

The Bodily Intelligence of Pagawéan Barudak in Baduy Society

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Abstract

The term of Toys in Inner Baduy society, is not familiar. They call it *Pagawéan Barudak*, meaning the action of using tools as activities. The study was conducted in Inner Baduy, which focused on three villages, namely Cibeo, Cikeusik and Cikartawana. The study was conducted by identifying those forms of activities -Pagawéan Barudak- which use the body as a medium. The Body Intelligence existing in Baduy embodies their compliance awareness to the *pikukuh and pitutur* of Baduy society, which begins from the pre-birth stage to *pagawéan kolot* stage. The Baduy lifetime when it comes down to *Buana Panca* tengah (the earth), is guaranteed by *Sanghiyang Gerit* who will protect them. The body is a medium for the human soul when living in *Buana*. All activities in the *Pagawéan barudak* stage consist of the process of body development with purpose to live in harmony with the earth and its nature followed by the soul consciousness which is close to the soul of the Earth (anima mundi).

Keyword : Baduy Dalam, plays, Body.

1. INTRODUCTION

The life of the Baduy society who preserves their tradition values from the outside world, makes the life of the Baduy children different from the Sundanese tribe in general. The society has developed a nurture system of its own through games. According to a child development expert, the child is inseparable from social and cultural activities (Gavin&parke, 2010). *Puun* (the highest leader in Inner Baduy) stated that playing is not part of their lives. They do not recognize the term “play” or in Sundanese, *ulin*, as part of their parenting system. The Inner Baduy’s children activities explained in a book by Jul. Jacobs and J.J Meijer (1891) are rice pounding (*toetoetoean*), rice basket lid (*turup sumbul*), rice sorting (*tatapian*), *olah-olahan* (*kokence*), weaving (*nininunan*), imitating and hiding (*sassamunian*). The rice pounding or *nutu* is not related to playing activity but the term *toetoetoean* or *nunutuan* is an imitation of rice pounding activity. This activity is performed by the girls while babysitting their younger siblings. *Nunutuan* is still performed until now in Cikeusik Inner Baduy.

They know the term *ulin*, which means a process after a Baduy has finished their field work or any other duty, in which during the interlude to the next phase, they perform *ulin*, taking a stroll or visiting some place. In their parenting system, they have the term called *Pagawéan Barudak* for the children activity. The term *Pagawéan Barudak* refers to the result of work done by the children. *Pagawéan Barudak* is the process of activity designed to develop the knowledge system and learning process of the customary and rules, which were stated in the *pikukuh* or the life guidance of the Baduy society.

The *Pagawéan Barudak* is the activity during physical development stage, from the infant to adult age. Child development includes any alterations, whether physical, cognitive, emotional or psychosocial development during early growth. The physical growth in children is heavily related to their motoric development. The motoric development is the body movement control through the coordinated activities of the nervous system, muscle, brain and spinal cord. Motoric development covers both fine and gross motor skills. In addition, the motoric development could develop well if the child has adequate opportunity to perform physical activity and full-body movement.

1.1 Research Method

Culture investigation is performed during this study with in-depth study of the Inner Baduy in Tangtu area, namely the Cibeo, Cikeusik and Cikartawana villages. This study is focused on *Pagawéan Barudak*, the children physical activity. The methodology for this study is the ethnographic method with the cognitive anthropology, neo ethnography and ethnoscience methodologies, focusing on the children activities in Inner Baduy society. From the culture, as the base knowledge system, mankind obtain the process of learning that could be used to interpret their surrounding and construct behavioral strategy to deal with their environment (James P. Spredley: 17).

This ethnography study uses five principles, namely the single technique, task identification, developmental sequence, original study and problem solving. The grounded theory is expected after following the steps of the developmental sequence within the ethnographical research.

The Developmental Research Sequence is performed as the methodology steps for the ethnographical study. This methodology has the characteristic of defining culture as knowledge system obtained by mankind through observation learning process. The steps taken in this study are the single research technique, such as ethnographic interviews, with Puun Jaro, the public figure of the Inner Baduy, and the *Pagawéan Barudak*

performers as the informants. The other steps are task identification, composing strategy or stage, and synchronizing with customary rules of the Inner Baduy. Lastly, problem solving, that the study could contribute to solve the problems in the society, is the pinnacle of Developmental Research Sequence of ethnographical research.

1.2 Developmental Process of the Inner Baduy Children

Within Inner Baduy society, they have stages of parenting system and *pikukuh* values teaching process, which are delivered through value transfer medium. The teaching focuses on each stage which is not agreed upon officially, but being used consciously based on the stages of age. The stage starts in pre-natal age, the conscious ego between body and soul. *Aing* refers to the unity of both body and soul, and the bodiless ego is called with the term *ai* without *ng*, in *aing*.

Before *Aing* descended to the mortal world, he came from Rama and was greeted by Sang Ambu or Sunan Ambu, titled Ambu Si Sudakara, or Ambu Langit. When *Aing* accepted the task from Ambu Langit, he refused to descend to the Buana Panca Tengah, with various reasons, such as “*seuneuna panas, besina seukeut, usik malik wawangunan*” (the fire is hot, the blade is sharp, and the movement is limited). And Ambu Langit said, “*Turunlah anakku di buana panca tengah. Panas dapat didinginkan. Tajam dapat ditumpulkan. Semua ada di Buana Panca Tengah dapat dijadikan dunia. Anakku tak usah khawatir segalanya telah disiapkan untuk anaku. Bekal untukmu dalam penggambaran dipersiapkan di sanghyang gerit. Manakala anaku kekurangan bekal ambilah bekal itu di sang hyang gerit akan tetapi hendaklah berhati-hati bekal itu jangan diambil semuanya sisakan bila kelak engkau anaku pulang ketempat asalmu.*”

(Descend, my child. Heat could be cooled. Sharpness could be blunted. Everything in Buana Panca Tengah could become the world. Worry not, my child, everything has been prepared for you. The provision for your presence had been prepared by Sanghyang Gerit. By the time the provision is insufficient, seek Sanghyang Gerit for another provision. Be cautious as to not to take all of it. Save for someday you shall return where you came from, my child) *Aing* could not refuse the task. Therefore, he arrived on the lap of Ambu Tengah, named Nyi Randakasih, who is depicted as a widow. After introducing himself and receiving affection, *Aing* descended and arrived on the lap of Ambu Bumi, named Ambu Dayang Wirati. Afterwards, *Aing* received love of lust. Therefore, from the affection of a mother and a child, both were called *Indung Simbarang Kandung* and *Bapa Simbarang Jadikeun*. Afterwards, *Aing* resided in the womb of *Indung Simbarang*.

During his resident inside *Indung Simbarang Kandung* (the pregnant mother), *Aing* meditated in order to complete his body parts before adapting on Buana Panca Tengah.

The meditation name for each month is called as follows:

1. *Sabulan disebut ngaherang*
2. *Dua bulan ngalenggang*
3. *Tilu bulan ngarupa*
4. *Opat bulan ngareka*
5. *Lima bulan malik muter*
6. *Genep bulan tumpang pitu*
7. *Tujuh bulan nunjuk ka sanghyang manggung*
8. *Dalapan bulan lilimbungan ditanah payung*
9. *Salapan bulan matur ka ambu rek ngumbara ka panca tengah*

The pre-natal stage in Inner Baduy society was filled by all of the *pikukuh* or obeyed *pitutur*, then delivered to next stage, the *pupulih* stage.

The infant stage, called *pupulih* stage, is the period of value transferring medium through stories and lores for the children, such as *Semah Kasep* and *Putri Bungsu*. The other stories are:

1. *Putri Bungsu*
2. *Semah Kasép*
3. *Raden kamasan*
4. *Sakadang Peucang*
5. *Sidadap*
6. *Oa Jeung aul*

The *pupulih* stage is filled with the stories about Buana Panca Tengah (the earth), so the child would listen, feel and get to know about life and first introduction about *jampi-jampi* (spells). The stories portray obedience to the customary rules, honesty and affection aspect from the characters' role in the stories. *Pupulih* is being told during the child with the mother, both of the parents, or before bed time. The storytelling phase also has difference between *carita budak* (children story) and *carita kolot* (adult story). Stories for the adult are usually about the cosmos or the universe, such as the *Budak Buncireung* story about life since infant to adulthood and also the magic power of the ancestors. On the other hand, the children story also has vast content such as in the *Oa jeung Aul* (fable story about monkey), that narrates the origins of place, animal, river and village. The content of the story is

about *Pikukuh* and *Buyut*.

The *Semah Kasep* (Handsome Guest) is a story that should be told to the bride during the wedding. The story narrates about the arrival of the groom, *Semah Kasep*, a tribute for the groom. During the *pupulih* stage, the children absorb all the moral aspect of the stories, therefore the benefit would be used in the next stage, the *pagawéan barudak*. The *pagawéan barudak* is the stage of skills training being introduced to prepare the children for the next stage, the *jampe* and *gawe*. During the *pagawéan barudak* stage, the activity resembles play activity that benefits skills for the future.

Some of the *pagawéan barudak* games are:

1. *Lulumpatan* Form

A type of game which is performed during their time around the field or village area. The difference of the chasing or running games with the outer Baduy society is the rules. *Lulumpatan* form is the result of the spirit of the children and the attempt to equate the stride of their parents, therefore they are getting familiar with the fast and slow concept. The meaning of *silih anteur* or accompanying each other between the child and the parents equals to the term of *silih asih*, *silih asah* and *silih asuh*. The term *silih* means being reciprocal or coupled, where in Sundanese, *silih* means substitution or replacement. For example in the Sundanese idiom, "*ulah Jati ka silih ku junti*." Therefore, the term *silih* in *lulumpatan* game is exchanging the roles between the child and the parents. It means, when a child learn to walk, the parents would walk in slower pace, but without losing the roles as the parents. On the other hand, the child would run to equate the pace of the parents without losing the roles as the child. This process is part of the modeling or value transmission from parents to their children.

2. *Pipikulan pendul peuteuy* Form

Pipikulan peuteuy is carrying *Peuteuy* or bitter beans (*parkia speciosa*), that is performed during harvesting time as a competition to carry it to the village or *saung huma* from the farm. The process of carrying back and forth from the farm to the house contains a concept of bearing responsibility in the "*pagawéan dewasa*," or the adult stage. During carrying the beans on the shoulder, the child would understand the difference between front and back, therefore it becomes his/her knowledge to balance of not losing what's on the back when looking forward and not losing what's on the front when looking backward.

3. *Tatawuan* Form

Tawu in Sundanese is the work to move something by containing with the hands. *Tatawuan* is performed by the children at the stream near the inner Baduy village. They dam up and divide the stream. The flow will move to the other side of the dammed side. At the downstream of the dammed side, the water is drained by hands (*tawu*) in order to get the fish and other animals from the stream. Their hands and bodies are trained to understand the element of water in fun way. The contained side becomes vacant, the vacant side becomes contained with fishes. Getting fishes without tools is also an activity for the adulthood stage for the ceremonial preparation of the inner Baduy.

4. *Lumpat Peureum* Form

Lumpat peureum, running while closing the eyes is a form performed by the children during their leave to the field or return to their house because of they have memorized the path everyday, even with eyes closed. With their eyes opened, it becomes bright and they can walk the path easily. When their eyes are closed (*peureum*), they can walk, even run. They can feel the difference of both light and dark because of each nature of the condition. They understand during their eyes closed that they still can sense because of the tactile sensory. They still can feel their presence both in light and dark.

5. *Jalan Nukang* Form

Jalan nukang is performed during their trip either from or to the field. The children turn their back and walk with their back towards the target direction.

The usage and training of their own body during *pagawéan barudak* activity is part of the skill training using their expression towards their world in fun way. Those forms also give them the opportunity to train their bodily intelligence.

The *pagawéan barudak* that uses object does not always take form as activity instead. The Baduy children use their body as the medium to produce object, such as measuring with the body as the measuring tool, their teeth to bind rope, the thigh to weave *ngarara* rope or as pad, the toe to disentangle the rope. The size of the body also become the measuring medium for the equipment of *pagawéan barudak*.

1.2.1 Body as Measuring Tool

In the stage of *pagawéan barudak*, the Inner Baduy uses different measuring scale compared to the society in general. They use the body as the measuring base, for example the measurement of *sabeulah awak*, that means the measurement start from the middle part of the body to the far part of the stretched arm, and if the wrist is fold during *sabeulah awak* position, it becomes *sahasta*.

The use of measurement in *pagawéan barudak* takes place during material searching and picking, which is measured on the body in order to easily facilitate on the producing process. In vernacular design, the designer is the maker, user and owner of the product, therefore every member of Inner Baduy can produce their own

pagawéan barudak. During the visit to Inner Baduy, every child could make and have the knowledge of it.

The *sadeupa* measurement is used in bigger or longer *pagawéan barudak* object. This measurement is mostly used in measuring longer material or as distance measurement.

The *sajeujeuh* measurement, about one foot size, is mostly used to measure length of the farm. The method is counting on how many steps of the foot.

The *satangkeup* measurement uses the body as measuring tool related to diameter and circumference of any circle object, such as tree, by hugging position and circling position of the hands on the object, and by releasing one hand the measurement become *sarogoh*, which usually is used to measure the depth.

The fingers are also used to measure smaller scale less than the size of arm length and body, such as measuring bamboo length or circumference for the *pagawéan barudak pitondok*. *Sajeungkal* is measurement method by stretching the palm and counted by the farthest point of the thumb and little finger.

For other smaller diametrical measurement is *satekem*, which is counted as one when the finger touch the base palm.

Sadeupa tungkup is used when the scale is wider than one finger and smaller than two arms stretched. It is the measurement of *sadeupa* with both wrist folded. For the weight measurement, they use the body strength limit as the scale. *Salaya* is the maximum of one arm strength to carry an object.

The use of body as standard for measurement scale is how the Baduy inform the scale during the measuring process. The parents show on how to inform the measurement using the body size of their children. For example when the parent instructs the child to get an object with *sadeupa* scale, it means the measurement is based on the child's arm length. The child carries the instruction without further question or even measuring tool. Even though the scale would be different, the simple and appropriate concept is used in their practical design. And it wouldn't become problem, as based on vernacular design, they are the maker, user and owner, so the scale is based on the user.

1.3 Conclusion

Based on Piaget, a child learns through their motoric sensor. The concept in the brain formed in 0-2 years old child is based on motoric sensor sensation. Learning process becomes better if carried out with movement, touch, hearing and not only sight sense. Therefore the body movement and bodily intelligence of Inner Baduy children through *pagawéan barudak* playing activity is the activity for,

Balance. As the children running and jumping during their trip to the field, they learn balance. The children will learn to focus on their attention and enjoying their body movement. They learn to focus on the path and become aware of their surrounding support the learning process for balance of their body. Body image, when the children with their eyes closed, they feel and observe their body shape without seeing it, feeling the shape of their feet, and shape of their hands that maintain the balance. Therefore, they recognize their own body shape and feel it with deeper sensation. They feel their feet, hips, calves, knees, elbows, back of their bodies and fingers by imagining they could distinguish their bodies in darkness. *Lumpat peureum* (running with closed eyes) is a learning process to not being dependant to their sight and hearing, which could be deceiving because of their logic process (which is connected to the left brain works). The characteristic of the logic is limited to what could be seen and heard. *Lumpat peureum* is a learning process to train their keenness of their inner eyes (which is connected to the right brain work, the intuition). In conclusion, the individual being is trained to unite with pulse of the universe to improve their inner sight as the place where the divine presence works, therefore the children could feel the energy vibrating from every plants, trees or animals around them.

Lumpat peureum is *pagawéan barudak* (activity game) that improves the perceptual abilities, helps a child to interpret the stimuli appropriately on adapting with the environment and to produce more efficient and effective behavior (Harrow 1971).

Lateralization. During their activity in *mamangulan pendul peuteuy* with the left and right shoulders, by the direction or information from friends, they are moving by following the order. The children move by following the rhythm of the load.

Coordination. The speed of a child performing the activity, that demands the ability of visual motoric coordination, will influence the child's ability to comprehend various abstract concepts in adult stage.

During *tatawuan* activity, that is running, running with eyes closed or running backward, the visual would influence the child to coordinate the abstract concept by imagining what they pass through with eyes closed.

Using body size as the measuring standard in order to adapt appropriately with the nature is one of the way to familiarize the body to its surrounding, which results respect as the main inner attitude. The make use of natural resources and the environment becomes sufficient, not excessive and losing control.

Pagawéan barudak is a process to prepare the child to *jampe* and *gawe* stage, that the children prepare their body that remind the soul to enter the stage of *jampe and gawe*.

The earth is Sanghyang Gerit,

“Descend, my child. Heat could be cooled. Sharpness can be blunted. Everything in Buana Panca Tengah

could become the world. Worry not, my child, everything has been prepared for you. The provision for your presence had been prepared by Sanghyang Gerit. By the time the provision is insufficient, seek Sanghyang Gerit for another provision. Be cautious as to not to take all of it. Save for someday you shall return where you came from”

The soul serves the body, therefore the body protects the soul in this world, as Sanghyang Gerit assured the body. The body will feel the heat but can be cooled, the body feels sharpness of the blade but can be blunted. Our *usik malik* has already set, but the body will facilitate and all the needs are provided by Sanghyang Gerit (world). Sanghyang Gerit is the anima mundi that unites and harmonizes the body and soul. Anima mundi is the core of all the matter in the world but it's not the part of the matter itself.

Anima Mundi is believed to have a relationship with the human soul. It is said that Anima Mundi's wisdom and knowledge were originated from wisdom and knowledge of mankind.

Anima Mundi is not a static substance, but a living and dynamic, created from hope, dream and deepest imagination of mankind and all the creatures, a universal consciousness that connects the consciousness of mankind of all time. The body is a connecting road between the soul of a man and Anima mundi or Sanghyang Gerit. Therefore the Inner Baduy uses and utilizes the body as bodily intelligence medium to approach the world soul. Therefore, the Baduy's consciousness as parts of the macrocosmic, is a service and devotion activity.

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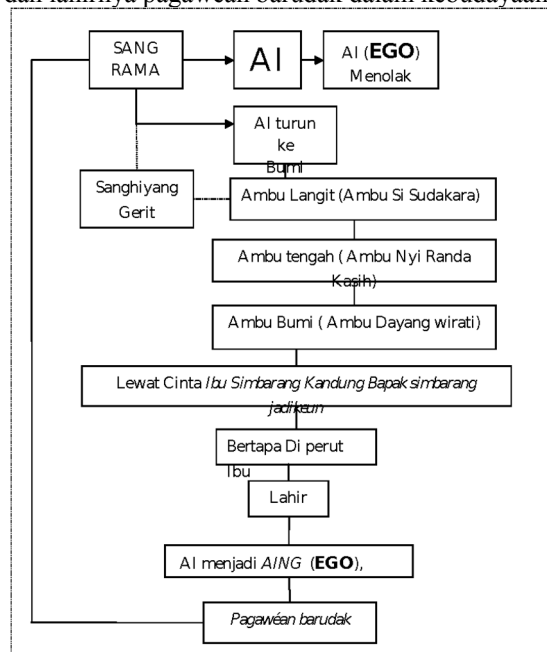
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Notes

Table 1. Pola Kelahiran anak dan lahirnya pagawéan barudak dalam kebudayaan Inner Baduy



Tabel 2. The Human Development Stage of the Inner Baduy.

No.	Level	Value transfer type	Age
1.	Infant (<i>Budak Leutik</i>)	<i>Pupulih</i>	0-3
2.	Child (<i>Budak</i>)	<i>Pagawéan barudak</i>	3-16
3.	Marriage	<i>Jampe-jampe dan gawe</i>	16-40
4.	Kolot	<i>Pagawéan kolot</i>	40-Keatas