keur nyaratuan	The <i>piit</i> and the <i>kapinis</i> birds They are eating in the valley

Sapapait samamanis Apa
Nu disebat persatuan

Sorrow and sweetness, sir
Will go together

13. Kumaha mayunganana
Sangkan ulah kahujanana
Kumaha nulunganana
Sangkan ulah kaéndahan

What about the umbrella?
Let it not start raining
What about asking for help?
Let it not come to madness
[Compare stanza 8: almost the same]

2003–06 Kacang Asin

Salted peanuts

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003–09,
10:05–16:43, recorded 26 March
2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

1. Ari kacang kacang asin
Asinna mah diuyahan
Abdi isin abdi isin
Isinna (mah isinna) ka nu duaan

Peanuts, salted peanuts
The salt is added
I am ashamed
The shame concerns the two of us

2. Ari kacang kacang asin
Asinna mah diuyahan
Abdi isin abdi isin (geuningan)
Isinna ka nu duaan

Peanuts, salted peanuts
The salt is added
I am ashamed
The shame concerns the two of us

3. Ari kacang kacang asin
Asinna dibeungkeutan
Abdi isin abdi isin
Isinna (mah isinna) ku
dideukeutan

Peanuts, salted peanuts
The salt is put to it
I am ashamed
The shame is because we were close together

4. Sarikaya kembang laja
Kembang sangkéng di astana
Kaniaya nu tunggara ieu
Nu awon kieu rasana

The *sarikaya* fruit and *laja* flower
The *sangkéng* flower in the graveyard
Ill-treatment [of] those in great distress
Bad things cause these feelings
[Compare *Turun Daun*, stanza 1 and *Apa Roda*,
stanza 2]

5. = *Jalan*, stanza 10

6. = *Gunjaér Mundur*, stanza 10

7. = *Kacang Asin*, stanza 1

8. = *Kacang Asin*, stanza 3, except
line 4: without “*isinna ku*”

9. = *Jalan*, stanza 4
 10. = *Gunjaér Mundur*, stanza 6,
 except line 3: “Ka mana mah mun
 niiskeun pikir”
 11. = *Jalan*, stanza 1

2003–07 *Bayu-Bayu*

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003–09,
 18:51–24:33, recorded 26 March
 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

Breaths of Life/God of the Wind

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Mun urang nyaho ka diri
 Sugan moal (2x) iri dengki
 Moal loba suka sering
 Ngumbara di alam mulki¹⁸
 Mulki téh béjana dunya</p> | <p>If we know about ourselves
 Let us hope that we are not jealous
 Let us not want much and often
 We temporarily live in this world as strangers
 ‘<i>Mulki</i>’ means ‘world’</p> |
| <p>2. Nu peuting nandingan beurang
 Lamun urang sing karunya dulur
 Ka sasama nu teu terang
 Béjaan geura béjaan
 Ulah sok papaséaan
 Mun puji urang enyaan
 Kantos miceun kasatoan²⁰</p> | <p>The morning defeats the night¹⁹
 When we love our brothers
 Also those we do not know
 Let it be known speedily
 Let it not become a fight
 If we really want to praise [<i>tapa</i>]
 Renounce living like an animal, leave it behind
 you</p> |
| <p>3. Hirup katungkul ku pati
 Maot teu terang dimangsa
 Badan gé nya kitu kénéh
 Aya pangbalikanana</p> | <p>Life is governed by death
 Death’s time is not known
 That also holds for me
 There is a return to the origin</p> |
| <p>4. Sanajan sarébu betah
 Moal megar cara oray
 Di dunya moal arék mutuh
 geuraan</p> | <p>Although we may feel very comfortable
 We do not change our skin like a snake
 In this world do not hasten to reach the ideal
 state</p> |

18 The word *mulki* is not in Eringa (1984) or KUBS (1976).

19 Or: Light defeats darkness

20 *Kasatoan* from *sato*, animal, is not in Eringa (1984) and KUBS (1976). Is it *sasatoan*, (several kinds of) animals?

Ngumbara tos ti balikna (2x), From our wanderings we return home, sir
juragan

[stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4 repeated in this order]

2003–08 Poho Kabalik

(Vocalist Raidah, MD 2003–09, 28:17–33:47, recorded 26 March 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi siter* by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

Forgetting to go home

1. La la la la la la, sayang
Jongjon suka bungah
Siga anu betah
Bet poho ka imah

La la la la la la, love
We are enjoying happiness
Like the happy people
Who forget to go home

2. Najan henteu rucah
Aa bojo mah sok dipitnah
Geumpeur badan
Papanggih jeung susah

Although she does not live licentious
Elder brother, your wife is slandered
I am shaking
Overcome with troubles

3. Naik mobil sedan
Mangkadé bilih ti balik
Ulah sok élodan
Tungtungna sok bingung balik
[Stanzas 1, 2 and 3 repeated in this order]

When travelling by sedan
Be careful, it may turn upside-down
Do not get distracted
Otherwise it will cause confusion

7. La la la la la la hadé
Seueur sindén hadé
Asa dipépendé
Komo lamun ramé

La la la la la la, good
Many (female) singers are good
It feels as if you are put to sleep
Especially when it is enjoyable

8. Teu noli ka capé
Poho kana gawé
Teu mikirkeun
Kariweuh ka capé

The tiredness is not felt
Work forgotten
No worrying
About being rattled by fatigue

9. Naik mobil oplét
Mangkadé bilih ti balik
Ulah sok kapélét
Tungtungna sok bingung balik

When travelling by a small bus
Be careful, it may turn upside-down
Let not a charm of love be cast on you
Surely that will cause confusion

10. La la la la la la sono
 Diondang lalajo
 Seueur pangbébnjo
 Kalah beuki sono
 Najan capé ponyo
 Ditunggu sang bojo [sambojo?]
- La la la la la la, sweet memory
 You are invited to watch
 The many distractions
 This loses from the sweet memories
 [That] when you are entirely exhausted
 Your wife is waiting for you
- 2003–09 Kapergok*
 (Female vocalist Raidah and *alok*
 singing by Salim, MD 2003–09,
 36:49–44:42, recorded 26 March
 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)
- Caught red-handed*
- o. [Raidah:] Hey engkang éta
 keur naon
 Kasampak paduduaan (2x)
 Sing horéng (mah) keur
 bobogohan (2x)
- Hey, (elder) brother, what are you doing?
 We happen to meet
 As if we are a couple in love
1. [Raidah starts again:] = stanza o
 repeated; [after the first line *carik*
 Sapin shouts: 'Keur ngopi!']
- Hey, brother, what are you doing?
 [Sapin: 'I am drinking coffee!'] ...
2. [Salim; similar to stanza
 8; = stanza 12]
- Hey enéng tong sungku-sangka
 Harita téh keur ngalamun
 Hayang mah jadi jelema beunghar
 Ulah nyangka sambarangan
 Ngagedékeun timburuan
- Hey, girl, do not have suspicions
 At that time I was imagining
 That I would like to be a rich man
 Do not just presume [something]
 It will increase your jealousy
3. [Raidah:] Ayeuna mah engkang,
 abdi serahkeun
 Henteu hoyong dipangduakeun
 Buktina boro akangna téh jeung
 awéwé²¹
 Engkang tos midua haté
- Now, brother, I present you [the following]
 I do not want to become a couple
 Unfortunately, there is proof that you have a
 girlfriend
 You already share your heart with someone

21 I am not sure about the text in this line.

4. [Raidah; similar to stanza 10] Hey, brother, do not laugh
 Hey engkang tong sungar-sengir
 Ku abdi mah moal meunang You may not deny this to me
 mungkir
 Akang mah sok mindang langsir Brother, you often switch
 Horéng aya nu ditaksir Truly, people watch this critically
5. [Salim; = stanza 11] Hey, girl, do not be rude
 Hey, enéng ulah calutak
 Ka akang wani sesentak You dare to snarl at me
 Siga nu teu aya didikan Like one who is not well educated
 Ka akang wani nyarékan You dare to become angry at me
 Jiga ngajak pepegatan As if inviting [us] to split up
6. [Raidah; similar to stanzas 3 and 9] Now, brother, I present you [the following]
 Ayeuna mah engkang abdi
 serahkeun
 Henteu hoyong dipangduakeun I do not want to become a couple
 Enggeus bukti akang téh eujeung There is already proof that you have a girlfriend
 awéwé
 Enggeus mungpung²² ngadua haté You already share your heart
7. [Raidah] Hey engkang éta keur Hey, brother, what are you doing?
 naon?
 Ku abdi téh kanyahoan You know me already²³
 Kasampak paduaan We happen to meet
 Si horéng keur bobogohan (2x) As if we are a couple in love
 [about the same as stanza 1]
8. [Salim; = stanza 2, but line 2 now: At that time I was imagining
 Abdi harita keur ngalamun]
9. [Raidah; = stanza 6 (lines 1,2,3); You already share your heart
 line 4: Engkang téh tos midua haté]
10. [Raidah; = stanza 4, but line No wonder, you often switch
 3: Paingan sok mindang langsir]

²² *Mungpung*: to meet.

²³ *Nyaho*, to know, is also used in the sense of an intimate (sexual) relation.

11. [Salim; = stanza 5]

12. Raidah; = stanza 3]

2003–10 Daun Puspa

Puspa leaves

(Female vocalist Raidah with male *alok* vocalist Salim, MD 2003–09, 49:18–55:05, recorded 26 March 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi siter* by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. [Raidah:] Lisan anjeun di handapeun daun puspa | Your words spoken below the <i>puspa</i> leaves |
| Moal poho daun nu jadi saksina | Don't forget the leaves have been witnesses |
| Najan layu gararing murag kembangna | Although these wither and dry, and the flowers fall |
| Asih kuring teu laas ku datang mangsa | Our love will not disappear in the future |
| 2. [Raidah:] Bulan henteu nyaksian urang duaan | The moon did not witness the two of us |
| Kumelang haté kabawa lamunan | Our anxious hearts were carried away by imagination |
| Teuteup anjeun nu seukeut ngirut jajantung | Your keen eye seduced my heart |
| Lamun anggan matak gering ngalanglayung | When we separate it wil cause a lingering illness |
| 3. [Raidah:] Daun puspa ngabayak garing régangna | The <i>puspa</i> leaves are scattered, with dry leaf stalks |
| Deudeuh teuing kabawa ku angin tresna | My dearest love, we were carried away by the wind of affection |
| Riceup béntang soméah mikirkeunana | The nicely blinking stars are thinking about us |
| Daun puspa ngajadi saksi nu pasti | The <i>puspa</i> leaves were the witnesses, for sure |
| 4. [Salim:] Daun puspa nu ngiyuhan keur waktu urang duaan | The <i>puspa</i> leaves that were looking after us when we were together |
| Ti kawit urang papanggih | From the start, when we met |
| Ngajak hirup silih asih | We wanted to live [while] loving each other |
| Saksina ku daun puspa nu ayeuna maruragan | Witnessed by the <i>puspa</i> leaves that are now falling |
| 5. [Raidah; = stanza 1] | |

6. [Raidah; = stanza 2]

*2003–11 Ucing-Ucingan**Children's games*

(Female vocalist Raidah with male
alok vocalist Salim, MD 2003–09,
 58:49–63:58, recorded 26 March
 2003. Accompaniment: *kacapi*
siter by Satra and *viol* by Arib)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. [Raidah:] Sok hayang
ucing-ucingan
Ucing belang bulu lima
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan [ieuh]
Mun melang ulah tarima [ieuh] | Often I want to play childrens' games
The spotted cat has five hairs
Often I want to play
When worried, do not accept it |
| 2. [Raidah:] Sok hayang
ucing-ucingan
Ucing belang bulu tilu
Sok hayang mah ulin-ulinan
Mun melang abdi rék milu | Often ...
The spotted cat has three hairs
Often ...
When worried, I want to follow |
| 3. [Raidah:] Sok hayang
ucing-ucingan
Ucing belang bulu dua
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan ieuh
Ulah badé pasalia | Often ...
The spotted cat has two hairs
Often ...
Do not want to disagree |
| 4. [Raidah:] Sok hayang
ucing-ucingan
Eunteup dina tangkal gedang
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan
Ulah sok haté salempang | Often ...
To sit in the pawpaw tree
Often ...
Do not have an anxious heart |
| 5. [Salim:] Kumaha mayunganana
Sangkan ulah kahujanan
Sangkan ulah ari sangkan
Ulah kahujanan
Kumaha nulunganana
Sangkan ulah kaédanan | What about the umbrellla?
Let it not start raining
Let it not, let it
Not start raining
What about help?
Let it not come to madness
[Compare <i>Gunjaér Mundur</i> , stanza 8] |
| 6. [Raidah:] Sok hayang
ucing-ucingan | Often ... |

Ucing belangna buntutna	The spotted cat has a tail
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan	Often ...
Mun melang kana imutna	When I am worried about his smiling
7. [Raidah:] Sok hayang ucing-ucingan	Often ...
Ucing gelang candramawat	The spotted cat with multi-coloured skin ²⁴
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan	Often ...
Mun melang sok hayang mawa	When I am worried I want to take it [the cat] ²⁵ along
8. [Raidah:] Sok hayang ucing-ucingan	Often ...
Ucing belang bulu hiris	The spotted cat with hair like the <i>hiris</i> shrub
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan ieuh	Often ...
Ulinan mah ka nu geulis	To play with the girl
9. [Raidah:] Sok hayang ucing-ucingan	Often ...
Buntut pondok jadi panjang	The short tail becomes long
Sok hayang ulin-ulinan	Often ...
Urut sono jadi panjang	Traces of love stay long
10. [Salim:] Kikinciran-kikinciran sihoréng (2x)	The propellers, well, well
Obat kabeuheulan ²⁶ dipikiran-dipikiran	I consider using medicine to make the process go smoothly
Sing horéng mah sing horéng	Well, well
Sobat kadeungeun	My friend may become my partner
Dipikiran-dipikiran	I consider
Sing horéng obat kabeuheulan	Well, using medicine to make the process go smoothly
	[Compare <i>Jalan</i> , stanza 6]

24 *Ucing candramawat*, cat with multi-coloured skin, is supposed to bring fortune to its owner.

25 The cat is a symbol for a girl.

26 Kabeuleum?

*D Susualan Notated from Reciting the Poems,
Some Performed in Singing, 2003*

*2003–12 Collection Ina from
Pal Opat*

[Recited by Ms Ina (and others)
and notated by Sapin at his home
in Pal Opat, 21 March 2003]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Melak cabé sisi cai
Amis henteu lada baé
Awéwé jaman kiwari
Geulis henteu laga baé | Plant peppers near the water
Sweetness is just not spicy
Nowadays the girls
Are sweet and do not boast |
| 2. Iraha urang ka Sérang
Meuli hurang jeung kapiting
Iraha urang kasorang
Reureujeungan beurang peuting | When do we go to Sérang
To buy shrimps and crabs?
When do we go
Together day and night? |
| 3. Duraring manuk kapudang
Duméh lain gogodohna
Nyaring ogé teu daék hudang
Duméh lain kabogohna | The <i>kapudang</i> bird is humming
Because it is not a banana (for baking)
When I awake I do not want to get up
Because I do not have someone I love |
| 4. Talingtung ²⁷ talina benang

Mobil beureum diguratan
Satung-tung tacan beunang
Moal eureun disuratan | The apparatus to chase the birds has a cotton
cord
The red car is painted with lines
Before you have it [the girl]
Do not stop to write letters |
| 5. Piring pisin diragaji
Colénak dikalapaan
Ulah isin ka Pa Haji
Boga anak euweuh bapaan | The small plate is sawn
The <i>colénak</i> sweet dish contains coconut
Do not be ashamed for Mr. Haji ²⁸
[When] you have a child without a father |
| 6. Aduh ema, nyeri cinggir
Kasését ku daun awi | Oh, mother has a sore little finger
It was cut by a bamboo leaf |

27 *Talingtung* not in Eringa (1984) or *KUBS* (1976); it was explained to be apparatus to chase birds in the fields, consisting of bamboo parts or empty tins hanging from a cord.

28 *Haji*: a person who did his pilgrimage to Mecca.

- Aduh ema, nyeri pikir
Kapélét ku nu kamari
Oh, mother is sick from worrying [about]
The charm of love cast by someone yesterday
7. Kuma suling, kuma suling
Suling téh silung baé
Kuma kuring kuma kuring
Kuring téh mung bingung baé
How about the flute, how about the flute?
The flute is just out of tune
What about me, what about me?
I am just confused
[See for this stanza that is well-known in Sunda
also Van Zanten 1989: 105.]
8. Ceuk arileu
Samping poléng kahujan
People say there are many bends in the road
The woven checkered sarong has become wet
by the rain
Euceu ka dieu
Abdi goréng kaédanan
Sister, come here
I am really crazy about you
9. Kleung²⁹ déngdék
Buah kopi raranggeuyan
Keun³⁰ anu déwék
Ulah pati diheureuyan
Leaning backward and slanting
The coffee fruits hang in clusters
Let it not be me,
Let us not harass [the women].
[A similar text is frequently used in the
Cianjuran song *Dengkleung*.]
10. Kukupu di jero gudang
Ditémbak kena sukuna
Sukur-sukur abdi dipiceun
Sarérét mata aya gantina
The butterfly in the storeroom
It is shot and its feet are wounded
I am very happy to have been turned down
At a single glance there is a replacement
11. Samping hideung dina bilik
Kumaha nuhurkeunana
Abdi nineung ka nu balik
Kumaha nutukeunana³²
The black sarong on the mat³¹
How do you let it dry?
I am longing for the person who went home
How will the rice be pounded?³³
12. Kacapi asak ti peuting
Ti beurang didongdo-dongdo³⁴
The *kacapi* fruit is ripe in the evening
In the morning it falls down

29 = *Dengkleung, dengklang*

30 = (*m*)*ingkeun*

31 *bilik* = mat or wall made from woven strips of bamboo.

32 *Nutukenana?*

33 Possibly this should be taken to be a metaphor for sexual intercourse

34 This is the Baduy word for *didongdon-dongdon*

- Lalaki kasép ti peuting
Ti beurang pangangon kebo
A man looking handsome during the evening
May look after the buffalos during the day³⁵
13. Ku naon gaak tanggelak
Teu dibéré pentil ganas
Ku naon nayaga teu senggak
Why does the *gaak* bird quack?
It has not been given a small pineapple
Why do the gamelan musicians not shout
encouragements?
Ku lantaran teu dibéré cai panas
Because they have not been given a hot drink
(tea).
14. Saha itu numentang payung
Sakieu panas poéna
Ka mana urang menta tulung
Sakieu panas haténa
Who is holding the umbrella
On such a hot day?
Where do I ask for help
When my heart is so jealous?
15. Ka Baros jalan ka Lembang
Mésér kupat dikincaan
Sanaos urang kagémbang
Ulah lepat kacintaan
To Baros and the road to Lembang
Buy a packet³⁶ of cooked rice with fluid palm
sugar
Although we are distracted
Do not forget the one you love
[Compare *Gunjaér Mundur*, stanza 11 and
Collection Cibéo, stanza 4]
16. Moal pati-pati gaplék
Mun lain jeung solontrongan
Moal pati-pati daék
Mun lain kapopotongan
Those are not really sliced and dried pieces of
cassava
Do not hasten yourself
If you really don't want it
Let it not come to a break [with your partner]
- 2012–13 Collection Kaduketug*
[Written down by village secretary
Sapin, from recitation by young
men at the house of the *jaro*
pamaréntah in Kaduketug, 22
March 2003]
1. Kaso pondok kaso panjang
Kaso ngaroyom ka jalan
Short grass, long grass
The grass bends over towards the road

35 Baduy are not allowed to have buffalos.

36 *Kupat*, rice, packed and cooked in a small bag woven from coconut palm leaf

- Sono mondok sono nganjang
Sono patepang di jalan
- I long to stay for the night, I long to visit [you]
I long to meet [you] on the road
2. Kini-kini kuang-kuang
- The larva of the large dragon-fly, the
water-insect
- Katinggang tali jambatan
Nini teu daék hudang
Dibekok cacalangapan
- Had come down on the rope of the bridge
Grandmother does not want to get up
She is farting incessantly
3. Gedang gandum (2x)
Dieunteupan bébék goak
Bikang gandum (2x)
Dideukeutan bau puak
- The pawpaw is hanging
The sitting duck quacks
The woman has a bald head
If you get near she stinks from farting
4. Ngala kacang diguntingan
Di wadahan ka boboko
Nu nganjang gugulintangan
Sihoréng teu boga rokok
- Take the beans and cut them in parts
From the box to the basket
The one who pays a visit and tumbles down
Lo and behold, has no cigarettes!
5. Sok hayang ka petis moris
Teu bisa masianana
Sok hayang ka bikang geulis
Teu bisa ngasihana
- I want shrip paste [of the Moris brand?]
It cannot be cut in parts
I want the beautiful woman
I cannot arouse her love
6. Salawé sok dua puluh lima
Meuli hiris ti Malingping
Awéwé jaman ayeuna
Hayang geulis dikeriting
- Salawé means twenty-five
To buy hiris beans in Malingping
The girls of today
Want to look nice by curling their hair
7. Cucurut anakna beurit
- The young of the stinking shrew, the mouse's
young
- Tiang ranjang galih laban
- The pole of the couch, the kernel of the *laban*
tree
- Gara surup geura burit
Hayang nganjang ka Cisaban
- Because the sun sets and it will soon get dark
I want to pay a visit in Cisaban
8. Daun salam daun salasih
Jambu médé diduakeun
Hatur salam terima kasih
Jeung bébéne siling doakeun
- The *salam* leaves, the basilicum leaves
The cashew nut is split in two halves
I greet and thank
I pray that it will continue with my love
9. Kanyéré di pasir pari
Leubeut buah kembang jéngkol
- The *kanyéré* tree at the thornback fishmarket
Many fruits on the *jéngkol* tree

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Awéwé jaman kiwari
Gedé puak beuki ngompol</p> | <p>Nowadays the women
Fart a lot and wet the bed even more</p> |
| <p>10. Tonggérét owét-owétan
Jamparing pegat talina
Awéwé sésérédétan
Katémbong liang ceulina</p> | <p>The cicada makes its sound [sings]³⁷
The arrow broke the string
The woman feels a continuous longing
The hole in her ear becomes manifest</p> |
| <p>11. Ngagogodoh cau emas
Nganyam bilik pileuiteun</p> | <p>The golden banana is being baked
To twine bamboo strips to be used for the rice shed</p> |
| <p>Ulah sok bogoh ka sémah
Ari balik sok leungiteun</p> | <p>Do not fall in love with your guest
When she/he goes home you will miss her/him</p> |
| <p>12. Kacapi ukir-ukiran
Ngarambat kana jandéla
Lalaki euweuh pikiran
Teu nyaho ka bikang héwa</p> | <p>The zither is ornamented with woodcarvings
It climbs against the window
A man who does not think
Does not realise that women may not like him
[Compare 1992-1 <i>Ceuk Arileu</i>, stanza 2]</p> |
| <p>13. Boboko ragrag ti para
Angin barat katimurkeun
Kabogoh ulah katara
Kudu bisa nyalimurkeun</p> | <p>The rice container falls from the attic
The west wind is veering to the east
Let your love not be seen
You should be able to mask it</p> |
| <p>14. Minyak aing minyak watu
Diwadahan ku baralak
Paingan aing teu laku
Horéng doang bayawak</p> | <p>My oil, sesame oil (<i>wijén</i>)
Is placed in dry coco-palm leaf
Why is it that I am not popular?
Well, I look like a crocodile³⁸
Stanza 14 was obtained from the jaro pamaréntah Daéneh in his house, 20 March 2003 (A2003-1: 22).</p> |

2003-14 Collection Hamdan

(Singing solo and reciting the text
by *kacapi* player Hamdan on MD
2003-12, 15:22 in Kaduketug, 5 April
2003.)

37 Eringa (1984) and *KUBS* (1976) give for 'oé': the sound made by a buffalo, but Hamdan explained [on MD 2003-12, 10:49] that the Baduy use it for the sound of the cicada.

38 *Bayawak* also means 'sponger'.

1. Kikinciran dina leuwi
Kokojayan dina muhara
Dipikiran leuwih nyeri
Bubuhan mah bapa budak sangsara
- The mills in the deep part of the river
To swim in the delta of the river
Worrying will hurt more
It cannot be avoided that the father of my children suffers
2. Kuma suling (2x)
Mun suling sarilung baé
Kuma kuring (2x)
Mun kuring mah bapa baringun baé
- How about the flutes, how about the flutes?
As for the flutes, these are just out of tune
What about us, what about us?
As for us sir, we are only confused
[Compare 2003–12 *Collection Ina from Pal Opat*, stanza 7]
3. Daék kuring ngadu manuk
Lamun sarua matana
Daék kuring adu imut
Lamun samua cintana
- I would like to have a competition between the birds
To see whether they have the same eyes
I want to smile
When we are both in love
4. Hujan deui (2x)
Hujan géh hujan pamarat
Bujang deui (2x)
Bujang géh bujang madarat³⁹
- Rain again, rain again
This rain also permeates everything
This boy again, this boy again
This boy is also a very poor boy

2003–15 Collection Cibéo

This collection was obtained from someone living in Cibéo, probably the Inner Baduy who accompanied Karamaén on 5 April 2003. On that date Karamaén was interviewed and played *kacapi* on MD 2003–13.

1. Saninten buah saninten
Diteundeu di parapatan
Hapunten abdi hapunten
Bilih aya kelepatan
- The chestnut tree, the chestnut
Laid down at the cross-road
I beg your pardon (2x)
If there were mistakes
[This could be sung at the end of a person's performance]

39 This is a word in the south Banten dialect; Eringa (1984) gives 'mararat' and 'malarat'.

2. Anak ciung dina pisan
 Buahna aratah baé
 Dicum ku nu kumisan
 Sabulan karasa baé
 The starling young in the *pisan*⁴⁰ tree
 Which fruits are really fresh
 Kissed by someone with a beard
 Will be felt for one month
3. Seungit panggang walik
 Ngala supa diwalagar
 Pamajikan jurung balik
 Ménta supa pamaraban⁴¹
 The nice smell of a roasted *walik* bird
 Take the burned mushrooms
 The wife is sent home
 She asked for mushrooms to eat
4. Ka Baros jalan ka Lembang
 Mésér kupat dikincaan
 Sanaos urang palepat
 Ulah poho kacintaan
 To Baros and the road to Lembang
 Buy a package of coconut leaves with fluid
 palm sugar
 Although we do forget
 Do not forget about love
 [Compare 2003-*Gunjaér Mundur*, stanza 10;
 2003-12 Collection Ina, stanza 15]
5. Kutak koték dina lincar
 Dina catang kimarémé
 Geura gedé geura pintar
 Geura kaparaban bébéne
 Knocking on the skirting-board
 On the trunk of the *kimarémé* tree
 Growing-up fast [is] clever fast
 You will soon have to care for your wife
6. Kopo kondang kopo kondang
 Kopo di bangbara leuweung
 Bodo bonggan (2x)
 Bodo disangsara deungeun
 The *kopo* [and?] *kondang* trees (2x)
 The *kopo* tree near the bumble bee from the forest
 This stupidity is your own mistake!
 Because of stupidity you will be hurt by strangers
7. Cau raja turun jantung
 Jadikeun sahoya baé
 Euweuh bagja ulah pundung
 Jadikeun baraya baé
 The bunch of *raja* bananas falls
 It will only become a hand
 If you are not prosperous, do not be angry
 Just make it a friendly relationship
8. Sireum kilang dina layeus
 Paéhna patunjang-tunjang
 Ngomong urang geus-anggeus
 Kiwari papulang-pulang
 The ant, although starving,
 Dies with its feet against each other
 Yesterday we talked
 Today we end our marriage

40 Kind of *duku*, fruit tree (*Lansium domesticum*).

41 *Parab*, food (Eringa 1984).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>9. Buah <i>ceri</i>⁴² lebet teuing
 Sapasi dibawa naék
 Ulah seuri deukeut teuing
 Bisi abdi majar⁴³ daék</p> | <p>The most inner part of the cherry
 One slice is taken and lifted
 Don't smile from so near
 It may be that I want [you]</p> |
| <p>10. Meuli kaos jeung tudung laken
 Aya kadal ulah gagabrétan⁴⁴
 Sinaos⁴⁵ lamun ka batur
 Kami sadar ka pangéran</p> | <p>To buy a T-shirt and a hat made of cloth
 [If] there is a lizard, do not [go on a razzle/get
 frightened?]
 But then again, when we go to someone
 We must be aware of god</p> |

42 *Ceri* not in Eringa 1984 or KUBS 1976.

43 *Abdi majar* translated as 'I. Eringa (1984): *si majar ka ngaing* (in *pantun* stories): my person, I; KUBS (1976): *majar[pajar]*, it is said, reported.

44 *Gabrét*, not in Eringa 1984, KUBS 1976; Eringa gives *ngabrét* to jump and *abrét-abrétan* in the figurative sense as 'to go on a spree/razzle.'

45 Presumably *sinaos* = *sanajan*, although, even though.

Glossary

- Aki** Grandfather, also used before the name of a person, like *Aki* Daénah. See also the introduction on names in Appendix 3. ‘Ki’ is short for ‘Aki’.
- Alok** Singing by a man who is ‘breaking into’ the performance by a female singer. This alternating singing is common in Sunda and also happens with the Baduy singing of *susualan* texts. See Section 7.3.
- Ambu** Mother, also used before the name of a person, like *Ambu* Icot. See also Section 5.6 on gender and the introduction on names in Appendix 3.
- Ampéan, ampian** Settlement, hamlet; part of a village (*désa*); I mostly use *lembur*. Indonesian: *kampung*.
- Angklung** Set of 9 shaken bamboo idiophones. The nine idiophones have the following names from high (*alit*, *leutik*, small) to low (*ageung*, *gedé*, great): *loér 1*, *loér 2* (or *roél 1*, *roél 2*), *torolok*, *indung leutik*, *engklok*, *gunjing*, *dongdong*, *ringkung*, and *indung gedé*. The two *loér* (*roél*) are played by one person and the other seven instruments are each played by one person. The three accompanying drums of the *angklung* ensemble are, from high to low pitch, called *ketuk*, *talinting*, and *bedug*. See Section 5.2.
- Arca** An imitation in stone of a human being or an animal, statue.
- Arca Domas** Literally: eight hundred statues; *domas* is an old word for ‘eight hundred’. Major place of worship southeast of Cikeusik, nowadays mostly called Sasaka Pusaka Buana or Pada Ageung (see there). Arca Domas is considered to be the place of origin of the world.
- Awí** Bamboo. Different kinds of bamboo are used to make musical instruments: *apus* = *tali*, *buluh* = *wuluh*, *bunar*, *gombang*, *surat*, *tamiang*, *temen*, *wulung* = *hideung* (black), etc.
- Ayah** Father, also used before a name of a person, like *Ayah* Karamaén. See also Section 5.6 on gender and the introduction on names in Appendix 3.
- Babakan** A newly established hamlet, growing next to an existing one. It is often called after the original hamlet: Babakan Kompól is a hamlet that developed near Kompól, and Cikadu Babakan is a hamlet that developed near Cikadu.
- Baksa** Male dancing with *keromong* music during circumcision ceremony by four men in two pairs, who dance towards each other. One pair keeps kitchen utensils, one keeps a spoon and coconut bowl and the other a fan and a rice spoon in their hands and the other pair of men each have a kris (A2016-1: 17, 22). The dance movements are relatively slow and the legs are lifted high. Baksa is also known outside the Baduy area. Compare *ngalagé* and *topéng*. See Section 5.5.
- Balhum** According to Geise (1952: 244) this is used in southern Banten for a vigorous way of singing. I have never heard this word being used and it does not appear in Eringa (1984).

- Bangbalikan** Also called *wawangsalan*. Special kind of *susualan*: the first two lines (*cangkang*) of the *susualan* text paraphrase some word not mentioned in the text. The sound structure of this particular word will correspond with that of a word (or mostly the last part of this word) in lines 3 and 4 (*eusi*) (Van Zanten 1989: 69).
- Bangbrang** Also *brangbrang*: octave (A2014-1: 40, Kompol; MD 2003-03, Hamdan). However, Karamaén (MD 2003-13) seems to use *brangbrang* as a style of playing (or tuning?) as used in *susualan* (and not in *pantun*). Pleyte (1907: 26-27, footnote 1) gives *bangbrang* and *bangbrang anak* as the names for two *kacapi* zither strings. Also used as 'to tune'. See also Eringa (1984) and Section 5.1.
- Baresan** Council of elders in each of the Inner Baduy hamlets (Cikeusik, Cikartawana, Cibéo).
- Batara Tunggal** God, the supreme deity in the religion of the Baduy. Batara is a general word for male gods and Batari for female gods.
- Batik Lebak:** see *mérong*
- Bedug** Largest drum in the *angklung* ensemble. The middle-sized drum is called *talinting* and the smallest one *ketug*. See Figure 35 in Section 5.3.
- Bendé** Small gong with diameter about 40-60 cm. Used in the *pencak silat* music in West Java (Soepandi 1995b: 39; Pätzold 2000: 76). Already mentioned in the Old Sundanese manuscripts and *pantun* stories. In the past the *bendé* were used for official announcements of the court (Van Zanten 1989: 33). See Figure 42 in Section 5.4.
- Béngkong** Baduy specialist who carries out the circumcision. *Béngkong jalu* are men who do the boys' circumcision (*sunatan*), *béngkong bikang* are women who do the female circumcision (*peupeuran*). See Section 4.3.
- Bidan** Midwife, medical specialist in the Indonesian health system.
- Boéh larang/- rarang** White loosely-woven cloth, only used for ritual purposes such as wrapping a corpse before burying.
- Brangbrang:** see *bangbrang*
- Budaya wisata** Cultural tourism
- Bupati** Head of an Indonesian regency (*kabupaten*), one level below the provincial level.
- Burulung** Introductory section to the playing of an *angklung* piece (Rasudin, A2013: 27). See Section 5.2.
- Buyut** Prohibition, forbidden by the ancestral rules.
- Calintuh** Bamboo (*tamiang*) sticks, up to 5 meters long, sometimes not only open at the end, but also with a hole in each compartment (*ruas*) of the bamboo. When the wind blows through the holes it will produce sound that is, like the air screw of the *kolécér*, considered to be music for the children of the rice goddess

- Déwi Asri. The *calintuh*, in contrast to the *kolécér*, may also be found in the Inner Baduy area (A1992-1: 32, 40–41; A2013: 38, 42).
- Calung** Xylophone made of bamboo, Outer Baduy play this solo. See Section 8.5 and listen to <AV29>.
- Camat** Indonesian sub district head, responsible for several villages and to the district head/regent (*bupati*), a higher administrative officer.
- Caning** Metallophone with 6 bronze keys as used in the Outer Baduy gamelan (*keromong*). This instrument is called *saron* elsewhere in Java. See Figures 37 and 39 in Section 5.3.
- Cangkang:** see *susualan*
- Carang-carang** ‘With large intervals, wide apart’. Term used for Baduy music ‘for happy occasions’, and supposedly music in a tone system that is similar to the Sundanese *saléndro* system (Soepandi 1995a: 49; Suryadi 1974:54). See also *rindu* (longing) and *kerep* (close together).
- Carik** Village secretary. The Baduy *carik* should be a non-Baduy; a former Baduy could become *carik*, like Sapin (2007–2016) and the very first *carik* Tayun in the 19th century (Meinsma 1869: 327).
- Carita pantun:** see *pantun*
- Celempéng** Bamboo idiophone used in the in 2013–2014 established Baduy *go-goon-gan* ensemble see Figure 8 and photograph in Van Zanten (2017: 94). This instrument is called *celempung*, or *kendang awi* (bamboo drum) in other parts of west Java; see Kunst (1973[1934]: 1-369, 11-451) and Soepandi (1995b: 49). See also Section 1.2.
- Ceurik panglayungan** ‘Weeping for the corpse’. Saying a prayer by a family member of the deceased ‘so that the soul of the dead person will arrive in the holy place where the gods live and will not get lost in the underworld’ (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 72).
- Cirambay** Literally ‘singing with tears in your eyes’: a style of *pantun* recitation that has slow and drawn-out sections of singing. Compare *pada ramé* singing. Listen to <AV13>.
- Cukuran** Ceremonial cutting of hair when the child is about one month old.
- Dangdang Ageung** The ‘large pond/lake’, lying near Cigula, Kanékés, with size about 100m x 150m. This pond is never empty. The Dangdang Ageung pond is mentioned in the story Budak Buncireung: when his mother looked at the valley with the Dangdang Ageung pond she saw the monster Iwak Gentur sleeping there (Geise 1952: 109–111, 218–220). There is also a much smaller pond in Kanékés, Dangdang Salak, between Kadujangkung and Campaka and size about 30m x 30m, almost hidden by the forest around it. I was told that around June (month Kalima) there was a (purification) ceremony for the lakes. See Figure 28 in Section 3.3.

- Dangka** Hamlets used for enforcing Baduy customary law. Individuals who committed an offence may be temporarily expelled from their hamlet and banned to one of the *dangka* hamlets, where he or she will be taught the Baduy rules by the *jaro dangka*. The about 700 Baduy living in *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés also follow the major customary rules. The *dangka* hamlets are important for the delineation of the Baduy community; see Section 2.2.
- Déwi Asri** Goddess of rice, see also Nyi Pohaci (Sangiang Asri)
- Dongdong** One of the nine *angklung* instruments; 7th one from highest to lowest instrument.
- Dongéng** Story, fairy tale, shorter in length than the *pantun* stories and not involving music.
- Durian:** see *kadu*
- Elét** Five-finger hole end-blown flute of about 20cm long. It is called *bangsing* in other areas of west Java. The Baduy play the *elét*, like the *suling lamus* with the circular breathing technique. It is not played by the Inner Baduy. See Figure 52 in Section 8.3 and film fragment <AV24>.
- Éngklok** One of the nine *angklung* instruments; 5th one from highest to lowest instrument.
- Étém** Small knife for harvesting the rice, stalk by stalk; in Indonesian called *ani-ani*. See Figure 23 in Section 2.7
- Eusi:** see *susualan*
- Galéong:** see *suling lam(b)us*
- Gambang or *gambang kayu*** Xylophone played by the Outer Baduy and other Sundanese on its own, or in the *keromong* ensemble (*gamelan*). In the *keromong* ensemble the *gambang* plays the melodic parts. See also *calung*.
- **kendang** ‘Drum xylophone’, added to the *keromong* ensemble between 2003 and 2013. See Figure 39 and also Plate 1 in Van Zanten (2015: 119).
- Gamelan:** see *keromong*
- Gendék (genék)** Ceremonial pounding of rice by a group of married women to announce (mainly) weddings in Inner and Outer Baduy area. It may also be used for receiving an important guest. The about 8–12 women produce rhythmic patterns with their pestles (*halu*): <AV10>, <AV11>. In other parts of Sunda also called *tutunggulan* or *gondang*. In 1992 the *gendék* was also described to me as *rempugan*, from *rempug*, to agree, to be in accordance. That is, the hamlet(s) agreed on organizing a ritual meal (*hajat*) on the occasion of a wedding or circumcisions and this was announced by women playing *gendék*.
- Gilir naga** The direction in which the mythical snake moves in a circle, that is, in a clockwise direction. The anti-clockwise direction is indicated as the way in which the *koréd* knife (see Figure 23 in Section 2.7) is moving when weeding. It is also called *mapag naga*, to meet the mythical snake.

- Girang** Up, upstream (*hilir*: downstream). Inner Baduy are also called *urang girang*. Also used as honorific title for a *puun* and his nearest assistant, the *seurat*: *girang puun* and *girang seurat*.
- Go-goongan** Ensemble that was newly established by Kurdi in Cipondok in 2013–2014. It consisted of some instruments that have been around in Kanékés already for some time: Jew's harp (*karinding*), violin (*viol*), zither (*kacapi*), two-string bowed violin (*rendo*) and *suling* (bamboo flutes). However, the used *celempéng* idiophones of bamboo have not been played in Kanékés before, as far as I know. See Section 1.2; Figure 8, <AV32>.
- Golok** Big knife for daily use by Baduy men, called *bedog* in other parts of Sunda. See Figure 23 in Section 2.7.
- Gondang**: see *gendék*
- Goong** Baduy and Sundanese word for gamelan (or *keromong*/*kromong* or *lénong*).
- Gunjing** One of the nine *angklung* instruments; 6th one from highest to lowest instrument.
- Guriang** Spirits, ancestors who look after and protect Kanékés village. They are the 'spiritual rulers'.
- Hajat(an)** Ritual meal at life cycle events to ask for blessing and to avert evil influences.
- Hak ulayat** Collective land rights
- Halu** Pestle for pounding rice, also used for the ceremonial pounding *gendék*
- Héot, ngahéot** Whistle just with the mouth, without an instrument.
- Huma** Dry (non-irrigated rice) field, in other parts of Indonesia also called *ladang*
- **Huma sérang** Dry rice field in each of the three Inner Baduy hamlets and considered to be sacral and collectively looked after. The harvest is used for the *kawalu* fasting ceremonies such as *ngalaksa* (Garna 1988: xxii, 192, 201–202)
- **Huma tuladan** Dry rice field in Outer Baduy area with a similar role as the *huma sérang* in the Inner Baduy area (see Figure 32; Garna 1988: 192).
- Icib(l)ungan** Producing rhythmic patterns by tapping with hands on the surface of the water (while bathing in the river). Sundanese: (*i*)*cikib(l)ung*.
- Indung gedé** Lowest one of the nine *angklung* instruments.
- Indung leutik** One of the nine *angklung* instruments; fourth one from highest to lowest instrument.
- Jampé** Magical formula.
- Jaro** Head of a group; in the larger Sundanese area mostly used for a village head. The Baduy use the word also for the leader of an *angklung* group: *jaro angklung*.
- **jaro dangka** Outer Baduy official, whose main function is to assist the other leaders with enforcing Baduy customary law (*pikukuh*). There used to be nine *dangka* hamlets: Cihulu and Kaduketug Gedé in Kanékés village and seven *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés village. It seems that currently there are only two

- jaro dangka* living in hamlets outside Kanékés (Cikarého near Kopol, and in Garéhong village); the other five have moved to a hamlet inside Kanékés. See Section 2.2 and Garna (1988: 414–5).
- jaro pamaréntah** (Ind.: *jaro pemerintah/jaro gubernemen*) Secular head of Kanékés village. He is an Outer Baduy who mediates between the spiritual leaders (*puun* and others) and the Indonesian authorities. In colonial times he was mostly called *jaro gubernemen*. In the 19th century the tasks of the *jaro pamaréntah* used to be performed by the *jaro warega*.
- jaro tanggungan duabelas** An Outer Baduy who leads the group of twelve *jaro*: three *jaro tangtu* and nine *jaro dangka*. This group of *jaro* is responsible for having the Baduy live according to the rules of the ancestors (*pikukuh*).
- jaro tangtu** Secular head of one of the three Inner Baduy hamlets (Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo).
- jaro warega** An Outer Baduy who in current practice has a ceremonial task during the *séba* ceremony to pay homage to the rulers of the north, and other adat tasks. In the past the *jaro warega* did much of the work now done by the *jaro pamaréntah*. Garna (1988: xxiii) calls the *jaro warega* one of the *jaro dangka* who became their 'leader'.
- Jeungkal, Sajeungkal:** distance between tops of thumb and little finger when spread as much as possible, that is, about 20cm. An *élét* flute should be about this size: one *jeungkal*.
- Kacang hérang** Dark blue woven sarong (*samping poléng kacang hérang*) worn by Outer Baduy women: Section 2.6.
- Kacapi** Zither. There is the *pantun* zither (*kacapi pantun*), made of white *lamé* wood and used to accompany *pantun* recitation, used by both Inner and Outer Baduy men. The Outer Baduy also use the flat *kacapi siter* for entertainment music. See Section 8.4.
- Kadu** Fruit and tree with the same name, called *durian* in Indonesian. The fruits have a pungent smell and taste. One of the important agricultural products of the Kanékés people that is sold on the market. The name of the hamlet Kadu-jangkung means 'high *kadu* tree(s)'.
Kajeroan Inner Baduy, see *tangtu*.
- Kanékés** Village where the about 12.000 Baduy live (1 July 2016), an area of about 51 km², south of Rangkasbitung and Leuwidamar. The Baduy are also referred to as the people of Kanékés: *urang Kanékés*.
- Karinding** Jew's harp made of the sugar palm (*kawung*); it is placed in a bamboo tube to produce a better resonance. See Section 8.5, Figure 57, <AV30> and <AV32>.
- Kaulinan** Children's games. See also *pamaceuh, icib(l)ungan*
- Kaum daleum** Baduy of Inner Baduy descent who live with the Outer Baduy and cooperate with the *tangtu* leadership on rituals, other social activities and maintenance (Geise 1952: 24).

- Kawalu** Fasting period in the Baduy months Kasa, Karo and Katiga. See Table 5 in Section 4.1.
- Kawih** Singing, song, vocal music. Presumably the oldest Sundanese term for singing (Van Zanten 1989: 15–16). See Sections 3.1 and 6.5.
- Kawinan** Marriage.
- Kekeplokan** see *pancure(u)ndang*
- Kendang awi** see *celempéng*
- Kerep** ‘Close together’: used for the tone system *pasieupan kerep* or *pasieupan rindu*. (Soepandi 1995a: 19). According to him, it is equal to the *pélog* tone system and it is used to break the heart of a girl. Compare *carang-carang* and Section 5.1.
- Keromong/kromong** Baduy gamelan, also called *goong/gong* or *lénong*. One of the instruments, consisting of ten bronze kettles resting on a horizontal frame, is also called *keromong* (*bonang* elsewhere in Java). See Section 5.3.
- Ketug** Smallest drum in the *angklung* ensemble. The middle-sized drum is called *talinting* and the largest one *bedug*. See Figure 35 in Section 5.3.
- Kidung** Incantation to avert illness, theft and other possible evils when venturing into places which might harbour spirits. The Baduy have songs for entertainment (*keromong*, *susualan* singing) that they call ‘kidung’: Kidung Rahayu, Kidung Opat Lima. For singing/reciting *pantun* stories they use *kawih*.
- Koja** Bag made by crocheting the bark of trees.
- Kolécér** Bamboo propeller, up to about 1 ½ m long, fixed to the top of a high tree, only in the Outer Baduy area of Kanékés. The produced sound is described as music to entertain the rice goddess Déwi Asri and her children (like the *calintuh*). Small boys sometimes run around with a small bamboo *kolécér* propeller as a toy. See Figure 9 in Section 1.2.
- Kolot** Elder. The head of an Outer Baduy hamlet (*lembur*) is called *kolot lembur*.
- Komala** Mosses to be found on the natural stones at Sasaka Pusaka Buana near Cikeusik.
- Kumbang** see *suling kumbang*
- Lagé** see *ngalagé*
- Lagu** Melody, song. See Section 5.1.
- Laksa** The (*nga*)*laksa* ritual takes place in the last *kawalu* fasting month at the end of the agricultural year, around March-May. At the *laksa* ritual the Baduy make a ‘puppet’ of rice flour vermicelli (*laksa*) for each human being in their hamlets. According to Garna (1988: 338) the small puppets serve as offerings to the spirits (*guriang*) in the forbidden forest (*leuweung larangan*) in the Inner Baduy area. These spirits are in fact ancestors who look after and protect Kanékés village. They are the ‘spiritual rulers’ (*penguasa gaib*), who get the offerings before the worldly rules of the north in the *séba* ritual. See Section 2.3.
- Lalakon** see *pantun*

- Lalamar** Formal proposal for a wedding.
- Lamak** Shoulder cloth. See two examples of shoulder cloths for Outer Baduy women in Figure 19: *lamak suat songkét* and *lamak suat samata*.
- Lam(b)us** Bellows; see also *suling lamus* (*lamus* flute).
- Lamé** White wood used for making several string instruments, like *kacapi*, *rendo* and *viol*.
- Lembur** Hamlet, settlement, as a part of a larger village unit. Also used: *ampian*, *ampéan* and in Indonesian: *kampung*.
- Lénong** Baduy word for gamelan; also *keromong* and *goong* are used, of which *keromong* is the most commonly used.
- Lesung** A 6-8m long wooden trough in an open, roofed space (*saung lesung*) for pounding rice with a pestle (*halu*). If a group of houses has been inaugurated as an official Baduy hamlet (*nukuh lembur* ritual) that hamlet may have a *lesung*. Apart from using the *lesung* for the daily pounding of rice, it may also be used for ceremonial purposes by a group of 8–12 women produce rhythmic patterns with their pestles: see *gendék*.
- Leuit** Storage barn for rice. The *leuit* are placed apart from the houses in a special section of each hamlet.
- Leuweung larangan** ‘Forbidden forest’: the south-eastern part of the Inner Baduy (*tangtu*) area of Kanékés on the slopes of Mount Kendeng with the holy places Sasaka Pusaka Buana (also called Arca Domas or Sasaka Pada Ageung) and Sasaka Parahiang. It is also the place where the Ujung river (Ciujung) originates. This area, almost half the size of Kanékés, cannot be used for agriculture. Only some Baduy officials may access this area to perform rituals on special occasions.
- Loér or roél** Two highest tuned *angklung* instruments.
- Macapat verse forms:** see *manikaban*.
- Mandala** Holy region. The essence of the Baduy way of living has often been described as *tapa di nagara*, ‘asceticism in the kingdom’, or *tapa di mandala*, ‘practising asceticism in the holy region’.
- Manikaban** Reading and reciting of exemplary deeds of Islamic saints (non-Baduy, outside Kanékés). This reading makes use of *macapat* verse forms originating from Central Java.
- Mapag naga:** see *gilir naga*
- Masyarakat adat** Indigenous community, ethnic minority group
- Mencek** A small type of deer/roe that is difficult to find in Kanékés nowadays. The skin of the *mencek* (Indonesian: *kijang*) is used for the membranes of the *angklung* drums; no other skins may be used.
- Menyan** Benzoin, incense, burnt before starting a ritual performance such as telling a *pantun* story, playing *angklung* or *keromong*. Also used as resin to make the bow of a violin (*viol*) rough and sticky.

- Mérong** Printed batik cloth with dark blue figures of butterflies, flowers and leaves on a black or light blue background. This material, nowadays made from industrially produced yarns and chemical dyes, was in former times also specially made for the Baduy outside Kanékés. It is, for instance, used for the head cloth of Outer Baduy men and the sarongs for Outer Baduy women. In 2015 the *mérong* batik was patented and is now often called Batik Lebak (Van Zanten 2017: 92–93). Since that time the Outer Baduy men also wear shirts made from this *mérong* cloth: see Figure 16 in Section 2.4, Figures 38–40 in Section 5.3. See also Section 2.6.
- Muuhān** Filling holes, made in the earth by men, with five or seven grains of rice. The holes are filled by women and children. See also *ngaseuk*.
- Nangka** Jackfruit or jackfruit tree. The wood is used for the body of *angklung* drums.
- Ngagubrugkeun** Finishing an *angklung* song with fast and loud playing while the players stand still: (Van Zanten 1995: 533). If there are dancers, they will be ‘chased’ by the drum players and run around the *angklung* players, who stand still. See Section 5.2 and film fragment <AV05>.
- Ngahéot** see *héot*
- Ngalagé** Dancing with *angklung*. Compare also *baksa* and *topéng*. See Section 5.5.
- Ngarérémokeun** The ritual in which the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri (= Déwi Asri), is getting engaged to the Earth (Partiwi). See Section 4.2
- Ngaroronda** Singing of a song in turn by a group of young men in the evening, also with a *kacapi*. See Pleyte (1912: 255).
- Ngaseuk** Making holes in the soil with a planting stick (*aseuk*, *tugal*) by men. These holes will each be filled (*muuhān*) with five or seven grains of rice by women and children.
- Nikahan** Marriage.
- Nini** Grandmother, from both mother’s and father’s side.
- Nukuh lembur** Inauguration of a group of (about ten) houses to become an official hamlet in Kanékés. The hamlet may then have its communal wooden trough (*lesung*) for pounding rice and in an open, roofed space (*saung*). The inauguration ritual involves *pantun* recitation. See Section 6.4.
- Nyacar** Cutting trees and bushes on the agricultural fields at the beginning of the agricultural season.
- Nyawér** see *sawér*
- Nyi Pohaci** The goddess of rice, also called Déwi Asri. In full she is called Nyi Pohaci Sang(h)iang Asri.
- Pada ramé** Style of singing in *pantun* recitation: animated, festive (*ramé*) singing that is not immediately connected to the ritual context, but concerned with worldly matters, mainly human love, and that may distract from the major Baduy task

- of practising asceticism (*tapa*). It is also used to describe singing of short poems (*susualan* or *sisindiran*) for entertainment. Compare *cirambay* singing in *pantun* recitation, Section 6.5 and listen to <AV13> and <AV14>.
- Pamaceuh** In Old Sundanese manuscripts presumably: game, something that distracts from asceticism.
- Pamali** Prohibition, forbidden according to the ancestral rules.
- Pamor** see *sulangkar*
- Pamukiman (Ind.: pemukiman)** Resettlement area outside Kanékés. People of Baduy descent, living in the resettlement areas outside Kanékés, who do not take part in the rituals of Kanékés are no longer considered to be Baduy by the leaders of Kanékés village.
- Panamping** Outer Baduy: the about 10.000 people (July 2016) living in Kanékés village, surrounding the holy area of the Inner Baduy (*tangtu*). Also called *urang luar* or Baduy Luar.
- Pancure(u)ndang** Also called *kekeplokan*: piece of bamboo that is ‘played’ by running water and regularly makes a sound that scares off animals like wild pigs and otters.
- Panerus** Metallophone with six keys and tuned one octave lower than the *caning* metallophone.
- Pangiwa** Security official of *puun*. In the present administrative system the *pangiwa* is the head of a group of hamlets (RW), who assists the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*).
- Pantun** Or *carita pantun*, *pantun* story: epic story told by a male bard. The recitation is solo, or may be accompanied by a *kacapi pantun* (not by a flat and varnished *kacapi siter*). In 2003, 2014 and 2016 I only heard the *pantun* recitation without accompaniment. See Chapter 6. The stories (*carita*) are also called *lalakon*.
- Papajangan** Temporary awning where most circumcision rituals will take place: filing of teeth, actual circumcision of boys, *pantun* storytelling, etcetera. The *papajangan* is made of white cloth and also called *saung sunatan*. See Sections 4.3–4.4.
- Pariwisata** Tourism.
- Pasieupan** According to Suryadi (1974: 59–60): ‘tone system’. The Baduy use two ‘tone systems’ or modes: *carang-carang* and *rindu*. In Indonesian this is usually called *laras*; in Sundanese music also *surupan* (Van Zanten 1989: 112–130). See Section 5.1.
- Pélah** A particular kind of rattan. In the past clothes were also made from *pélah* leaves. The fringes on top of the *angklung* instruments are said to be made of *pélah* leaves; these fringes are *tumbal* signs that protect against evil spirits and calamities (Djoewisno 1988: 47).
- Peupeuran** ‘Circumcision’ of girls. It seems that Baduy *peupeuran/peperan*, or initiation of 5–10 year old girls into the world of women as Permata calls it, physically

only consists of tooth filing. The actual incision in the clitoris has already taken place just after birth. For girls the tooth filing may take place at the time when it is done with the boys, just before the *sunatan* operation of the boys, but also during weddings. See also Moestapa (1946: 54 [1913: 41]): *peperan* is the refined (*lemes*) word for *gusaran*, filing of teeth and he places this in the context of a discussion about circumcision (*sunatan*).

Pikukuh Rules about how to live and as handed down by the ancestors, customary law (Indonesian: *adat* law).

Poléng Kinds of check pattern in woven cloth or plaiting. See the *kacang hérang* and *paulunas* patterns in Figure 19, Section 2.6.

Puun Spiritual leader in each one of the three Inner Baduy hamlets: Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo.

Rajah Sung beginning of a *pantun* story, also called *rajah pamunah*. It is an invocation in which the singer invokes the protection and blessing of the gods, asking pardon for any possible mistakes he might make in his telling of the story. See Section 6.5.

-Rajah pamungkas Short, more or less standard, text to end a *pantun* recitation. There is also such *rajah* text, to be used when continuing the recitation after a break.

Ramé: see *pada ramé*

Rebab Two-string bowed lute that is forbidden in Kanékés since about 1980. The instrument was apparently for some time tolerated to be played in the Outer Baduy area: in 1956 Suraybrata made recordings of a *rebab* playing in a Baduy gamelan in Jakarta and in June and July 1976 I made recordings of the *rebab* in the *keromong* ensemble of Gajéboh. See Sections 5.3 and 8.4.

Rendo Two-string bowed lute played by the Outer Baduy only. This instrument is similar to the slightly larger Sundanese *tarawangsa*; see Section 8.4 and film fragment <AV27>.

Rindu Literally 'languish, longing'. It is used to indicate a style of playing or tone system (*pasieupan*) that is similar to the Sundanese *pélog*.

Ringkung One of the nine *angklung* instruments; one-but-lowest instrument.

Roél see *loér*

Ronda see *ngaroronda*

Ronggéng Female vocalists, who also dance with men on the gamelan music. This seems to take place in the Outer Baduy area since about 2005–2010. See Sections 4.4 and 5.5.

Rumbak Outer circumference of a flute near the blowing hole, used as a unit for determining the place of the finger holes, etcetera.

Sabuk Belt to tighten sarong, ceremonial sash; see *sabuk adu mancung* in Figure 19, Section 2.6.

Sajeungkal see *jeungkal*

Samping Waist-cloth, sarong. In Indonesian called *sarung* or *kain*.

Sasajén Offering before starting to perform *angklung*, *pantun*, *gamelan*, etc.

Sasaka (Venerated) heirloom, heritage

- **Sasaka Domas** Other name for Sasaka Parahiang near Cibéo: see there

- **Sasaka Parahiang** Also called Mandala Parahiang or Sasaka Domas (Judistira Garna 1988: 280, 294; Ekadjati 1995: 69–70). Holy place near Cibéo and Cikartawana near the Ciparahiang river; the *puun* of Cibéo is responsible for guarding this sacred place. Sasaka Parahiang is considered to be the place of origin of the Baduy community: it is the place that was first visited by Batara Cikal, the eldest son of the highest god Batara Tunggal. Batara Cikal is considered to be the founder of Kanékés and ancestor of the different *puun*. It is believed that Sasaka Parahiang is also the place where the souls of the deceased Baduy will eventually go: back to their origin.

- **Sasaka Pusaka Buana** Also called Pada Ageung or Arca Domas (Judistira Garna 1988: 280, 294). Sasaka Pusaka Buana is the most holy place for worshipping (*pamujaan*) of the Baduy. The *puun* of Cikeusik is responsible for guarding this sacred place that is considered to be the place of origin of the world (Garna 1988: 229–271). With a small party he visits the place during the days 16–18 of the Baduy month Kalima (around April-May). The party cleans the terraces and they look at the mosses to predict the future. The location is kept secret. However, the place was already visited by several non-Baduy visitors in the 19th and 20th century and described. It lies about 2 km southeast of Cikeusik near the origin of the Cijung river in the southeast of the *tangtu* area, on the slopes of Mount Kendeng. This holy place consist of some crudely paved terraces, some of which contain stone remains.

Sawah Wet (irrigated) rice field. In Kanékés village wet rice fields are not allowed, only the dry rice fields (*huma*). The only exception are the Muslim hamlets Cicakal Girang, where wet rice fields are tolerated by the Baduy.

Sawér/nyawér To throw money, rice mixed with coins, sweets, etc. on the bridal couple or on a child just circumcised. See Sections 4.4, 4.5 and 6.3 (*jampé nyawér*).

Séba Ceremony in which several agricultural products (like bananas, palm sugar, *petai* beans) and handicrafts (like cloths, kitchen utensils) of the Baduy are presented to the 'rulers of the north', that is, the sub district head (*camat*) of Leuwidamar, the district head/regent (*bupati*) of Rangkasbitung (Lebak regency) and the governor of Sérang. The *séba* party of Inner and Outer Baduy leaves Kanékés on the date 1, 3, 5, or 7 Sapar/Kapat, and since the 1970s this has been between the beginning of April and the beginning of June (see Table 32). The Banten Province government has made the *séba* ceremony an important touristic event since the early 2000s and this may be seen from the increasing number of Baduy participants. See Section 2.2.

- Sérén taun** Harvest feasts in west Java, for instance in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar; the Baduy do not use this term.
- Seurat** In Cikeusik and Cibéo the spiritual leader *puun* is assisted by a *seurat*, also called with the honorific title: *girang seurat*.
- Sindir/Sisindiran:** see *susualan*
- Siter** see *kacapi*
- Siwér/siwér** The ring made of the leaf of the coconut palm tree (*daun kalapa*) to close the duct for the air flow of the *lamus* ring flute.
- Songkét** Cloth with patterns made with a special weaving technique; in other parts of Java by using silk or gold thread (*suat*). See Figure 19 in Section 2.6: *lamak suat songkét*.
- Suat samata:** see *lamak*
- Sulangkar** Patterns on the blade of a knife, such as *golok* and *kujang*, made by hammering different pieces of steel into the blade: see Figure 19 in Section 2.6. Outside the Baduy area these patterns are mostly called *pamor*.
- Suling** Flute; see also *elét*, *tarawélét*
- **suling kumbang** Side-blown flute with two finger holes and about 70 cm long, made of *tamiang* bamboo. At the side of the blowing hole is a piece of about 10 cm of bamboo added to the natural partition (*ruas*) in the bamboo and in the form of a spearhead; this piece seems to have no musical function. See Section 8.1 and <AV20> to <AV22>.
 - **suling lam(b)us** Six-finger hole and end-blown ring flute of about 60–62 cm long; the Baduy play this flute with the circular breathing technique: producing a continuous flow of wind ‘like bellows’ (*lambus*). Soepandi (1995a: 18–19; 1995b: 69) used the term (*suling*) *galéong* to indicate the six-finger hole *suling lamus*. I have never heard this term from Baduy people. See Section 8.3 and film fragment <AV24>.
- Sunatan** Circumcision of boys. See Section 4.3.
- Sunda wiwitan** Religion of the Baduy as mentioned on their identity cards between around 1972 and 2011. *Sunda wiwitan* means ‘the beginning, the origin of Sunda’, the original Sundanese belief system that dates back from the Hindu kingdoms and earlier, and definitely before Islam entered West Java. Currently there are also other Sundanese who claim that they adhere to this belief system. In 2011 the Indonesian central government decided that *Sunda wiwitan*, with many other belief systems of indigenous groups, was not officially recognized as a religion. By law the Indonesian state recognizes only six religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. This means that as from 2011 the Baduy must choose one of these six religions or opt to leave the ‘religion’ field on their new (electronically produced) identification cards blank. The Baduy protested, and asked the central government to

reconsider this decision.¹ In May 2016 the central government had not changed its mind and some Baduy now asked to be registered as 'Islam', because to have 'no religion' can still be very problematic in Indonesia. See further Sections 2.3–2.4.

Susualan = sisindiran A poem in which an allusion (*sindir*, *sualan*) is given by a combination of words which allude to the real meaning by sound association. These poems consist of a 'cover' or 'rind' (*cangkang*), mostly without meaning, followed by the 'content' or 'essence' (*eusi*), the real meaning. The Baduy use these texts, for instance, in the *pantun* recitation, *angklung* songs, and also in solo singing with the accompaniment of the *kacapi*, the *rendo* or the violin and/or a *suling lamus*. See Section 7.2. Compare also special *susualan*: *bangbalikan* or *wawangsalan*.

Taléot see *tarawélét*

Talingtung Apparatus to chase birds in the fields. It consists of a cord with bamboo parts or empty tins hanging from it. The bamboo parts and tins presumably make noise when hitting each other. See Appendix 4, 2003–12, stanza 4. *Talingtung* is not an entry in Eringa (1984) or *KUBS* (1976).

Talinting The middle-sized drum in the *angklung* ensemble. The largest drum is called *bedug* and the smallest one *ketug*. See Figure 35 in Section 5.2.

Tali paranti Life cycle, consisting of the important events in human life, like circumcisions, marriages, etcetera.

Taneuh larangan 'Forbidden land:' land in the Inner Baduy area of Kanékés, that is not available for agriculture and where the sacred places, like Sasaka Pusaka Buana and Sasaka Parahiangan, are located.

Taneuh putih White earth, found near the sanctuary Sasaka Pusaka Buana.

Tangkesan Seer, astrologer and healer, who is advisor to the three *puun*. He lives in the Outer Baduy area in one of the hamlets Kaduketer, Cicatang or Cikopéng and his main task is to look after the spiritual well-being of the Outer Baduy (Garna 1988: 374–375).

Tangtu Literally: firm, steady, certain; also: ancestors (Eringa 1984; Garna 1988: xxxi). Used to indicate a relation to the Inner Baduy, and the Inner Baduy themselves. (*Urang*) *tangtu*: the Inner Baduy, that is, the about 1200 people (July 2016) that live in the southern, most sacred part of Kanékés (also called *kajeroan*, *urang girang*).

1 See, for instance, *Republica Online*, 29 April 2012, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/jawa-barat-nasional/12/04/28/m37851-suku-baduy-minta-sunda-wiwitan-dimasukkan-ktp> [last access 10 December 2019].

- **tangtu tilu** The three *tangtu* (Inner Baduy) hamlets (Cibéo, Cikartawana and Cikeusik), which are surrounded by the *panamping* (Outer Baduy) region. Also used to indicate the whole Inner Baduy region.
- **tangtu tilu jaro tujuh** The symbolic way to indicate the whole system of organizing spiritual and secular matters of the Baduy by the three *puun* and seven *jaro*, referring to the seven ancestral Gods (Batara) from which the Baduy descend (see more in Garna 1988: 356–358 and Van Tricht 1929: 72–73). In a letter of 18 April 2016 to announce the dates and programme of the May 2016 *séba*, the village head Saijah mentioned that the *Tangtu tilu jaro tujuh lembaga adat masyarakat Baduy* (the *Tangtu tilu jaro tujuh* adat board of the Baduy community) had decided on this programme.
- Tapa** Asceticism. The people of Kanékés are supposed to live in a very modest way. They should be ritually pure, as they ‘consider themselves as the guardians of the forest, sources [of rivers], and the soil, and at the same time they hold themselves responsible for the destiny of the world’ (Berthe 1965: 216–8). Thus, the Baduy ascetic way of life is for the well-being of the world. The essence of their way of living has often been described as *tapa di nagara*, ‘asceticism in the kingdom’, or *tapa di mandala*, ‘practising asceticism in the holy region’.
- Tarawangsa** Two-string bowed lute in Sunda. In the literature the very similar Baduy *rendo* is often called *tarawangsa*.
- Tarawélét, tarawélot** Side-blown bamboo flute with two finger holes, about 58 cm long; also called *tarawélot* or *taléot*. Made of *tamiang* bamboo.
- Tatabeuhan** (In Old Sundanese manuscripts:) instrumental music, musical instruments.
- Topéng** Dancing with *keromong* (gamelan) music in the Outer Baduy region; compare other types of Baduy dancing: *baksa* and *ngalagé/lagé*. Outside the Baduy area in the Sundanese regions *topéng* is used for a mask, a masked dancer or mask dance. *Topéng* is also used for *ronggéng topéng*, a public singer-dancer performing with a *topéng* group. See Section 5.5 on dancing.
- Torolok** One of the nine *angklung* instruments; third one from highest to lowest instrument.
- Tumbal** Signs to protect people from evil spirits and calamities (*tolak bala*), for instance those placed on the roof of a house. On musical instruments it is mostly a white cross on an instrument. The fringes on top of the *angklung* instruments are also *tumbal* (Djoewisno 1988: 47). The signs (*babay*) that are put above the main entrance door to a Baduy house at the *ngalaksa* harvest feast and stay there until the following year are also meant for protecting the people from calamities.
- Tutunggulan** see *gendék*
- Urang girang** Inner Baduy, see *tangtu*
- Urang luar** Outer Baduy; see also *panamping*.
- Wawangsalan** see *bangbalikan*

References

Fieldwork notes

As this book is also based on fieldwork notes during about forty years, I have regularly included the year and pages of these notebooks. My fieldwork notebooks may be found in Leiden University Libraries. The notebooks all start with an 'A' from '*aantekeningen*', notes. In case I used two notebooks in one year I this is indicated as A[year]-[2]: [pages], etcetera.

Audio-visual recordings

The original fieldwork recordings with stills, films and audio recordings have been donated to Leiden University Libraries (see Section 1.3). The greater part of these materials has been digitalized. The audio-visual examples with this book, <AV01> to <AV32>, may be found in the 'Baduy-VKI313' collection on Figshare.com (<DOI:10.6084/m9.figshare.c.5170520>).

Books and articles

- Adimihardja, Kusnaka. 2000. 'Orang Baduy di Banten Selatan: Manusia air pemelihara sungai', *Antropologi Indonesia* XXIV/61: 47–59.
- Alif, Mohamad Zaini, Agus Sachari, and Setiawan Sabana. 2015. 'Konsep desain vernakular dalam bentuk *pagawéan barudak* di Baduy-Dalam'. *Panggung, Jurnal Ilmia Seni dan Budaya* 25: 391–404.
- Andrieu, Sarah Anaïs. 2014. *Corps de bois, souffle humain; Le théâtre de marionnettes wayang golék de Java Ouest*. [With audio-visual examples on Internet.] Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Andrieu, Sarah Anaïs. 2017a. *Raga kayu, jiwa manusia: Wayang golék Sunda*. [Translation into Indonesian of Andrieu 2014; with audio-visual examples on Internet.] Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Andrieu, Sarah Anaïs. 2017b. 'From source to margins: Ritual *wayang golék* and the embodiment of religiosity (West Java, Indonesia)'. In *Proceedings of the 4th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia*, held in George Town, Penang, Malaysia, 31 July – 6 August 2016, edited by Patricia Matusky and Wayland Quintero et al., 184–187. Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia. [Also available on <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/ictm-study-group-performing-arts-southeast-asia/post/publications>.]

- Atja and Saleh Danasasmita. 1981a. *Carita Parahiangan (Transkripsi, terjemahan dan catatan)*. Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat.
- Atja and Saleh Danasasmita. 1981b. *Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian; Naskah Sunda Kuno tahun 1518 Masehi*. Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat.
- Atja and Saleh Danasasmita. 1981c. *Amanat dari Galunggung; Kropak 632 dari Kabuyutan Ciburuy, Bayongbong – Garut*. Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat.
- Audacity. 2014. *Audacity 2.0.6*. [Freeware audio editor and recorder]. See <https://www.audacityteam.org>, or <http://audacity.sourceforge.net/>.
- Baier, Randal Emerson. 1985. 'The angklung ensemble of West Java: continuity of an agricultural tradition', *Balungan* 2(no.1–2): 8–16.
- Baier, Randal Emerson. 1986. *Si Duriat Keueung; The Sundanese angklung ensemble of West Java, Indonesia*. [MA thesis Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.]
- Baier, Randal Emerson and Dinda Satya Upaya Budi. 2015. 'A rice harvest through time: Visualizing the performance of Sundanese Rengkong'. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia*, held in Denpasar, Indonesia, 14–20 June 2014, edited by Mohd Anis Md Nor et al., 208–211. Denpasar: ICTM Study Group on the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia. [Also available on <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/ictm-study-group-performing-arts-southeast-asia/post/publications>.]
- Bakels, Jet. 1988. 'The Baduy of Banten: The hidden people'. In *Indonesia in focus*, edited by Reimar Schefold, Vincent Dekker, and Nico de Jonge, 39–45. Meppel: Edu'Actief.
- Bakels, Jet. 1989. 'Mandala-gemeenschappen in West-Java', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145: 359–64.
- Bakels, Jet. 1991. *Een kleur van heiligheid; Wereldbeeld en kleding van de Baduy van West-Java*. Den Haag: Museon. [Catalogue of Baduy textile exhibition, 20 June 1991–5 January 1992.]
- Bakels, Jet. 1993. 'The symbolism of Baduy adat clothing on the efficacy of colours, patterns and plants'. In *Weaving patterns of life, Indonesian textile symposium 1991*, edited by Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Ruth Barnes, and David J. Stuart-Fox, 347–366. Basel: Museum of Ethnography.
- Bakels, Jet and Wim Boevink. 1988. *De Baduy van West-Java*. Amsterdam: CASA [Werkdocument nr.2.]
- Barendregt, Bart. 2008. 'Sex, cannibals, and the language of cool: Indonesian tales of the phone and modernity'. *The Information Society* 24(3): 160–170. DOI: 10.1080/01972240802020044.
- Barendregt, Bart, and Robert Wessing. 2008. 'Centered on the source: Hamlets and houses of Kanekes'. In *Indonesian houses, Volume 2: Survey of vernacular architecture in western Indonesia*, edited by Reimar Schefold and Peter J.M. Nas, 551–596. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 251.]

- Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy*. 1975. *Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy*. Jakarta: Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 2002. *Research methods in anthropology; Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Third edition. Walnut Creek: AltaMira.
- Berthe, Louis. 1965. 'Aînés et cadets; L'alliance et la hiérarchie chez les Baduj (Java occidentale)', *L'Homme* 5: 189–223.
- Blume, C.L. 1993 [1822]. 'Gedachten op eene reize, in het zuidoostelijke gedeelte der residentie Bantam gedaan [december 1821-januari 1822]'. In *In de Binnenlanden van Java; Vier negentiende-eeuwse reisverhalen*, introduced by Gerard Termorshuizen, 21–50. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij. [Originally in the form of articles in the *Bataviasche Courant*, 1822.]
- Boland, B.J. 1971. *The struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 59.]
- Brandts Buys, J.S. and A. Brandts Buys-van Zijp. 1924. 'Snorrepijperijen'. *Djâwâ* 4: 18–28.
- Brandts Buys, J.S. and A. Brandts Buys-van Zijp. 1925. 'Toeters en piepers'. *Djâwâ* 5: 311–319.
- Brandts Buys, J.S. and A. Brandts Buys-van Zijp. 1926. 'Over fluiten'. *Nederlandsch-Indië, Oud en Nieuw* 11: 57–62, 115–121.
- Budi, Dinda Satya Upaja. 2013. 'Perkembangan (instrumen) Angklung', Presentation at the *Seminar Alat Musik Tradisional Nusantara 2013 'Mengurai Beda, Merangkai Sama'* at the Museum Sri Baduga, Bandung, 19 Juni 2013. See http://www.academia.edu/3998786/Perkembangan_Instrumen_Angklung. [last visit 27 January 2019.]
- Budi, Dinda Satya Upaja. 2015. *Angklung Dogdog Lojor pada masyarakat Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, Kasatuan adat Banten Kidul*. Unpublished PhD dissertation Universitas Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta.
- Budi, Dinda Satya Upaja and R.M. Soedarsono, Timbul Haryono, Tati Narawati. 2014. 'Angklung Dogdog Lojor pada upacara seren taun', *Resital* 15(2): 139–151. See <<http://journal.isi.ac.id/index.php/resital/article/view/848>>.
- Cook, Simon. 1993. 'Parallel versions of tembang Sunda melodies'. In *Oideion: The performing arts world-wide*, edited by Wim van Zanten, 55–84. Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University. [CNWS Publications 35.]
- Coolsma, S. 1884. *Soendaneesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*. Leiden: Sijthoff.
- Danasasmita, Saleh and Anis Djatisunda. 1986. *Kehidupan masyarakat Kanekes*. [2nd edition.] Bandung: Bagian Proyek dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda (Sundanologi), Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Daryana, Hinhin Agung. 2017. 'The popularity of Karinding among Bandung society'. *Panggung: Jurnal Seni Budaya* 27: 353–363.

- Departemen Sosial. 1985. *Kehidupan dan penghidupan masyarakat terasing suku Baduy di Jawa Barat dan usaha-usaha pembinaannya*. Jakarta: Dierktorat Bina Masyarakat Terasing, Direktorat Jenderal Bina-Kesejahteraan Sosial, Departemen Sosial R.I.
- Dijk, C. van. 1981. *Rebellion under the banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia*. Chapters 1 (Introduction) and 2 (West Java, the cradle), 1–126. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Djatisunda, Anis. 1992. *Baduy rawayan urang Kanekes*. [Bandung:] Pemerintah propinsi daerah tingkat I Jawa Barat [Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek pengembangan serta penataran pendidikan bahasa dan sastra Sunda tersebar di 24 Dati II [?]].
- Djatisunda, Anis. 1995. 'Posisi kesenian masyarakat Kanekes (Baduy)'. *Panggung, Jurnal Seni STSI Bandung* 9/IV: 7–11.
- Djoewisno, M.S. 1988. [Second print.] *Potret kehidupan masyarakat Baduy*, Jakarta: Khas Studio.
- Ekadjati, Edi S. 1995. *Kebudayaan Sunda (suatu pendekatan sejarah)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Ekadjati, Edi S. 2003. 'Tulak bala, sistim pertahanan tradisional kasus desa Karangtawang, kabupaten Kuningan, Jawa Barat'. In *Sundalana 1: Tulak bala: Sistim pertahanan tradisional masyarakat Sunda dan kajian lainnya mengenai budaya Sunda*, edited by Ajip Rosidi, 9–26. Bandung: Pusat Studi Sunda.
- Ekadjati, Edi S. and Undang A. Darsa. 2004. 'Sanghyang Raga Dewata'. In *Sundalana 2: Fatimah in West Java; Moral admonitions to Sundanese gentlewomen dan kajian lainnya mengenai budaya Sunda*, edited by Ajip Rosidi and others, 133–79. Bandung: Pusat Studi Sunda.
- Ensiklopedi Sunda*. 2000. *Ensiklopedi Sunda: alam, manusia, dan budaya termasuk budaya Cirebon dan Betawi*. General editor: Ajip Rosidi. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Eringa, F.S. 1949. *Loetoeng Kasaroeng: een mythologisch verhaal uit West Java. Bijdrage tot de Soendase taal- en letterkunde*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, VIII.]
- Eringa, F.S. 1984. *Soendaas – Nederlands woordenboek*. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris.
- Erwinantu. 2012. *Saba Baduy: Sebuah perjalanan wisata budaya inspiratif*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Falk, Catherine. 1978. 'The tarawangsa – a bowed instrument from West Java'. In *Studies in Indonesian music*, edited by Margaret M. Kartomi, 45–103. Canberra: Monash University, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Garna, Judistira Kartiwan. 1974–1975. *Masyarakat dan kebudayaan Baduy; Kemungkinan usaha mengikutsertakan masyarakat Kanekes dalam pelaksanaan program pembangunan*. Part I (1974), Parts II and III (1975). Bandung: Jurusan Antropologi, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Padjadjaran. [In cooperation with Bappeda Jawa-Barat.]

- Garna, Judistira Kartiwan. 1984. 'Pola kampung dan desa, bentuk serta organisasi rumah masyarakat Sunda'. In *Masyarakat Sunda dan kebudayaannya*, edited by Edi S. Ekadjadi, 223–275. Jakarta: Girimukti Pasaka.
- Garna, Judistira Kartiwan. 1987. *Orang Baduy*. Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Garna, Judistira Kartiwan. 1988. *Tangtu telu jaro tujuh; Kajian struktural masyarakat Baduy di Banten Selatan, Jawa Barat, Indonesia*. Bangi: Unpublished PhD dissertation Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Garna, Judistira Kartiwan. 1989. *The Baduy of West Java: Adaptation and change to development*. Bandung: Fakultas Pascasarjana Unpad.
- Geise, Nicolaas Johannes Cornelis. 1952. *Badujs en Moslims in Lebak Parahiangan, Zuid-Banten*. Leiden: De Jong. [Ph.D. thesis, University of Leiden.]
- Haan, F. de. 1910–12. *Priangan; De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811*. Batavia: Kolff. 4 volumes.
- Hamidimadja, D.H. Nurendah. 1998. *Sastera lisan Baduy dan lingkungan hidup*. [Bandung?:] Yayasan Paraguna Pakuan.
- Hasman, Don. 2012. 'The people of Kanekes and their culture'. In *Urang Kanekes, Baduy people* edited by Don Hasman and Filomena Reiss, 42–102. Jakarta: Indonesian Heritage Society.
- Hasman, Don and Filomena Reiss. 2012. *Urang Kanekes, Baduy people*. Jakarta: Indonesian Heritage Society.
- Heins, Ernst L. 1977. *Goong renteng: Aspects of orchestral music in a Sundanese village*. Unpublished PhD dissertation University of Amsterdam.
- Herdini, Heri. 2011. 'Perkembangan karawitan Sunda'. In *200 Tahun seni di Bandung*, edited by Irawati Durban Ardjo, 105–52. Bandung: Pusbitari Press.
- Hidding, K.A.H. 1932. 'Het erfdeel der vaderen'. *Djâwâ* 12: 71–86.
- Hoëvell, W.R. van. 1845. 'Bijdrage tot de kennis der Badoeïnen, in het zuiden der residentie Bantam'. *Tijdschrift voor Nêerland's Indië* 7,1v: 335–430.
- Hood, Mantle. 1971. *The ethnomusicologist*. New York, etc.: McGraw-Hill.
- Horikoshi, Hiroko. 1975. 'The Dar ul-Islam movement in West Java (1948–62): An experience in the historical process'. *Indonesia* 20: 58–86.
- Iskandar, Johan. 1992. *Ekologi perladangan di Indonesia; Studi kasus dari daerah Baduy Banten Selatan, Jawa Barat*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Iskandar, Johan and Budiawati S. Iskandar. 2016. 'Ethnoastronomy – The Baduy agricultural calendar and prediction of environmental perturbations'. *Biodiversitas* 17(2): 694–703. [DOI: 10.13057/biodiv/d170244].
- Jacobs, Jul. and J.J. Meijer. 1891. *De Badoeï's*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Kabupaten Lebak. 2001. 'Peraturan daerah Kabupaten Lebak nomor 32 tahun 2001 tentang Perlindungan atas hak ulayat masyarakat Baduy' [Nomor 65 tahun 2001 seri C]. Lembaran daerah Kabupaten Lebak. Download <<https://www.aman.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Perda-Kab.-Lebak-No.-32-Tahun-2001.pdf>> [last visit 5 October 2020.]

- Kartini, Tini, Sutedja Sumadipura, Yetty Kusmiati Hadish and Saini K.M. 1984. *Struktur cerita pantun Sunda: Alur*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. [Only with minor changes deviating from the in 1980 published version: *Struktur cerita pantun Sunda*, by the same authors. Bandung: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.]
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. 1973. *Protest movements in rural Java: A study of agrarian unrest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*. [Second impression 1978.] Kuala Lumpur etc.: Oxford University Press.
- Koolhoven, W.C.B. 1932. 'Een en ander omtrent het land der Badoei's (Zuid Bantam)', *De Mijningénieur* 13: 64–71.
- Kruyt, A. C. 1938. 'De fluit in Indonesië'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* LXXVIII: 248–270.
- KUBS. 1976. *Kamus umum basa Sunda*. Bandung: Tarate.
- Kunst, Jaap. 1942. *De waardeering van exotische muziek in den loop der eeuwen*. [Inaugural address at the University of Amsterdam, 15 October 1942.] 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Kunst, Jaap. 1968. *Hindu-Javanese musical instruments*. Second revised and enlarged edition. The Hague: Nijhoff. [First Dutch edition: *Hindu-Javaansche muziek-instrumenten, speciaal die van Oost-Java, 1927*.]
- Kunst, Jaap. 1973. *Music in Java: Its history, its theory and its technique*. Third enlarged edition, edited by Ernst L. Heins. The Hague: Nijhoff. 2 volumes. [First Dutch edition: *De toonkunst van Java, 1934*.]
- Kurnia, Asep and Sihabudin, Ahmad. 2010. *Saatnya Baduy berbicara*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Limpach, Rémy P. 2016. *De brandende kampongs van generaal Spoor*. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Linder, Adrian. 1985. 'Panday Domas: Über einen mythischen Ahnen bei Sunda-Schmiede in Westjava und die Schwierigkeiten beim Versuch, ihm auf die Spur zu kommen'. In *Der grosse Archipel; Schweizer ethnologische Forschungen in Indonesien*, edited by Wolfgang Marschall, 125–166. Bern: Schweizerische Ethnologische Gesellschaft.
- Lysen, Amé. 1956. 'Het merkwaardige volk der Badujs: Zij leven in het oerbos van het Kendengebergte in Banten'. *Wereldnieuws* (illustrated weekly magazine), 20 October 1956 (Volume 28, no.41): 16–19.
- Machmudi, Romli. 1976. 'Adat pernikahan suku Badui yg hidup terisolir', *Berita Buana* (newspaper Jakarta) 15 June 1976, p.1, 8, and 'Benarkah masyarakat Baduy tak acuh pada hidup', *Berita Buana* 7 July 1976, p. 3, 10.
- Marcuse, Sibyl. 1975. *A survey of musical instruments*. New York/London: Harper and Row.
- Masunah, Juju, Rita Milyartini, Oya Yukarya, Uus Karwati and Deni Hermawan; edited by Dieter Mack. 2003. *Angklung di Jawa Barat*. [Second print.] Two volumes + audiovisual examples. Buku 1: *Sebuah perbandingan*, Buku 2: *Metodologi pengajaran*

- angklung* and (3) Cassette with audio recordings on CD and video recordings on DVD. Bandung: P4ST UPI; Jakarta: Ford Foundation.
- Masunah, J. 2012. 'Pemuliaan angklung melalui model desa binaan berbasis wisata seni dan budaya'. *Panggung; Jurnal Seni Budaya* 22/1: 1–15.
- Meijer, J. J. 1890. 'Proeve van Zuid-Banténsche Poëzie'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 5: 469–503.
- Meinsma, J. J. 1869. 'Iets uit de nalatenschap van Mr. D. Koorders'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 3(4): 253–397 [section 'Aantekeningen op een reis door Zuid-Bantam': pp. 303–366.]
- Millie, Julian Patrick. 2003. 'Musical Crossover in Abdul Qaclir Intercession Gatherings in North Bandung'. Paper presented at the 17th *KITLV International Workshop on South-East Asian Pop Music in a Comparative Perspective*, Leiden, December 8–12, 2003.
- Millie, Julian Patrick. 2006. *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual reading and Islamic sanctity in West Java*. PhD dissertation, University of Leiden.
- Moestapa, Hasan. 1946. *Over de gewoonten en gebruiken der Soendaneezen*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 5.]. [Dutch annotated translation by R. A. Kern from the Sundanese 'Bab adat-adat oerang Priangan djeung oerang Soenda lian ti eta' (1913)].
- Multatuli (= Eduard Douwes Dekker). 1860. *Max Havelaar, of de koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij*. Amsterdam: De Ruyter.
- Mutaqin, Zezen Zaenal. 2014. 'Penghayat, orthodoxy and the legal politics of the state; The survival of Agama Djawa Sunda (Madraism) in Indonesia'. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42(122): 1–23, [<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2014.870771>].
- Noorduyn, J. and A. Teeuw. 2006. *Three Old Sundanese poems*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [In 2009 this book became available in Indonesian under the title *Tiga pesona Sunda Kuna*.]
- Oostindie, Gert. 2015. *Soldaat in Indonesië 1945–1950, Getuigenissen van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.
- Pätzold, Uwe Umberto. 2000. *Blüte, Frucht und Kern; Bewegungsformen und Musikstile im Bereich des Pencak Silat in West-Java und West-Sumatra*. Bonn: Holos.
- Pels, Peter and Igor Boog, J. Henrike Florusbosch, Zane Kripe, Tessa Minter, Metje Postma and others. 2018. 'Forum Data management in anthropology: the next phase in ethics governance?' *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 26: 391–413 [DOI:10.1111/1469-8676.12526].
- Pennings, Ant. A. 1902. 'De Badoewi's in verband met enkele oudheden in de Residentie Bantam', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 45: 370–386.
- Peraturan Desa Kanékés*. 2007. *Peraturan Desa Kanékés nomor 01 tahun 2007 tentang saba budaya dan perlindungan masyarakat adat tatar Kanekes (Baduy)*.

- <https://ml.scribd.com/doc/306575278/Peraturan-Desa-Kanekes>. [Last visit: 28 February 2019.]
- Permana, R. Cecep Eka. 1999. 'Konsep budaya kesejajaran pria dan wanita pada masyarakat Baduy', *Wacana* 1(2): 248–260.
- Permana, R. Cecep Eka. 2001. *Kesetaraan gender dalam adat inti jagat Baduy*. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra.
- Persoon, Gerard. 1994. *Vluchten of veranderen: Processen van verandering en ontwikkeling bij tribale groepen in Indonesië*. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation Leiden University.
- Persoon, Gerard. 1998. 'Isolated groups or Indigenous peoples: Indonesia and the international discourse'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* [Globalization, localization and Indonesia] 154: 281–304.
- Pigeaud, Th. 1982. *Javaans-Nederlands woordenboek*. Third print [first print 1938]. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1905. *Soendasche schetsen*. Bandoeng: Kolff.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1907. 'Raden Moending Laja di Koesoema: Een oude Soendasche ridderroman met eene inleiding over den toekang pantoen'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 49: 1–159.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1909. 'Artja Domas, het zielenland der Badoeij's'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 51: 494–526.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1910. 'De legende van den Loetoeng Kasaroeng: Een gewijde sage uit Tji-rebon'. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 58: 135–258, xvii–xxxviii.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1912. 'Badoeische geesteskinderen'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 54: 215–425.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1913. *De inlandsche nijverheid in West-Java als sociaal-ethnologisch verschnijnsel. Vierde stuk, Vrouwe Kaoeng*. Batavia: Javasche Boekhandel en Drukkerij.
- Pleyte, C.M. 1916. 'Twee Pantoens van den Goenoeng Koembang: Een bijdrage tot de kennis van het Soendasch in Tegal'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 57: 55–96, 455–500.
- PRAAT. 2014. *PRAAT: Doing phonetics by computer*. Version 5.3.63. By Paul Boersma and David Weenink. [Freeware: www.praat.org or <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>].
- Proudfoot, Ian. 2007. 'In search of lost time: Javanese and Balinese understandings of the Indic calendar'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 163: 86–122.
- Pusponegoro, Hardiono D. and Evi Aryati Arbay. 2015. *Baduy: Locked in time – Terkunci oleh waktu*. Second edition. Jakarta: Hardiono D. Pusponegoro.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford. 1817. *The history of Java*. Volume 1. Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified. Downloaded 'A history of Java' from <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511783050>. [last access 8 January 2020.]

- Reiss, Filomena. 2012. 'Black and white: Traditional textiles of the Kanekes people'. In *Urang Kanekes, Baduy people*, edited by Don Hasman and Filomena Reiss, 42–102. Jakarta: Indonesian Heritage Society.
- Rikin, W. Mintardja. 1973. *Ngabersihan als knoop in de tali paranti: Bijdrage tot het verstaan van de besnijdenis der Sundanezen*. Meppel. [PhD dissertation Leiden University.]
- Rosidi, Ajip. 1973. 'My experiences in recording "Pantun Sunda"'. *Indonesia* 16: 105–111.
- Royce, Joseph. 1972. "Validation" of game classification models against Sundanese children's games'. *Anthropos* 67: 138–151.
- Sajin [Sadjin]. 1973. *Carita Lutung Kasarung*. Bandung: Proyek Penelitian Pantun dan Folklor Sunda. [Recited by Sajin (Baduy) from Lebak, and transcription supervised by Ajip Rosidi.]
- Sajin [Sadjin]. 1974. *Carita Buyut Orényéng*. Bandung: Proyek Penelitian Pantun dan Folklor Sunda. [Recited by Sajin (Baduy) from Lebak, and transcription supervised by Ajip Rosidi.]
- Sam, Suhandi; Abdurachman and Ruswandi Zarkasih. 1986. *Tata kehidupan masyarakat Baduy di propinsi Jawa Barat*. [Edited by Ahmad Yunus, Tatiek and Siti Dloyana.] Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Sastrapradja, Setijati and Elizabeth A. Widjaja, Soehardjono Prawiroatmodjo and Soejatmi Soenarko. 1977. *Beberapa jenis bambu*. Bogor: Proyek Sumber Daya Ekonomi, Lembaga Biologi Nasional – LIPI.
- Soeharto, M. 1978. *Kamus musik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Soepandi, Atik. 1995a. 'Evolusi musik bambu dalam kehidupan masyarakat Kanekes'. *Panggung: Jurnal Seni STSI Bandung* 9/IV: 13–20.
- Soepandi, Atik. 1995b. *Kamus istilah karawitan Sunda* [Second print; first print in 1988 by Pustaka Buana, Bandung]. Bandung: Satu Nusa.
- Soepandi, Atik and Enoch Atmadibrata. 1977. *Khasanah kesenian daerah Jawa-Barat*. Bandung: Pelita Masa.
- Spanoghe, J.B. 1838. 'De heidenen of Badoewienen van Bantam'. *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië* 1,11: 295–305.
- Spennemann, Dirk R. 1984. 'Right- and left-handedness in early southeast Asia: the graphic evidence of the Borobudur'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140: 163–166.
- Spiller, H. 2010. *Erotic triangles: Sundanese dance and masculinity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Spiller, Henry. 2015. 'Heavy metal bamboo: How an archaic bamboo instrument became modern in Bandung'. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia*, held in Denpasar, Indonesia, 14–20 June 2014, edited by Mohd Anis Md Nor et al., 154–159. Denpasar: ICTM Study Group on the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia. [Also available on <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/ictm-study-group-performing-arts-southeast-asia/post/publications>.]

- Stevens, Alan M. and A. Schmidgall-Tellings. Ed. 2010. *A comprehensive Indonesian-English dictionary*. [Second edition; First edition 2004.] Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Subagyo, Kodrat. 1976. 'Orang Baduy di Kabupaten Rangkasbitung'. *Berita Antropologi* VIII, no. 25: 94–100.
- Sucipto, Toto; Limbeng, Julianus and Siti Maria. 2007. *Studi tentang religi masyarakat Baduy di Desa Kenékés, Provinsi Banten*. Jakarta: Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, Direktorat Jenderal Nilai Budaya, Seni dan Film, Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata.
- Sukanda, Enip. 1978. *Pangeuyeup ngeuyeup kareueus kana dunya seni mamaos (tembang Sunda Cianjuran)*. *Gambaran sabudeureun ngadeg katut sumebarna*. Bandung: Panitia Pasanggiri Tembang Sunda Daya Mahasiswa Sunda 1978 Satatar Sunda.
- Sumardjo, Jakob. 2013. *Simbol-simbol mitos pantun Sunda*. Including three DVDs (about three hours) with video film of performance *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusuma by Ki Atang of Sumedang. Bandung: Kelir.
- Suryadi, Didi. 1974. *Sekitar kehidupan musik masyarakat Baduy*. Bandung: Lembaga Kebudayaan Universitas Padjadjaran.
- Suryani, Ade Jaya. ([2020]). *From hermits to citizens: Ethnicity, politics of religion in Indonesia and Baduy's conversion (1977–2017)*. Work in progress: manuscript PhD dissertation University of Leiden 2020, version February 2020.
- Teeuw, A. 1990. *Indonesisch-Nederlands woordenboek*. [With cooperation from I. Supriyanto and contributions by T. Iskandar and H. Vruggingk] Dordrecht: Foris.
- Termorshuizen, Gerard. 1993. 'Inleiding'. In *In de binnenlanden van Java; Vier negentiende-eeuwse reisverhalen*, introduced by Gerard Termorshuizen, 9–19. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij. [Originally in the form of articles in the *Bataviasche Courant*, 1822.]
- Tricht, B. van. 1929. *Levende antiquiteiten in West-Java*. Batavia-Soerabaja: Kolff [offprint of *Djāwā* 9: 41–120 + iii, with same page numbers.]
- U.S. Army. 1943. HIND 1090: Sheet 35/XXXVIII-C First edition. [Photolithographed and reprinted from a Dutch map with scale 1:50000 and dated 1926, including the greater part of Kanékés village (*Gebied der Badoei's*), except the part south of Cikeusik]. Washington D.C.: Army Map Service, U.S. Army.
- Weintraub, Andrew N. 1990. *The music of Pantun Sunda: An epic narrative tradition of West Java, Indonesia*. [unpublished MA thesis University of Hawaii].
- Wessing, Robert. 2003. 'The shape of home; Spatial ordering in Sundanese kampung'. In *Indonesian houses, Volume 1: Tradition and transformation in vernacular architecture*, edited by Reimar Schefold and Peter J.M. Nas, 427–460. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 207.]
- Wessing, Robert and Bart Barendregt. 2003. 'Encountering the authentic: The "creation" of the Baduy of Banten, West Java'. *Sundalana* 1: 85–116 [Bandung: Pusat Studi Sunda.]

- Wessing, Robert and Bart Barendregt. 2005. 'Tending the spirit's shrine: Kanekes and Pajajaran in West Java'. *Moussons* 8: 3–26.
- Williams, Sean. 2001. *The sound of the ancestral ship: Highland music of West Java*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yampolsky, Philip. 1995. 'Forces for change in the regional performing arts of Indonesia'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151: 700–725.
- Zanten, Wim van. 1989. *Sundanese music in the Cianjuran style: Anthropological and musicological aspects of Tembang Sunda*. With Demonstration cassette tape [ISBN 9067654566]. Dordrecht-Holland/Providence, R.I.: Foris.
- Zanten, Wim van. 1993. 'Sung epic narrative and lyrical songs: *carita pantun* and *tembang Sunda*'. In *Performance in Java and Bali; Studies of narrative, theatre, music, and dance*, edited by Bernard Arps, 144–161. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Zanten, Wim van. 1994. 'L'esthétique musicale de Sunda (Java-Ouest)'. *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 7: 75–93.
- Zanten, Wim van. 1995. 'Aspects of Baduy music in its sociocultural context, with special reference to singing and angklung'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151: 516–44.
- Zanten, Wim van. 1997. 'Inner and outer voices: Hearing and listening in West Java'. *The World of Music* 39(2): 41–49.
- Zanten, Wim van. 2004. 'Les tentations des ascètes : Patrimoine culturel immatériel des Baduy dans le Banten du sud (Indonésie)'. In *Le patrimoine culturel immatériel; Les enjeux, les problématiques, les pratiques*, edited by Jean Duvignaud and Chérif Chaznadar, 124–150. Paris: Babel/Maison des Cultures du Monde [Internationale de l'Imaginaire – Nouvelle Série No. 17; ISBN 2-7427-4632-3].
- Zanten, Wim van. 2008. 'The marriage relationship between player and kacapi zither in West Java'. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 17(1): 41–65. [DOI: 10.1080/17411910801972933].
- Zanten, Wim van. 2009. 'Prior informed consent: Experiences with ethnomusicology recordings'. In *Intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property: Communities, cultural diversity and sustainable development*, edited by Toshiyuki Kono, 283–308. Antwerp – Oxford – Portland: Intersentia.
- Zanten, Wim van. 2011. 'The discourse on Islam and music in West Java, with emphasis on the music group ath-Thawaf'. In *Divine inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*, edited by David D. Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen, 241–265. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zanten, Wim van. 2012. 'Social qualities of time and space created in performing arts of West Java: The implications for safeguarding living culture'. *Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya* 14: 121–144. [DOI: 10.17510/wjhi.v14i1.52].
- Zanten, Wim van. 2014. 'Encounters in the context of inspiring Sundanese music and problematic theories'. In *Recollecting resonances: Indonesian-Dutch*

- musical encounters*, edited by Bart Barendregt and Els Bogaerts, 203–230. Leiden/Boston: Brill. *Recollecting Resonances* is available on [<https://brill.com/view/title/24237>]. [Translated into Indonesian – see Van Zanten 2016b.]
- Zanten, Wim van. 2015. 'Dancing Baduy ascetics'. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia*, held in Denpasar, Indonesia, 14–20 June 2014, edited by Mohd Anis Md Nor et al, 117–121. Denpasar: ICTM Study Group on the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia. [Also available on <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/ictm-study-group-performing-arts-southeast-asia/post/publications>.]
- Zanten, Wim van. 2016a. 'Some notes on *pantun* storytelling of the Baduy minority group: Its written and audiovisual documentation'. *Wacana, Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya* 17(3): 404–437. [Issue on storytelling in Indonesia.] [DOI: 10.17510/wacana.v17i3.454.]
- Zanten, Wim van. 2016b. 'Perjumpaan dalam konteks musik Sunda yang inspiratif dan teori-teori problematis'. In *Merengungkan gema: Perjumpaan musikal Indonesia-Belanda*, edited by Bart Barendregt, and Els Bogaerts, 227–258. Jakarta: Pustaka Obor Indonesia/KITLV-Jakarta. [Translated from English edition 2014, *Recollecting resonances; ...*, by Landung Simatupang.]
- Zanten, Wim van. 2017. 'Sustainability of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Baduy minority group in West Java, Indonesia'. In *Proceedings of the 4th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia*, held in George Town, Penang, Malaysia, 31 July – 6 August 2016, edited by Patricia Matusky and Wayland Quintero et al, 92–97. Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia. [Also available on <https://www.ictmusic.org/group/ictm-study-group-performing-arts-southeast-asia/post/publications>.]
- Zanten, Wim van. (*accepted for publication* [in 2010]). 'Recordings of Indonesian music and speech in the Snouck Hurgronje collection (1905–1909) in Leiden – Preliminary remarks'. In Léon Buskens and Jan Just Witkam (eds), *Scholarship in action: studies on the life and work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Zoetmulder, P.J. 1982. *Old Javanese-English dictionary*, with the collaboration of S.O. Robson. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Two volumes.

Index

- accidental (music) 138–140, 256
adat 23, 51, 95, 190, 362, 367, 371
 adat prison 25n
 masyarakat adat 3, 59, 103, 284, 364
administration 290, 320
 administrative 10, 26–27, 55, 184, 283,
 290, 294, 359, 366
Aeolian flute 235
 Aeolian harp 14
ageung 103
ageung 334, 357
 see also: Dangdang Ageung, *gedé*,
 Pada Ageung
agriculture 18, 23–24, 39, 52, 62, 281, 284,
 364, 370
 agricultural land 17–18, 22, 32, 34, 38–41,
 52, 56–57, 59, 272, 312
 agricultural year 4, 23, 39, 79, 108, 119,
 304–307, 363
aki, ki 310, 357
aliran kepercayaan 42n
alut 146, 152, 157
 see also: *leutik*
allude 221, 229, 232, 370
 allusion 75, 113, 205–206, 208, 219, 370
alok 222, 225–226, 344, 346–347, 357
ambu 82, 112, 177, 182, 310, 357
ampéan, ampian 209, 290, 293, 295, 357, 364
amplification (electric -) 5, 128–129, 131, 161
ancestor(s) 1, 3, 20, 22, 24, 37, 67, 83n–84,
 95–96, 108, 177, 183, 193, 211, 223, 248,
 293, 335, 361, 363, 368
 see also: *karuhun*, rule (ancestral rule)
angklung 12, 16, 19, 76, 79, 85–87, 109–118,
 131, 135–157, 173–180, 195, 272–273,
 279–281, 307, 324–325, 357–358,
 364–366, 371
 angklung aleutan 114
 angklung badeng 151
 angklung badud 151, 153
 angklung buncis 151, 153
 angklung dogdog lojor 81, 151, 174
 diatonic angklung 136, 142, 151, 279
 Saung Angklung Udjo 136, 151, 279
anhemitonic 143
animated 131, 203–204, 215, 231, 365
apparatus for recording, see: recording
 apparatus
appoggiatura (double -) 137, 243
Arca Domas 24, 88n, 89–90, 93, 96–98, 357,
 364, 368
ascetic XI–XII, 1, 3, 23, 25, 44, 81, 208, 272,
 276, 371
asceticism 1, 3–4, 204, 215, 273, 281, 364,
 366, 371
Asri, see: Déwi Asri, Nyi Pohaci
association 59, 158, 236, 279
 sound association 75, 113, 219, 232, 370
assonance (chiastic -) 232
astrologer 26, 370
audience 125, 127, 129, 131, 174, 197, 208, 217,
 222–225, 229, 234
audio-visual example XII, 73, 87, 146,
 226, 372
audio-visual recording 11n, 17–18, 80, 190,
 194, 196, 200, 214, 270, 372
authentic 176
authorities X, 3, 18, 25, 38n, 50–51, 55, 110,
 133, 279–280, 307n
 Baduy authorities 1, 85, 97
 Indonesian authorities 8, 17–18, 26–27,
 34, 40, 44–45, 52–56, 85, 103, 106, 131,
 274, 276, 362
 local authorities 55, 162, 277
 national authorities X
 regional authorities 280–281
autonomous 176–177
autonomy 23, 25, 45, 274
awareness 57, 84, 280
awi 13, 148, 255, 257, 289, 326, 328, 339, 349,
 357, 359, 363
ayah 310, 357
babakan 37, 172, 291, 293, 357
Baduy (name -) 10–11
baksa 16, 75, 122, 124–130, 173, 175, 357,
 365, 371
balance 74, 131, 177–178
 cosmic balance 4
balhum 357

- bamboo, see: *awi*
 shaken bamboo 11, 107, 147, 150, 357
bangbalikan 205–206, 218, 220, 269, 358,
 370–371
 see also: *wawangsalan*
bangbrang / brangbrang 141, 144, 260, 358
baresan 25, 358
 Base transceiver station (BTS) 48–49
batara 33, 83n, 112n, 158, 193, 296, 358, 371
 Batara Bungsu 83
 Batara Cikal 24, 368
 Batara Guru 82–83
 Batara Kala 183
 Batara Tunggal 24, 82–83, 90, 112n, 184,
 358, 368
batik Lebak (mérong) 6, 45, 61, 358, 365
 battery, batteries 5, 41n, 76, 125, 129
 BBC World Service 53
bedug 114, 136, 146–147, 149–150, 217, 357–
 358, 363, 370
 belief system 3, 42n, 83n, 112n, 369
 see also: religion
bendé 75, 163–164, 168–169, 316, 358
béngkong 120, 123–124, 129, 189n, 358
beulit 144
beulitan 237, 251–252
bias(es) 102, 137, 221
bidan 122, 358
boéh larang/- rarang 61, 128, 134, 200, 305, 358
bohong, see: lying, telling lies
 border, see: boundaries
 boundaries of *dangka* hamlets 35
 boundaries of Kanékés 24, 283–290
 bow 261–265, 364
 bowed lute 12–13, 16, 71, 78–79, 141, 157, 181,
 217, 234, 258, 261–263, 361, 367, 371
brangbrang, see: *bangbrang*
budaya wisata 45, 358
 buffalo 3, 67, 186, 255, 317, 351, 353
bupati 59, 184, 284, 307, 358–359, 368
burulung 144, 153, 358
buyut 12, 33, 36, 73, 83, 96, 98, 109, 358
Buyut Orényéng story 189, 193, 199, 319
 calendar 18, 20, 26, 107–112, 304–309
calintuh 13–15, 116, 273, 358–359, 363
calung 12, 20, 71, 79, 195, 217, 234, 267–268,
 322, 359–360
calung gambang 12, 79, 267
camat 26, 307, 359, 368
 cane 174
cangkang 219, 228, 232, 358–359, 370
caning 78, 130, 157, 160, 163–164, 168, 178,
 359, 366
carang-carang 143–144, 359, 363, 366
carik 26–27, 29, 37, 54, 59, 87, 93, 200, 224,
 237, 269, 312, 314, 320, 322, 338, 344, 359
carita 23, 181, 203, 211, 319
carita pantun 11, 19, 181–215, 312, 322,
 359, 366
 see also: epic narrative, *pantun* story
celempéng 13–14, 359, 361, 363
 cent (for musical interval) 138–139, 213–214,
 239–241, 264
ceurik panglayu(ng)an 16, 133, 359
 change XI–XII, 38n, 43, 51, 82, 95, 175,
 213, 272
 cheerful 143, 218, 231
 chicken 3, 126–127, 133, 167
 children's game 15, 16n, 76, 347, 362
 Christianity 23
 Cicakal Girang 43–44, 81, 129, 131, 159, 298,
 301, 303, 368
cirambay 203, 211, 359
 circular breathing 19, 235–236, 239, 250, 254,
 256, 360, 369
 circumcision 107, 109, 119–132, 160, 175, 183,
 189, 357, 366–369
 female circumcision 120–121, 358
 see also: *peupeuran*
 male circumcision 120
 see also: *sunatan*
 civil servant 26–27, 38, 54, 320
 classification 42n, 137, 301
 classificatory 184
 classified 16, 133, 135, 273
 cloth 61–63, 69, 116, 123, 128, 134, 195, 200,
 305, 358, 364–369
 clothes 6, 9, 60–63, 69, 74, 89, 133,
 312, 366
 clothing 8, 29, 42, 60–62, 67
 head cloth 1, 6, 45, 61–62, 69, 365
 waist-cloth (hip-cloth, sarong) 6, 368
 woven cloth 6, 45, 61, 358, 367
 see also: weaving
 collective land rights 3–4, 35, 59, 284, 361
 (collective) property rights IX, 73,
 87–88, 162

- colour 6, 55, 60–62, 64
 communist 12, 53
 community
 indigenous community 3, 29, 59, 103,
 284, 315, 364
 see also: isolated community,
 masyarakat adat
 concept 18, 21, 42n, 73, 136–138, 143–144, 174,
 177–178, 180–181, 241
 content 9, 17, 21, 183, 187, 218–221, 228, 370
 contract 87, 164–165, 317
 co-produced (ethnographic data) 72
 copyright 88
 see also: intellectual property rights
 Corona, see: Covid-19
 corrupt 58
 corruption 55, 59
 cosmic 4
 courting 13, 178, 232, 234, 269
 Covid-19 pandemic 272
 cross 232, 234, 264–265, 371
 crossbeam 260
 see also: *tumbal*
cukur(an) 120–122, 359
 cultural
 cultural heritage IX, 17, 20, 57–58, 86,
 102–104, 151, 162, 271, 277–279
 cultural policies X, 17–18, 103–106, 279
 cultural tourism 18, 20, 22–23, 44–45, 50,
 103, 184, 278–280, 358
 see also: development
 cymbal 75, 130, 157

 dance, see: *baksa*, *mincid*, *ngalagé*, *ngigel*,
 ronggéng, *topéng*, whip dance
 Dangdang Ageung 92, 94, 290, 359
dangka 22, 30–39
 see also: *jaro dangka*
 Darul Islam 32, 34
 dead IX, 112, 133–134, 359
 death 109, 112n, 133–134, 189, 225, 331, 342
 deceased 16, 24, 109, 359, 368
 decorate, decoration 67, 145, 232, 234
 see also: ornament
 development 7, 45, 53, 74, 105, 162
 sustainable development 18, 34, 39, 52,
 272, 277
 technological development 47, 49
 see also: economic development

 Déwi Asri 15, 86
 see also: Nyi Pohaci
 diatonic 136, 142, 279
 direction 197–202
 anti-clockwise/ counter-clockwise
 direction 160, 199
 clockwise direction 114–115, 117, 198–199,
 284, 360
 sacred direction 32
 see also: south, north
 dirty words 231
 doctrine, dogma 274
 documentation IX, 1, 85, 87, 102, 118, 281
 Domas, see: Arca Domas
dongdong 146–147, 149, 152–153, 156, 357, 360
dongéng 80, 181, 183, 189, 360
 drawing 23, 76–77, 79, 258–259, 267
 drum 11–12, 75, 80, 145–153, 175, 272
 bamboo drum 13, 359
 drum xylophone 125, 130, 168, 175, 266, 360
 slit drum 15
durian, see: *kadu*

 ecology, ecological 20, 56–57, 272
 economic, economical
 economic development 1, 7, 20, 45, 47,
 55, 278
 see also: development
elét 19, 70, 223, 234–235, 239–240, 246n,
 250–271, 316–317, 320, 360, 362, 369
 embellishment 214, 228
 emotional 178
 end-blown flute 12, 19, 235, 239, 246, 254,
 317, 360
 see also: *elét*, *lamus*
éngklok 146–147, 149, 152–153, 357, 360
 environment(al) 55–57, 59, 62, 102–103, 178,
 272, 275, 278
 epic narrative 11, 82, 84, 181
 see also: *carita pantun*, *pantun*
 equidistant (pentatonic) 138, 141, 146, 162,
 180, 213, 241, 265
 erotic 175, 208, 218, 221, 230
 essence XI, 3, 76, 83n, 208, 219, 364, 370–371
étém 65, 360
 ethical, ethics 73, 84, 87–88
 ethnic minority 57, 103, 364
 ethnocentric 137
 ethnocentrism 277

- ethnographic data 72–74, 221, 280
eusi 219, 228, 358, 360, 370
 exploitation 46, 277
 exploited 8n, 45, 58, 231, 281
- fair use 88
- false
 false gong 209–210, 213
 false tuning 142, 232
 see also: *sumbang*
- false alto 261, 321, 325
- feed-back 86–87, 118
- female
 female god 83n
 female principle 177–178
 see also: *ambu*, circumcision, *ronggeng*
- fertilizer 3, 40, 273
- fieldwork
 fieldwork data 9, 38n, 183, 281, 307
 fieldwork notes 17n, 372
 fieldwork periods 5, 18, 81, 98–102
- fifth (musical -) 102, 239, 246, 257, 262
- filing of teeth, see: tooth filing
- fire 19–20, 65, 82, 172, 283, 291, 293, 300, 311, 328
- flute, see: end-blown flute, side-blown flute
 see also: *elét*, *lamus*, *suling kumbang*, *tarawélét*
 see also: *hatong*, *honghong*
- football (soccer) 76
- forbidden 7, 46–47, 73, 85, 92, 96, 98, 108, 279, 367
 forbidden forest 88–89, 108, 363–364
 forbidden land 24, 42–43, 370
 forbidden music and dance: 12, 16, 76, 82, 83n, 109, 158, 169, 173–174, 207, 264–265, 318, 367
 see also: *buyut*, *pamali*, prohibition
- forecast 26, 275
 see also: predict
- formal(ly) 25, 42n, 44, 54, 105, 119, 183, 284, 299, 302, 364
 formal school IX, 5, 81
 formal structure 19, 216, 219–221
 see also: non-formal
- fourth (musical -) 240, 264
- frequency (of musical note) 138–141, 147, 151, 241, 253, 265, 267
 see also: pitch
- gaang* 270
- galéong* 143n, 360, 369
- gambang* 12, 20, 71, 75, 79, 157–160, 168, 175, 195, 234, 265–267, 322, 360
 gambang kayu 265–267, 360
 gambang kendang 125, 130, 157, 168, 175, 180, 266
 calung gambang 12, 79, 267
- game see: *pamaceuh*
- gamelan 1, 19, 75, 80n, 85, 103–104, 125, 135–136, 157–173, 179, 210, 231, 308, 310–311, 364, 367
 gamelan *degung* 142, 158, 250
 gamelan *panggung* 163
 gamelan *wayang golék* 142
 pélog gamelan 141, 163
 saléndro gamelan 163, 265–266
 see also: *goong*, *keromong*, *lénong*
- Garuda Nusantara foundation 56–57
- gedé* 50, 122, 146–149, 152, 156, 241, 309, 353, 355, 357, 361
 see also: *ageung*
- gen(d)ék* 13, 19, 76, 109, 163, 176, 179–180, 317, 360, 364, 371
- gender 13, 19, 30, 103, 135, 176–180, 278, 357
- general elections 26, 54
- Gerakan Héjco foundation 57–59
- geseran* 120–121, 123, 125
 see also: *gusaran*
- gilir naga* 198–202, 360
- girang
 girang puun 25, 30, 60, 90, 95–96, 361
 girang seurat 25, 30, 88, 94, 190, 369
 see also: Cicakal Girang, *urang girang*
- glissando 137, 240, 245, 254, 256
- god 19, 81–83, 88, 90, 112–113, 134, 182–183, 185–186, 192–193, 200, 203, 208, 273, 358–359, 367, 371
 see also: *batara*
- go-goongan* 13–14, 270, 312, 319, 359, 361
- golok* 59, 65, 67, 70, 236, 361, 369
- gondang*, see: *gendék*
- goong* 12, 75, 135, 141, 157, 162, 172, 209, 213, 361, 363–264
 see also: gamelan, *keromong*
- grace note 137, 142, 214, 228, 240–243, 248, 256–257

- grave 134, 332
 gravestones 91
 graveyard 134, 333, 341
gunjing 146–147, 149, 152–153, 156, 357, 361
guriang 82–83, 90n, 108, 361
gusaran 120–121, 367
 see also: *geseran*
- hajat(an)* 200, 360–361
haji (hadji) 39, 126, 151, 224, 316, 338, 338n, 349
hak ulayat, see: collective land rights
halu 13, 180, 360–361, 364
 hand phone 4, 5, 18, 47–50, 132, 281, 318
 harmonics 239–240
 harmony 4, 92
 harmonious 143, 145
hatong 78–79, 79n
 head: see: *jaro*
 healer 26, 370
 health 7, 250, 278, 358
héot (ngahéot) 255, 161, 365
 hereditary 29, 117
 heritage 24, 184, 223, 335, 368
 ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage IX, 17, 20, 57–58, 86–87, 102, 103n–104, 151, 162, 271, 277–279
 hero, heroine 186
hiasan see: ornament
 hierarchy 6
 hierarchically 42
 history 1, 19, 22, 36, 38, 47, 73, 85, 102, 162–173, 184, 263
 historical 18, 20, 74–81
 historical tale (*babad*) 182
 holy 3, 24, 36, 88–98, 112, 133, 199–200, 223, 272, 334, 359, 364, 366, 368, 371
 see also: sanctuary, *sasaka*
honghong 78
 honorific title 25, 60n, 95, 186, 361, 369
huma 151
huma sérang 110–111, 113, 115, 304, 361
huma tuladan 111–113, 115–117, 151, 361
 see also: *saung huma*
 human rights 55, 105n
 see also: right
 hunt, hunting 78, 109, 111–112, 189, 199–200
 hunters 79
 hypocritical 5, 158
ibu 82, 310
 see also: *ambu*
 ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage or ‘living culture’) see: heritage
 see also: UNESCO convention
icib(l)ungan 15
 identity card 3, 52, 52n, 322, 369
 ideology 39, 105, 274n
 ideological 176, 178
 idiophone 11–14, 79, 85, 114, 135, 145, 157, 235, 268, 273, 357, 359, 361
 see also: *angklung*, *calintuh*, *celempéng*, *karinding*, *kolécér*
 inauguration of village, see: *nukuh lembur*
 independent 22, 45, 54, 56, 202, 231, 283
 political independence 17, 34, 236
 indigenous, see: community
 indigenous knowledge system 57
indung gedé, *indung leutik* 146–147, 149, 152, 156, 357, 361
 informal 47
 informed consent, see: prior informed consent
 Inner Baduy 5–17, 24–25
 see also: *tangtu*
 instrumental music 75, 128, 273, 371
 Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), see: heritage
 intellectual property rights (IPR) IX, 73, 87–88, 162
 interlocking 146, 152
 interval (musical) 136, 138, 145, 170, 213, 262
 irrigated, non-irrigated 1, 3, 17, 22, 39–40, 42–43, 106–107, 273, 361, 368
 see also: *huma*, *sawah*
 Islam 3, 23, 43–44, 52n, 56, 105, 158, 176–177, 265, 274, 369
 see also: Darul Islam
 isolated community/ group 1, 20, 97, 105, 136, 275
jampé 16, 115, 183, 192, 196, 361, 368
jaro
jaro angklung 86, 115, 143, 146–147, 318, 320, 323, 361
jaro dangka 25, 33, 35–38, 43, 177, 177n, 301–302, 311, 315, 321, 360–362
jaro pamaréntah 26, 28–29, 43, 90n, 93, 162, 171–172, 204, 291n–292, 295, 311–313, 317–320, 362

- jaro tanggungan duabelas* XI, 25, 159, 166, 172, 204, 318, 362
jaro tangtu 25, 29, 76, 131, 362
jaro warega 28, 362
jeungkal 255n, 362, 368
 Jew's harp, see: *karinding*
jogét 180
- kacapi* 11–13, 78–80, 123, 133, 139, 141–144, 181, 193–197, 202, 213–214, 216–218, 232, 258–264, 330, 358, 362, 366, 370
kacapi pantun 12, 70, 141, 143, 195, 234–235, 258–261, 362, 366
kacapi siter 12, 19, 221, 226, 261, 362, 366
kadu 62, 62n, 362
kajeroan 5, 362, 370
 see also: Inner Baduy, *tangtu*, *urang tangtu*
- Kanékés XIV–XV, 1–11, 283–303
karinding 11–13, 78–79, 232, 267–270, 362
karuhun 23, 37, 83, 355
kasepuhan 4
 Kasepuhan Ciptagelar 61n, 81, 130, 148, 151, 174
kaulinan 15, 205, 362
 see also: *pamaceuh*, *ucing-ucingan*
kaum daleum 25, 362
kawalu 39, 100, 110–112, 270, 305, 363
kawih 75, 204–206, 363
kawinan 113, 119, 363
keceprés, kecrék 75, 157
kedok 130n
kekepokan, see: *pancure(u)ndang*
kelapa sawit 56
kendang 175
kendang awi 13–14, 359
gambang kendang 125, 157, 172, 266
keromong 5–6, 12, 16, 46, 71, 75, 100, 109–110, 125, 127, 135–136, 142, 157–173, 175, 178, 223, 291, 359–361, 363, 371
 see also: *goong*, *lénong*, restrictions for having a *keromong*
- ketug / ketug* 146–147, 150, 357–358, 363, 370
 key
 key of metallophone 130, 157
 key of xylophone 265–268
 Western musical concept of key 138, 241
- ki*, see: *aki*
kidung 203–204, 222–223, 363
 knowledge 81–85, 190, 280
 indigenous knowledge 57
koja 70, 363
kolécér 13–15, 273, 363
kolot, kokolot 29–30, 88, 200, 363
kolot lembur 25–26, 363
 KTP (Kartu Tanda Penduduk), see: identity card
kumbang, see: *suling kumbang*
- ladang* 3, 111, 151, 361
lagé, see: *ngalagé*
lagu 144, 191–192, 363
 see also: melody
laksa, ngalaksa 108, 112, 363
lalakon 84n, 181n, 207, 366
lalamar 119
lam(b)us 6, 12n–13, 157, 217, 234–236, 250–254, 369
 see also: *suling lam(b)us*
lamé 11–12, 195, 232, 259–260, 264, 330n, 362, 364
 lament 133
 law 35–36, 54–55, 88, 369
 customary law 23, 25–25n, 38, 360, 367
 see also: *pikukuh*, rule
 learning 16, 116, 207–208
 Leiden University Libraries IX–X, 17n, 192–193, 372
lembur 12n, 26, 239, 283–303, 364
nukuh lembur 86, 108–110, 183, 201, 273, 293–294, 365
lénong 75, 364
 see also: *keromong*
lesung 13, 75–76
saung lesung 180, 294, 364
 letter of agreement 164
 see also: contract
leuit 108, 291–292, 364
leutik 120n, 152
indung leutik 146–147, 149, 152, 357, 361
séba leutik 50n, 309
 see also: *alit*
leuweung larangan 89, 363–364
 living culture (ICH), see: heritage
loér 146–147, 149, 152–156, 364
 lute (bowed-) 12, 78–79, 157, 181, 217, 261–265, 367
 see also: *rebab*, *rendo*, *tarawangsa*
 lying, telling lies 73, 82, 208, 330

- macapat*, see: *manikaban*
mandala 3, 23, 272–273, 364, 371
manikaban 220, 364
 mantra 16, 183
 manuscript (Old Sundanese -) 9, 22–23, 73–81, 184–185, 191, 263
mapag naga 199, 360
 see also: *gilir naga*
 map of Kanékés XIV, XV, 20, 96–97, 283–303
 marriage 43, 109–110, 119, 131–133, 182, 188
 ritual marriage of rice 113–118
masyarakat adat 3–4, 59, 103, 284, 364
 see also: collective land rights
Max Havelaar 38
 see also: Multatuli
 mediation by NGOs 56
 medicine 1, 58, 111, 114, 188n, 200, 205, 208–209, 229, 273, 348
melodi utama 153
 melody, melodies 137, 144, 153, 191, 211, 216–217, 227–228, 242–243, 261–262, 266, 281
 melodic structure 146, 153–157
 see also: *lagu*
mencek 148, 272, 364
menyan 264, 364
mérong 6, 45, 61–62, 64, 69–70, 358, 365
 see also: *batik Lebak*
 metallophone 78, 130, 157, 178, 359, 366
 metaphor 162, 186n–187n, 209–213, 224, 229, 232–233, 236, 329
 see also: *susualan*
 methodology, methodological 1, 9–10, 18, 72–106, 190–191, 194–195, 324–326
 migration, see: transmigration
mincid 174
 minority, (ethnic) minority group X, 55, 57, 103, 105, 274, 277, 364
 mobile phone, see: hand phone
 mock fight 173, 176
 mode (musical -) 138–145, 180, 366
 monogamous 3, 30, 119
 mordent 137, 228, 243, 248, 254
 mortar 13, 75
 motorbike 5, 47
 Multatuli 38–38n
 musical ornament: see: ornament
muuhan 110, 113, 118, 365
 mystery, mysterious 82, 176
 myth, mythical 67, 88, 181–182, 184
 mythical snake 186, 198–199, 360
nadran 134
 name
 name of cultural group 2, 10–11
 name of god 82, 90, 186
 name of hamlet 30, 33, 38, 82, 283, 290, 292–294, 357
 name of person XI, XIII, 21, 82, 310–311
angka 62, 148, 365
 negotiate 69, 85, 95–96, 163, 272–276
ngadu angklung 76
ngadu lesung 75–76
ngagubrugkeun 144, 155–156, 365
ngahéot, see: *héot*
ngalagé 16, 173–176, 365
ngarérémokeun 110–111, 113–119, 179, 199, 365
ngaroronda 218, 232, 365
ngaseuk 110–111, 113, 116–117, 151, 174, 199, 306–307, 365
ngigel 174
 NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) 18, 50, 55–60, 67, 272, 274, 280–281
nikahan, see: *kawinan*
nini 365
 non-formal 5, 81
 see also: formal
 non-irrigated 1, 3, 17, 39–44, 361
 see also: *huma*
 north 32, 159, 176, 184, 198–199
 see also: rulers of the north
 notation (of music) 136–138
 graphical notation 139–140, 244
 (Western) staff notation 102, 136, 139–140, 156, 241–242
 note length 137
nukuh lembur 86, 108–110, 183, 189, 201, 273, 293–294, 365
nyacar 110, 365
nyawér, see: *sawér*
 Nyi Pohaci 15, 19, 83, 86, 100, 102, 107, 112–113, 115, 131, 151, 173, 177–178, 199–200, 360, 365
 see also: Déwi Asri
 octave 130, 136, 138, 144–146, 157, 211, 213, 239, 241, 256, 266, 358

- offering 108, 117, 162, 183, 195–197, 363, 368
 see also: *pungpuhunan*
 official(s) 23–30, 36, 51, 54, 90n, 94, 105, 122,
 131–132, 162, 167, 170–171, 223, 291, 311,
 313, 361
 official clothing 8
 official position 30, 90n
 official residence 26, 29, 37, 167, 171, 291–
 291n, 313, 320
 official religion 44n
 oil palm 56
 oral
 oral history 22
 oral literature 181–185, 190
 oral tradition 181
 Orde Baru 55
orényéng, see: *Buyut Orényéng* story
 origin, original 3, 24–25, 30, 72, 97, 181–182,
 184, 225, 357, 368–369
 ornament, ornamentation 137, 243–245, 248
 ostinato pattern 153, 156–157, 281
 Outer Baduy 1–17

 Pada Ageung 24, 33, 82, 89, 133, 293, 299,
 303, 357
pada ramé 203–205, 211, 215, 365–366
 palm sugar 45, 63–66, 71
pamaceuh 75–76, 366
pamali 82, 113, 207, 366
 see also: *buyut*, forbidden
panor 67, 369
pamukiman / pemukiman 34, 366
panamping 5, 309, 366
pancure(u)ndang 15
panerus 130, 157, 160, 366
panghulu 43, 131
pangwa 26, 295–300, 366
 Pan-pipe 79
 see also: *hatong*
pantun story 11–12, 84, 86, 105, 123, 125, 133–
 134, 139, 182–183, 187, 189–193, 197–198,
 208, 211, 223, 321, 366–367
papjangan 122–123, 127, 200, 366
pariwisata, see: *wisata*
pasieupan 143, 260, 363, 366–367
 paternalism, paternalistic 171, 275
pélah 62, 148, 366
pélog 136–145, 163, 166, 170, 180, 209

 performing (aspects) 131, 143, 189, 198–216,
 218
 performing arts IX, 9, 74–81, 109, 122
pesantren 39
 pesticides 3, 40–40n, 273
peupeuran, peperan 113, 120–121, 127,
 366–367
pikukuh 5, 23, 33, 42, 95, 361, 367
 see also: rule, ancestral rule
 pilgrimage
 pitch 137, 139, 144, 146, 213, 228, 357
 pitch vibrato, see: shake
 plantation 56, 284, 294
 political 22, 32, 54–55
 political independence 17
 see also: socio-political
 politics 30, 54, 105, 162, 315
 see also: cultural policies
 pollution 40n
 population (Baduy -) 2–11, 17, 22, 39–40,
 272, 284
 possessed 173
 pounding
 ceremonial pounding 16, 179–180, 360
 see also: *gen(d)ék*
 power 25–26, 43, 52, 73, 96, 104, 176, 234,
 276, 281
 practical 25, 47, 178, 274
 practice 2, 5, 103, 122, 264, 278
 practising 207
 practising asceticism 3, 215, 281, 364,
 366, 371
 predict 107, 304, 368
 see also: forecast
 price
 price of land 42
 price of product 65, 67, 69–71
 primitive 176
 prior informed consent IX, XII, 87, 162,
 171, 310
 privacy 21, 88
 prohibition 3–6, 358, 366
 see also: *buyut*, forbidden, *pamali*
 propeller 14–15, 76, 116n, 235, 273, 363
 proposal, betrothal 119, 199, 364
 see also: wedding
 protection 58, 108, 182, 185, 189, 203, 367
 provider 18, 48–49

- pungpahunan* 117
 see also: offering
- puppet 39, 108, 363
 puppeteer 82n, 170–170n, 231
 puppet theatre 83, 133, 142
- purwakanti* 219–220
- puun* 6, 23–30, 32, 43, 46–47, 59–60, 88–98,
 108, 110, 131, 161, 209, 246, 361, 367–368
- PVC pipe 41
- quaver note 137, 153, 156
- Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) 80
- raja* 204
- rajah* 84, 141, 182–183, 185, 191–196, 202–215,
 218, 367
rajah pamunah 182, 202, 367
rajah pamungkas 202, 210–211, 367
- ramé*, see: *pada ramé*
- rattan 62, 148–149, 174, 366
- Ratu Sunda 73
- Rawayan 10, 108, 177, 292–293
- rebab* 12, 20, 157–158, 262, 264–265, 367
- recording apparatus 85, 99, 114
- reliable 72, 88, 230, 324–325
 reliability 73
- religion 3, 7, 18, 23, 32, 35, 39–44, 52–3, 58,
 74, 103, 105, 107, 118, 158, 177–178, 209,
 272–274, 279, 281, 322, 358, 369–370
 see also: belief system
- rendo* 12–14, 71, 79, 82, 136, 144, 158, 234–235,
 261–264, 361, 367
- representation 47, 76n, 103, 137, 279
- resettlement XI, 32, 34, 40, 56, 103–104, 165,
 170–171, 294, 366
- resilience, resilient 272, 278
- respect 45, 50, 59, 105, 109, 176, 223,
 274–278, 334
- restriction 6, 11, 43, 83, 284n
 restrictions for having a *keromong* 158–161
 restrictions for researcher 9, 74, 81–88, 99
- rice 1–4, 13–19
 rice barn 36, 62, 172, 291–292
 betrothal/ marriage of rice 118, 199
 see also: Déwi Asri, *ngarérémokeun*,
 Nyi Pohaci
- right, see: collective land rights, (collective)
 property rights, copyright, human
 rights, intellectual property rights
- rind 21, 219–220, 228, 232, 370
 see also: skin
- rindu* 143–144, 367
- ringkung* 146–147, 149, 152, 156, 357, 367
- ritual
 ritual music 217, 274
 ritual name 33, 82, 293
 circumcision ritual 16, 83, 86, 119–122,
 124, 128, 130, 160–161, 189, 199, 366
 rice ritual 2, 18–19, 23, 43, 76, 86, 100, 107,
 113–118, 151, 172, 199
- roél*, see: *loér*
- ronda*, see: *ngaroronda*
- ronggeng* 125, 175, 367, 371
- RRI, see: Radio Republik Indonesia
- ruas* 4, 236, 358, 369
- rule (ancestral -) 4, 5, 74, 273, 278, 281, 318,
 366–367
- ruler 73, 104
 Baduy rulers 43, 23–30, 60
 local rulers 50, 104, 278
 rulers of the north 45, 108, 133, 274, 307,
 363, 368
 spiritual rulers 108, 178, 361, 363
- rumbak* 237–238, 246–247, 256, 367
- sacred 43, 55n, 72, 83
 sacred land 36, 72
 sacred place 24–25, 83, 89, 97, 117,
 368, 370
- sahadat/ syahadat* 43, 131, 178
- sajeunkal*, see: *jeungkal*
- saléndro* (Javanese: *sléndro*) 136–145, 162–
 163, 170, 180, 213–214, 235, 242, 248, 253,
 264, 264, 266, 359
 see also: equidistant pentatonic
- sanctuary 24, 30, 133, 370
 see also: holy, *sasaka*
- sarong 6, 45, 61–62, 64, 69, 329, 350, 362, 367
- sarunay*, see: *tarompét*
- sasajén* 162, 183, 195, 197, 368
- sasaka* 24, 368
 Sasaka Domas 24, 119, 368
 Sasaka Pada Ageung 133, 364
 Sasaka Parahiang 24–25, 88–89, 97, 225,
 364, 368, 370
 Sasaka Pusaka Buana 24–25, 88–98, 357,
 363–364, 368, 370
- satellite photograph xv, 290–291

- saung* 118, 338
 Saung Angklung Udjo 136, 151, 279
saung huma 12n, 42, 133, 239
saung lesung 180, 364–365
saung sunatan 122, 366
- sawah* 3, 42–44, 107–108, 174, 273–274, 279, 368
- sawér (nyawér)* 125–127, 129, 368
- sawit*, see: oil palm
- scarecrow 15
- season(s) 79, 107–134, 304
 agricultural season 108, 304, 306
 angklung season 80, 109–110, 169, 273, 308
 gamelan/*keromong* season 109, 163, 166, 169, 308
 musical seasons 79, 100–101, 107–113
- séba* 20, 45, 50–52, 76, 107–112, 119, 133, 169–170, 184, 275, 278–280, 305, 307–309, 362–363, 368
séba gedé, séba leutik 50, 309
- secret XII, 24, 32, 368
- sérén taun* 174
- seurat* 25, 30, 88, 94, 190, 361, 369
- shake (trill) 137, 243, 254
 shaken (bamboo) 11, 107, 145, 147, 150, 152, 357
- shawm, see: *tarompét*
- shifting cultivation 3, 17, 39–40
- side-blown flute 11–12, 19, 78, 234, 236–250, 270, 369
 see also: *suling kumbang, tarawélét*
- sindén* 210, 231, 343
 see also: *ronggéng*
- sindir/ sisindiran*, see: *susualan*
- singing 1, 12–13, 16, 19, 75, 91, 113–114, 118, 124, 126, 129, 132, 138–142, 144, 151, 157, 179, 185, 203–215, 217–218, 225, 232, 261, 272–274, 357, 359, 363, 365–366
 song, see: *lagu*
 see also: *kawih, pantun, susualan*
- siter*, see: *kacapi siter*
- siwér, syiwér* 251, 369
- skin 46, 121, 148, 219, 228, 272, 348, 364
- smart phone, see: hand phone
- snake, see: mythical snake
- soccer, see: football
- social 1, 6, 39, 50, 53, 55, 72, 84, 102–103, 105, 107, 113, 136, 143–145, 190, 278
 social context 9, 101–102, 281
 social (in)justice 5, 277
 social order 210, 232–233
 social organization 3, 18, 22–60
 socio-political 23–30, 32, 38, 85
- sosorogan* 209, 213
- sound association, see: association
- south 32, 122–124, 127, 133, 197–202
 south Banten X, 19, 97, 217, 220, 354
- speed (of music) 153, 155, 203
- spiritual leader(s) 5, 20, 23–26, 32, 43, 51, 54, 74, 90–90n, 107–108, 158, 171, 175, 306, 322, 367, 369
- standard
 standardization 141, 218, 245, 255
 standardized XIII, 202
- storyteller 1, 84, 123, 182, 187–189, 195, 197–200
pantun storyteller XI, 35, 73, 83, 125–126, 129, 146–147, 166, 200, 202, 208, 210, 258, 311, 314, 318
 see also: *pantun* story
- style of playing 141, 144, 232, 332, 358, 367
- sulangkar* 67, 70, 369
- suling* 13, 79, 143, 157–158, 217, 232–233, 235, 250–251, 350, 354, 361, 369
suling kumbang 11–12n, 19, 70, 141, 234–246, 256, 369
suling lam(b)us 13, 19, 217, 235, 246, 250–256, 369
 see also: *tarawélét*
- sumbang* 209–210
- sunatan* 113, 120–122, 127, 129, 163, 200, 358, 367, 369
sunat awéwé 122
 see also: circumcision, *peupeuran*
- Sunda wiwitan* 3, 16, 23, 42–44, 52–53, 105, 272, 277, 279, 312, 322, 369
- sustainability 20, 45, 52, 102–103, 106, 271, 276–278, 281
 sustainable X, 17–18, 20, 34, 39, 52, 272, 276–278
- susualan* 19, 21, 74–75, 144, 151–152, 216–233, 245, 261, 269, 273, 318, 321, 324–356, 370
- syahadat*, see: *sahadat*
- talahab* 89–91, 96
- taléot*, see: *tarawélét*
- talingtung* 349, 370

- talinting* 114, 146–150, 370
tali paranti 151, 370
taneuh 163
 taneuh larangan 24, 370
 taneuh putih 96, 370
tangkesan 26, 30, 370
tangtu 61, 95, 174, 309, 370
 tangtu area 60, 62, 88, 309, 364, 368
 tangtu hamlet 5, 32, 55, 89–90, 98, 132, 248, 293, 306
 tangtu tilu 24, 371
 tangtu tilu jaro tujuh 51, 371
 see also: *jaro tangtu*, *urang tangtu*
tapa 215, 364, 366, 371
 tapa di mandala, *tapa di nagara* 3, 364, 371
 see also: ascetic, asceticism
tarawangsa 12n, 78–79n, 181, 258, 263, 367, 371
tarawélét, *tarawélot* 11–12n, 19, 70, 78, 135, 141, 218, 234–237, 239–240, 245–250, 255–256, 270, 314, 371
tarompét 235
tatabeuhan, see: instrumental music
telecom 18, 49–50
temptations XII, 7, 24, 50, 58, 218, 224, 276, 337
tone system, see: diatonic, *pélog*, *saléndro*
tooth filing 120–123, 125, 128, 168, 367
topéng 16, 46, 75, 130–130n, 173–176, 371
torolok 145–157, 357, 371
tourism 41, 46, 48, 279–281, 358, 366
 see also: cultural tourism
toy 14, 16n, 76, 116, 363
transcription
 transcription of music 102, 136–138, 140–142, 152–153, 156, 191, 211, 228–229, 242–243, 254
 transcription of text 80, 183, 190, 194, 216, 230
translate 9, 14, 19, 75–76, 79, 91, 147, 186n, 328, 356
 translation 9, 75, 135, 202, 204, 211, 216, 218, 330
transmigration 34n
 see also: resettlement
transposition, *transposed* 138–140
transverse, see: side-blown flute
tremolo (in *angklung*) 152, 154
truth 72–73, 208
 see also: lying
tumbal 148, 183, 232, 234, 264, 366, 371
tuning 114, 131, 136, 138–139, 141–142, 162, 166, 170, 180, 210, 241
 tuning (of instrument) 139–144, 146, 162, 170, 196, 210, 213–214, 264
 tuning model 139
 tuning peg 260
turn (musical) 137, 245, 254
tutunggulan, see: *gendék*
ucing-ucingan 228–229, 325, 347–348
UNESCO convention IX, 20, 57–58, 87, 104, 151, 272, 276–280
urang girang 5, 361, 370–371
 urang tangtu 5, 370
 see also: *girang*, Inner Baduy, *kajeroan*, *tangtu*
urang luar, see: Outer Baduy, *panamping*
valid 73, 88, 115, 137
 validated 194
varnish(ed) 195, 264, 366
verse form 219–220, 364
violin, *viol*, *biol(a)* 12–13, 19–20, 107, 79n, 136, 157, 161, 221–222, 233–235, 261–265, 361, 358
 see also: bowed lute
waist-cloth, see: sarong
WAMMBY (NGO) 59–60, 67n
war IX, 17, 32, 34n, 53, 88–89, 236, 274
 war on (between) religion(s) 53, 209
warogé 76n
water 15–16, 41, 147, 205, 278, 290, 361, 366
 water buffalo 3, 67n, 317, 351
 see also: buffalo
 watershed 97
 see also: *iciblungan*, *pancurendang*
wawangsalan 216, 218, 220, 358, 370–371
 see also: *bangbalikan*
weaving 23, 60–63, 178, 312, 369
 weaver 61–63
 woven cloth/ clothes 22, 28, 45, 59–61, 133, 280, 358, 367
wedding 2, 5, 12, 16–19, 107, 109, 111, 113, 119, 121–123, 126n, 131–133, 163, 170–175,

- 178–180, 183, 189, 200, 202, 273, 317, 360,
364, 367
see also: *ngarérémokeun*, proposal
- whip dance 174
- whistling 255
- white 6, 11–12, 55n, 60–62, 67, 96, 114, 116,
123, 134, 195, 232, 234, 259, 265, 358, 362,
364, 366, 370–371
- widow 218, 248, 317, 328–329
- widower 119
- wind (blown by the-) 13–14, 19, 116, 223, 228,
233–234, 273, 342, 358, 369
- wind instrument 79n, 235, 245n–246, 234–258
- wisata* 8, 45, 184, 278n, 358
- woodcarving 232, 330–330n, 353
- world (upper, middle, under/lower-) 112–112n,
133–134, 207, 359
- xylophone 12, 20, 71, 75, 79, 161, 169, 195, 234,
265–167
drum xylophone 125, 130, 168, 175,
266, 360
see also: *calung*, *gambang*
- zither 19, 78–79, 100, 107, 111, 133n, 136, 139,
193, 195, 217, 232–233, 258–261, 263–264,
330n, 362
see also: *kacapi pantun*, *kacapi siter*