

# THE SUNDANESE ECO-RELIGION KAMPONG OF KASEPUHAN CIPTAGELAR INDIGENOUS LOCAL COMMUNITY: CASE STUDY KAMPONG CENGGUK, SUKABUMI REGENCY

*Kampung Eko-Religi Sunda Masyarakat Adat Kasepuhan Ciptagelar:  
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Naskah diterima : 22 Januari 2020  
Naskah diperiksa : 30 Maret 2020  
Naskah disetujui : 30 Mei 2020

**Abstract.** *This research focused on eco-religion of indigenous Sundanese local community of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar at Southern Halimun Mountain on how to manage sustainable environment. The Kampung Cengkuk is one of several kampongs that still follow the tradition of indigenous local community of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar for hundred years. This descriptive qualitative research aims to reveal the internal and external factors led to deforestation of natural forests with average around 6-8% per year. The research shows that the kampong is still practicing eco-religion tradition by protecting forestland (leuweung tutupan) only for their subsistence. The hypothesis is that the social-culture changes had been occurred in the community not only to restrict outer island agriculture in the forest, but also, in wet rice cultivation activities, to manage sustainable environment. The reduction in process and ceremonial activities also happened, which was originally eight ceremonies of outer island agriculture rituals into five ceremonies of wet rice cultivation. The more profane activities were developing economic crops in home garden.*

**Keywords:** *Ecoreligion, Kampong, Environment, Forest, Tradition*

**Abstrak.** Penelitian ini membahas tentang eko-religi masyarakat lokal Sunda Kampung Ciptagelar di Pegunungan Halimun Selatan bagaimana dalam pengelolaan lingkungan keberlanjutan saat ini. Kampung Cengkuk adalah salah satu dari kampung-kampung pengikut tradisi Kasepuhan Ciptagelar selama ratusan tahun. Penelitian dengan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif-kualitatif ini yang bertujuan untuk mengetahui faktor dari dalam dan luar kampung penyebab deforestasi hutan alam dengan rata-rata sekitar 6-8% per tahun. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa praktik ekoreligi masih dianut warga kampung dengan menjaga hutan tutupan (*leuweung tutupan*) untuk kegiatan subsistensi. Hipotesa yang dibangun adalah perubahan sosio-kultur terjadi pada masyarakat dengan membatasi kegiatan berladang di hutan tetapi lebih kepada kegiatan bertani di sawah ladang untuk mengelola lingkungan berkelanjutan. Pengurangan pada proses dan kegiatan upacara, yang semula delapan upacara daur ladang menjadi lima upacara daur sawah. Kegiatan profan lebih banyak pada pengembangan komoditas tanaman ekonomi di kebun-talun.

**Kata kunci:** Ekoreligi, Kampung, Lingkungan, Hutan, Tradisi

## 1. Background

Indonesia has 10% left of the world's tropical forests to support the hydrology and biodiversity. In 2010's, the forest vegetation of Java stayed 4%. Annual deforestation is 1,3 million Ha (1.2%). In the 16th Century, natural forest in Java island was about 9 million Ha. In the late 1980's natural forest in Java island only around 0.97 million Ha or 7% of the total area on the island of Java (Peluso, 2006); (Hidayat 2008: 88).

Kampong<sup>1</sup> Cengkuk which is administratively located in Margalaksana Village, Cikakak Sub-district, Sukabumi Regency, West Java is one of the Kampong that directly border with Halimun-Salak Mountains National Park Zone II section of Halimun Mountain Cibodas Resort, Sukabumi Regency (*Laporan Survei Potensi Resor Gunung Bodas* 2010). The forest around this kampong has a rate of deforestation on average 6-8% per year (Yatap 2008: 52). However, the local community still practicing the tradition of *Sunda Wiwitan*, a Sundanese tradition before Hinduism and Islam acculturated with local community beliefs which based on respect to the ancestors as their way of life (Garna 2008: 79).

This research focused on eco-religion of indigenous Sundanese local community on how to manage sustainable environment with particularly emphasized on social-culture changes. The research aims to show that the kampong is still practicing eco-religion tradition by protecting forestland only for their subsistence and how changes in the environment affect traditional ceremonial activities.

In the past two decades, from 1990 to 2010 there has been depreciation of natural forest up to 10.48 Ha while the total area of Kampong is

1987.25 Ha, and forest ratio in 1990 decreased from 0.5% to 0.04% in 2010 (Data Profil Desa Tahun 2006). The depreciation of natural forest is closely related to population growth, affect the extension production land (rice field and garden) and others man-made environment. Kampong Cengkuk annually population rate is 5.35%, which can be categorized very dense.

Forest depreciation also caused the forfeit of biodiversity and one of them due to socio-economic of local communities including demographic changes, social poverty and inequality, government policies, markets and politics role, changes in macroeconomic and social development (Wood *et. al.*, 2000: 13). Moreover, social urbanization, land use acreage, settlement expansion, income level, accessibility to natural resources, the values of forest resource, education and gender equality (Marzali 2003).

The development and environmental issues can be seen in a unity (Laporan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan 2004; Salim 1997); the unitary relationship between the natural environment, social environment and man-made environment. One of the issues in the social context of Indonesia tropical rainforest area and rural studies is the environmental degradation surrounding area of the forest due to population pressures and economic intervention. The local communities with local knowledge face the rapid changes (Purba 2002; Poerwanto 2008:vi).

Human ecologically is an integral part living environment. The survival of humanity depends on the environmental integrity of his life (Soerjani 2006); (Soemarwoto 2007: 35). Human, through their culture (Koentjaraningrat 2002: 2003-2004), has a tool to interact with physical and biotic environment. In every culture, there are usually elements of culture like: language, knowledge system, social organization, systems and technology of equipment life, livelihood system, religion, and arts. The concept of environmental probabilism

<sup>1</sup> *Kampong* (English: Kampong) probably derived from Portuguese *'campo'* means campground. In several places in Indonesia called *Gampong* (Aceh), *Kampuang* (Minang), and *Kampong* (Papua). Kampong is an area, where there are few houses of families lived there (rural) and opposite with the city (urban).

emphasized in this study is based on the ability of communities with their social culture to change the environment. The *environmental probabilism* is appropriate to pre-industrial societies (Hardesty 1977; Rambo 1983).

The study formulates the values of the social environment (more specific to environmental wisdom) of Kampung Cengkuk as the follower of traditions or customs of *Kasepuhan Ciptagelar*, the indigenous Sundanese local community. The research questions are: (1) Does the Sundanese eco-religion practices today as a cultural process of the past? (2) What practice of tradition that stand in the context of environmental sustainability? (3) How traditions change continually in other to principles of environmental sustainability?

## 2. Methods

This research method is qualitative with descriptive approach. The qualitative data are text, writing, phrases, or symbol which illustrate or represent human, activities or events in social life (Neuman 1997: 418). The qualitative research conducted for determine local community perception. In additions the descriptive intended for meticulous measurement to particular social phenomena (Singarimbun & Effendi 1989: 4). The descriptive carried out to notice completely phenomenon that occur in Kampung Cengkuk, Margalaksana Village, Cikakak, Sukabumi Regency, West Java.

The collecting of the data obtained from the literatures, surveys, observations, participants, and in-depth interviews. The interview method used is structured interview. Data processing is done after data collected and analyzed then it generalizes the findings. The interpretation is done by drawing conclusions from the patterns that visible in integrated data which explain the phenomenon in the context of environmental preservation. The research was conducted in 2011 for almost two weeks of field research.

## 3. Result and Discussion

### 3.1 The History of Kasepuhan's Local Community

The Kasepuhan local community currently dispersed in the area of South Banten, Bogor, Sukabumi, and Lebak. More than 500 years ago, the traditional local community as the last descendent of Sundanese Hindu Kingdom in West Java, which centered in Pajajaran, Bogor. They live now in the region of Halimun-Salak Mountains National Park. They fled to the mountainous area to avoid the assault troops of Banten Kingdom (Islamic Kingdom).

Although they are dispersed, they still follow the same customs which refers to as “**Kesatuan Banten Kidul**” or “**South Banten Unity**” or “Kasepuhan” which is oriented in the direction of “Kampung Gede” as local community center named Kampung Ciptarasa and Kampung Citagelar. The local community customs (*adat istiadat*) generation through generation traditionally led by “Abah” or “Father” in relationship that is patron-client or paternalistic (Nugraheni & Winata, 2002: 11; Adimihardja, 2009; Adimihardja, 2002; Adimihardja, 2001).

In general, the Kasepuhan communities and Kampung Cengkuk notably embrace the Islam, but they are still practicing the traditions of their ancestor tradition (*kokolot*) called *Sunda Wiwitan*. *Sunda Wiwitan* or *Urang Girang* or *Kolot* is the teaching (*pikukuh*) that

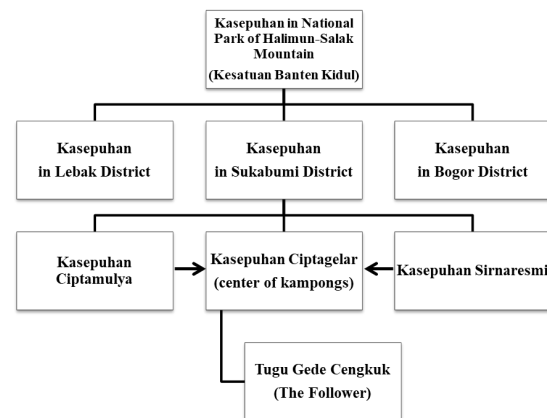


Figure 1. Structure of Adat Kasepuhan Banten Kidul (Source: modified from Adimihardja, 2002)

states that the living place needs to be properly maintained by communities due to the belief that it is the center of the earth or center of the universe which leads to prosperity. The Sundanese communities or groups like this based on cultural system and social structures as well as Old Sundanese, long before Hinduism culture came and influenced West Java or in prehistoric time (Garna 2008: 79). The archaeological excavation also had been conducted in several sites in Kampong Cengkuk shows the prehistoric remains from early first millenium such as megalith structures (*punden berundak*), menhirs, Polinesia statues, and stone tools (Sukendar et al. 1977; Sudarti et al 2005; Pasaribu 2010).



**Figure 2.** The Archaeological Site of Situs Tugu Gede 'megalith' remains as well as Tourist Destination (Source: T. Bachtiar; <http://geomagz.geologi.esdm.go.id/2013-10-08-07-23-32/>)

### 3.2 Forest and Local Community: Eco-religion of Sundanese Local Community

This study using a descriptive approach in anthropological science and multidisciplinary to address current issues and other contemporary social sciences. Sundanese culture in general has been formed naturally and over a long period of time including the religious system and belief. The Sunda Wiwitan belief system still practiced in the Baduy indigenous community in Kanekes, Lebak Regency, Banten Province

(Mihardja 2015: 19). Besides Baduy, there are Kampong Kasepuhan (Ciptagelar, Sirnaresmi, and Ciptamulya) in the Mount Halimun-Salak National Park in Sukabumi Regency (Hartono et. al 2007); Kampong Naga in Tasikmalaya Regency, Kampong Kuta in Ciamis, and Kampong Pulo in Garut Regency, and Kampong Urug in Bogor Regency. Sundanese refers to the notion of culture, ethnicity, geography, government and social administration. Sunda, Tanah Sunda, Tatar Sunda, Pasundan or Tanah Pasundan are used to understand the community and its culture (Ekadjati 1995: 14).

Before the Hindu-Buddhist influence come to Java (before 5th century), the western part of Java already lived and exist a culture which supported by local community. Although the lack of prehistoric data is not well available from Sundanese culture, so the prehistoric time is much longer rather than the historic time. If until now the historical time from Sundanese culture is only around 1600 years (from the 5th century to the beginning of the 21st century), so then the prehistoric time reaches hundreds of thousand years (before the 5th century) (Harsojo 1979; Ekadjati 2009: 12).

The development of Sundanese culture as a core started from the small settlement pattern of kampong's (which consists of several kampong). It then develops in specific environment such as center of trades (*pasar*) towards the city lifestyle right now. The kampong's in Sundanese culture are marked by some changes of life homogeneously and revolves to dry-rice agriculture (*wet rice cultivation*- see Geertz 1963) that used to be shifting cultivation (*outer island agriculture*- see Geertz 1963) previously (Ekadjati 1995: 109). According Ekadjati (1995: 125-128) the division of Sundanese kampong's can be divided into geographical locations, such as mountain, lowland, and kampong's coastal.

The settlement pattern (Mundardjito 2006; Mundardjito 2008) of the kampong near the

forest or mountain area are usually developed eco-religion<sup>2</sup>. Hill or mountain area is a place that has important meaning for the supported local community (Warnean 1988: 407—412). There is a link between the mountain and the belief system that the spirits inhabited in the mountain<sup>3</sup>.

So, the mountain or hill is a sacred place to the supported local community. Mountains or hills are considered to provide life, because most of the people earn a living by agriculture or land based (the personification of the Goddess of Rice-*Dewi Sri* as a symbol of fertility and protection of plants). Therefore, the top of hills or mountains that still as preserved area. For the Kasepuhan local community the top of hills or mountains is where the location of *sirah cai* (upstream).

In Kampong Cengkuk usually surrounded by sacred areas (ancestor spirits) as a protector of and rivers or springs that flow as a border of symbol of fertility. Kampong's orientation usually refers to the direction of sunrise and sunset. In addition, there is a relationship between the layout of the house and the barn or rice-stockpile (*leuit*) which direction faces west-east (Wessing 2003: 521-523).

The function of forests for indigenous Sundanese kampongs has significance meaning

<sup>2</sup> Eco-religion is one variant of environmental ethics that sees human relations with nature as a whole. Local wisdoms in Indonesia based on eco-religion, before the anthropocentric philosophy (humans are everything) dominates with the assumption of 'geo-centrism' (the earth is the center of everything). Humans are part of the cosmic system of the universe (solar system). Furthermore, indigenous communities identify themselves who survive and are able to assimilate information and technology from the outside and utilize it through a process of creative innovation over a long period of time, the term 'indigenous' cannot be separated from customary rights and livelihood activities, knowledge systems and rituals or ceremony to nature (Grim 2001: 37). The experts mention deep ecology. In 1973 the concept of deep ecology was developed by Norwegian philosophers Arne Naess, George Sessions and sociologist Bill Devast. It is said that deep ecology calls for us to think more deeply about our obligations towards both human and non-human life (Miller 2012: 619). The philosopher Frijtof Capra adds that deep ecology introduces the intrinsic value of all forms of life and views human life as only one specific strand of the whole web of life (Susilo 2008: 109; Keraf 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Hills or mountains have important meaning for peoples who lived in Indonesia in the early millennium BC. For further.

in livelihood activities. Forest for Sundanese called *leuweung*; the types and utilization patterns are different in every kampongs and regions. For example, Kampong Baduy, at Ciboleger, South Banten have an old forest/primary forest located in hilltop of every kampong. Whereas secondary forest located on a ridge or slope between hillside and hilltop (Permana 2006: 62). The utilization of forest of indigenous kampong is closely related to livelihood. Local community relies on forest products. Baduy local community use forest for shifting cultivation, which divided into three forests, primary forests (*leuweung kolot*), kampong/kampong forest (*leuweung lembur*) and intensive cultivation forest (*huma*) (Adimihardja 2009). As well as the indigenous local community of Kasepuhan in Sukabumi Regency, they divide the forests into three, named old forest (*leuweung kolot*), secondary forest (*leuweung titipan*), and intensive cultivation forest (*huma* or *leuweung sampalan*).

The pattern of Kasepuhan Kampong's nearby forest typically associated with eco-religion of rice. Hill or mountain is a place that has very important meaning. There is a linkage between the mountains with local belief that the spirits dwell in the mountain. Sacred values of the mountain are also still practiced by the traditional Sundanese Kampong's. In the Kampong's usually borders the sacred places or ancestor as protector of the Kampong and surrounded by flowing river as symbol of fertility. The orientation of Kampong also refers to the sunrise-sunset direction. Beside the relationship between the layout of the

reading about prehistory and megaliths remains in Indonesia see: Van Der Hoop (1932) *Megalithic Remains in South-Sumatra*. Netherland: W.J. Thieme & Cie, Zutphen; Soejono (1993) "Jaman Prasejarah di Indonesia," dalam *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia I*. M.D. Pusponogoro dan N. Notosusanto (ed.). Jakarta: Balai Pustaka; Sukendar (1993) *Arca Menhir di Indonesia: Fungsinya dalam Peribadatan*. Disertasi S3 Program Pascasarjana UI; Fox (1998) "Megalithic Rituals," dalam *Indonesia Heritage: Religion and Ritual* 9: 106—107. James J. Fox, et al. (ed.). Jakarta: Archipelago Press; Prasetyo (2015) *Megalitik Fenomena yang berkembang di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional.

houses and barns (*leuit*) which has west-east direction (Wessing 2003).

Indigenous community or indigenous people is local community which their ancestors as beginner, still in particular, using local natural resources as livelihood. They united by similarities of their descendants, history, customs, language, law, lifestyle inherited from the the wisdom of their ancestors (ILO Convention No. 169, June 27th1989, on Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Local community).

The Kasepuhan tradisional Kampong of Cengkuk value systems still follow the conception of covering forest (or secondary forest) in the form of unwritten customary rules (*pikukuh*) of the forest land use practices. The processes and practical activities are sacred ceremonies of agricultural cycle which symbolizing the fertility (the Goddess of *Dewi Sri/Nyi Pohaci*) related directly with conservation of forest land use. In addition, there also profane activities which directly conserve the forests with additional surplus value of forest land use for home garden (*kebun talun*) and agroforestry.

### 3.3 Environmental Setting

Kampong Cengkuk geographically located at altitude 382-415 meters above sea level and astronomically 6°53' S and 108°28' E. Kampong Cengkuk administratively located at Margalaksana Village, Cikakak Sub-district, Sukabumi Regency, West Java Province.

According to Van Bemmelen (Bemmelen 1970), the physiographic region included in series of southern mountains of West Java. This region consists of volcanic hills with declivitous slope and elevation between 500-700 meters above sea level. Based on Schmidt and Ferguson Climate Classification, the area of Bodas Mountain Resort has climate type B with the ratio of the number on average months of dry and wet (Q) is 24.7 and monthly average temperature is 31.8°C (minimum 19.7°C and

maximum 33°C). The average humidity is 88% with the average rainfall is 4.000-6.000 mm/year (*Laporan Survei Potensi Resor Gunung Bodas* 2010).

The watershed is an area of land that is bounded by topographic ridges mountain accommodate and store the water for later distribute to the sea through the main river (Asdak 2004: 1—4). In Kampong Cengkuk and surrounding area there are three springs flow across the Kampong toward Cimaja River and Cisukawanyana River and stop at Pelabuhan Ratu downstream.

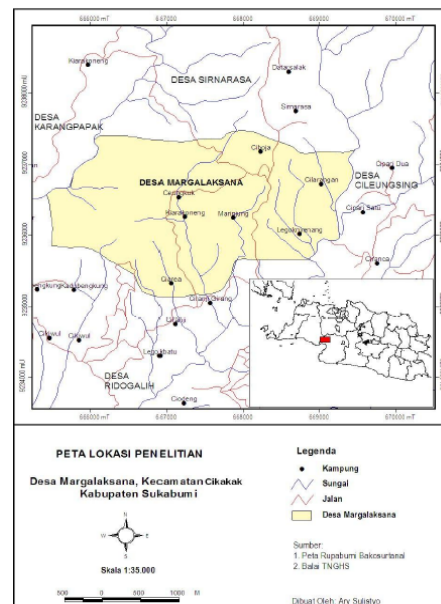


Figure 3. Map of Margalaksana Kampong and Kampong Cengkuk (Source: Sulistyio, 2011)

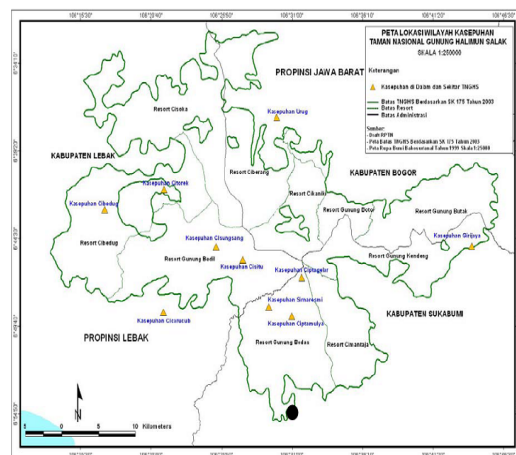


Figure 4. Map of Kampong Cengkuk with Taman Nasional Halimun Salak (Source: Supriyanto, 2008; *Laporan Survei Potensi Resor Gunung Bodas*, 2010)

### 3.4 Local community Perception

Like Kampung Gede Kasepuhan, at Kampung Cengkuk which is smaller, there are no *leuweung kolot* and *leuweung titipan* only *leuweung tutupan* and *leuweung garapan*. The interview focused on the questions of what are natural resources available, benefits, constraints, and how the overcomes. The traditional elders (*pupuhu*) stated that natural resources were found in the village are forests, rice fields and water sources.

*Aya leuwueng tutupan ti Batu Lawangan nu te menang diratakeun, teu menang ditebang, lan teu menang diruksak. Eta leuweung titipan nu kakolot, leluhur ku kabeh.*

There is a forest for safekeeping in Batu Lawang that should not be leveled, cut down, and damaged. The forest is the ancestral heritage for all of us.<sup>4</sup>

*Huma aya dileleupken di sawah, aya nu di ngalungbang ti reuma.*

Rice is planted in irrigated field, dry-rice planted in upland.<sup>5</sup>

The forest area on the status and function of the forest according to Law No. 41 of 1999 article 5, consist of protected forests, production forest, conversion forest (Village Profile 2006). Kampung Cengkuk forest and its surrounding managed by Perum Perhutani since the 1970s (Peluso 2006: 180-181), part of the forest is teak which has given to local community and villagers with *hak guna usaha* or cultivation rights (*dititipkeun*-local says). The community grow local plants (e.g. cloves).

Local community says *leuweung tutupan*<sup>6</sup> which at hilltop planted for large trees for cover (*tutupan*) such as pine (*Pinus sp.*), Coral

Cockspur (*Erythrina sp.*). It also for source of springs. At the downhill planted for dry-rice and home garden such as coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*), king fruit (*Durio zibethinus*), and sugar palm (*Arenga pinnata*). The belief teaching (*pikukuh*) said that dry-rice should not be planted rice twice a year, forests cannot be cut down if they are not planted again, springs cannot be damaged. If there is a citizen who violates it will be affected quality.<sup>7</sup>

Beside in agriculture sector, their livelihoods are closely linked to agriculture (off-farm) and apart from agriculture (non-farm). Based on survey, there are 50 households conducted with *purposive sampling* method obtained information the average of the residents (98%) is off-farm occupation and average income USD 25 per month (in 2009).



Figure 5. *Leuweung tutupan* at nearest the Kampung Cengkuk (Source: Sulisty, 2011)



Figure 6. Rice Paddy Stockpile (*Leuit*) of Kampung Cengkuk (Photo by Sulisty, 2011)

<sup>4</sup> Sumarya, 62 year old, *pupuhu*, September 4th 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Sunjaya, 57 year old, Juru Kunci, September 4th 2010.

<sup>6</sup> *Leuweung tutupan* is closed forest, not cultivated but can be accessed by indigenous people with the permission of Abah (elders) for the making of houses (wood and forest products) as well as for *cawisan* (a reserve area designated for the lives of future generations)

<sup>7</sup> Based on interview conducted on 6 September 4th 2010

The total area of Kampong is 12.5 hectares with land ratio 0.07 hectares in every household. Perception of forestland area surrounded the kampong are 47.95% not only for food security (at home garden) and cultivated land but also 46.93% as water springs for wet rice cultivation.

### 3.5 The Practices of Traditional Environmental Preservation

The practices of traditional environmental preservation consist of *sacred activities* and *profane activities*. In the Kampong of Cengkuk, sacred activities including those conducting religious aspects in the practice of forest and water sources stewardship (livelihood), particularly in regard to agriculture recycling ceremony (according to calendar calculation) and profane activities include the activities to carry out daily forest and water resources management practices or surplus value. At customary of Kampong Cengkuk, the agricultural recycling ceremony not conducted

anymore, except in some main Kampongs such as Ciptagelar, Sirnarasa, and Ciptamulya.

Shifting cultivation pattern (*outer island agriculture*, term in cultivation practices in out of Java, see Geertz 1963: 15-28) in Kampong Cengkuk generally has turned into non-irrigated rice cultivation (*wet rice cultivation*, term in the practice of rice cultivation not paddy rice irrigation, Geertz 1963: 27-37) that mix with home garden (*kebun talun*) or agroforestry.

#### 3.5.1 Seren Taun Annual Ceremony

*Seren Taun's* ceremony is the largest annual ceremony that is organized by Kasepuhan communities. *Seren taun* ceremony was conducted at the end of harvesting period. The ceremony was held to tribute *Nyi Pohaci* or Goddess of *Sri* who is the symbols of agricultural protector, fertility and prosperity. In the peak of harvesting (usually every August), the communities come to the center communities of Ciptagelar, as core of kampongs. Each of kampongs carry two



**Figure 7.** The Annual Seren Taun's Ritual Gift to Mother-Earth (*Dewi Sri*) followed by Local Communities and gathering at the Centre of 'Kampong' Gede Kasepuhan Ciptagelar (Photo by Jhony Hutapea; <https://kumparan.com/potongan-nostalgia/acara-puncak-upacara-seren-taun-desa-cigugur-kuningan-jawa-barat>)



bunches of rice (*gedeng*) to put into the local community center of granary (*leuit si jimat*) at the peak of ceremony.

### 3.5.2 Profane Activities of Forest Management

Profane activities refer to customary activities that are ordinary or non-sacred activities. The activities that come from the community based on the awareness of the importance of forest and water sources. The activities may include planting the trees on home garden or not far from kampong (*kebun talun*) as subsistence addition. These activities are intended as supporting as well as not only

additional crops but also to meet surplus value. Basically, the profane Kampongs are more open to change and abandon the traditions with only livelihood activities (ceremonies related to agricultural cycle) with Islam as the official religion.

*Kebun talun* is a form of cultivation system that resembles in home garden, but generally in outside or border of the Kampong's and mostly for annual crops. The home garden itself identified as the land use system around homes and generally planted various types of plants and poultry also fishes (see Fig. 8 cross-section of land use). At the upland (*tegalan*) generally used for cultivation of cassava, banana, and other to meet need of household consumption itself (Suhardjito 2002: 184).

Based on observation in 2010, most food crops and commodities planted in Margalaksana Villlage and Kampung Cengkuk generally are banana and rice. Dry-rice basically not be traded, just for family consumption.



Figure 8. Cross-Section Land use of the Kampong (Source: Soemarwoto, 2004)

## 4. Conclusion

To manage sustainable environment, the kampong still practicing eco-religion tradition by protecting forestland (*leuweung tutupan*) only for their subsistence. The social-culture changes had been occurred in the community to restrict outer island agriculture activities in the forest change to be wet rice cultivation activities. In Kampung Cengkuk there is agricultural or rice cycling ceremony as result of subsistence changes of this wet rice cultivation practices.

The reduction in process and ceremonial activities also happened, which was originally eight ceremonies of outer island agriculture rituals into five ceremonies of wet rice cultivation. On the other hand, the continually development of other economic commodity crops especially produced in home garden (*kebun-talun*) or agroforestry and upland to support subsistence with economic value added and surplus value.

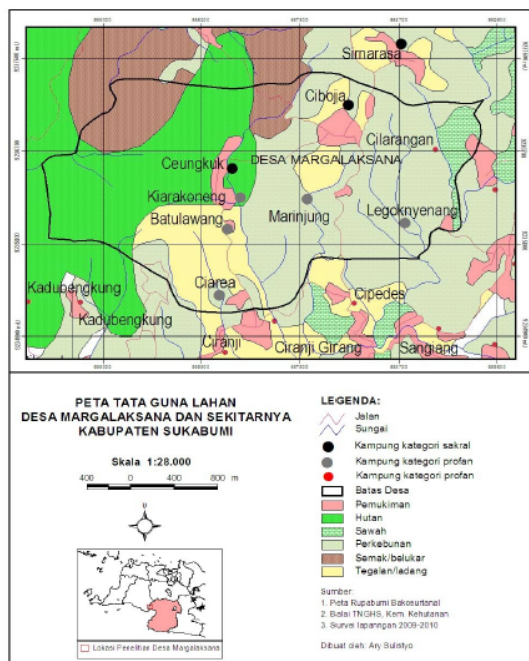


Figure 9. Map of Land use of Cengkuk Local Local community (*Kampong*), Sukabumi Regency, West Java (Source: Sulisty, 2011)

### Acknowledgement

I would like to thanks to Dr. dr. Boedhihartono (In memoriam) from Department of Anthropology University of Indonesia and also as Senior Lecturer at Vocational School of Tourism at University of Indonesia for sharing valuable knowledge of anthropology and ecology. *Selamat jalan Pak Budi.*

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