

# Some notes on the *pantun* storytelling of the Baduy minority group

## Its written and audiovisual documentation

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### ABSTRACT

Baduy *pantun* stories are part of the larger Sundanese oral tradition of *pantun* storytelling in west Java. The stories recount the deeds of the nobility of such old Sundanese kingdoms as Pajajaran and Galuh. Although the Baduy still recite the *pantun* stories in their rituals, in the larger cities to the east of the Baduy village Kanékés *pantun* recitation almost disappeared. On the basis of short periods of fieldwork in and around Kanékés village between 1976 and 2014, in this essay I shall discuss Baduy *pantun* storytelling. I shall summarize earlier major publications and analyse some performance aspects of two Baduy *pantun* stories which I recorded. Although I do not concentrate on the text, I do discuss a few cultural issues arising from the texts. Baduy oral literature also includes children's and women's songs, as well as fables and myths of origin (*dongéng*) which do not involve music. These will not be discussed here.

### KEYWORDS

*Pantun*; storytelling; west Java; Sundanese; Baduy; minority; performative aspects; music; *raja*; *kacapi*; oral literature; audiovisual.

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## 1. BADUY AND THEIR ORAL LITERATURE IN THE LARGER SUNDAANESE CONTEXT<sup>1</sup>

The Baduy form a minority group of some 12,000 people who live in the village of Kanékés, Leuwidamar district of the Rangkasbitung region in Banten Province in western Java, an area of about 51 km<sup>2</sup>. For at least 200 years no other groups except the Baduy lived in Kanékés. The Baduy speak a Sundanese dialect, as do the people living around them, but their social organization and religion (*Sunda wiwitan*) are not the same as those of the surrounding Islamic Sundanese. In 1999 the Baduy were recognized as an indigenous community with collective land rights.

According to 2014 figures<sup>2</sup> there are two main groups of Baduy:

1. about 1,200 Inner Baduy people living in three hamlets, who to the north, east and west are surrounded by
2. about 10,000 Outer Baduy living in the other circa sixty hamlets of Kanékés village.

There are also about 700 Baduy living in hamlets outside Kanékés (*dangka* hamlets), who adhere to the rules of the Baduy way of life. Baduy life is governed by many prohibitions and regulations handed down by the ancestors. For instance, rice should be grown on non-irrigated fields (*huma*). The Baduy are not allowed to go to school or to possess a motorbike or car, nor can they have mobile phones, electricity, radio or television. The people of Kanékés, especially the group of the Inner Baduy, are supposed to live a very modest, ritually pure way of life. However, not all the rules are strictly observed.

Like other groups elsewhere in the Sundanese area, the Baduy know *pantun* stories and still perform them. In fact, although the Baduy still regularly recite *pantun*, in the larger towns of West Java the recitation of *pantun* seems to have disappeared almost entirely. Nevertheless, the *pantun* stories are still known and part of this heritage lives on in other genres, among them *wawacan* singing and Tembang Sunda Cianjuran (Van Zanten 1989,1993), and in film and theatre (Eringa 1949: 16-8; Kartini et al. 1984: 1).

In west Java a (*carita*)<sup>3</sup> *pantun* is an epic narrative sung by a male singer who generally accompanies himself on a kind of zither (*kacapi*), but sometimes on a two-string bowed lute (*tarawangsa*). Eringa (1949: 3) has stated that the

<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to the referees who carefully checked an earlier version of this article and helped me to formulate it more clearly. Of course, I remain entirely responsible for the outcome.

<sup>2</sup> Figures supplied by Sapin, a Baduy who transmigrated in the late 1970s, and as a non-Baduy – as it should be – became secretary (*carik*) of Kanékés. After obtaining a bachelor’s degree in government administration in 2007, Sapin became civil servant in the local government and was officially appointed *carik* Kanékés; since then his salary has been paid by the Indonesian authorities.

<sup>3</sup> *Carita* means ‘story’ in Sundanese. In the Baduy *pantun* recitations, the word *lalakon* is often used instead of *carita*: *Lalakon Paksi Keuling, the story of Paksi Keuling*. Baduy and Sundanese *carita pantun* should not be confused with the Malay *pantun*, which is a specific type of short poem which occurs in many traditions of the Malay world. In Sundanese this form is called *sisindiran* or *susualan* (Van Zanten 1989: 18-21, 1993: 144).

Baduy are only allowed to use the *kacapi* for accompaniment of the recitation and I personally have never heard that the Baduy can use a *tarawangsa* or their similar, two-string bowed lute (*rendo*) for this accompaniment. On occasions the Baduy can also perform a *pantun* story without any instrumental accompaniment as did the storytellers Sawari in 2003 and Anirah in 2014 described below (see Section 6).

A *pantun* is performed in a recitational chant, occasionally alternated with melodically more elaborate songs, interspersed in the long recitatives. The rate of recitation varies from normal speech tempo to either much faster or much slower. In Van Zanten (1993) I have discussed the performance aspects of some “melodically more elaborate songs” in *pantun* recitation in Bandung and the transformations undergone by these songs when they were adopted into the *tembang Sunda Cianjuran* repertoire in the nineteenth century. I have also discussed the text of the beginning (*rajah* or *rajah pamunah*) of a recorded *pantun* recitation<sup>4</sup> by Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, in 1981, and have shown that it was remarkably similar to the text published in Eringa (1949: 138) and Pleyte (1910c: 135-136).<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, the *rajah* text of the recordings of *pantun* stories since the 1970s<sup>6</sup> are at least four to five times longer than the *rajah* texts given in Pleyte and Eringa (Van Zanten 1993: 145-146). Below I shall show that the Baduy *rajah* texts are different to this Preanger text.

The Sundanese – and also Baduy - *pantun* contain myths and legends about the nobility of such ancient Sundanese kingdoms as Pajajaran and Galuh. Most stories deal with the hero’s period of initiation before marriage. The stories *Mundinglaya di Kusumah* and *Lutung Kasarung* are good examples of this type of tale. It is possible that the Sulanjana story might be a myth about the origin of rice (Pleyte 1913, *Vierde Stuk*: 1-17 (in Sundanese) and 18-35 (in Dutch)). Rice as a gift from the “heavenly mother” Sunan Ambu is also an important theme in the *pantun Lutung Kasarung* (Eringa 1949; in Sundanese with translation into Dutch). Other Sundanese *pantun* stories are non-indigenous Islamic tales and historical tales (*babad*) from Cirebon. Weintraub (1990: 21), who investigated the musical aspects of *pantun* performances by the storyteller Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, lists stories about the gods, like Batara Kala, which is used by Enjum for the purification of a person, as a fourth category.

In this essay I shall discuss the relationship between the content and context of the Baduy *pantun* to the wider category of Sundanese *pantun*. This is still rather blurred and should be investigated in more depth. So far, Eringa (1949) has given the most thorough discussion of the text and socio-cultural background of a *pantun* story and in his work he frequently refers

<sup>4</sup> This sung beginning of a *pantun* story (*rajah*) is an invocation in which the singer invokes the protection and blessing of the gods, asking pardon for any possible mistakes he might make in his telling of the story. The Baduy *rajah* will be discussed in more detail in Section 7 below.

<sup>5</sup> The text of Pleyte (1910c) originated in Cirebon in the Preanger area: see the table with Pleyte’s publications below.

<sup>6</sup> Recordings, for instance, those made by Ajip Rosidi, Andrew Weintraub, and myself: see Appendix 1.

to the Baduy. Kartini et al. (1984) have presented the synopses of thirty-five and Sumardjo (2013) has presented the synopses of eighteen of the wider category of Sundanese *pantun* stories in Indonesian. Weintraub (1990: 167-197) has supplied synopses of five stories, recorded in the Bandung area, in English. Nevertheless, the most important sources for the full text of a *pantun* story are still the publications produced by C.M. Pleyte between 1907 and 1916, and those of Rosidi in the 1970s. The text analyses in Kartini et al. (1984) and Sumardjo (2013) are still heavily based on these manuscripts and less on original fieldwork data collected by the authors. Sumardjo (2013: 3) writes that he had never attended a *pantun* performance and had "only read several *pantun* stories and *pantun* transcriptions".

Sundanese *pantun* stories are recited at such ceremonies as circumcisions, weddings or harvest celebrations. They are also narrated on the occasion of the purification (*ruatan*) of a person, or that of a house or some other object (*ruat tumbal*, see Weintraub 1990: 14; see also Pleyte 1910c: xx-xxii; Eringa, 1949: 14-19). This statement is equally valid for the Baduy *pantun* and below I shall mention the recitation of a *pantun* story for the inauguration of a new hamlet (*nukuh lembur*) in the Baduy village Kanékés in 2014. On such occasions, the story will be recited from about eight o'clock in the evening and can last until five o'clock in the morning. The *pantun* stories are said to come "from the abode of the gods" (Eringa 1949: 38-9; Van Zanten 1993: 156) and, before the recitation begins, incense will be burnt, an offering (*sasajén*) will be placed before the player and in the *raja*, mentioned above, he will ask permission from the gods and the ancestors to tell the sacred story.

The Baduy also have stories (*dongéng*) that are less connected to their rituals than the *pantun* stories are. Furthermore, Baduy oral literature also includes children's and women's songs, formal speech, magical formulae (*mantra*, *jampé*) and the songs used purely for entertainment, like the above-mentioned *sisindiran* or *susuwalan* (see also *Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975; Hamidimadja 1998). Pleyte (1912) presented the full text of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* and three Baduy fables in the original Sundanese with a Dutch translation plus comments: *Oa jeung Aul* (Oa and Aul),<sup>7</sup> *Ratu Manuk* (The king of the Birds)<sup>8</sup> and *Séro jeung Keuyeup* (The Otter and the Tortoise).

In this publication Pleyte (1912: 254-261) also included several short *sisindiran* poems, and the transcribed texts of two myths of origin: *Mula Nagara Baduy* (The origin of the Baduy community) and *Déwa Kaladri* (The God Kaladri: the big-bellied son of the highest god, Batara Tunggal). The story about the origin of the Baduy community is particularly interesting because it mentions that the Baduy are descendants of the king of Pajajaran and his followers: at the time of the Islamization of Pajajaran the king, who did not want to become Muslim, left Pajajaran with his followers and founded the

<sup>7</sup> *Oa* is a kind of grey monkey (gibbon) and *aul* is a fabulous animal which is supposed to resemble a monkey. It continuously spits around itself (Eringa 1984).

<sup>8</sup> Pleyte (1912: 237, 241-243) remarks that this story about the administrative structure of the world of the birds is a reflection of the major organizational principles of Baduy society.

hamlets Cibéo, Cikeusik and Cikartawana (Pleyte 1912: 261-266). These days the Baduy strongly deny that they are descendants of the Pajajaran king and his followers, who supposedly fled to Kanékés when the kingdom fell to the sultan of Banten in 1579 (see Wessing and Barendregt 2005 for a recent overview of the publications on Baduy history).

Geise (1952: 109-116) has also presented a few Baduy stories about the origin and organization of the Baduy society and its relationship with the outside world, particularly mentioning the very important relationship between Baduy society and the rulers of Banten in Serang: in a classificatory sense the Baduy are the elder brothers of the rulers in the north, as related in the story of *Budak Buncireung* (Geise 1952: 116; see also Garna 1988: 48, 405-408). This relationship is reconfirmed each year in April-June when a Baduy delegation sets out on a three-day trip to offer some agricultural produce and craft products to the regent (*bupati*) of Rangkasbitung and the governor of Banten province in Serang during the *séba* ceremony. In 1905 the *séba* delegation consisted of seven Baduy (Pleyte 1909: 494), but about a century later its size increased from about 500-600 Baduy participants in 2003 to almost 2,000 in 2015. The Banten government has seized upon the opportunity to promote this ceremony, which fits in very well with its policy of making the Baduy an object of cultural tourism (*obyek wisata budaya*); see Van Zanten (2004: 145-147).

*Pantun* stories are already mentioned in Old Sundanese manuscripts. The manuscript *Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian*, dating from 1518, mentions four *pantun* titles: "If you want to know about the *pantun* [stories] *Langgalarang*, *Banyakcatra*, *Siliwangi* [and] *Haturwangi*, ask the *pantun* singer"<sup>9</sup> (Atja and Danasasmita 1981: 14, 40). These four titles are not mentioned in the list of thirty-nine titles supplied by Eringa (1949: 9-13) – in addition to the Lutung Kasarung story which is presented in his book – nor in the list of twenty-six titles mentioned by Rosidi (1973: 110-111), seventeen of which were not included in Eringa's list. Altogether this adds up to almost sixty different stories. On the Internet, I have seen one list which contains 127 titles of *pantun* stories, but for the moment it will be safer to restrict the number of known at present as *pantun* stories to about sixty.

Basing himself on De Haan (1910-12 Vol. 2: 287), Eringa (1949: 7) concludes that the earliest printed remark about the existence of *pantun* stories was made in a report by Abraham van Riebeeck (later Governor-General of the Dutch Indies) in 1704: "In the evening before and during dinner we had Javanese music about Ratu Pajajaran [the king of Pajajaran]..."<sup>10</sup> Spanoghe (1838: 303) mentions that the (Inner) Baduy are "only allowed to recite *pantun* stories (*pantong*), singing a song in which a story of long ago is told".<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Hayang nyaho di pantun mah: Langgalarang, Banyakcatra, Siliwangi, Haturwangi; prëpantun tanya.*

<sup>10</sup> *'s Avonts voor en onder 't eeten hadden wij 't Javaens musijq van Ratoe Padjadjaran ...*

<sup>11</sup> [The (Inner) Baduy] "... mogen niet anders zingen dan Pantongs (een zang waarin eene of andere geschiedenis van lang verledene tijden verhaald wordt)".



In their book on three Old Sundanese poems, Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 10-11, 278-281) briefly discuss the relationship between the *pantun* tradition and the written Old Sundanese poetry. As do the ancient written texts, the *pantun* singer favours an octosyllabic verse line and “Both types of texts bear a formulaic character; especially the *pantun* sung by Baduy bards contain a number of formulas or formulaic expressions, identical or similar to those found in Old Sundanese poems ...” They also point out that there is a close correspondence between the introductory part of a text in Old Sundanese manuscripts and the sung introduction (*raja*) of the *pantun*, the invocation in which the singer asks for the protection and blessing of the gods in the event of any possible mistakes he might make when telling the story. In Section 7 below, I shall briefly discuss a few issues mentioned in the recited texts of the two Baduy *raja* which I recorded.

## 2. BADUY PANTUN STORIES

The annotated list of *pantun* titles compiled by Eringa (1949: 9-13) does include *pantun* stories which had been stated earlier by Meijer (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 135) to belong to the Baduy repertoire. Meijer listed ten Baduy *pantun*, their “entire repertoire”, which were still being performed and he had heard from Baduy performers whose the names are given:

Jasini performed:	<i>Bima Wayang, Gajah Lumantang, Kuda Gandar;</i>
Yasti performed:	<i>Kuda Wangi, Langga Sari, Radén Tegal, Ranggah Séna;</i>
Sarsimin performed:	<i>Paksi Ke(u)ling and Panambang Sari;</i>
Anonymous performed:	<i>Kidang Panandri.</i>

A summary of each of these ten stories, considered to be specific to the Baduy, is attached. Meijer also gives five titles of *pantun* which were known to the Baduy bards but could no longer be performed: *Badak Singa, Ciung Wanara, Kidang Pananjung, Lutung Kasarung* and *Matang Jaya*. Meijer (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 135) states that only a few Baduy, who belonged to different families, could recite *pantun* stories. He also remarks that, beyond the Baduy area, there were no *pantun* performers in Banten, the westernmost region of Java. Other *pantun* performers could only be found to the east of Kanékés in the Preanger area, the mountainous area of west Java situated roughly between Bogor and Ciamis.

Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 143) point out that most male heroes of the *pantun* stories bear an honorific title which is the name of an animal: *Badak* (rhinoceros), *Ciung* (*béo*, a kind of blue-black starling which can be taught to speak), *Gagak* (crow), *Gajah* (elephant), *Galudra* (a mythical bird; Indonesian: *garuda*), *Kidang* (small deer), *Kuda* (horse), *Lutung* (black monkey), *Munding* (buffalo), *Naga* (mythical snake), *Paksi* (bird), *Ranggah* (deer) or *Singa* (lion). They add that the name of heroines is often preceded by *Lénggang* (brightly shining).

At this point, I would like to make a few additional remarks about these honorific titles. Cloud (*méga*) in combination with a name is frequently found

in *pantun* stories, for instance, the story of *Paksi Keuling*. This story also tells of a hero called Méga Kumendung, that is, "Cloud which protects with its shade".<sup>12</sup> "Cloud" also occurs in women's names, for instance, Nyi Méga Langlayang Buuk Lenggang Larang Kencana. The names of plants, like *saninten* (edible chestnut) in Saninten Kencana, *rinu* (kind of pepperplant, *Piper cubeba*) in Rinu Wayang, Rinu Rarang and Rinu Kasih, *kembang* (flower) in Kembang Panarikan and *pucuksari* (opening flower) in Pucuksari Ratna Wentang are sometimes used in women's names. Also associated with the names of women are objects specific to the female world, for instance, *sumur* (well) in Sumur Bandung (see Kartini et al. 1984: 28, 48, 53, 66, 68, 80, 109). This list is certainly not exhaustive, but to delve any deeper here is beyond the scope of my article.

Although these days most Baduy stories are also not unfamiliar in other parts of west Java, a comprehensive discussion of the differences in content and performance still remains to be done. Kartini et al. (1984, *Struktur cerita pantun Sunda*) supply a summary of thirty-five Sundanese *pantun* stories taken from the literature. As some of these are variant versions of the same story, in fact they have actually supplied twenty-seven different in total. Although Kartini et al. (1984: 10) mention that fourteen in this set of thirty-five stories are categorized as "from Banten", they do not give a precise indication of what they consider a "Baduy *pantun*" to be.<sup>13</sup> Pleyte has stated that *Badak Pamalang* may have been a Baduy story (Pleyte 1916: 537; Eringa 1949: 9) and he also mentions that he transcribed the story *Paksi Keuling* directly from a performance given by the Baduy storyteller Japar/ Dascin (Pleyte 1912; see below).

Eringa (1949: 8-9) is fairly critical of Meijer's summaries of the ten *pantun* stories in Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 153-166): he considers these too short and also postulates that much information had just not been obtained, probably because the Baduy did not want to part with this. Eringa points out that the long *pantun* stories given by Pleyte about twenty years later seem to confirm the suspicion that the short versions recorded by Meijer were incorrect renderings. He also casts doubts on Meijer's remarks that the stories *Lutung Kasarung* and *Ciung Wanara* were no longer performed: as these two stories belong to the most sacred of the repertoire, it was far more likely that the Baduy simply did not want to disclose their contents to an outsider. My audio recording of the *Lutung Kasarung* story told by the Baduy storyteller Sajin in January

<sup>12</sup> *Mendung* means 'dark clouds', 'clouded', 'overcast', used of the sky, and also metaphorically of a person's face. It is in this sense it occurs in the first line of the *pantun* text given by Eringa (1949: 138): *Bul kukus mendung ka manggung*, 'I burn incense, in dark clouds rising' (see also Section 7). However, *mendung/ngabendung* can also mean 'to screen off shade', 'overshadow', and in this respect Coolsma (1884) mentions as an example 'an eagle gliding in the air' which 'obscures the sun'. Bearing this in mind, the name Méga Kumendung might be translated as 'the cloud which protects [us from the sun] by its shade', possibly referring to a king/hero who mediates between the gods and the king's subjects/the hero's followers. I am grateful to one of the referees who referred me to Coolsma's dictionary for *kumendung*, although I remain entirely responsible for the interpretation of Coolsma presented here.

<sup>13</sup> In the 1980 report on which this publication is based, they use the category "Banten/Baduy" on page 24.

1977 (see below) corroborates Eringa's criticism. After recording the *pantun* story, I was told by the Outer Baduy Talsim, who accompanied the Outer Baduy storyteller Sajin, that *pantun* stories should be considered to be part of *agama* (religion) and not *kesenian* (art) (Van Zanten 1995: 530), adding that I had obtained the sanction of the Baduy to make this recording.

During my fieldwork among the Baduy, usually I only managed to obtain limited and conflicting information about which Baduy *pantun* stories are still performed. However, on 2 April 2003 I did gather some interesting information from the former Baduy musician Usman<sup>14</sup> and on 5 April 2003 from the Inner Baduy Karamaén.<sup>15</sup> The information from Usman and Karamaén proved to be consistent, as both of them told me that the three most important stories were *Raja Lumintang*, *Langga Sari*, and *Lutung Kasarung*. The other stories are used less often. The *Langga Sari* story, which takes about six hours to perform, is used for *pengobatan padi* (curing the rice), that is, to protect it from diseases and insects, and when moving into a new house. The *Raja Lumintang* story, which takes two nights to perform, is used for such celebrations as marriages and circumcisions. Karamaén stated that the *Lutung Kasarung* story, which takes three to four hours to perform, is an "Outer Baduy story", used for marriages, but that it is not performed in the Inner Baduy area. Usman said that the *Lutung Kasarung* story was suitable for "everyday" (*sehari-hari*) happenings, which means that it could be used for many purposes. He also stated that a *pantun* recitation might last just a few hours, for instance, for the "curing" of the rice in the Inner Baduy area it takes three to four hours. However, a recitation can also take the whole night (eight-nine hours) with just a short break of half-an-hour for a meal. Moreover, if the story is too long to be recited in one night, it will be told in parts over several nights. This breaking up into parts also occurs in the performance of longer *pantun* (and *wawacan* and *wayang*) stories told in the Priangan: the entire story can take two or three nights to perform.

On 2 April 2003, the *pantun* singer Sawari told me that *Raja Lumintang* was the longest story and took him three nights to perform. The shortest story was *Paksi Keuling* and took three hours to perform. Sawari considered the *Lutung Kasarung* story was too long for one night. At the inauguration (*nukuh lembur*) of the new hamlet Campaka, Kanékés, which I attended in 2014, a *pantun* recitation

<sup>14</sup> Since 1978 Usman is no longer a Baduy. He is of Inner Baduy descent: a descendant of the *puun* of Cibéo. His wife is also of Inner Baduy descent. Usman's mother was from Cibéo and his father from Cikartawana, both in the Inner Baduy area. However, Usman himself was born in Cisagu, an Outer Baduy hamlet in Kanékés, around 1945. He has been living in the transmigration hamlet Cipangembar since 1978. When he was living in Cisagu, Kanékés, before he transmigrated, he was *jaro angklung*, the leader of an *angklung* group (an ensemble of nine shaken bamboo idiophones accompanied by two or three drums), and now he is in charge of the music in the Seventh Day Adventist church. Usman is very knowledgeable about Baduy music and I interviewed him several times between 1992 and 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Karamaén lives in the Inner Baduy hamlet Cibéo. He is also very knowledgeable about music, and I also interviewed him several times in the Outer Baduy area. Besides playing the *kacapi* zither, the *karinding* mouth harp, flutes and *angklung*, he also makes these instruments. In April 2003, I audio-recorded him playing the *kacapi* zither, and in June 2014 I audio-recorded and filmed his playing of the two flutes: the *suling kumbang* and the *tarawélét*.



of the story of *Langga Sari*, was told for two-and-a-half hours on the night of Wednesday 4 June – early morning Thursday 5 June, 2014 (see Section 6).

### 3. CORNELIS MARINUS PLEYTE (1863-1917)

While he was employed in Batavia in the 1900s and 1910s, Pleyte took the opportunity to study the oral literature of the Sundanese, including the Baduy. Without any doubt Pleyte is one of the main sources for *pantun* recitations in the past (see also Eringa 1949: 7-9). Interestingly Pleyte also paid attention to the music played when a *pantun* was being performed and also supplies some information about his methodology and the social setting of the performance in his publications. He heard Baduy *pantun* performers on a number of occasions. For instance, in Pleyte (1907a: 6) he writes about the performances of Sundanese *pantun* which he attended in the Banten region, including some by Baduy performers: "Excellent was of course the elder (*kokolot*) from Cibéo, one of the Inner Baduy hamlets. We were able to listen to his [*pantun*] singing in Serang for four nights; he sang the genuine, unadulterated ancient story".<sup>16</sup>

Pleyte's main Baduy informant for the oral literature of the Baduy was Japar, formerly called Dascin (see photograph of him in Pleyte 1912: 214), a former Inner Baduy and son of a high-ranking official (*girang seurat*) of Cikeusik, who became Muslim and lived at the Regent's court (*kabupatén*) in Serang. On the basis of his personal observations and his discussions with Japar, Pleyte (1912: 217) reported that: "Baduy are loath to allow strangers to study their customs (*adat*)". After he had perceived Japar's reluctance to talk about the Baduy way of life, Pleyte proceeded more circumspectly. He began by asking Japar to tell about his travels in west Java, beyond the village of Kanékés. This request presented no problem and gradually the road was paved for the transcribing of some Baduy stories, including the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* as recited by Japar (Pleyte 1912: 215-221).

As far as I know, at that time (about 1905-1915) Pleyte did not use any audio recordings for his transcriptions of *pantun* texts. Presumably in the description of his methods (Pleyte 1912: 217-221, 291) he is referring to his collaboration with Japar between 11 June and 10 September 1911.<sup>17</sup> Japar recounted his travels through west Java, told stories and also "plucked his *kacapi* and sang about the vanished greatness of his people tirelessly night after night" (p. 218). As he talked and recited, Pleyte "kept writing down" what Japar said (p. 219). Although not explicitly stated, I assume that afterwards Pleyte did check his notes with the performer Japar, as he did remain in contact with him.<sup>18</sup> Most

<sup>16</sup> Voortreffelijk was natuurlijk de kokolot, dorpsheofd, van Tji-beo, een der Badoeische binnendesa's, naar wiens zang wij vier nachten te Serang konden luisteren; hij zong de nog echte, onvervalschte, oude vertelling.

<sup>17</sup> On the basis of Pleyte's letter of 10 September 1911 to Snouck Hurgronje, kept at the Leiden University Library Or. 8952 A: 831, in which he wrote about his fieldwork on Baduy *pantun*.

<sup>18</sup> In a letter to Snouck Hurgronje dated 30 September 1912 (Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 A: 832, page 8), Pleyte writes that he had just received a letter from Japar. Japar had written about another Baduy who had left Kanékés and had just been awarded a diploma

probably the music transcription of the beginning of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* by “a very gifted female pianist” whose name is not given “at her explicit request” was accomplished in a similar manner (see transcription of the music “Lagoe pantoen – Pantoen-melodie” on the four unnumbered pages in Pleyte 1912, after p. 425). In the case of the other *pantun* texts, Pleyte relied either on performances which he had attended or on existing manuscripts, such as those from Tegal (Pleyte 1916). Only the story mentioned in Pleyte (1912) was based on the recitation of a (former) Baduy; none of the other stories had been recited either by a Baduy or someone from Baduy descent.

In Table 1 I present the list of full texts of Sundanese *pantun* stories which were published by Pleyte, including the information about where the text originated.<sup>19</sup>

Source	Story	Place of origin	Includes <i>raja</i> h?	with translation in Dutch?
Pleyte 1907a: 1-101	<i>Mundinglaya di Kusuma A</i>	Karawang	no	Yes
Pleyte 1907a: 102-159	<i>Mundinglaya di Kusuma B</i>	Karawang?	yes	No
Pleyte 1910a: i-v, 1-46	<i>Nyai Sumur Bandung A</i>	Ciamis (“Galuh, Zuid-Cirebon”)	no	No
Pleyte 1910a: i-v, 47-63	<i>Nyai Sumur Bandung B</i>	Bandung	yes (short)	No
Pleyte 1910a: i-v, 64-83 + list printing errors	<i>Nyai Sumur Bandung C</i>	Garut	no	Yes
Pleyte 1910b: vi-xvii, 85-134	<i>Ciung Wanara</i>	Bogor?	yes (short)	No
Pleyte 1910c: xviii-xxxviii, 135-258	<i>Lutung Kasarung</i>	Cirebon	yes	synopsis in Dutch
Pleyte 1912: 217-221, 291-425 + music transcr. after p. 425	<i>Paksi Keuling</i>	Kanékés (Baduy)	yes (long)	No

for passing the “second class” of the School for Indigenous People (Inlandsche School) in Rangkasbitung.

<sup>19</sup> Pleyte also published a poetic version (*wawacan*) of the *Sulanjana pantun* story composed in metrical verse (*pupuh*) which should be sung (Pleyte 1907b). Although *wawacan* are not just read in silence but, like *pantun* stories, are also meant to be sung, the musical style is entirely different to that in which the *pantun* stories are performed (see also Van Zanten 1989: 31). Therefore I do not consider this published *Wawacan Sulanjana* to be a *pantun* text.

Pleyte 1913: v-x, 1-35	<i>Sulanjana</i>	Eastern part of west Java? <sup>20</sup>	no	Yes
Pleyte 1916: 55-96	<i>Rangga Sawung Galing</i>	Tegal	yes (short)	Yes
Pleyte 1916: 455-500	<i>Deugdeugpati Jayaperang</i>	Tegal	yes	Yes

Table 1. Full texts of *pantun stories* published by Cornelis Martinus Pleyte between 1907 and 1916.

As said, the only complete story text performed by a (former) Baduy was *Paksi Keuling* published in 1912. Pleyte (1916: 56) remarks that, only in the two *pantun* manuscripts (*Rangga Sawung Galing* and *Deugdeugpati Jayaperang*)<sup>21</sup> from Tegal, situated about 70 km east-south-east of Cirebon, is there any indication about where the performer commences the melodically more elaborate singing. In these two *pantun* texts from Tegal, Pleyte gives a few titles of the melodies.<sup>22</sup> Discussing the Priangan tradition, Sukanda (1978: 9-10) describes these “songs”, which alternate with the recitation of the story, as *lagu panganteb pantun*, that is, “songs to intensify the (beauty of the) *pantun*”. In the first half of the nineteenth century, they were one of the sources for songs in the Tembang Sunda Cianjuran repertoire (Van Zanten 1989: 21-23, 1993: 148).

I was particularly interested in the letters between Pleyte and Snouck Hurgronje, because of the wax cylinder recording of the commencement (*rajaah*) of a *pantun* recitation made by Snouck Hurgronje around 1905 (see Section 4). Did Pleyte help to find the performer for this recording, not to mention the other Sundanese recordings made by Snouck Hurgronje at that time (see Van Zanten in press)? Did Snouck Hurgronje and Pleyte discuss the possible use of the phonograph for recording some more *pantun* parts – on average about three minutes long – on wax cylinders?<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, the letters from Pleyte to Snouck Hurgronje in the period between 27 April 1905 to 13 January

<sup>20</sup> Pleyte (1913: viii-ix) remarks that the Sulanjana story is probably a “Sundanized Sulanjana tradition”, which had been borrowed from the Javanese. One of the grounds for his conclusion was that it refers mainly to wet rice-fields (*sawah*), whereas the most common way of growing rice in west Java was on dry fields (*huma*).

<sup>21</sup> Pleyte obtained these manuscripts from Mr Ch. Welter, then employed in the Department of Internal Affairs, who “surprised him” with “two [*pantun*] text traditions which, when he was district officer in Bumi Ayu, he had asked to be written down by the teacher of Sundanese language at the private school in Salem, Ardja Wasita” (... *de teksten van twee* [...] *overleveringen welke hij, toen hij controleur te Boemi-ajoe was, op schrift had laten brengen door den goeroe Soenda van de partikuliere school te Salem, Ardja Wasita*) (Pleyte 1916: 55).

<sup>22</sup> These given melodies are: *Dayungan* (‘Rowing’, p. 65), *Mojang Dangan* (‘The girl dresses herself before departure’, pp. 69, 474), *Ponggawa Nyurung* (‘The officials push’, pp. 84, 487), *Silir* (‘a kind of dance’, pp. 93, 482, 489) and *Tonggérét Pakuan* (‘The cicada of Pakuan’, p. 472).

<sup>23</sup> Like the *rajaah*, the melodically more elaborated sections (*lagu*) in the *pantun* recitation would seem to have been suitable for such 2-4 minute recordings on wax cylinders. Weintraub (1990) presents a musical analysis of several *lagu* sung by Enjum from Ujungberung in the 1980s.

1915<sup>24</sup> say nothing whatsoever about audio recordings. No letters from Snouck Hurgronje to Pleyte have been preserved in this collection.

#### 4. AUDIOVISUAL RECORDINGS OF SUNDANESE *PANTUN* STORIES SINCE 1905

In the 1980s I recorded<sup>25</sup> four *pantun* stories (one story recorded twice) as recited by Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, who followed the Priangan tradition (Van Zanten 1993). I only recorded (parts of) two Baduy *pantun* stories: *Lutung Kasarung* in 1977 and *Paksi Keuling* in 2003. These recordings were both made outside the Baduy village Kanékés. By 1992 several *pantun* bards were in fact willing to make an audio recording, but only outside Kanékés. I was then told that, within Baduy territory, the recitation of *pantun* stories can only take place within a ritual context (Van Zanten 1995: 521). Although *pantun* stories were not my main concern, I did continue to ask permission to record a *pantun* in ritual context in Kanékés in both 2003 and 2013, but this was never granted. Only in 2014 was I invited to attend a *pantun* performance in ritual context in Kanékés, but I had to remain outside the house in which it took place and was not allowed to make any recordings.

In this section, I would like to discuss the audio(visual) recordings of *pantun* in west Java in general and put the very limited number of Baduy recordings available in that perspective. In 1993 I wrote, "As far as I know there are no audio recordings of *pantun* before the 1970s. Dutch scholars like Pleyte and Meijer wrote down only the texts of *pantun* around 1900" (Van Zanten 1993: 148). I was wrong. Probably the earliest audio recording of the beginning of a *pantun* story was that made by Snouck Hurgronje on a wax cylinder around 1905. On Cylinder I-10, kept at the Leiden University Library, is written "Djampe njawer. Lagoe Galoeh" (*Jampé nyawér. Lagu Galuh*). It is almost certain that the male performer is singing the introductory song to a *pantun* story (*raja*). The text from this (digitalized) old recording is very difficult to catch, but it is clear that the gods are being entreated for their forgiveness, as the beginning runs: "I beg forgiveness/From above, from the ancestors/The song of the gods descends/Of the gods and goddesses [...] I beg forgiveness".<sup>26</sup> Musically the recitation definitely resembles the recitation of *pantun* stories (Van Zanten in press).

<sup>24</sup> Cod. Or. 8952, A: 830-834, to be found on the Internet of the Leiden University Library, <<http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl>>.

<sup>25</sup> I am in the process of digitalizing and archiving all my audiovisual recordings from Malawi and Indonesia. The Indonesian recordings (about 250 hours audio and 90 hours film) will most probably be presented to Leiden University library/KITLV collection in the coming years. A copy of the audio recordings made with the Baduy between 1976 and 1979 can be found in the University of Amsterdam. Hence, in this essay references to the raw materials in the audio and film tapes are categorized according to my own system. This is not an ideal situation and in Van Zanten (2009: 289-290) I have described the general situation of ethnomusicology recordings in the Netherlands as far from perfect: too little institutional understanding and support for archiving.

<sup>26</sup> *Pun! Sapun!/Ka luhur ka sang rumuhun/Ka handap tembang batara/Sang batara sang batari [...] Amit ampun ...* Compare also Pleyte (1907a: 30) who gives similar lines in the *raja* of a *pantun* story.

In the 1970s Ajip Rosidi recorded thirty *pantun* stories on tape and transcribed and published the texts of about twenty stories, including three Baduy stories (Rosidi 1973).<sup>27</sup> In his introduction to the *pantun* story *Buyut Orényéng* (Sajin 1974), Rosidi is very critical about the quality of the recorded stories performed by the Baduy bards Sajin (two stories) and Yanci (one story). He did not include a summary of the *Buyut Orényéng* story in this publication because “the summary of the story *Lutung Kasarung* [Sajin 1973] that I made the other day was more based on a reconstruction in my own imagination. Many parts that did not connect, or were not logical, I made logical and related. Surely, such work cannot be validated”.

In the 1980s, when I allowed Mr Moh. Kosasih Atmadinata († 2002) listen to my recording of the *Lutung Kasarung* story performed by Sajin in 1977, he also said that he could not make much sense out of the story. It is possible that this difficulty arises because “the sentence structure of the Baduy language is different to that of ordinary Sundanese and is therefore difficult for people from outside the Baduy area to understand” (Hamidimadja 1998: 18).

Difficulties in understanding the Baduy properly were reported by Blume as early as 1822. In his journey to the Baduy area, he was accompanied by a Sundanese guide, “a sub-*demang* [kind of police officer], who had learned a little of the [Baduy] dialect through his earlier contacts”. This guide had “difficulties in translating the answers given by the Baduy into Malay with the requisite accuracy” (Blume 1993 [1822]: 37). Van Hoëvell (1845: 409-410) confirms the difference between the Baduy language and the surrounding Sundanese by citing Blume, adding the remark: “It is Sundanese as spoken in the mountains of Banten, but mixed with words which are not used by the other population”.

Audio(visual) recordings, especially the digitalized copies which can easily be played repeatedly without affecting the quality of the recording, can be a great help in solving the problem of our still limited understanding of *pantun* texts and music. Undoubtedly there are audio or audiovisual recordings of Baduy music, possibly including *pantun*, in personal archives in Indonesia. In the 1990s, I did hear recordings of the *kacapi* zither player Yanci (Illustration 1) at the home of the late Enoch Atmadibrata (1927-2011). Furthermore, the late Atik Soepandi (1944-2004) also told me that he possessed recordings of Baduy music. As should the Rosidi recordings from the 1970s, before the reels and cassette tapes have decayed entirely and become useless, these audio(visual) recordings should be digitalized and kept safely in a public library or some other public institution. A table with the audio/audiovisual recordings of the Sundanese *pantun* of which I am aware is presented in Appendix 1.

<sup>27</sup> It is not clear where these important audio recordings are kept at present (March 2016) and what the quality of the recordings is after some forty-five years. The most likely places seem to be either the personal archive of Ajip Rosidi or the University Library in Leiden/KITLV collection. However, neither Ajip Rosidi nor the University Library in Leiden know the present location of the tapes.





Illustration 1. Yanci from Cikadu, Kanékés, when recorded in Kompol by the author, 26 July 1976. He did not perform a *pantun* story but only played his 12-string *kacapi* zither on his own, without singing, and also accompanied the six-fingerhole flute (*suling lamus*) and two-string bowed lute (*rendo*).

In the following sections, besides talking about some anthropological and musicological aspects of my own audiovisual recordings of Baduy *pantun*, I shall briefly discuss a few passages from the beginning (*rajah*) of these recordings. Facing methodological difficulties similar to those about which Ayip Rosidi spoke, I hope that my attempts will inspire others to do further research and deepen our understanding of the Baduy *pantun*.

##### 5. RECORDING THE *LUTUNG KASARUNG* STORY BY BADUY STORYTELLER SAJIN IN 1977

My first audio recording of a Baduy *pantun* story was made in January 1977. After I had made recordings of Baduy music in and around Kanékés in June and July 1976, in September of that year a group of Baduy came to my house in Jakarta, where I recorded the *angklung* ensemble, and the *calung* and *gambang* xylophones. I learned that the *angklung* could not be played in Kanékés in June and July that year, as the season for *angklung* was closed at that time and had opened again 20 August 1976. I had told my Baduy contact Talsim from Gajéboh that I was also interested in recording a *pantun* story. In December 1976, a few days before Christmas, Talsim came to our house in Jakarta, and said that he had found a Baduy *pantun* performer willing to perform the *Lutung Kasarung* story. As we were planning to do some travelling in Java, I asked Talsim to come back in about three weeks. In the morning of

Friday 7 January 1977, Talsim returned to tell us that the *pantun* performer had arrived and was lodging with Bernard Suryabrata in Jatinegara, Jakarta. Recording a performance that night would be awkward for us but Talsim explained that this coming night, from Friday to Saturday, was not good for a performance anyway. He stated that the incense (*menyan, dupa*) so essential to the performance could only be burnt on the night from Saturday to Sunday, the night from Monday to Tuesday or the night from Thursday to Friday (*malam Minggu, malam Selasa, malam Jum'at*). Hence we made an appointment for the next day, or more precisely the night from Saturday to Sunday: *malam Minggu*.<sup>28</sup>

In the afternoon of Saturday 8 January 1977, Talsim arrived with the *pantun* bard Sajin, who said that he then was about fifty years old (that is: born around 1927) and that he lived in the hamlet Cisadané, about 1 ½ - 2 km from Cikeusik. Sajin was the teacher of another Baduy bard, Yanci (Illustration 1) who lived in Cikadu, about 2 km north of Cisadané.<sup>29</sup> For this performance Sajin had borrowed a small Baduy *kacapi* zither with eleven strings, made of white *lamé* wood, from Bernard Suryabrata (See Illustration 2 for the 11-string *kacapi* zither). Ajip Rosidi has said that in August 1971 Sajin refused to play on a zither supplied by the organizing Proyek Penelitian Pantun dan Folklor Sunda, because it was not a *kacapi*, but "a *siter* [flat zither], which had more than nine strings"; he only used *kacapi pantun* with nine strings (Sajin 1973: ii). Possibly Sajin also had problems with the fact that the flat *siter* was not white, but varnished (brownish-yellow).<sup>30</sup>

After having a meal together, we began preparations for Sajin's performance. Sajin had asked for a white cloth to be erected like a tent or a baldachin (*lawon bodas*) under which he would recite the story.<sup>31</sup> One of our bed sheets was used to construct the *lawon bodas* baldachin. A towel rack on a table and two music stands in front formed the somewhat unstable supporting structure for the white bed sheet. Talsim and Sajin had not brought an offering (*sasajén*) with them and had not asked me to supply the components of an offering, among them different kinds of rice, sugar, biscuits, cigarettes and sweets. *Pantun* performers whom I recorded later always had an offering in

<sup>28</sup> As in most other parts of Indonesia, each day begins at sunset in the Sundanese area, so *malam Minggu* is the night which begins Sunday (*Minggu*).

<sup>29</sup> Rosidi mentions that Sajin was about 40 years old in 1971 (that is, born around 1931), that he began to play *pantun* stories around 1960 and that his teacher was Ki Adut from Cikadu (Sajin 1973: ii). Hamidimadja (1998: 29) mentions that Sajin (Ayah Sacin from Cisadané, a "*dukun pantun* (expert on oral literature)") was 65 years old (that is, born around 1930).

<sup>30</sup> See on the "sacred" colour white and the white crosses (*tumbal*) on musical instruments to protect the player and the audience from evil spirits, as on Yanci's zither in Illustration 1, Van Zanten (1989: 87, 94-95, 108).

<sup>31</sup> It is not clear to me what the difference is between this *lawon bodas* and the *boéh larang*, however, see also the 2014 information in Section 6 below. Eringa (1984) describes *lawon bodas* as a white woven cotton cloth in which, for instance, corpses are wrapped and *boéh larang* as a white cotton cloth woven by a virgin and used for various ritual purposes. Pleyte (1916: 470) mentions *boéh larang* in the story *Deugdeugpati Jayaperang*: the *pantun* story from heaven is set on the large road and 'covered with a white cotton cloth' (*dituruban ku boéh larang*). In December 1905, a Baduy delegation of seven men offered, among other objects, *boéh larang* cloth to the family of Regent Djajadiningrat of Serang during the annual (*séba*) ceremony (Pleyte 1909: 494).

front of them before commencing the recitation, including the former Baduy Sawari (Van Zanten 1993: 145, 2012: 130; also Section 6).



Illustration 2. The *pantun* performer Arwa with his 11-string *kacapi* zither made of white *lamé* wood, as used in *pantun* performances. Photograph by the author, taken at his house in Citatang, Kanékés, 11 December 2013.

This “baldachin” was placed on our veranda and as he performed Sajin sat on the ground under this baldachin with the zither on his lap. According to the notes I made at that time, Sajin was facing east as he performed, and they said it should be like this. In fact, the veranda was almost parallel to the street Jalan Pariaman and the nearby Kali Malang, which means that the veranda was situated almost west-north-west to east-south-east. Hence Sajin could have been facing east-south-east. At that time I did not know about the relationship between this direction and the day of performing, and I did not ask any further questions.

Most of the time Talsim sat on the garden side of the veranda to the north of Sajin, and I was sitting east of Sajin. The recorder was placed on a chair to the north-west as seen from the singer and two microphones were used: one near the singer’s mouth and one near the zither, somewhat to the left of the singer.<sup>32</sup> The incense burner (*padupaan*) was placed on the ground between Sajin and Talsim: see Illustration 3.

<sup>32</sup> Unaware of how long the total performance would last, I began to record in stereo for about three hours and changed to mono about twenty minutes before the end of the recitation, when beginning Tape 6 (side 11). I used Agfa PEM 368 reels, 270m long, and recording speed 7 ½ inch (19 cm) per second, that is, on the four-track recorder, each tape could record 2 x 24 = 48 minutes in stereo and 96 minutes in mono. I used an Akai crossfield X-IV 4-track tape recorder, mono or stereo.

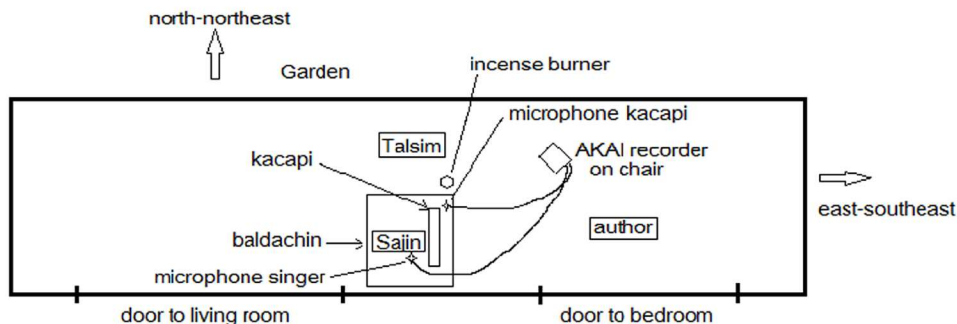


Illustration 3. Position of the *pantun* bard Sajin on the veranda of the house when recording the *Lutung Kasarung* story in the night of 8-9 January 1977. He sat on the floor under a white baldachin, facing east-south-east.

The performance began at 20:20. Incense was burnt and Sajin murmured a prayer (*jampé*) for about 2-3 minutes. Then he began to sing the introduction (*rajah*) to the *pantun* recitation which is more or less the same for all *pantun* stories sung by a particular singer. The beginning of the Baduy *rajah* will be discussed in more detail in Section 7. Once in a while Sajin smoked, drank coffee and adjusted the tuning of the *kacapi* zither. At the end of the performance, Talsim said that after the end of January the *pantun* and all types of music could not be played for three months, during the fasting period (*kawalu*) in the Baduy months Kasa, Karo, and Katiga.

A short summary of the *Lutung Kasarung* story in the non-Baduy, Priangan, version may be found in Appendix 2.

## 6. RECORDING THE *PAKSI KEULING* STORY BY SAWARI, STORY-TELLER OF BADUY DESCENT, IN 2003 AND ATTENDING A RITUAL PERFORMANCE BY ANIRAH IN 2014

In 2003 the male *pantun* singer Sawari was about fifty-five years old, that is, born around 1948. He had been an Inner Baduy, living in an Outer Baduy hamlet Cikadu, before he transmigrated to the area outside Kanékés in the late 1970s. Consequently he no longer belonged to the Baduy community at the time of recording.<sup>33</sup> Although he could play the *kacapi*, as I had recorded his playing and singing with *kacapi* zither in 1992 (Van Zanten 1995: 530-531, 541), on this particular evening Sawari did not accompany himself on a *kacapi* zither.

On Wednesday evening 2 April 2003 between 20:10 and 21:50, Sawari performed part of the *pantun* story *Paksi Keuling* in the house of another former Baduy Nalim in Margaluyu, Rangkasbitung.<sup>34</sup> Sawari stopped the

<sup>33</sup> See on this situation Van Zanten 2004: 137-141.

<sup>34</sup> Nalim is the eldest son of the former Baduy secular village head, Samin, who transmigrated to Cipangembar in 1978. Nalim was born in 1953 or 1954. After leaving Kanékés village, he became a Muslim and made the pilgrimage to Mecca, as had his father Samin, paid for by the Indonesian authorities, who considered such pilgrimage a good way for transmigrated Baduy to integrate into their new surroundings. It was said that up to 2003,



performance regularly and began to explain the story. Before the recitation commenced, incense was burnt, an offering (*sasajén*) was made and a magical formula (*jampê*) was murmured. For the offering Sawari had asked us to buy the following ingredients:

2 litres uncooked rice, 1 kilogram white sugar, 5 bags of tea, 5 eggs, 9 bags of coffee, 5 buns, 1 packet Marie biscuits, 1 bottle with *limun* (kind of soft drink), 3 wafers, 5 pieces of *Sukro* (*krupuk*, chips, usually made with shrimps), 10 pieces of *Sukro kecil* (small *krupuk* chips) and peppermints.

These ingredients were bought in the local shop for a total of Rp 23,000 (about € 2.50).

Sawari had also asked for some yellow cooked rice (*nasi kuning*) and a packet with ten cigarettes, which were supplied. Only some of these ingredients of the offering were placed on the ground as he recited (see Van Zanten 2012: 130, Picture 1). For instance, the white sugar, the cooked and uncooked rice, and the bags of coffee and tea were missing. As usual, the offerings were taken home by Sawari after the performance.

I personally recorded and documented this performance on minidisk and digital video camera. Although my video recordings turned out very dark, fortunately one of my Leiden students, Nanni Tempelman, who also recorded this recitation on digital video, allowed me to use her film material for analysis. Also present was Mumu Zaenal Mutaqim, at that time a student of theatre at the University for the (Performing) Arts (now ISBI) in Bandung, who assisted me in transcribing our discussions from the recording on minidisc.<sup>35</sup>

Sawari told that the direction the performer should face depends on the night on which he performs. This recitation took place on Wednesday night (*malam Kemis*). The storyteller Sawari faced south-west and did not fully face the audience in the room (see Van Zanten 2012: 130, Picture 1). When sowing rice in the daytime on Thursday (*dinten Kemis, hari Kamis*), Baduy also have to commence sowing in the south-western corner of the field and proceed in a clockwise direction, the direction in which the mythical snake moves (*gilir naga*). Sawari told that the relationship between the day and direction the storyteller should be facing (see Table 2).

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the *bupati* of Rangkasbitung had paid the pilgrimage for eleven people of Baduy descent (Van Zanten 2004: 140).

<sup>35</sup> Mumu also assisted me when I did fieldwork with the Baduy in December 2013 and May-June 2014.



Direction	<i>pantun</i> story told on the night according to			planting of rice (Sawari 2003)
	Sajin 1977	Sawari 2003	Sumardjo (2013: 8)	
North		Friday night	Friday night	Saturday
North-east		Saturday night	Saturday night	Sunday
East	Saturday night	Sunday night	not used	Monday
South-east		Monday night	Wednesday night	Tuesday
South		Tuesday night	Monday night	Wednesday
South-west		Wednesday night	Tuesday night	Thursday
West		Thursday night	Thursday night	Friday
North-west		not used	not used	not used

Table 2. Direction that the *pantun* performer is facing in relation to the night on which he is performing.

In his anthropological PhD dissertation on the Baduy, Judistira Kartiwan Garna (1988: 261, 264) gives a similar relationship between day and “appropriate” direction to that obtained from Sawari in 2003, except in his case north was the direction omitted; instead, the direction north-west was used on Friday night/ Saturday. In his book on symbols in Sundanese *pantun* stories, mentioned above, Sumardjo (2013: 8) does not explain how he obtained his information on Baduy *pantun* which differs considerably from my field data and those of Garna, and this does not make sense to me. In the schedule, Sajin is facing east on Saturday night (*malam Minggu*), which he and Talsim had said was the right direction in 1977. Following Sawari’s scheme he should have been facing north-east on Saturday night.

Sawari’s scheme, including the relation with the planting of rice, has been confirmed by several other Baduy. For instance, on 3 April 2003 the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) Daénah, who held office from 1997 to April 2015, and some other people, including the *kacapi* zither player Satra, explicitly confirmed that the planting on a Thursday should begin in the south-western corner and continue in a clockwise direction (*gilir naga*). Later, on 13 December 2013, Aki Daénah, the father of Daénah, also confirmed the relationship between the direction and day of a performance as given by Sawari. He also confirmed that one direction is definitely not used, but he was not sure whether it was north-west or north.

The direction in which the mythical snake moves (*gilir naga*) is also observed during the ceremony of the betrothal (*ngarérémakeun*) of the rice goddess Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Asri to the earth, Partiwī.<sup>36</sup> The *angklung* players walk around

<sup>36</sup> Garna (1988: 322) points out that in this Baduy ceremony the earth becomes the husband of the rice goddess, but that in the Nusantara traditions the earth usually falls in the female category. See also Geise (1952: 34-40).

a basket of rice in a clockwise circle (*gilir naga*), that is, the "holy" direction in many parts of Asia. When *angklung* players are singing songs purely for entertainment, they walk around a circle in an anti-clockwise direction: the direction in which the *koréd* knife moves when it is used for weeding (*palélé koréd*);<sup>37</sup> see also Geise (1952: 34-40) and Van Zanten (1995: 533-537).

Besides the *pantun* performances by Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003, I have heard a *pantun* story performed at the inauguration ceremony (*nukuh lembur*) of the hamlet Campaka, near Kaduketug in Kanékés, from about 21:45 - 24:15 in the evening of Wednesday 4 June 2014 (day 9 of the Baduy month Kalima). On this occasion the story *Langga Sari* was performed by the storyteller (Ki Pantun) Anirah from Kaduketer. I was not allowed to be present in the house in which the performance actually took place in of the presence of Baduy officials. My attendance was restricted to the veranda of a house opposite that in which the *pantun* story was being performed. Although I could not see what was really going on and was not allowed to make audiovisual recordings or take photographs, the singing was clearly audible and I noticed that the musical manner of performing was very similar to that I had heard and recorded from Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003.

The next day the former secular village head Asrab (1990-1994) told me that the *pantun* storyteller Anirah had also used a kind of tent or baldachin, as Sajin had done in 1977. Asrab said that it was made of *boéh larang* cloth, but when I asked he replied that he would not have called this a *lawon bodas*: a *lawon bodas* construction was used for circumcisions and was larger than the construction used by Anirah. In this respect compare also Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 71), who describe the use of white cotton for covering the inside of the temporary awning (*papajangan*) under which the teeth of Baduy girls and boys are filed.

A short summary of a Baduy version of the *Paksi Keuling* story, based on existing literature, can be found in Appendix 2.

## 7. BEGINNING OF THE BADUY PANTUN RECITATION: RAJAH PAMUNAH

In this section I shall restrict myself to discussing small parts of the texts recited by Sajin and Sawari at the opening of their *pantun* performance, that is, the *rajah* (*pamunah*), in a modest attempt to describe the differences in performance styles of the Baduy bards and *pantun* performers in the regions east of Kanékés.

A *pantun* recitation begins with a standardized opening (*rajah*, *rajah pamunah*) and the recitation might end with a *rajah pamungkas*. Looking at the full *pantun* texts obtained by Pleyte and Rosidi, it appears that the *rajah* of a particular bard remains fairly constant and is independent of the story being told. Be that as it may, unquestionably we can conclude that there can be considerable divergence between different performers. This is confirmed by the findings of Weintraub (1990) and Van Zanten (1993). I have also pointed

<sup>37</sup> The *koréd* is a small hoe which looks like a short sickle with a broad blade. Held in the right hand when weeding, it moves in anti-clockwise direction, as does the sickle.

out that in his *rajah* the *pantun* performer Enjum from Ujungberung, Bandung, apparently followed the tradition presented in Pleyte (1910c: 135-136) and Eringa (1947: 121-130): an eastern Priangan tradition from Bandung to Ciamis, South Cirebon. For instance, on 5 September 1981, Enjum began his *rajah* in the *Lutung Kasarung* story as follows (Van Zanten 1993: 156):<sup>38</sup>

Beginning of *rajah* as recited by Enjum (Bandung) in the *Lutung Kasarung* story, 5 September 1981

1	<i>Astagfirullah al adzim (5x)</i>	Heaven forbid!
2	<i>Bul kukus mendung ka manggung</i>	I burn incense, in dark clouds ascending.
3	<i>Nyambuung ka awang-awang</i>	It rises and spreads in the air,
4	<i>Ka manggung neda papayung</i>	High up in the air, to ask protection.
5	<i>Ka pohaci neda suci</i>	To the heavenly nymphs to ask sanctification,
6	<i>Ka déwata neda maap</i>	To the gods to ask pardon.
7	<i>Kuring rék diajar kidung</i>	I want to perform singing,
8	<i>Nya kidung carita pantun</i>	To sing a <i>pantun</i> story,
9	<i>Ngahudang carita anu baheula</i>	To re-create a story from the past,
10	<i>Nyukcruk laku nu rahayu</i>	Following the beneficial actions,
11	<i>Nyilokakeun</i>	In <i>siloka</i> (symbolic) form,
12	<i>Mapay lampah nu baheula</i>	To follow the course of actions of the past.

The Baduy *rajah* follow another tradition. This is also indicated by the different musical aspects of the performance styles. In Van Zanten (1993: 147-148) I noted that in Sajin's recitation,

The dramatic effects are less pronounced than in the performances of Enjum. Sajin's virtuosity on the accompanying *kacapi* is far less than Enjum's, and sometimes he does not touch the instrument for many minutes at a stretch. On the other hand Sajin's speed of recitation varies much more than Enjum's speed: from very slow to very fast.

For this last point see also the music transcription of a small section of Sajin's recitation in Van Zanten (1995: 530).

In the *rajah*, both Sajin (in 1977) and Sawari (in 2003) describe their singing as *kawih*, not as *kidung*,<sup>39</sup> which is commonly used in the Priangan tradition, as

<sup>38</sup> The English translation of the Sundanese text here presented is slightly different from the 1993 one.

<sup>39</sup> Presumably, *kawih* is the oldest Sundanese term known for singing/song or vocal music. The Sundanese *kidung* is an incantation to avert illness, theft and other possible evils when venturing into places which might harbour spirits (Eringa 1984). See further (Van Zanten 1989: 15, 17-18).

represented by the above example of Enjum from Bandung. In my recording of 2003 Sawari began his *rajah* in the following way:<sup>40</sup>

Beginning of the *rajah* as recited in the Paksi Keuling story by Sawari, May 2003

[1:00] <i>Latih kurang diajar ngawih</i>	With insufficient training I practise singing
<i>Kawih sindir bangbalikan</i>	Singing allusions in bangbalikan form
<i>Kawih sindir sudat[?] manik</i>	Singing allusions is cutting the jewel
<i>Mamah sendén pada ramé</i>	Mother female singer-dancer at festivities
<i>Nguak-ngiuk nabeuh irung</i>	Mumbles incoherently through her nose
<i>Nguak-nguik nabeuh ceuli</i>	And it incoherently strikes [our] ears [1:31]

Hence the text of Sawari’s *rajah*, and also that of Sajin, who used similar words in his, is different to the text of a *rajah* in the Priangan *pantun* tradition represented by Enjum. I have not heard or seen Sawari’s first two words in the first sentence, *latih kurang*, in the transcribed *rajah* texts of other Baduy storytellers.<sup>41</sup> By adding these two words, Sawari reinforces the idea that he is not a competent performer: *latih kurang diajar ngawih*, ‘practising singing without sufficient training ...’ Possibly by using this apologetic statement, Sawari wanted to express his idea that, because he had lived outside Kanékés since the late 1970s and had been surrounded by Muslims, he lacked sufficient practice, because he was not often asked to perform *pantun* stories. He describes himself as someone just learning and practising: he is ‘being taught to sing’ (*diajar ngawih*). These words are used by all Baduy *pantun* storytellers; farther to the east they use words with a similar meaning, *diajar ngidung* (Eringa 1949: 138-139, 209; Van Zanten 1993: 156), also repeated in the example of Enjum above. They are asking themselves whether they are competent to tell a “story from heaven”. In their sung opening (*rajah*) Baduy storytellers like Sawari also ask the forgiveness of the gods: “Grant me permission to tell the story of *Paksi Keuling*, a story of the past which is now [re]created”.<sup>42</sup>

Both Sajin and Sawari mention that the performer should not “mumble incoherently through the nose”, because if this is avoided, the “song will be properly embedded”. I suppose this is also expressed by the words “Singing of allusions is cutting the jewel” (*sudat manik*): the singing of allusions, often to express erotic feelings and love, is “damaging” to the essence of a *pantun* story. In Sawari’s version it is clear that it is the entertainment, the “incoherent speech” of the “Mother female singer-dancer at festivities” which the *pantun* performer should take pains to avoid. The *pantun* stories are more than just entertainment and the storytelling should be done in a proper way, that is,

<sup>40</sup> Film 2003 Sawari 1, circa 1:00-1:31.

<sup>41</sup> See, for instance, the two Baduy *pantun* recordings by Rosidi which commence *Urang diajar ngawih*, ‘I shall practise singing’ (Sajin 1973: 1) and *Mun cik diajar ngawih*, ‘Now then, I shall practise singing’ (Sajin 1974: 1).

<sup>42</sup> *Kasih kawenang-wenang nyaritakeun lalakon Paksi Keuling, lalakon baheula diciptakeun ayeuna*. (Film 2003 Sawari 1, 2:52-2:59).

underpinning the duty to live an ascetic way of life. If this advice is followed, the *pantun* recitation will be a good medicine for the members of the audience: "Singing is a medicine by which to reach inner calm, A means to take care of those who are angry, [...], A means to intensify our feelings of longing".<sup>43</sup>

Of particular interest is the passage in Sajin's *raja* in which he talks about the former kingdom of Parangkujang: "*Kawih tumpang [...] Parangkujang*".<sup>44</sup> This passage was also sung by the former Baduy Japar in 1911 (Pleyte 1912: 292): *Kawih tumpang Parangkujang*. These words might mean: 'Singing as an additional gift from Parangkujang' and this is presumably meant in a pejorative sense, namely: presenting an undesirable and moreover unsuitable type of singing. Parangkujang is the name of a kingdom near Mount Kujang, mentioned in the story of *Dewa Kaladri* noted by Pleyte (1912: 267-291). Another version of this story is known as *Budak Buncireung* or *Budak Buncir*; see, for instance, Geise (1952: 109-116, 176-181, 218-222, 239-242) and Hamidimadja (1998: 77-84). The Baduy believe that when the time comes in which the relations between them and the outside world will deteriorate, the village of Kanékés will be attacked by the village of Parangkujang which will be "supported by the government" (Geise 1952: 115). Pennings (1902: 370) mentions that the people living in the vicinity of Kanékés were free to move around there to trade their wares; the highest spiritual leaders (*girang puun*) had even given their permission for the building of an Islamic settlement (*ampian, ampéan*) Cicakal in Kanékés, by the people "from Parangkujang lying to the west of Kanékés". See also my remark about the period in April 2003 when the USA and the UK were about to invade Iraq. The Baduy feared that this could be the beginning of the Third World War on religion, in which they might possibly be wiped out by the outside world (Van Zanten 2004: 141).

This reference to a less beneficial way of singing (enunciating incoherently through the nose like the *sindén* with the gamelan and presumably the singing introduced from Parangkujang), which contrasts with the (proper) *pantun* recitation is also found in Sajin's 1977 recitation, in which he recites:

The *pélog* gong is out of tune/A false gong is at risk of being stolen/The means to beat the enemy/Will not fail if in good order/(But) will be defeated when out of tune/ Fail because of strange medicine.<sup>45</sup>

(see Van Zanten 1989: 194; Sajin 1974: 108; Pleyte 1912: 316). I have pointed out that the false tuning of musical instruments (*sumbang*, which also means: incest) is a metaphor for human relationships which are fundamentally wrong. Should they exist, the social order is disturbed and the society affected will fall apart. It is therefore important that the *pantun* performer tells the story in the correct manner and that his instrument is properly tuned.

<sup>43</sup> *Kawih tatambalan tiiseun, Paranti ngasuh nu pundung, [...] Paranti mangdaya tineung* (digitalized audio recording 1977 LK 1, 1:20-1:45).

<sup>44</sup> Digitalized audio recording 1977 LK 1, 0:18-0:42.

<sup>45</sup> Digitalized audio recording LK4, 5:28 to 5:51.



## CONCLUSION

In this essay I have tried to summarize what we know about Baduy *pantun*, which is not very much, because we have not yet collected and analysed sufficient field-data. It is also essential that more audio and audiovisual recordings are made available. These would be useful both to check earlier conclusions and as a basis for musical analysis. The data I have presented here are based on my two recordings of Baduy *pantun* by Sajin in 1977 and Sawari in 2003.

What has been said of the Baduy *pantun* is also more or less true of the *pantun* in the wider area of west Java. So far the full texts of *pantun* stories collected by Pleyte and Rosidi remain the major sources publicly available. The large collection of thirty audio-recorded *pantun* of Ajip Rosidi's project in the 1970s should be traced and, if still existing, soon become available in digitalized form; before the tapes will have decayed. Fortunately the unique recording of the beginning of a *pantun* made by Snouck Hurgronje in 1905 has recently been digitalized and is now available for analysis.

APPENDIX 1. TITLES OF *PANTUN* STORIES IN WEST JAVA WHICH HAVE BEEN DOCUMENTED AUDIOVISUALLY

The text sources are:

For Baduy stories: J&M = Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 135).

Sundanese *pantun* stories: E = Eringa (1949: 9-13) and K = Kartini et al. (1984).

Audio(visual) recordings: R = Ayip Rosidi (see Rosidi 1973: 110-111), W = Andrew Weintraub (see Weintraub 1990), vZ = Wim van Zanten (Van Zanten 1993 and this essay).

	Name	Indicated as Baduy story	Mentioned by	Audio recording: recorder, performer and his residence
1	Badak Pamalang		E, K	R: Samid, Sukabumi (2 parts)
2	Bima Manggala		E	R: Ating, Sukabumi
3	Budak Manyor <sup>46</sup> = Ki Manyor jeung Nyi Gendruk		K	R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang
4	Buyut Orényéng	R		R: Sajin, Kanékés (Baduy)
5	Ciung Wanara	J&M, E	E, K(2x)	R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang; R: Subarma, Bandung W: Enjum, Bandung vZ: Enjum, Bandung (1989)
6	Dalima Wayang			R: Ating, Tepalpanjang, Sukabumi
7	Demung Kalagan			R: Kamal, Kuningan
8	Gantangan Wangi		K	R: Asom, Subang
9	Jaya Mangkurat			R: Nasir Supandi, Purwakarta
10	Kembang Panyarikan		K	R: Kamal, Kuningan
11	Limanjaya Mantri			R: Asom, Subang
12	Lutung Kasarung	J&M, R, vZ	E, K(2x)	R: Kertawiguna, Kuningan R: Sajin, Kanékés, Baduy W: Enjum, Bandung vZ: Sajin, Kanékés (1977) vZ: Enjum, Bandung (1989)

<sup>46</sup> Kartini et al. (1984: xi, 22-27) and Weintraub (1990: 22) give this name as Manyor. Rosidi (1973: 110) and Eringa (1949: 10) and Sumardjo (2013: 466-495) use the name Manjor (Dutch: Mandjor).

13	Lutung Leutik		K	R: Kamal, Kuningan
14	Munding Kawati		K	R: Atma, Subang
15	Munding Laya di Kusuma		E, K(3x)	R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang W: Enjum, Bandung vZ: Enjum, Bandung (1981 and 1989)
16	Munding Wangi			R: Hamami, Bandung
17	Paksi Ke(u)ling	J&M, R, vZ	E, K(2x)	R: Yanci (not Tanci), Kanékés (Baduy) vZ: Sawari, Lebak (Baduy, 2003)
18	Panggung Karaton		E, K	R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang
19	Perenggong Jaya		K	R: Samid, Sukabumi
20	Radén Mangprangjaya di Kusumah			R: Asom, Subang
21	Radén Tanjung		K	R: Samid, Sukabumi
22	Rangga Katimpal			R: Otang, Bandung
23	Ringgit Sari			R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang
24	Senjaya Guru			R: Enjum, Bandung (two versions) W: Enjum, Bandung
25	Sulanjana/Sulanyana		E	R: Aceng Tamadipura, Sumedang
26	Sumur Bandung (Nyai/ Nyi - )		E, K(4x)	R: Enjum, Bandung vZ: Enjum, Bandung (1989)

## APPENDIX 2. SUMMARY OF TWO PANTUN STORIES

There are many versions and many summaries of the *Lutung Kasarung* story, among them the non-Baduy versions in Dutch by Pleyte (1910c: xxii-xxxviii) and Eringa (1949: 21-28), those in Indonesian by Kartini et al. (1984: 62-64) plus that in English by Weintraub (1990: 186-194). Likewise, there are a number of versions of the *Paksi Keuling* story. In their book, Jacobs and Meijer (1891: 162-163) present a Dutch summary of a Baduy version. Pleyte (1912: 292-426 + 4 pages music) gives a Baduy version in Sundanese, which also includes a four-page transcription of the sung opening of the *pantun* music accompanied by a *kacapi* zither. In *Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* (1975: 1-34) and in Kartini et al. (1984: 154-156), the *Paksi Keuling* story has been summarized in Indonesian.

## LUTUNG KASARUNG STORY (NON-BADUY VERSION)

The story begins in the kingdom Pasir Batang nu Girang. Its royal family was composed of Mas Prabu Ageung Tapa (King Great Ascetic), his wife Nitisuari and their seven daughters, from eldest to youngest named: Purbararang, Purbaéndah, Purbadéwata, Purbakencana, Purbamanik, Purbaleuwih and Purbasari. The king has withdrawn from his task of a ruler and is practicing ascetism in the mountains. Although he has appointed his youngest daughter, Purbasari, who is extremely handsome and clever, to be his eventual successor, in practising the eldest daughter, Purbararang, has taken over, with the connivance of the other daughters who are all jealous of Purbasari. When Purbararang becomes afraid that her fiancé, Indrajaya, is taking too much interest in the beautiful Purbasari, the latter is expelled from the palace. Before sending her away, Purbasari's whole body - except her face - is smeared with a cream containing charcoal and she is given old clothes to wear, as a consequence her beauty is eclipsed. She is taken to Cupu Mountain by a dignitary (Léngsér). In this place of exile, she eventually learns how to weave and to steam rice: a prerequisite for marriage.

In heaven a very handsome boy, Guru Minda Kahiang, a decendent of Guriang Tunggal, is growing up. When he reaches the age of marriage, he dreams that he has a fiancée who greatly resembles his mother, Sunan Ambu. His mother tells him that such girl does indeed live in the 'middle world' (Earth). To avoid any incest, she tells him to go there and search for her, but he should be disguised as a *lutung*, a black, long-haired monkey, and take the name *Lutung Kasarung*, the lost *lutung* monkey. Once he arrives on Earth, he takes up residence in a big *peundeuy* tree and the plants and animals pay their respects to this son come from heaven with a *lutung* skin.

One day King Great Ascetic has a craving to eat *lutung* meat. Aki Panyumpit ('grandfather blowpipe') is ordered to shoot a *lutung* before sunset. Should he be unsuccessful, he and his family will be condemned to death. Aki Panyumpit does not see any animal at all in the woods in which he usually goes hunting. He is already planning to go home empty-handed, when he sees a *lutung* monkey in a *peundeuy* tree! However, he is unsuccessful in his attempts to shoot the monkey with his blowpipe. Then the *lutung* monkey

begins to speak to him and asks to be taken home as a foster child, because he wants to become accustomed to the "middle world". Aki agrees and he and his family are supplied with an abundance of food. When they wake up the next morning, they find they are living in a beautiful new house, constructed by the heavenly workmen (*bujangga*) at the request of the Lutung Kasarung. Then Aki Panyumpit remembers that he was ordered to take *lutung* meat to the king and he hurries to the palace with the monkey. The king is very happy and sends Aki home loaded with many presents.

Then the king orders the *lutung* meat to be prepared. However, all attempts to kill the *lutung* fail and in the process the palace suffers severe damage. The king decides to give the monkey to his daughters. However, they all refuse to take the monkey, with the exception of the eldest, Purbararang, who does not dare to refuse anything offered by her father. The monkey continues to make himself a nuisance and he destroys beautiful objects in the palace. Finally Purbararang sends him to the place Purbasari is living in exile: those two black creatures can keep each other company. Purbasari is very happy with the *lutung*. During the night, Guru Minda goes up to his heavenly mother and laments that he has found the girl, but she is black and ugly. To make matters worse, she is living in poverty! Could his mother not give her a new house? His mother tells him to keep hiding his beauty with the *lutung* skin for the moment and she also orders the heavenly workers (*bujangga*) to build a new house. When Purbasari wakes up she is very surprised. As it is very warm, she immediately takes a bath after which her original complexion and beauty are once more revealed. This prompts the Lutung Kasarung say to himself: "... if we were not practising asceticism, I would be overwhelmed with desire for her to be my wife".

The beautiful house shared by Purbasari and the *lutung* monkey does not escape the attention of Purbararang, who is overcome with jealousy. Purbararang tries to set her youngest sister impossible, in truth dangerous tasks, hoping that she will not survive. Her first task is to build a dam around the deep whirlpool Sipatahunan, so that a fishing party can be organized there the next day. Should she not succeed, Purbasari and the *lutung* will be beheaded. The *bujangga* again help out during the night but, while they are doing so, they take all the fish out of the water, so that the party guests will catch nothing. During the fishing party, Lutung Kasarung unveils himself in all his divine beauty under the name of Ki Guriang, but nobody including Purbasari recognizes him. The sisters all fall in love with him, but Ki Guriang has eyes only for Purbasari and addresses her as *indang* (female ascetic). After the departure of the party, Purbasari cooks rice for the first time in her life; rice has been supplied by the gods.

The next task for Purbasari is to fetch a white wild bull (*banténg*) and bring it to Purbararang. Lutung Kasarung, disguised as an old village head, tells Purbasari that she should tie the bull fast with two of her own hairs. She succeeds in calming the bull down and taking it to the palace. As soon as Purbasari has left the the palace, the bull becomes enraged and damages



a great part of the palace, before running back to the woods. Purbararang is furious and orders yet another task: a contest between herself accompanied by her companions and Purbasari in preparing a dry planting field (*huma*). Both parties have to prepare fields on seven hill tops. Purbararang claims the most favourable locations and Purbasari is left with the fields littered with great quantities of stones. If she does not finish at the same time as Purbararang, Purbasari and the *lutung* monkey will be killed. On the advice of the *lutung*, Purbasari accepts the challenge, even though she barely has a knife or any other utensils to her name. Again Lutung Kasarung asks his mother for help and this is granted. The *bujangga* forge several agricultural tools and then prepare the fields. These utensils and the work of clearing, planting, weeding, harvesting and storing the rice and other crops is described in great detail, and the requisite rituals are all carefully noted. When the rice has been harvested, Sunan Ambu comes down to the "middle world" and teaches Purbasari what to do with the rice: to take the rice from the storage barn (*leuit*), pound it, and to steam it and how to observe the prohibitions. Purbasari is also taught the mythical names of the tools and how to cleanse raw cotton so that it can be spun and woven.

Hampered by her lack of knowledge about tools and rituals, Purbararang encounters great difficulties. However, she is confident that she will win the contest not least because, by intervention from heaven, she fails to see that Purbasari is succeeding much better. When Purbararang is ready with the harvest, she sends Léngsér to Purbasari. Léngsér has no other option than the conclusion that Purbasari has won. Purbararang organizes new contests, and the last one is to find out who has the most handsome fiancé: Purbasari thinks because of her monkey fiancé she will certainly be defeated. However, Lutung Kasarung receives a message from his mother, Sunan Ambu, that his time has now come and he should reveal himself in his divine splendour. Indrajaya stands no chance against Guru Minda, the son of a god and a goddess. Purbararang is finally defeated and Purbasari and Guru Minda become the new rulers of Pasir Batang which is given a new name Pakuan Kalangon. Purbararang begs for mercy and Purbasari takes her and Indrajaya on as servants in the palace: their task is to look after the chickens and cut the grass. [end]

#### PAKSI KEULING STORY (BADUY VERSION)

The story is about Paksi Keuling Linar Gading, ruler of the kingdom of Naga Kencana. Paksi Keuling's younger sister, Aci Keuling Wentang Gading, is the second wife of Sutra Kamasan, king of Pasir Batang Umbul Tengah. Balungbang Singa,<sup>47</sup> king of Naga Buana, who has been living an ascetic life on the Malang Cloud ("horizontal cloud") was wanting to abduct Aci Keuling. Therefore he descended to Earth in the form of a gentle breeze, and landed just in front of the palace of Sutra Kamasan. Balungbang Singa begins to chew betelnut and he speaks a mantra which changes his quid into Aci Keuling. He

<sup>47</sup> Also Balumbang Singa.

lifts the real Aci Keuling from her bed and flies with her up into the air and onto the Malang Cloud. When Paksi Keuling looks for his sister, all he finds is the quid. He takes some burning wood and goes to the Malang Cloud where he finds Balungbang Singa and Aci Keuling resting. He lifts Aci Keuling up and places the burning wood in her place alongside Balungbang Singa. Aci Keuling is returned to the palace of her husband, Sutra Kamasan.

Hidden by the Nunggul Cloud, Paksi Keuling returns to the Malang Cloud and sits down near the sleeping Balungbang Singa. When Balungbang Singa wakes up his clothes are on fire and he immediately descends to the Earth to extinguish the flames. This episode is seen by Pucuksari Ratna Wentang, who is practising ascetism and cleansing herself spiritually (*tapa*) with her elder brother, Sutra Pangayon. She asks her brother what is happening. When Balungbang Singa overhears their conversation, he is embarrassed and grows angry; he wants to pick a fight with Sutra Pangayon. Although Sutra Pangayon tries to point out that he is not the enemy and that the real enemy is on the Malang Cloud, Balungbang Singa launches into a fight with him. When Paksi Keuling sees this unequal combat in which Sutra Pangayon has already been severely wounded, he takes his place. He tells Balungbang Singa that he is the real enemy, the elder brother of Aci Keuling, who had been abducted by Balungbang Singa. Paksi Keuling kills Balungbang Singa. At the entreaties of Pucuksari, he is brought back to life. Balungbang Singa subjects himself to Paksi Keuling and his brother-in-law, Sutra Kamasan, king of Pasir Batang Umbul Tengah.

Before the party returns to Pasir Batang Umbul Tengah, Balungbang Singa asks Paksi Keuling to fetch his sister, Nimbang Buana, from his palace in Salabuana, so that she can join the group and likewise pay her respects to the king of Pasir Batang. Paksi Keuling meets Nimbang Buana in the palace where she is weaving. Initially Nimbang Buana is cross with Paksi Keuling, because she thinks he had come to marry her. After Paksi Keuling explains that he is a messenger from her elder brother, they leave to join the group which was waiting for them. As they journey on their way, they are observed by Méga Kumendung who is jealous that Paksi Keuling is accompanying such a beautiful woman. He abducts Nimbang Buana and after this has been noticed by Paksi Keuling, he uses magical means to force Méga Kumendung to return with Nimbang Buana. Paksi Keuling and Nimbang Buana continue their journey. However, Paksi Keuling decides, before going any farther he wants to punish Méga Kumendung by abducting the latter's younger sister, Langgang Haruman. He goes to their palace and, using his magical powers, fashions a figure of Méga Mendung. He tells Langgang Haruman that Paksi Keuling is on his way to destroy the palace and that it would be better if she left with him immediately. They finally depart after Paksi Keuling has set fire to the place. When they come back to the place at which Nimbang Buana was resting, Paksi Keuling asks her to take care of Langgang Haruman and to comfort her and help her forget about the past.

In the meantime, Méga Kumendung and his companions are seeking

revenge for the abduction of Langgang Haruman. They are helped by the king of Pasir Ipis, Jaya Sangara. When Paksi Keuling's party is passing through the kingdom Pasir Ipis they meet with fierce resistance. This fight between the heroes causes several deaths on both sides. The first fight is between Méga Kumendung and Balungbang Singa and it is accompanied by the slinging of mutual insults. For instance, Balungbang Singa says: "Hi, nut, trap Méga Kumendung! (*Buh, tangkurak*,<sup>48</sup> *bacot Méga Kumendung*)" and Méga Kumendung replies: "... you are very weak; you were born prematurely, the number of months had not been accomplished! (... *dia baé nu lungkay-lingkeuy cara geureung, ucut ngora tuna bulan...*)" (*Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975: 25; Pleyte 1912: 392). Balungbang Singa falls and asks Méga Kumendung for the *coup de grace*, because there was no place for him on this Earth. After Méga Kumendung has killed Balungbang Singa, he invites others to battle with him and this time Patih Kalangsari kills Méga Kumendung. The king of Pasir Ipis, Jaya Sangara, then commences a fight with Patih Kalangsari.

Just as Patih Kalangsari is on the point of being defeated, Paksi Keuling decides to step in, "otherwise more victims will fall" (*Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975: 27; Pleyte 1912: 398). Jaya Sangara takes his magic kris (*duhung*), called Si Gagak Ngelak,<sup>49</sup> and tries to stab Paksi Keuling, who on his turn tries to stab Jaya Sangara with his kris, Sampana Keling (Pleyte 1912: 401, 403). Both fighters call upon supernatural aid by using magical formulae. Eventually Paksi Keuling appears to have the upper hand in the magical powers contest and he stabs Jaya Sangara to death.

At the request of Jaya Sangara's sister, Maya Sangara, all the dead are brought back to life. Paksi Keuling remarks: "The power to kill (implies having) the power to bring back to life. The power to punish must also include to power to restore health. If this is not so, do not presume to punish and to kill people" (*Beberapa cerita rakyat Baduy* 1975: 30).<sup>50</sup> When Jaya Sangara is brought back to life, Paksi Keuling asks him what he wants: does he want to submit to the king, or does he want to go on fighting? He submits, and, as all the others have been, is brought back to life. The whole party returns to Pasir Batang Umbul Tengah where they pay their respects and yield to King Sutra Kamasan. As usual, the whole episode ends with a feast. [end]

<sup>48</sup> Pleyte (1912: 392) gives *tangkorang*; this could be the Baduy version of the Sundanese *tangkurak* (nut, noggin, noodle). *Tangkorang* is not found in Eringa 1984 and other Sundanese dictionaries.

<sup>49</sup> This magical kris (*duhung*) was also mentioned by Sajin when reciting the *Lutung Kasarung* story in 1977 (Van Zanten 1995: 541).

<sup>50</sup> Paksi Keuling's words are of current interest in the light of President Joko Widodo's decision at the beginning of 2015 to execute persons who had been sentenced to death, after several years in which no executions had been carried out.

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