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Territorial Identification of Vernacular Settlement Cigugur through the Practice of *Seren Taun* Ritual in Kuningan, West Java

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Abstract

Seren Taun is a harvesting ritual for the traditional people of Cigugur. The performance is a spectral moment where cultural layers are temporally unveiled, and indigenous territory is identifiable. As has recurrently taken place, the feast includes spectator-participants from outside the boundary, including foreigners. The phenomenon reflects back to the nebulous characters of the Sundanese settlement territory which correlate with the dynamic constituent of the people. This dynamic could be checked by examining the festival procession and their participants. Based on the understanding of Liminal Space, this paper is aimed to investigate the nature of the territory, by examining the transformational process of processions, representations and organizations, in several performances of the festivals. In-depth observations were done on year 2013. Amid changes and modifications that took places from time to time, one aspect remains constantly significant - the Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal as the central orientation of Cigugur people.

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Keywords: *Seren Taun*; liminal space; territory; indigenous settlement, Sundanese

1. Introduction

1.1 *Seren Taun* Ritual

Seren Taun is an annual ritual to welcome the next sowing period for the Sundanese, in West Java in general

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and Cigugur Village, in particular. Cigugur people celebrate this festival every Rayagung 18th-22nd of Saka Sunda calendar. *Seren Taun* is the main offering ritual bestowed to the Supreme Being for the completion of harvest time, as well implying hopes for the better harvest in the next year. The practice of *Seren Taun*, associates with series of traditional rituals that uphold the interplay of fertility symbols believed by the Cigugur people in Kuningan, attached to the mother goddess, *Nyi Pwah Aci Sang Hyang Asri*, or also known as Sri Goddess. It is one of an important ceremony for the traditional agrarian Sundanese people. It is also maintained and well preserved in other indigenous villages in West Java, such as Kasepuhan Ciptagelar-Sukabumi and Banten Baduy in Baduy-Southern Banten.

Seren Taun appears in different terms for different places and different time in West Java, such as *Babarit*, *Karayunan* or *Seren Taun* in Cigugur, and *Kawalu* in Banten Baduy. The timetable may vary from one village to another, depending on the local period of sowing time and the variety agricultural yields (especially rice). The traditional calendar basis for the planting period is called *huma system*. It is specifically applied for local dry field rice cultivation system. But now the term of *Seren Taun* is more popular.

The performance of *Seren Taun* was originally an exclusive event, only for the indigenous community, but currently it is more exposed and opened to wider public, and allowed outsiders to actively participate. Soon *Seren Taun* has turned more than as rituals, but cultural attractions and venue for public-engagement, which involve massive financial funding and participations, including government, privates NGOs and individuals with strong concerns. *Seren Taun* has now become a national agenda. This has a simultaneous impact on spatial use for the ritual.

Indeed, looking back to the history of Cigugur Village it is found that the constitutions of its sacred landscape is dynamic and territorial boundary is always volatile, depending on the scheme of participations of its members. This participation scheme is vividly represented through the performance of *Seren Taun* rituals. This paper tries to reveal the dynamic of the traditional territorial boundary of the Cigugur Village by examining *Seren Taun*, as the main village festival, using ritual analysis and framework of liminal space.

1.2 Adat Karuhun Urang (AKUR)

Adat Karuhun Urang or more known as AKUR Communities is Cigugur's traditional council of elders who hold office for preservation and maintenance of the indigenous customary law (*adat*), including the performance of *Seren Taun*. The constituent of AKUR Community was traditionally built by forty descendants of indigenous elders who had re-established the Cigugur village upon remnant of devastation caused by natural disasters and disturbances during the Dutch colonial period on the turn of 20th century. They were known as indigenous people and adherent of local Sundanese belief that has been known as *Sunda Wiwitan*.

Many archaeological sites are scattered around the Cigugur village, and it proves that the place has been inhabited since the prehistoric era. However according to oral history the present existence of *Seren Taun* and AKUR community in Cigugur is far more recent. It associated with the arrival of the earliest elder of Cigugur, a royalty named Prince Madrais with his troops from a polity named "Gebang Kinatar" Kingdom (located around Losari, Cirebon, West Java). Prince Madrais was said to initiate the establishment of Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal (1840) as a forum for village activities. This building now is a National Heritage Building. Along with the native elders of the Cigugur village, he restored the structure of social organization by selecting forty elders to become advisors and coordinators in each local compounds or traditionally called *lembur*. The numbers of those *lemburs* built traditional confederation system of Cigugur. This confederation laid base for an integrated communal defence mechanism to cope with foreign influences (Dutch colonizers) as well as agricultural labour force, food, economy, security, education, and socio-cultural systems.

Presently, the membership of the community becomes more diverse and open. The wider-local member usually claims to be far descendants of the indigenous elders and adherent of *Sunda Wiwitan* belief. On the other hand, within Cigugur villages itself, not all of the AKUR community hold on to their ancestral beliefs. This ramification creates myriad social spectrums that are built by people of different religious affiliation, various depth of local descent lines and close-distant lineages difference up to the pure outsider's participants. This social spectrum is manifested during the organizations of traditional rituals, especially, in this case, during the preparation of *Seren*

Taun ritual. The traditional confederation of the Sundanese Cigugur people established network to other Sundanese village confederations, such as Kenekes-Baduy, Kasepuhan Ciptagelar (formerly Kasepuhan Sinaresmi) as well as other non-Sundanese indigenous community. The openness of the Cigugur's social organization also allows participation from different indigenous communities outside the Sundanese. As a whole, it constitutes solidarity of the indigenous community with a critical position against the well-established mainstream world religions. *Seren Taun* ritual also became a manifestation of the success in raising the power of the network to manage and maintain the sustainability of the regional indigenous organization.

Through *Seren Taun* ritual, the Cigugur's Indigenous people and elders demonstrate remarkable ability to build networks to the very distant territories. As a result, its sense of territory is rather dynamic and does not need to be referred to the original territory. And with this study, the spatial negotiation of the indigenous people could be revealed through examining the aspects and facts of the *Seren Taun* ritual.

1.3 Cigugur vernacular settlement

Presently, Cigugur is an administration district on the urban fringe of Kuningan City. The district is divided into two administrative regions, the City and the County of Kuningan. The county of Cigugur consists of five sub-districts (Cigugur, Sukamulya, Cileuleuy, Cipari, and Mount Keling) and five villages (Cisantana, Puncak, Winduherang, Cigadung, and Babakan Mulya). However the spatial sphere of indigenous communities and its distributions does not precisely accord to the administrative area because many members of AKUR are no longer living in Cigugur district. Cigugur-Sukamulya-Cipari-Cileuleuy sub-districts and Cisantana-Puncak villages are regions with the highest engagement in the organization of *Seren Taun* ritual. Small clusters of indigenous communities are also scattered across the district out of the Kuningan area. Some clusters could be found in places as far as Bandung, the metropolitan.

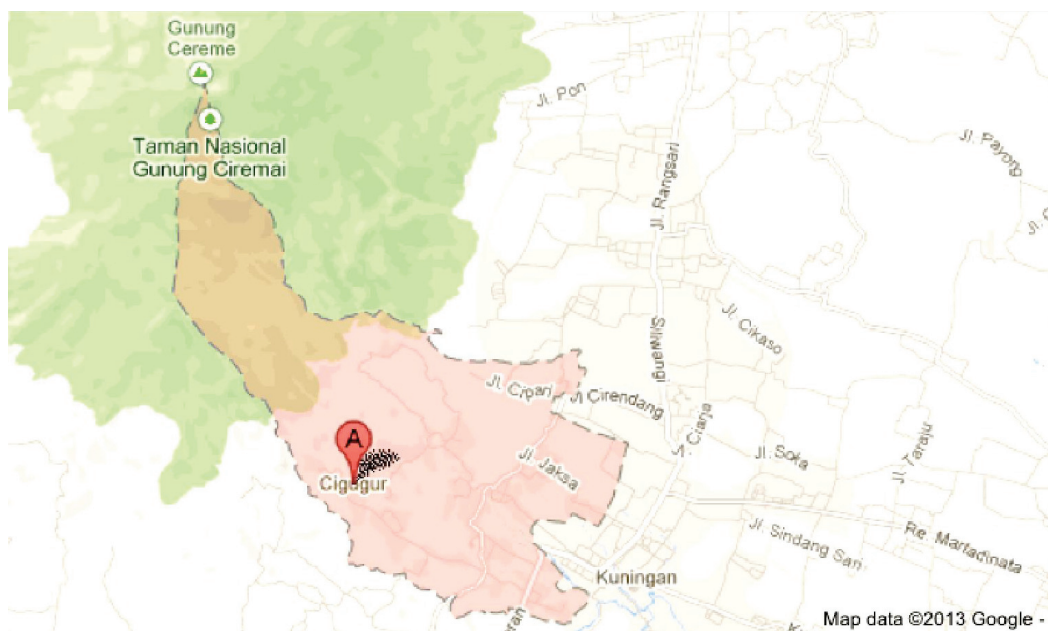


Fig. 1. Map of administrative territory Cigugur District, Kuningan, West Java. Source: Google Maps, 2013.

Therefore, it is obvious that the administrative boundary does not always represent the cultural territory as prescribed by the customary law or *adat*. During the *Seren Taun* ritual, the cultural solidity and the imaginary

presence of indigenous territory is temporarily experienced and sensed. Moreover, Cigugur's present condition is unlike the typical traditional Sundanese landscape with archaic character indicated by ancient architectural shelters and traditional dress-codes, like in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar or Baduy village. It is far more urbanized and laid rightly on National Highway. The people of Cigugur district have embraced technology and modern life. For this reason, this research is made to identify the territorial sphere of the Cigugur villages or socially called the Indigenous Eldership of Cigugur, by analysing the rituals trails and aspects that is embedded in the *Seren Taun* ritual.

2. The Research Methodology

2.1 Territorial identification through ritual – a theoretical framework

The sense of territory and boundaries is naturally important for establishing identity, security, and resources management. The question is whether the tangible boundary is significant. Territorial boundary can be physical and non-physical. Territory, or '*cagar*' in local Indonesian term, is a given 'boundary' for a spatial sphere with, formed intentionally or not, by individuals or groups in order to maintain a unit of spatial sphere. It is associated with psychological identification of a place for regulatory action and marking ownership and confirming certain attitude toward objects within the territory (Pastalan, 1970). Lynch (1960) recognise a boundary by identifying the five physical elements of regional and territorial formation, which are: edges (which can be a fence), fort or extreme landscape; path (a way or track laid down for circulation or movement); district (the inside part of area includes settlement and residents); landmarks (presage of the territorial identity); and nodes (centre of activity or a point at which lines or pathways intersect). Altman (1975) saw territorial behaviour as a way of determining boundaries that mark a sphere of privacy. Territorial behaviour in question includes setting limits for personalizing objects (things and places) with a particular way of communication and behaviour, by individuals or groups inside a territory.

Boundary could appear as a nonphysical feature too. Spiritually, a space is an expression of the human soul who occupies it (Mangunwijaya, 1988), along with their activities including their cultural activities (ritual). In this respect, a spatial boundary could always recurrently transform according to the dynamics of the soul. Siregar (1990) in his study mentioned that there are patterns in the movement of ritual in various traditional ceremonies or religious worship, which underlie the spatial order of a region. In this respect, the ritual could be one way to identify territories.

Ritual is according to Couldry (2002) a voluntary behaviour of formal action that turns into a habit (habitual action) through generations and contains a transcendental value. Turner (1975) clearly states that in a community or ethnic, ritual processions, festivals, or celebrations (ceremonial) is the most complete collective memory of 'social drama' that is preserved through a span of history, be it social, political, economic, and cultural. In the ritual, the perpetrators of ritual indeed mark the area where a legal/custom tradition stand by performing certain procedures and strict rules in the use of space, then the integrity of the institutions that create a cultural entity could be achieved. Ritual, according to Paul Oliver (2007), belongs to cultural attributes that underlie vernacular architecture. Conclusively, ritual is a repeated formal behaviour from generation to generation, voluntarily by individuals and groups in a particular setting, to convey values, norms, traditions, or indigenous knowledge, relating to the history, politics, the process of socio-cultural, economic, and includes territorial, as well as from time to time, internally and externally.

Turner (1975) anthropologically described rituals, according to its as physical and non-physical properties. He divided physical aspects of the ritual into two major, 1) *Liminal* space, which is identified through: context, situation, event, definition of situation, the extended case, and method; 2) *Field Notion*, which is identified through: nature of ritual, nature of discretion, place/location, style, events, performance, communication, and arbitrary point. While the non-physical aspects of the ritual divided into symbols, icons, images, signs, action concept, linguistic formation, emotion and sentiment, impel men to action, and conventional link (social organization: clan, kinship). Rapoport (1976, 1990) also revealed both physical and non-physical state of territory his serial works on vernacular. According to him the physical elements of territory refers to the settings and the system settings, 1) setting that is divided into fixed, semi-fixed, and unfixed elements; 2) the character/nature of the setting divided into closed/non-permeable, semi-permeable, and permeable/open; 3) the sequence of settings;

and 4) transition and connectivity. The non-physical elements refers to the activity and the system activity, such as social structure and status, social networks and organisations, groups, relationships, participants/user behaviour, hierarchy of status, gender roles, religious institutions, nature of included-excluded, and time. Ritual as one of the cultural attribute, need a place to accommodate the activity. Ritual affected the layout, orientation, shape, and arrangement of spaces that is used as the venue for the activity.

Ritual activity is therefore examined to reveal the imaginary territorial line of the indigenous Sundanese settlement in Cigugur. There are two major aspects of the observation objects, which are the ritual and the actors/perpetrators/door. From each of them, non-physical and physical attributes would be reviewed and derived. Physical aspects of the ritual were derived from the examinations of place, sequence, liminal spaces, and arbitrary points, while the nonphysical aspects were derived from examinations of activities, components, and patterns. From the examinations of physical, non-physical and organizations aspects, spatial distribution, locations dispersions and networking patterns, of artefacts and people are identified. The relationship between ritual, space, and territory could be framed as in Figure 2. The diachronic examinations would reveal several milestones of rituals in a length of time and conclusively gain from it which ritual aspects that occur persistently, which one is reduced and which one is added (see Figure 3). After comparing each set of analysis results, the complexity of the activity and networks, the transformation of the ritual-activity-territory could be concluded. And from that, the territorial construction of the Indigenous settlement of Cigugur could be revealed.

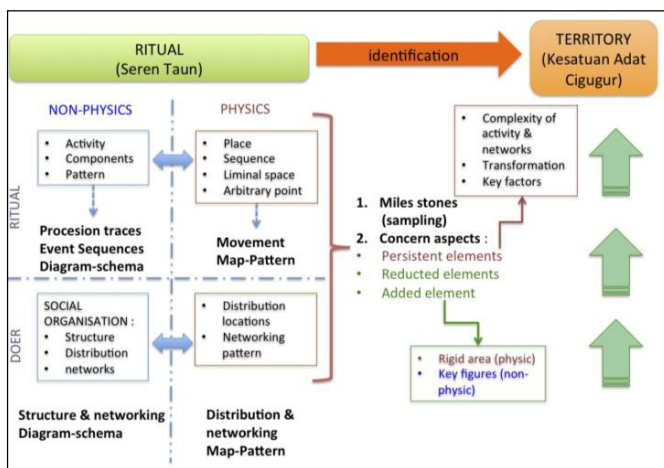


Fig. 2. Research framework.

2.2 Examining Territorial Identification Through Ritual

Based on a research framework in Figure 2, several miles stone are fixed to identify actors and the spatial reflection of *Seren Taun*. The periodical timeline started from 1920 to 2013. Direct investigation was taken through comparison of data about *Seren Taun* ritual in 1999, 2006, and 2013, from which several new added components ritual are found. The samples taken from 1920 to 1999 were utilized to describe the complex of transformation which happened following the political situation, especially during political Japanese occupation in 1940s and the Prohibition of local religion, *Agama Djawa Sunda*[†] (ADS) era during 1970s. In that time, *Seren Taun* ritual were performed secretly, not in public. Through this method, the real territory of the indigenous settlement could be drawn, and the sphere of their network could be identified.

[†] *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS) is the spiritual ideology that derived from the Sundanese local trust which revitalized by P.Mdarais.

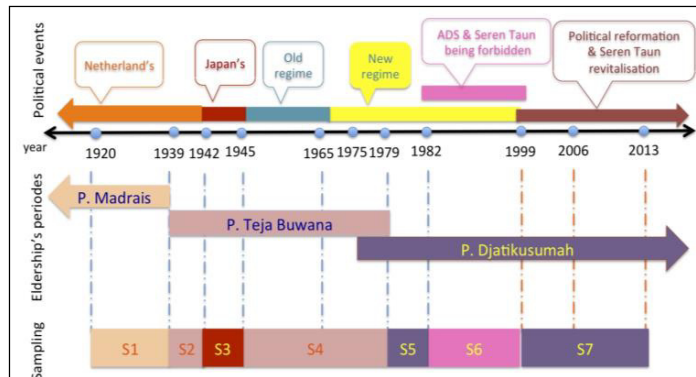


Fig. 3. Method of Sampling Codification and Selection process.

3. The Discussion

3.1 *Seren Taun* and its transformation

Based on diachronic analysis, there are three main phases that are used as basis for reconstructing the territory of Cigugur settlement, which are *Seren Taun* rituals during: Prince Madrais's period, Prince Teja Buwana's period, and Prince Djatikusumah's period. The Prince Djatikusumah's period is subdivided more into: period of revitalization of *Seren Taun* ritual, period of prohibition and period of revival of *Seren Taun* ritual. The examination of the first phase of *Seren Taun* is explored through interviews and historical documentation scrutiny of previous researches on Cigugur. Based on research of Djukardi (1993), Prince Madrais is the first elders who pioneered the traditional Sundanese indigenous eldership in Cigugur. He attempted to revive the original tradition of the harvest celebration, which was then called *Babarit* ritual. *Babarit* ritual was at that time, always promptly performed in every village, individually on a small scale celebration. Later he started to initiate a collective organization of *Babarit* ritual with several villages within the sphere of the indigenous Cigugur community union. This collective ceremony began in 1920, on which moment the advanced-collective *Babarit* ritual was known by another name: *Karayunan* ritual. Prince Madrais passed away in tahun 1939, but the *Karayunan* ritual is taken as a reference for the establishment of proper *Seren Taun* ritual in the next period.

In The Prince Djatikusumah's period, the main component of *Karayunan* ritual activities were 1) the installation of torches as the opening of local months *Rayagung* (October-November) started from the main village hall, *Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal* or *Paseban* up, to the surrounding villages announcing the initiation of *Karayunan* ritual; 2) the transferring procession of rice seedlings from villages around *Paseban* to the main granary which is called *Ngajayak* in *Rayagung* 18th; 3) the pests removal procession and *ngadapur*[‡] or *kurasan* that was conducted in a small forest, called *Leuweung Leutik*, located inside Mayasih Forest, Cigugur; 4) the rice seedlings prayers procession, housed in *Paseban*, 5) the transferring procession of rice seedlings from the main granary to the pounding house or *Saung Lisung* which called as *Ngajayak* too in *rayagung* 22nd; and 6) a paddy pounding procession was called *Nutu*, which were located in *Paseban* area. The *Nutu* procession is always preceded by prayers for the original rice seedlings - 'mother of rice'. After *Nutu*, the rice was shared by the villagers, and the mother of rice seedlings keep in the main granary for the next year plantation season. This tradition is kept until now.

At the last period of his life, the notion field of *Karayunan* ritual moves to his hermitage place that known as

[‡] *Ngadapur*, sometimes called *kurasan* are meditation process in front of fireplace, specified one called *Dapur Ageung* or great fireplace.

Curug Go'ong, a remote place located in Cisantana Village. *Karayunan* ritual was held through the whole month of Rayagung. Sometimes it took forty up to a hundred days. The main procession was accompanied by performances of traditional art, such as sacred dances, lute-flute or *monggang*, and fireworks. *Monggang* refers to a gamelan set that was specifically and only owned by Paseban's family member. It was kept as heirloom from their predecessor. *Monggang* could also refer to a kind of spiritual harp-flute art.

During the leadership of Pangeran Teja Buwana, the son of Pangeran Madrais, from 1939 until 1979, political condition was unstable. In his time, *Seren Taun* ritual has been known by a different name, *Bendrong* that referred to the sound of pounding procession. *Bendrong* ritual were held in two main processions, 1) *Ngajayak* that was held from villages to Paseban in Rayagung 18th, 2) *Nutu*, was in Paseban pounding yard, and share the rice to the villagers in Rayagung 22nd. Practically, *Bendrong* ritual only held in two days. The essential components of ritual that persisted were *ngajayak*, *nutu*, and pray for the mother of rice seedlings. Most of the ritual components was reduced due to the security instability and economic crisis. In leadership transition period (1975-1979), *Bendrong* ritual only held in Rayagung 22nd, which *Ngajayak* and *Nutu* were held in one same day. In 1942-1945, there were no rituals at all. During the Japanese occupation period, association in any form is prohibited, even for a traditional ceremony. And in this period, the exodus of villagers out of Cigugur Village frequently happened.

In the period of Pangeran Djatikusumah, son of Pangeran Teja Buwana, for the first time *Bendrong* ritual was changed into *Seren Taun* ritual. In his period, they only held 1) *Ngajayak* in Rayagung 18th, and 2) *Nutu* in Rayagung 22nd at Paseban that preceded by pray for the rice seedlings with all villagers together. The fourth phase in 1982-1998 was the hardest time for Cigugur's community, when *Seren Taun* ritual was prohibited during President Soeharto's era. The communal association of eldership known as *Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang* or PACKU (now became AKUR) was disbanded. During these periods, the *Seren Taun* ritual are held in 'silent', hidden from the outside world, or performed in public in a disguise of the art performance. Several *Seren Taun* ritual were while this period were performed as an 'art of simulacra' in Cigugur Village's Hall (1992) and entertainment complex in Jakarta, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (1994). And in the other year (1982-1991, 1993, 1995-1998) during these periods of prohibition, *Seren Taun* ritual changed in to 'silent ceremony'.

In the meantime, the migration of villagers recurrently took place. The settlement unity started being dispersed. Nevertheless, the *Nutu* procession were still held but converted into rice grains peeling procession, called *mesek pare* in each family house, inside or outside the Cigugur Village. *Mesek pare* procession was done every day by each family of Cigugur's villagers throughout the year. All of the family members would gather together and pray before doing this procession for a glass of grain every day. A week before Rayagung 22nd, *Ais Pangampih* or the regional coordinator of elders would collect the rice from each region and bring it to Paseban to be blessed by the prayers of all the elders' representative. It would be returned afterwards to each family again. The eldership authority based of this social organization type made it un-disband-able.

The most complete an in-depth data were in the last phase known as the revival period of *Seren Taun* ritual. In this period, there are three transformations. In 1999, for the first time *Seren Taun* ritual were held in public again, in its place of origin, Paseban, Cigugur, and involved outsider participants. It held only in two days for two main processions: 1) *Ngajayak* procession and 2) *Nutu* procession and the pray for the mother of rice seedlings. There are several components added to *Seren Taun* ritual in 2006. The main ritual that underwent transformations are as follow: 1) the torch installation procession at night before Rayagung 18th was called *Damar Sewu*. It was regarded formally as the initiation ceremony of *Seren Taun* ritual that held in Paseban; 2) the pests removal procession in the morning of Rayagung 18th was called *Pesta Dadung* which was held in Situ Hyang (Situ Hyang is a sacred place, used as the new place for pests returning to nature procession). The early pests removal procession was held in Leuweung Leutik; 3) Cultural Parades in the day of Rayagung 21st which took route from Paseban to downtown of Kuningan City and return to Paseban in clockwise movement pattern; 4) Evening Prayer and *Ngareremokeun* as the replacement of the rice seedlings prayers procession in Rayagung 21st from evening to midnight which was held in Paseban. The persistent main components of *Seren Taun* are: 5) *Ngajayak* procession and 6) *Nutu* procession in Rayagung 22nd at Paseban. The original *Seren Taun* ritual was held for five days, from Rayagung 18th to 22nd, with new compliment activity, such as art performance, the activity of traditional art preservation, cultural education, free medical check-up, and other social volunteer action for poor people and marginalized community.

In 2013, the main components of ritual are completed and fixed. The main component consist of six procession:

1) *Damar Sewu* in the night before Rayagung 18th, 2) *Pesta Dadung* in Rayagung 18th, 3) Cultural Parades and 4) Evening Pray-*Ngareremokeun* in Rayagung 21st, 5) the transferring procession of rice seedlings from villages around Paseban to the main granary and 6) *Nutu* in Rayagung 22nd. The rest are allocated for non-fix additional element, comprising art performance, traditional art preservation and education, social services and volunteers activity, and economic activity such as local craftsmanship and souvenirs bazaar. Based on all review about *Seren Taun* ritual milestones above, it was discovered that the most sacred and persistent component that build the core of *Seren Taun* ritual are: 1) prayers for rice seedlings procession which is now called *Ngareremokeun*; 2) the transferring procession of rice seedlings from villages around Paseban to the main granary or *Ngajayak*; and 3) the paddy pounding procession till become grain and rice or *Nutu*. The *Damar Sewu*, *Pesta Dadung*, and *Cultural Parades* processions are the revival form of early component in Pangeran Madrais’s period, but it is not the same processions at all. It's the revival form that is become a replacement of the ritual and place. Those are the semi-fixed- element in *Seren Taun* ritual which now more known as *Seren Taun* Cultural Festival. The serial transformations of the territory could be plotted as the following Figure 4 and 5.

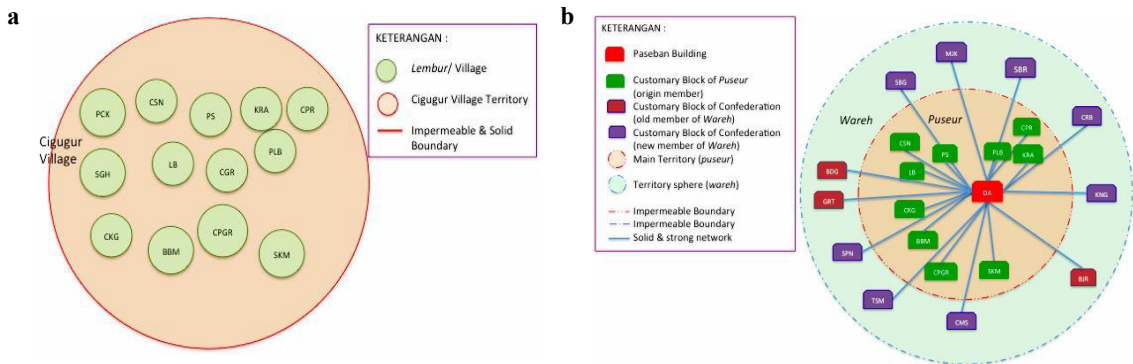


Fig. 4. Transformation of Indigenous Sundanese Eldership of Cigugur territory and networking in: (a) *Babarit* ritual periods; (b) *Seren Taun* ritual periods.

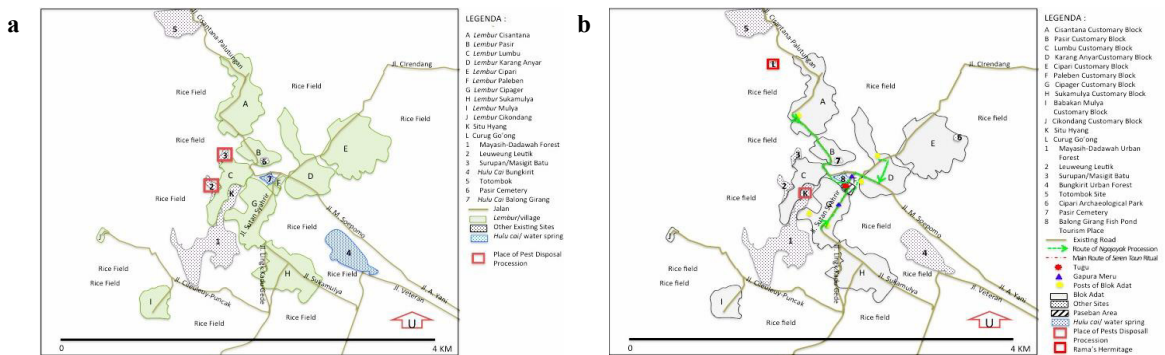


Fig. 5. Transformation of Indigenous Sundanese Eldership of Cigugur territory and networking in: (a) *Babarit* ritual periods; (b) *Seren Taun* ritual periods.

3. 2 Adat Karuhun Urang (AKUR) and its transformation

AKUR (*Adat Karuhun Urang*) Communities was a contemporary organization originally formed in Cigugur village during the President Soeharto’s Government Era. By tracing through interviews with some elders and region’s leader, it is known that this organization laid on the old indigenous system of customary social

organization or indigenous eldership who believed in local customary belief *Sunda Wiwitan* believers whose living in and build Cigugur together. Originally this eldership functioned under the management of the forty indigenous elders where Rama’s leadership was the chair. In its development along with serial political upheavals, descendants of the fortieth elders spread to outside areas of Cigugur village. Then, during the Dutch Colonial Government, *Ais Pangampih* was added as the coordinator of the existing custom regions or blocks called *Wareh*, under the Indigenous Eldership of Cigugur. *Ais Pangampih* was also responsible for managing all preparation for *Seren Taun* ritual, including the division of tasks and arranged supply logistics from each *Wareh* to the implementation of *Seren Taun* ritual. AKUR community emerged as a modern social organization in the *Seren Taun* ritual prohibition period as an attempt to survive and respond to the policy adopted by the President Soeharto’s Government Era at that time. The structure could be seen in Figure 6.

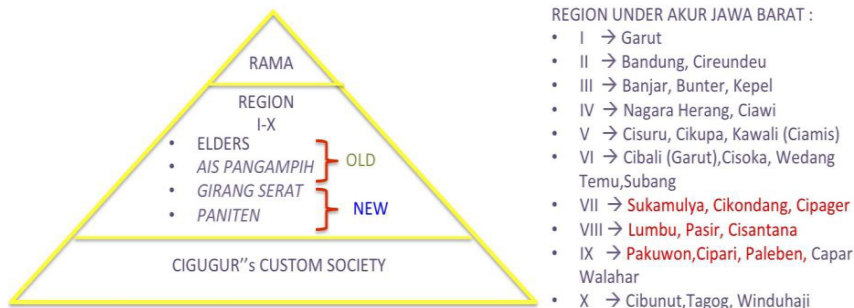


Fig. 6. Structural transformation of AKUR community through the *Seren Taun* ritual organization. Source: interview and observation, 2013.

In the present time, AKUR community has grown in complexity along with the increasing complexity of the *Seren Taun* ritual organization. This can be seen through the organizational structure which has additional component: 1) the person designated as reporter or regional administrator in *Wareh* is called *Girang Serat* and 2) the person designated as a regional supervisor in *Wareh* is called *Paniten*. By the openness of the *Seren Taun* Cigugur to those whose outside the community, more complex network is formed and more interest. This could be a potential agent of transformation in the territory for next time (See Figure 7).

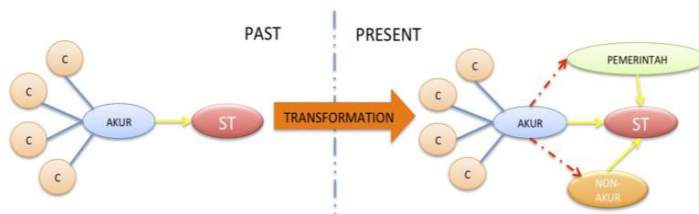


Fig. 7. Transformation of AKUR networking during *Seren Taun*.

4. Conclusion

The territory of Cigugur’s traditional sphere (Indigenous Eldership of Cigugur) could be drawn from *Seren Taun* ritual. By looking at the elements that are persistent and not (reduced and added) of the ritual and the perpetrators/actors/doer, physical and non-physical aspects, it was revealed that the indigenous territories of Cigugur has been so far fluctuated. It could be shrunk or enlarged, and the cultural sphere, and sacred landscape depend on network and spreads of its members community. The persistent artefact and area such as Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal area and Mayasih Forest (Leuweung Leutik and Situ Hyang) and their significant role in the rituals

prove their function as the core area of the territory that is meant to be maintained to ensure the sustainability of Seren Taun ritual in Cigugur and sustain the unity of the cultural landscape. Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal area is the axis-mundi or Puseur. The custom regions which appear as liminal spaces in the periphery area called Wareh should be preserved to maintain the approximate territories of the Indigenous Eldership of Cigugur.

Indigenous territorial changes that occurred in Cigugur had been mostly triggered by the political crisis during the modern history of the nation. By noting the structural changes of the social organizations and networks, the presence of a territorial sphere can be identified and confirmed by the adat leaders (Rama) as the decision maker in AKUR community. Both of them have a great influence on the customary unity territorial condition.

It turns out that the active existence of the community and its network (AKUR) and its openness to outsiders participations demonstrate the agility and creative role of the community in managing the rituals, by exposing the ritual into performing arts, to attract more participants, as well as to involve them in the preservation of cultural heritage.

Acknowledgement

Thanks to Prince Djatikusumah or *Rama Sepuh* as the customs authorities, elders from each *Wareh*, and residents of an indigenous community (AKUR) for precious time gave and willingness to serve as sources. Hopefully, this research could be beneficial to the progress and sustainability of AKUR community and *Seren Taun* ritual.

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