

Islamic Discourse and Baduy in Tanah Ulayat Kanekes: Contestations and Connections

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Abstract. The Cicakal Girang village, known as the village where the Muslim Baduy lives, has different religious practices from the Baduy. Obedience to Baduy customs is very loose in this village, which the Baduy indigenous community permits. This study investigates the cultural discourse producing the Cicakal Girang village and the reproduction of such discourse as well. The empirical data were collected through fieldwork and analyzed with the cultural discourse analysis method. This study finds that the Cicakal Girang and its Islamic activities practice the existing discourse system, namely the Cicakal Girang as a place of the 'penghulu ratu' (the queen) of the Baduy community. Such discourse situates the Cicakal Girang as a connection space for the Baduy community with the outside world. It is reproduced in the interaction between Cicakal Girang and the Baduy community.

Keywords: Baduy, Cicakal Girang, communication geography, cultural discourse analysis.

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Introduction

The Baduy tribe is a tribe that lives in the customary area of Kanekes village, located in Leuwidamar sub-district, Lebak district, Banten province, Indonesia. This ulayat area is surrounded by the Kendeng mountains with a land area of about 5101.8 hectares. The Baduy tribe is known as a community that is obedient to its belief, namely Sunda Wiwitan. They believe and believe in the existence of one power, namely a single batara symbolized by the Domas Arca. In addition, the Sunda Wiwitan religion or belief is realized by the existence of community norms and customs in the form of great-grandfather (prohibition) and pikukuh (rules) that followers must obey (Senoaji, 2010, 305). Wilodati (2011) quoting Djatisunda, wrote that the Baduy people consciously admit that their identity is based on religion.

Indonesian people generally recognize three Baduy groups. Tangtu Baduy (Inner Baduy), Panamping Baduy (Outer Baduy) and the last is Dangka Baduy. Baduy Tangtu are required to adhere to great-grandfather (prohibition) and pikukuh (rules) while Baduy Tangtu are not as strict as Baduy Tangtu adhere to customary rules. Meanwhile, Baduy Dangka are laxer than Baduy Panamping in carrying out Baduy customs (Baduy Dangka are almost no different from outside Baduy). Most of them embraced Islam, so they are referred to as *Urang eslam* by the Baduy tribe or *Dulur are* (Hakiki, 2011).

One of the Dangka Baduy villages is Cicakal Girang. This village is the only village on communal land where the majority of the population is Muslim (Edwar, Ulfah & Maratusyolihat. 2021). Cicakal Girang residents no longer carry out some of the Baduy community regulations on ulayat land. The houses of Cickal Girang residents are no longer made of natural materials such as wood, injuk and rattan. They cultivate crops that are forbidden to the Baduy community, such as cloves or planting rice. They use electricity and have a school in the village. Actually, the Cicakal Girang residents do not like to be called Baduy because the life they live is different from the Tangtu Baduy community. Although they obey some rules of the Baduy community, their way of life is more like modern society in villages outside Baduy in general. In short, there is a contestation between the behavior of modern life and the Baduy customs in the Cicakal Girang community. Why was the leeway allowed by the Baduy Customary Institution?

According to Kesuma (2013), the Cicakal Girang residents are allowed to live like that because of the kinship between the Baduy (Baduy Tangtu) residents and the Cicakal Girang residents. Baduy people, both Tangtu Baduy and Panamping Baduy, still regard Baduy people who change religion as relatives or relatives. Kesuma's opinion justifies research from Hakiki (2011) where the principle of kinship life that keeps the community together in the

Kanekes area is still well maintained. The problem is, the idea of acknowledging this kinship seems to position the Cicakal Girang residents as residents who come from Baduy. Cicakal Girang residents are Baduy residents who are expelled, residents who leave Baduy or Baduy residents who choose to become Muslims. This village is described as the village that experienced the greatest Islamization (Edwar, Ulfah & Maratusyolihat, 2021).

This article attempts to review this idea. We argue that Cicakal Girang is a community that has been Muslim since its inception and has lived in the land of Ulayat. By understanding the origin of the Cicakal Girang, we argue that the flexibility of the Cicakal Girang is not only due to kinship, but that all this time the Cicakal Girang has been used as a 'bumper' or a defense room for the Baduy tribe from the onslaught of outside cultures. The changes in Baduy customs that occur in Cickal Girang are for the sake of the continuity of the Baduy's own traditional beliefs. Residents of Cickal Girang village are often representatives of the Baduy tribe who are obedient to the government.

Furthermore, this research wants to complement the findings that changes in society in the Baduy Region are due to interactions with the outside world and the use of communication technology (smartphones) (Simamora, Andika, Briandana & Widyastuti, 2021) and the development of Bahrudin & Zurohman. 2021). We argue that the position of Cicakal Girang as a connection point of Baduy with the outside world since the 16th century is considered in the social change in the Kanekes area. To explain this argument, we use the concept of connection (Adams. 2009). Connection is a concept that refers to how space is formed in the communication process. The basic assumption is that space is always generated by, for and in a relationship or connection from mediated communication. In other words, the connection between the two spaces as a communication process ultimately forms certain spaces (Adams, 2009).

Kampung Cicakal Girang in this case is a particular space created as a space for Baduy connections with outsiders. The basis of this research is that space is a social product (Levebre. 1991) and therefore unnatural. According to Inka Solavaara domination and control over space is always associated with modes of communication and control in different societies (Falkheimer and Jansson 2006, 106).

This research is research in the field of geographic communication or geomedia, where communication is seen as an act of space production (Dhona, 2018). Communication that forms space, in the context of this research, are cultural practices or cultural discourse as understood by scholars using Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA). Cultural discourse is "a historically transmitted expressive system of communication practices, of acts, events, and styles, which are composed of specific symbols, symbolic forms, norms, and their meanings" (Carbaugh, 2007). To show that Kampung Cicakal Girang is a connection space for Baduy

Tangtu with the outside world, this research will answer two main questions. First, how is the cultural discourse that produces Cicakal Girang village. Second, how the cultural discourse is reproduced and becomes the basis of the interaction between the Cicakal Girang village and the Baduy community.

Research Methods

This research is ethnographic research. Field research was carried out in the Kanekes area, mainly in the Cicakal Girang village, as a location for Muslim residents to live on communal land from October 2018 to January 2019. This study uses three methods of data collection, namely interviews, observation, and collection of documentation. Some of the key informants involved in this research were community leaders in Cicakal Girang such as KH Abdul Rasyid (founder of the Islamic boarding school in Cicakal Girang), Empang (chairman of RT in Cicakal Girang), Ahmad Hidayat (educator at religious schools (MI & MTs in Cicakal). Girang), Ai Dewi (Educator and Posyandu activist in Cicakal Girang), Muhammad Kasja (Coordinator of Muallaf Baduy, a resident of Baduy Tangtu who converted to Islam in 1990) and Jaro Alim (traditional elder of Baduy Tangtu).

The data were analyzed using Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA). CuDa directs the analyst's attention to culturally different communication practices. Cultural practices are considered as a particular discourse. CuDA tries to explain "How different groups of people cultivate discursive resources with particular meanings activated by the context-bound use of those resources that, through their use, constitute social life" (Habashi, Sprain, Shrikant, Reinig & Peters. 2019). Carbaugh (2007) writes that CuDa is a method to "organize ways of understanding how culture is an integral part, and a product of discourse systems". In analyzing the cultural discourse in Cicakal Girang village, this research concentrates on two things that Carbaugh (2007) concentrates on, namely the analysis of the semantic content of the existing cultural discourse and how a term is used to shape the cultural discourse.

The Birth of Cicakal Girang Village

Cicakal Girang is part of the Baduy, therefore we need to understand how the Baduy understand themselves. The Baduy people believe that they are direct descendants of the first human created by Batara Tunggal on earth, namely Adam Tunggal or Prophet Adam. Mursyid's father as one of the traditional Baduy leaders in the book *Time for Baduy Talk* (Kurnia, 2010, p. 22) once said:

We are a descendant community who were given the task and direct mandate from Adam Tunggal as a messenger from the creator to enforce obedience to *wiwitan* according to the results. the initial deliberation of this universe time which is called the natural world.

Baduy people believe they are direct descendants of Adam. They are tasked with prospering the world through asceticism and *pikukuh* with the principle that if Kanekes as the core of the universe is always well maintained, then all life in the world will be safe and prosperous. That is, this discourse formulates the Baduy, as themselves who are bound to their *ulayat* land, as the core of the world that they must protect. They are not outside their territory, because life outside their territory is not their obligation.

By occupying their territory as the core of the universe and the Baduy as the heirs of Adam. *Cicakal Girang* is positioned as part of Baduy. According to Jaro Alim, who is one of the traditional leaders of the Baduy *Tangtu*, the emergence of the *Cicakal Girang* village is related to the regulations of the Islamic Sultanate of Banten, the Islamic sultanate which was founded in the mid 16th century. The regulation is about the legalization of marriages where married Baduy people must be ratified by the head of the community. the government of the Sultanate of Banten.

The *Cicakal Girang* Islam from the beginning, descendants of *Ki Ahum* who was sent by the queen, if people say, the sultan. At the request of traditional institutions, because in the past, if you want to marry (Baduy people) you have to go to *Leuwidamar*. The results of the agreement were then sent by a *penghulu* who was stationed in *Cicakal Girang*. The purpose of the *Cicakal Girang* village was to help marry Baduy people, take care of corpses if an outsider Baduy (Islam) died here, and signify harmony in Kanekes land. (*Jaro Alim, personal interview, 14 December 2018*)

Cicakal Girang village, according to Jaro Alim, is a descendant of *Ki Ahum*, the envoy of the Sultanate of Banten. Before the existence of the *Cicakal Girang* village, the Baduy people *Tangtu* married in a traditional way which was carried out in Baduy settlements in a way they called 'inner marriage'. In addition, the placement of the *penghulu* in the Kanekes *ulayat* land was originally for the management of the bodies of people who differ from Baduy beliefs (*Slam Sunda Wiwitan*) and a sign of harmony in Kanekes land. The statement above explains that the *Cicakal Girang* people are not descended from the Baduy tribe because they have been Muslim since the beginning. *Ki Ahum* and his family were placed in a place on *ulayat* land which was then called *Cicakal Girang* at the request of the Baduy traditional leaders to the Banten sultanate with the task of taking care of the marriage as the head of the queen.

From the discourse, we see how the Baduy people were ostracized by the Sultanate of Banten and then used that ostracism to close their community by asking outsiders to take care of regulations related to outsiders. Cicakal Girang is a village that was born from the Baduy's attempt to exclude himself, or the effort not to interfere with the outside world. Cicakal Girang Village is a space that has a function to meet the needs of the Baduy community for government regulations that apply outside the Baduy community.

However, the discourse regarding the origin of the Cicakal Girang believed by the Baduy is different from the discourse believed by the Cicakal Girang community itself. KH. Abdul Rosyid, the founder of the pesantren in the village of Cicakal Girang, believes that Cicakal Girang was born because of the efforts to Islamize the Sultanate of Banten against the Baduy tribe. The Baduy tribe is believed to have come from Banten Girang who fled to the south after the Muslim conquest of Banten Girang. Prabu Pucuk Umum who at that time was the ruler of Banten was conquered by Maulana Hasanuddin. His followers did not want to admit the conquest and fled to the south. The flight of the Banten Girang community lasted for years until they finally settled in Kanekes and became known as the Baduy tribe. This opinion is reinforced by the presence of rhymes that are often sung by traditional Baduy elders:

Far with no definite destination, a path without a destination, walking on the edge of a cliff, taking refuge behind a mountain, it is better to be ashamed and humiliated than having to fight with relatives or family who are still one descendant.

According to Rosyid, the pursuit on the escape from Banten Girang continued until an agreement was finally reached between the Baduy tribe and the Banten sultanate. The agreement stated that the Baduy tribe may refuse to embrace Islam, but they are prohibited from growing coffee and cloves and are prohibited from keeping riding animals. When married they must be married off by the head of the government. If they violate, they automatically embrace Islam. Abdul Rasyid aligns with Lubis (2006, pp. 92-106) and Sujana (2020). Both wrote that the Baduy tribe was an escape from the people of Banten Girang because they did not want to recognize the Sultanate of Banten. The pursuit of soldiers from the Banten sultanate continued in the late 16th century until the early 17th century. When they were finally found, an agreement was made between the Sultan of Banten and the fugitive community. The agreement contained several agreements, including: no more than 40 families, no hoes, no rice fields, only three villages allowed, and they would pay tribute to the Sultan of Banten as a form of their acknowledgment of the power of the Sultan of Banten

which was then known as the Sultan of Banten. as *a seba tradition*. In addition, the ratification of marriage by the penghulu or naib from the government by reading the creed.

Rasyid also explained that Ki Sahum or Ki ahum and his family were placed in the Sultanate of Banten on ulayat land, precisely in a settlement named 'cukulan' after the name of the spring that was there. The place was then called the village of Cicakal Girang. Ki Ahum has the task of the Sultan of Banten to marry the Baduy tribe in an agreed manner. In addition, Ki Ahum also has the task of overseeing the continuity of the agreement between the Baduy tribe and the Sultan of Banten. If the Baduy community violates the agreement, the Baduy can be converted to Islam in the Cicakal Girang village. The same thing was conveyed by Muhammad Kasja, a former resident of Tangtu Baduy:

Muslim village is not Baduy. original *Semah* if mahlanguage. Just because there were three agreements earlier, the sultan is going to leave, coming back after the agreement. It's impossible for the sultan to continue to monitor here, the sultan of Banten, so that the sultan was pulled to Demak to join the war, the term is helping the war in Demak, so the name of the first character is deposited here. This figure used to be ceunah panghulu, was made here or established here, panghulu, this panghulu actually used to control, if there is a change in customs, it is known here. How did the Cicakal exist, basically at that time? Basically, the result of the agreement, maybe if we are conquered, our subordinates must be monitored, so what is the evidence for monitoring, now the Muslims are placed here, for that, if someone comes out, there is evidence of that earlier. Outside Baduy, marriage must go to a Muslim leader. (Kasja, personal interview 11 December 2018)

Cicakal Girang, according to the Cicakal Girang community, arose because of an agreement between the Baduy tribe and the sultan of Banten. The function of the Cicakal Girang village itself is not only a place for the penghulu but to oversee the implementation of agreements that have been agreed upon in the daily life of the Baduy community. In this discourse, the Muslim Cicakal Girang is positioned as 'more superior' than the Baduy. Ki Ahum's work in Cicaka Girang was also recorded through the 'Batu Panganten' site artifact. It is a pile of stones with two chair-shaped stones located in the middle of the pile. The word *Panganten* comes from the Sundanese language which means bride.



Figure 1. Batu Panganten (Personal documentation).

This Panganten stone site is located in the center of Cicakal Girang *Landauh*, which is considered the initial area of Cicakal Girang. Batu Penganten is believed to be the location for marrying Baduy people, two stone-shaped chairs are the seats for the bride and groom. This site also produces a new discourse, namely the community's belief that people who visit Cicakal Girang village and then sit on the rock, will soon be reunited with their partner.

From this analysis, we can say that the difference in views regarding Cicakal Girang is a product of the discursive system during the conquest of Banten, which was part of the Sunda Kingdom, by Islam in the 16th century. can be read as an attempt by Banten to exclude Baduy into a society that does not develop commodities and means of transportation. Rice and coffee were trade commodities that allowed an area to become big at that time. The discourse lives on and is integrated into the beliefs of the Baduy and Cicakal Girang people until now. The development of the discourse is also determined by the contestations that have occurred in the past. For example, Baduy residents place Cicakal Girang as 'Baduy Dangka' occupying the lowest hierarchy in the Baduy community system. Meanwhile, the Cicakal Girang residents believe that they are the representatives of the Banten rulers (and the rulers of Baduy) to oversee and Islamize the Baduy community. In this case, this research does not aim to determine which discourse is correct. However, the two discourses both show that Cicakal Girang is not a village for Baduy residents who become Muslims, but a village that was originally inhabited by a Muslim community.

The Practice of Islamic Discourse in Cicakal Girang

Based on the knowledge of the Cicakal Girang residents regarding their own origins, the residents of Cicakal Girang assume that the existing Baduy customary regulations only apply to the Baduy indigenous people. Rosyid said:

As far as I know, the cicakal was placed (in the ulayah land) by the queen, the sultan. In Cicakal Girang, the existence of Baduy was due to the urgency of religion. So, if the Baduy people violate the rules that have been determined by the sultan, then they must convert to Islam. The provisions that are prohibited by the sultan, do not be like Muslims. Such as not being allowed to use sandals, shoes, not being allowed to have a vehicle, not being allowed to use soap, not being allowed to plant like coffee. If you violate, you must convert to Islam. (Rasyid, personal interview. 27 December 2018)

The Cicakal Girang residents, like Rosyid, consider the custom that is now being practiced by the Baduy as an agreement with the Sultan of Banten. The prohibitions in the Baduy customary rules are so that the Baduy people do not act like Muslims. Thus, the Cicakal Girang residents should not have to obey the customs of the Baduy people. However, according to Rasyid, many Cicakal Girang residents obeyed Baduy customs because Muslims were a minority at that time.

So, the penghulu was the sultan's envoy. Well, the existence of the Cicakal village to Islamize the Baduy people. So, in Cicakal there should be education, there should be a mosque or prayer room, there should be a school. But Baduy is anti-education. If you convert to Islam, you should go to Cicakal, but because there are only a few Cicakal people, those who should be watching over the Baduy are the Cicakal people. Not according to customary rules, just not daring. If people here insist, the elders will complain directly to the district, to the province. Anyway, it's like being locked up in the shell, because of customary regulations. (Rasyid, personal interview, 27 December 2018)

The Cicakal Girang community realizes that the current situation is actually the other way around. Baduy as the majority dominate and control the Cicakal Girang community which is a minority in the Kanekes area. The Cicakal Girang people actually don't want to obey the customary rules, but they don't dare to confront the Baduy people who make up the majority on ulayat land. However, the Cicakal Girang residents produce cultural practices that match their identity as descendants of Ki Ahum who is indeed a Muslim, and in some ways, this discourse is used to accept and connect with the 'modernization' of the community

outside Baduy. In 1972, the residents of Cicakal Girang built a mosque with a simple stage form, so as not to accept rejection from Baduy elders. The mosque was later renovated and expanded with assistance from the Muhammadiyah organization in 1992.



Figure 2. Kampung Cicakal Girang Mosque (personal documentation).

In the same year, the Cicakal Girang community leader also pioneered Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, a religious school elementary school level. Education is one thing that is strictly prohibited by Baduy customs, but the Cicakal Girang residents later established it. The permanent building for the school was only erected in 1977 and in 2006 MI Masyarikhul Huda was able to have permanent classes through the assistance of the Ministry of Religion.



Figure 3. MI Masyarikhul Huda (personal documentation).

After the establishment of MI Masyarikhul Huda, in 1988 KH Abdul Rosyid founded a pesantren under the name Daarul Huda. This is the first pesantren to be established in the village of Cickal Girang. In the same year, the village of Cicakal Girang was represented by

Ahmad Hidayat, a preacher from the PP Muhammadiyah who lived in the village, joined the BMB (Baduy Community Bureau) and became one of the BMB centers. BMB is an institution that specifically handles Baduy converts, both those who are still in the Inner Baduy, the Outer Baduy, and the Baduy community). BMB was formed by people who cared about the Baduy community, at that time BMB was chaired by H. Hasan Alidrus, Regional Leader of Muhammadiyah Lebak. BMB activities include coaching Baduy converts, providing housing for Baduy converts, and compensation for Baduy converts (Hidayat, personal interview January 2, 2019).



Figure 4. The Daarul Huda Islamic Boarding School (personal documentation).

However, the Islamic practice carried out by the Cicakal Girang residents was not without opposition from the Baduy community. In 1972, the forerunner of MI Masyarikhul Huda was initiated by Empang's father, the head of the RT This school was opposed by the Baduy Indigenous Institution when the classroom building was erected and Ahmad Hidayat and his wife settled in Cicakal Girang to promote schooling and education there.

According to Ai Dewi's story, Jaro and Empang visited him to be warned for violating customary regulations (Dewi, personal interview, 23 November 2018). This issue was resolved with great difficulty between the residents of Cicakal Girang and the Baduy adat institution. As a result, the *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* Masyarikhul Huda may be established but on condition that it is only devoted to the Cicakal Girang community or people outside Kanekes. Indigenous peoples are not allowed to receive the benefits education through formal schools

Disputes between women The Cicakal Girang and Baduy clans also occurred when the mosque, which was originally built on a stage, was made permanent in 1992. Permanent buildings are not allowed on ulayat land. According to Empang, at that time the people of

Cickal Girang wanted to be expelled. However, the punishment was not carried out because of the consideration of one of the traditional Baduy elders who warned that the expulsion of the Cicakal Girang was tantamount to disobeying the mandala's duty to *care for the queen, ngajayak menak*. The existence of Cicakal Girang as an agreement between the Baduy customary institutions and the Sultanate of Banten was also the reason for the abolition of the sentence. (Empang, personal interview, 16 November 2018).

The establishment of mosques and Islamic schools in Cicaka Girang, in our opinion, is a practice of Islamic discourse from Cicakal Girang's own past. So it is not appropriate to call it 'Islamization', which usually refers to the activities of converting people who were not previously Muslim. What is happening in Cicakal Girang is a cultural practice that originates from the discourse that has been left behind and continues to be reproduced by the residents of Cicakal Girang -and also the Baduy. The Baduy indigenous people also reproduced it when they made an agreement between the Baduy and the Sultanate of Banten to cancel the sanctions on the Cicakal Girang residents. Furthermore, there are two important points in the Islamic cultural practice of the Cickal Girang residents. First, this practice then connects the Cicakal Girang residents with outsiders from the ulayat land, for example the government (Ministry of Religion) or Islamic organizations. Second, this practice strengthens the identity of the Cicakal Girang residents that they do not have to live like Baduy residents. So, they start to live like non-baduy citizens.

The distinction between Cicakal Girang village and other villages in Kanekes village began around the 1970s (Empang, personal interview, 16 november 2018). In that year the Cickal Girang residents disobeyed the Baduy Customary prohibition. They started working on the rice fields on the lands of the Cicakal Girang villagers, building houses without stilts, planting cloves, coffee and cocoa.

This activity is of course opposed by the Baduy customary holders because it is included in the prohibitions that should not be carried out by people living on ulayat land, both for the people of the Tangtu and Panamping areas. The Baduy customary institution immediately damaged the rice fields and cut down the forbidden plants belonging to the Cicakal Girang residents. In addition, H. Ali Syawal and the father of Empang were reported to the Leuwidamar Police on charges of violating adat (planting rice fields and plantations). According to Empang, H. Ali Syawal and his father were detained for several days.



Figure 5. Huma of the Baduy community (personal documentation).

Abdul Rasyid said that the Cicakal Girang community builds rice fields and gardens forbidden plants to meet their daily needs. Cicakal Girang's arable land began to decrease because many of their lands became settlements due to population growth. Rasyid reasoned that if the Cicakal Girang residents continued to follow Baduy customs, they would lack their daily needs. The main livelihood of the Cicakal Girang community is farming, so land is important for them. Until 2004, officials from the Baduy customs cleared rice fields, clove plants, coffee and cocoa (Empang, personal interview, 16 November 2018). When the field research was conducted, the residents of Cickal Girang seemed to have more freedom to cultivate their fields.



Figure 6. Rice fields in Cicakal Girang (personal documentation).

In 2017 a stone road was started to be built from the village border to the Cicakal Girang village. Initially, the road was intended to be built with asphalt but was strongly rejected by the Baduy Customary Institution because it would affect the entry of transportation such as motorbikes and cars to the ulayat land. The asphalt road is still being worked on but outside the customary land, namely in the village of Kebon Cau which is the closest border between Kanekes village and Cicakal Girang village.

After the asphalt road on the border, the people of Cickal Girang village tried to build a stone road so that two-wheeled vehicles could reach the village. According to Mrs. Ai Dewi, the people of Cickal Girang village are starting to realize that transportation can support economic progress in Cicakal Girang. At the time the field research was carried out, the stone road had only been realized 100 M from the asphalt border road to the Cicakal Girang village because it was opposed by the Baduy Customary Institution.

Many Cicakal Girang people can read and write. Their livelihoods, which were previously only farming, became diverse. There are two Cicakal Girang residents who work as administrative employees at the Kanekes village government office. Several residents of Cicakal Girang work as honorary teachers at MI Masyarikhul Huda and MTs located in Cicakal Girang. Ai Dewi stated that as a Muslim, the people of Cickal Girang need to develop. The Cicakal Girang community will not be strong with Baduy customary rules because their way of life is different from Baduy. Islam that makes them dare to violate Baduy customs, in our opinion, is not Islam as an ideology (Islam as an ideology that accepts modernity) but Islamic practice as a continuation of the discourse on the identity of Cicakal Girang which from the beginning was different from Baduy in the 16th century.

The Cicakal Girang community understands very well that the customary regulations that are considered to be restrictive are applied to the Cicakal Girang residents because they inhabit the Panamping area. Why don't they just leave their customary lands? According to Mrs. Ai Dewi, the transfer is not an easy thing:

Yes. Restricting to move forward, people here also say "ah, it's useless, what's that?" Baduy people themselves now think like that. But they have not been able to rebel because there is no stepping stone if they want to get out of here (customary land), move from Kanekes village. Because they moved from here, they couldn't take anything with them. (Ai Dewi, personal interview dated 2018)

The Cicakal Girang community prefers to stay in Kanekes even though they are pressured by warnings for violating customs. These violations are their way of surviving. They cannot guarantee their lives if they are outside the Kanekes area. Therefore, although Cicakal Girang are very loose in carrying out their customs, they adhere to some Baduy

customs. They continue to be connected as part of the Baduy tradition. On the other hand, the Baduy indigenous people also continue to position the Cicakal Girang as a mentor.

Cicakal Girang as a Connecting Space

Even though the Cicakal Girang community violates the customary rules of Baduy, Baduy Tangtu continues to maintain and reproduce the discourse of Cicakal Girang as a Panamping village, as part of the Kanekes community.

Cicakal Girang village for the Baduy community is a place for the 'penghulu queen'. In the past, Cicakal Girang was the residence of the head of the village who connected the Baduy with the marriage regulations of the Sultanate of Banten, now Cicakal Girang is considered as the representative of KUA during the current administration. Jaro Alim stated that Puun (the highest leader of Baduy customs) understood the conditions put forward by the Indonesian government so that every marriage must be recorded after going through the marriage ritual. According to Jaro Alim, *Ngasuh Ratu*, *Ngajayak Menak* (Care for Rulers and protect dignitaries) are in accordance with one of the duties of *Urang Kanekes*. Complying with government regulations is included in this task, whoever the ruler or government is if there is an order for *urang Kanekes* as long as it does not conflict with *pikukuh* and great-grandchildren, it is his duty to carry out (Jaro Alim, personal interview, 14 December 2018). Empang, the head of the RT in Cicakal Girang, also stated the same thing that Cicakal Girang is the place of the head of the village.

In the past, there was a message from the Baduy people that it was okay for people here to live in customary lands. They just had to take care of traditional people like marrying Baduy people. There are *amil* here who marry Baduy people, they marry by reading the two sentences of the creed. (Empang, personal interview, 16 November 2018)

Baduy, in this statement, is defined as land managers while the Cicakal Girang people are immigrants who are allowed to stay to serve the Baduy. Cicakal Girang becomes the "fence" of Baduy to maintain the authenticity of the Tangtu Baduy wedding tradition without having to violate the *mandala*. Furthermore, Jaro Alim said that from the beginning, customary regulations were applied to the people of the Cicakal Girang village, with the exception of religious rituals such as the traditional ceremonies of *kawalu*, *ngalaksa*, and so on. According to him, the physical customary regulations (not farming with rice fields, prohibition of growing coffee, etc.) must be followed by the residents of Cicakal Girang because Cicakal Girang is in the customary land environment. Baduy customs do not

interfere with or prohibit Cicakal Girang from carrying out religious activities, but customary values on ulayat land must be implemented (Jaro Alim, personal interview, 15 December 2018).

The series of Baduy's opposition to what was done by the Cicakal Girang residents, as explained in the previous sub-chapter, is the Baduy's efforts to uphold customary values. However, the enforcement of regulations on Cicaka Girang is always based on the discourse of Cicaka Girang which plays the role of 'penghulu Ratu'. Jaro Alim said that customary regulations were based on Pikukuh. The pikukuh is passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors through oral tradition because they do not know writing. The pikukuh and great-grandchildren read:

Great-grandfather entrusted to the puun, thirty-three countries, sixty-five rivers, the center of twenty-five countries, mountains cannot be loosened, valleys cannot be damaged, taboo prohibitions cannot be violated, customs cannot be changed, lengths cannot be cut. , short ones should not be spliced, don't claim what belongs to others, what shouldn't be allowed, what's right must be justified, taking must be permitted, taking something you have to ask for, chopping kencur and ginger must tell the owner, taking fruit from a tree must ask first, say you have to think about it first and don't hurt other people, don't talk casually, don't steal even if you lack, don't commit adultery. (Jaro Alim personal interview 14 December 2018)

This pikukuh may have been written by many scholars who wrote about the Baduy. The contents are more or less the same. Pikukuh according to Jaro Alim's memory that we recorded may have slightly different contents from what Sujana reported (2020). The interesting thing is that there is no fundamental change from pikukuh. The contents do not refer to practical matters, such as the prohibition of growing coffee or growing cocoa. This means that the prohibition on certain practices depends on the 'actual interpretation' of the traditional elders in the form of adat deliberations. It is this interpretation that may have resulted in a leniency of punishment for the Cickal Girang residents.

The Cicakal Girang residents are also aware that the policies that apply in Kanekes village are actually the result of deliberation by traditional elders consisting of Puun (the highest customary leader), Jaro tangtu (traditional leaders in the tangtu area), and Jaro Panamping (traditional leaders in the panamping area). Empang explained that in every deliberation, representatives from Cickal Girang were always invited to participate, even though it was only limited to following and listening. Baduy are worried that if they are not included, the understanding that they are still part of the Baduy territory will be lost. Furthermore, the participation of Cicakal Girang representatives in customary deliberations

is to find out the results of the deliberation or to convey a warning if they pass customary regulations (Empang, personal interview, 16 November 2018).

The connection between Baduy and Cicakal Girang as Panamping continues to be reproduced through this deliberation. Baduy traditional leaders are positioned as ulayat land managers, who interpret how pikukuh is implemented. Meanwhile, the Cicakal Girang community cannot propose a policy because they are immigrants. Thus, the discourse of the Cicakal Girang village as a panamping village legalizes the Baduy traditional leaders to apply customary regulations to the Cicakal Girang community even though they do not recognize the Cicakal Girang as part of the indigenous community. Carrying out customs must be considered normal for the Cicakal Girang community.

Despite many violations, the residents of Cicakal Girang still obey some Baduy regulations. One of the most important customs in the relationship between Baduy and Cicakal Girang is the practice of 'wooden fragrance', the use of a tree or a boulder as a marker of the working area.

Each has the right; the sign is like using a tree. What tree is planted, can't pass. This property is protected by trees, there is a border with the outside Baduy as well. Cannot attack. It is limited by trees that can grow, like the Hanjuang tree, for example. Those who own the land have their own trees. That, if you don't use bates, there will be clashes, fights. From his ancestors like that. (Empang, personal interview, 16 November 2018)

The Cicakal Girang, Outer/Panamping Baduy and Tangtu Baduy communities have the right to cultivate which is usually marked by the practice of 'wooden fragrance'. This practice is carried out because Baduy do not know fences. Fencing the land is tantamount to claiming the land as one's own (Sucipto, et al, 2017, p. 41). By practicing this, Cicakal Girang residents also have the same belief in ulayat land, that ulayat land is not owned by individuals, but is shared property managed by indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

Cicakal Girang is a community that has been Muslim since its inception and has lived in the land of Ulayat. Cicakal Girang and the Islamic activities in it are the practice of the existing discourse system; namely Cicakal Girang as a place for the 'penghulu queen' for the Baduy community. He was different from the Baduy community from the start, and was respected for his differences by the Baduy community. The development of religious activities (Islam) in Cicakal Girang must be seen as 'Islamization' (with quotes). The development of this

activity is also respected by Indigenous Baduy, because adat does not prohibit religious practices.

The discourse as a place for the 'penghulu Ratu' who is Muslim is then used by the residents of Cicakal Girang to distinguish themselves from the Baduy in the ulayat land. They then built schools/madrasas, as well as other practices prohibited by Baduy customs. With this cultural practice they are also connected with the government and the outside world. With the discourse of 'penghulu Ratu', they can also get some concessions to Baduy customs.

On the other hand, the Baduy indigenous community continues to include Cickal Girang as part of the Baduy. Although Cicakal Girang commits many customary violations, Cicakal Girang is part of the Penamping. The Baduy indigenous community continues to include the Cicaka Girang in customary deliberations where practical interpretations of the Pikukuh Adat are discussed. The Baduy indigenous community needs the Cicakal Girang as a liaison with the outside world, for example in formal state regulations. Again, the Baduy community also continues to reproduce the discourse of Cicaka Girang as a place for the 'penghulu Ratu'. In line with that, the residents of Cicakal Girang also obey several important regulations. One of the most important is the tradition that maintains the belief in land ownership in ulayat lands; scented wood. Beliefs that are important to prevent expansion of territory.

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