Ngarawunan and Pamageran: Reading the Cultural Landscape through the Relation of Settlements-Agriculture-Forest in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar Community

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Abstract. Kasepuhan Ciptagelar community is a society that holds the padi-culture until now. Ciptagelar community respects the paddy and believes it as an entity that has a soul. This belief is manifested in every routine activity and ritual related to paddy. Some of these activities are namely ngarawunan and pamageran. They became a background for the formation of a cultural landscape in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar. Both ngarawunan and pamageran are rituals that have impact on the protection of the agricultural environment. The event of ngarawunan involves landscape relation among settlements - dry paddy field (huma) - wet paddy field (sawah). Whereas the event of pamageran involve the relation of settlement - dry paddy field - forest. Both contain local knowledge that full of meaning. How do they build a cultural landscape in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar? This article is written based on the results of research with qualitative-inductive methods through an ethnographic-participatory paradigm. The result of this research indicated that the relations between two events in the agricultural environment of dry-wet paddy field with settlement and forest establish the spatial concept as a paddy cultural landscape. Ngarawunan and pamageran events have mutual coexistence. The combination of the two basic mentalities of dry-wet paddy field community, especially the wet paddy filed in the ngarawunan shows the spatial concept without borders. Meanwhile, the mentality of the dry field community in pamageran presents the concepts of boundary or territory. Both are side by side and complement each other harmoniously. These original spatial concepts which eventually have become the indigenous spatial concept of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar community is still sustained up to present.

Keywords: cultural landscape, Kasepuhan Ciptagelar, ngarawunan, padi-culture, pamageran.

1. Introduction

“The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Cultural is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result”1. Cultural landscape is unique among regions. The key is genius loci. Cultural landscape is evidence of physical wealth and cultural diversity, religion, belief systems, and social systems of people in an area2. The key is at the locus.

This locus is still be the one of the main reasons in vernacular architecture research. The main concern of reaserach with geographic approach to vernacular architechture is “where”3. The physical environment encountered is a cultural landscape that deserves to be studied. The location and site help to explain vernacular architecture as a direct expression on people’s lives and daily activities. Location is the key to deeply understand about settlements and buildings. Geographical categorization based on topography is also still a concern of researchers. Based on its environment, vernacular settlement can be grouped into twelve
locations and site, namely in the land, coast, desert, forest, meadow, lake, lowland, coast, river bank, slope, plateau including mountains, and valley.

From some of these groupings, the relation of agricultural and settlements is important to be interpreted in the context of cultural landscape. Kasepuhan Ciptagelar is one of the few indigenous groups in the archipelago that still has the relationship in order to keep and conserve the primordial paddy culture which is increasingly eroded. If there is an extinction of this indigenous knowledge certainly will bring a very long regret.

Kasepuhan Ciptagelar is a group of paddy-based culture communities which is not affected by shifts and change in the value of modernity and new technologies that have a big role as a catalyst of tremendous changes in the ecosystems and paddy culture. The indigenous people of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar are located in the depths of Mount Halimun, Kendeng Mountains of West Java-Banten. Kasepuhan Ciptagelar is few of indigenous groups that still maintain the values of belief and religious culture of paddy until now. Kasepuhan Ciptagelar sees that spirit of paddy is one of the constituents of the universe (cosmos) which is embroidered and intricately intertwined with nature material, body, mind, and spirit.

As a process of establishing the harmony between micro and macrocosms, indigenous peoples organize the paddy culture series. From about 32 series of paddy culture rituals during the paddy planting cycle at Kasepuhan Ciptagelar (not including events and daily routine), two of them are ngarawunan and pamageran. Ngarawunan is a ritual of paddy protection in dry paddy field and wet paddy field from physical, which is held by the ranks of rorokan pamakayaan (Kasepuhan wealth deposit holders). Meanwhile, pamageran is a ritual of paddy protection in a dry paddy field from non-physical disturbance, both are carried out by the ranks of rorokan paninggaran (security deposit holders and hunters).

The paddy ritual starts from the agricultural land to settlements and enters into the granary building, as the place of the rice-spirit. During the period of land preparation until harvest, the agricultural landscapes becomes the main place of paddy ritual activities. After the harvest and paddy arrived at the settlement, the place of paddy ritual activities moved into the granary. Agricultural landscapes are not merely agricultural landscapes, but more than that as cultural landscapes that contain harmony relation between humans and nature. How do both build a cultural landscape in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar?

2. Method
This article was written based on research using qualitative-inductive method through an ethnographic-participatory paradigm. Primary data is collet under direct observation by following and accompanying the ritual activities of indigenous people in two different ritual events of ngarawunan and pamageran. Respondents from ngarawunan activities are rorokan pamakayaan. While respondents from pamageran activities are rorokan paninggaran. In addition, the elaboration of secondary data also enriched outcomes.

3. Data and Analysis
3.1. Dry paddy field (Huma) and Wet paddy field (Sawah)
One of the uniqueness of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar as an indigenous community based on paddy culture compared to other indigenous community is they use the pattern of agricultural cultivation between dry paddy field and wet paddy field. The type of paddy in the dry paddy field is planted on dry soil and relies on raindrops. The type of paddy in a wet paddy field is planted on wet soils that have been processed by relying on irrigation water. In addition to paddy type, there are also two types of agricultural land control that was done, that is rurukan and residents of dry-wet paddy field. Dry paddy field and wet paddy field that used as studies are dry paddy field and wet paddy field of rurukan.

The location of dry paddy field always moves at Kasepuhan Ciptagelar. The displacement and movement of this become the nature of dry paddy field. Conversely, the location of dry paddy field always stay. Between dry paddy field and wet paddy field have their own spatial
and cultural mentality. Although Kasepuhan Ciptagelar has combined that two characteristics, but the characteristic of dry paddy field is stronger than wet paddy field because of the first and basic pattern of dry paddy field that embraced by the community.

Figure 1 shows a recording of the relative movements of dry paddy field of rurukan from 2010-1017 to the location of wet paddy field of rurukan (Lebak Hariang) and Kampung Gede Kasepuhan Ciptagelar settlement. Dry paddy field has moved several times, while wet paddy field stayed in one place. Both the dry and wet paddy field area outside the settlement. The existence of dry p and wet paddy field becomes a transition area or buffer zone between settlement and forest. These three types of land have close relationships: settlement-agriculture (dry and wet paddy field)-forest.

![Figure 1. The position and relation between dry paddy field and wet paddy field of Kasepuhan Ciptagelar. Source: Pratiwi, 2018](Image)

3.2. Ngarawunan ritual

While the paddy is reuneh (pregnant, bunting) or filled, then a pare nyiram salvation (paddy cravings) is held which is intended to welcome the beukah of paddy (blooming and expanding). The paddy that is being reuneh is very vulnerable to all kinds of disturbance. One of the strongest disturbances is invisible supernatural disturbance on agricultural land. For this reason, sawen named rawun was made as a protection element. Ngarawunan is held in dry and wet paddy fields, both owned by rurukan and citizens.

Ngarawunan is the activity of installing sawen (antidote tools) in agricultural space. The composition of sawen is composed of organic materials such as leaves, seeds, and small fruits, although pager in pamageran activities function as the security og dry paddy field, but not classified as sawen because the arrangement of the composition is different.

In ngarawunan activities, sawen was installed in the middle of paparakoan, merging with pungpuhunan. This position is different between pager that installed outside the west side of paparakoan. Besides, pager only installed in the dry paddy field, but rawun is installed in two places, both dry and wet paddy field. The installing of rawun in the center of paparakoan is followed by the installing sawen in wet-dry paddy field’s saung.
Ngarawunan in dry and wet paddy field is done by rorokan pamakayaan. Rawun is done in dry-wet paddy field's saung first before being plugged in into (in the middle) the paparakoan frame and coincided with pungpuhunan for the dry paddy field or just coincided with pungpuhunan in wet paddy field because it is not paparakoan in the wet paddy field. The placement scheme of ritual element of ngarawunan procession can be seen in Figure 2.

![Figure 2](image)

Figure 2. The placement scheme of ritual element in ngarawunan ritual. Source: Kusdiwanggo, 2015.

Sawen that used for paddy protection in dry and wet paddy field is used in their saung too. Sawen for dry and wet paddy field pinned in the roof of saung and beam join and hanged up under the roof. The perpetrators, in this case, are rorokan. Pamakayaan starts the activity from the settlement to agriculture land of dry and wet paddy field. However, after the end of the procession, rorokan pamakayaan did not do the trip to enter the forest before returning to the settlement.

3.3. Pamageran ritual
Pamageran is a padi-culture activity in Ciptagelar that is held in a dry paddy field. Pamageran which means making pager and guarding the paddy, is a ritual to protect the dry paddy field environment from all kinds of visible pests. Pamageran guarded Sri (Rice goddess) from luhr (on) pests, handap (under) pests, leutik (small) pests, and gede (large) pests. Pamageran is conducted by rorokan paninggaran.

Pamageran is held when the appearance of the hair of corn still red (beurem buuk) and the corn still mature (gumeceuk). It is usually done during west season, when there is a lot of wind and the paddy starts filled. The entourage of rorokan paninggaran departed from the settlement to dry paddy field of rurukan in the morning. In the dry paddy field, pamageran ritual was lead by the leader of rorokan paninggaran. He sat cross-legged and making pager with facing the north in west side of pungpuhunan outside the paparakoan. Meanwhile, four members of the other rorokan paninggaran spread on four cardinal points and carrying the rifles. This pager is symbolic, not like the big fence that surrounds the dry paddy field of rurukan. Pager is placed on the west side of pungpuhunan (Figure 3).
After finishing making pager, pamageran procession continued. More than ten paninggaran row do the movement. The movement scheme of paninggaran row in the forest is shown in Figure 4.

They do pamageran activities starting from the settlement to one agriculture environment of dry paddy field. But, after the pamageran procession, paninggaran row travelled to enter the forest before returning to the settlement. Such activity which is not allowed for rorokan paninggaran. Although pager is not a more transcendental protective element which, it is related to territorial aspect.

In general, the analysis of cultural landscape produces two big themes. First is the function of protection on territories, and second, the relationship between the cultural landscape in settlement environment, agriculture (dry-wet paddy field), and forest.


4. Discussion

4.1. Protection and territory

During the planting season, there are five times period of protection to the agricultural environment, settlement, or citizens. The protection period is held during the second stage of the planting period. The protection element in Kasepuhan Ciptagelar usually called sawen. Sawen in agriculture is held once, which is ngarawunan in dry as well as wet paddy field. Although pamageran involves protection activities, it is not classified as sawen. Sawen in settlement is held twice consists of for sawen lembur and sawen leuit. Sawen for the citizens or human soul is held through nyimbur. Out of the five sawen, only nyimbur is intended for human soul.

On agricultural land, the protection element is pager and rawun with its cangreut Sulaiman. Both of these protection processes are based on the appearance of natural marker. Pamageran is only implemented in dry paddy field, while ngarawunan in dry and wet paddy fields at the same time. The ritual of pamageran is held outside of paparakoan on the west side. The position of ritual and pager protection element are in pamuk zone. Pager is more functioning as guardian of mandala room inside paparakoan where cikahuripan is located. This is the reason why pager only exist in the dry paddy field but not in the wet paddy field.

The west side of paparakoan is considered as the entry point of all kind of disaster that need to be prevented. It was its destiny that paddy was born together with its pests, both microorganisms (Kalabuat) and animals (Budugbasu), so no pure paddy was free from disease. Sakuren, which means they are always coexisted from the very beginning until forever. Pager only protect by diverting without destruction, thus, paddy and pests are harmonized. Pager protect paparakoan from pests that run above ground (below), such as wild boar (Budugbasu).

The ritual of ngarawunan is conducted in front of pungpuhunan. Bamboo stick of rawun is plugged in coincide with pungpuhunan. In the dry paddy field, rawun stem is in the middle of paparakoan. Rawun stem has 3 axes, i.e.: (1) one horizontal axis pointing south-north, (2) one horizontal axis pointing west-east, and (3) one vertical axis facing up. At each end of the horizontal axis was given the organic element. The south-north axis must be placed on the west-east axis. The south-north axis must also be made before the east-west axis. While both of horizontal axis was ready, cangreut Sulaiman is placed as vertical axis.

Ngarawunan is used to protect plants from microorganism pests and invisible one (Kalabuat). Two horizontal axis are used to repel the pests above the ground surface that come from four directions. Cangreut Sulaiman is used as communication medium as well as conqueror the invisible (Kalabuat) of microorganism pests. Sulaiman’s name was pinned because he was the apostle who could communicate with subtle creatures, considering that Kalabuat is genie’s foster child of Idajil Janatullah (the king of evil genie). The three axis of rawun is guardian of paddy in the dry and wet paddy field. Three of them were presented as Sulamjana, Talimenar, Talimenir who were in charge to protect the paddy.

In conjuction with the process of ngarawunan, all saung in agricultural environment, in the dry and wet paddy field were also given sawen. Sawen is hung in the main beam of saung and or pinned under the roof from kirai leaf. The elements of sawen saung in dry paddy field are the same as rawun without axis, only the leaves.

Two of protection elements in agriculture, pager and rawun, show the mechanism of vertical space tiered: ground surface, above the ground, and outside the empirical nature of human. Basically, protection is made for all matters which has a supranatural characteristic (vertical). Pager describes that for areas that has paparakoan, the west side become the areas that must be watch out and fortified, because it potentially to become an entry point of disaster. Pager protects paparakoan of dry paddy field. Pager becomes one unity with pamuk zone. Rawun shows that there is certain levels which can attack the paddy from four directions of paparakoan in dry paddy field and those that do not have paparakoan, such as wet paddy.
field. *Rawun* protects the paddy from all directions, including from the metaphysical world. *Rawun* came after *paparakoan* awakened\(^4\).

### 4.2. Spatial of the cultural landscape

The activities and living norm of community are inseparable from the paddy cultivation practice which aims to the process of maintaining the cosmic harmony, a perspective which retains the anthropocosmic principal rather than anthropocentricity. In the constellation of universe, the anthropocentric view sees human as the center of universe, as the ruler of nature exploring the nature for his interest, putting aside the forces of nature by ignoring the right of nature, for life and living\(^10\). The living of West Java (Sundanese) society must be seen as the form of participation in the cosmic order, where tradition, ritual, obligation, and *buyut* (taboo), are the right guidelines to lead the life\(^11\).

Space and place of human is the place for interaction between human and their physical environment which then becomes cultural landscape\(^3\). Location and site with their physical aspect affect the way of interpreting “place” as an event place\(^12\). In the context of phenomenology, landscape reveals that naturally, places have genius loci or spirit of place. Special places that has the differences in topography, atmosphere, and local characteristic, actually was responded in vernacular architecture. Correlation between earth (mountains, valleys, forests, deserts, grasslands, and rivers) and sky (distance, quality and intensity of light, weather, seasons, and temperature), produces a specific world. Here, the landscape offers a variety of possibilities for human. The landscape with the spirit of place as a cosmic form\(^5\).

Furthermore, settlement identity is built from meditation process between people who lived with their neighborhood\(^13\). In a meditation process, there are two characteristics of relation, that is horizontal and vertical. Horizontal relation is created through housing elements and its environment. Vertical relation is built as a special element that is located as towers or the other vertical element which is spiritually connected to the sky. This vertical element is a symbol from the meeting of earth and sky or the center of the building/settlement and it called as *axis mundi*, the symbol of the microcosm\(^14-15\).

Location and site help to explain the vernacular architecture as a direct expression on activities and daily lives of the citizens. Location is the key to deeply understanding of settlement and building. People cultivate and explore nature and shape it into landscape. From this landscape, people can get food and some of it is used as a place for living and inhabit. Housing established in this landscape indicates about the way how people are connected with nature and type of existence that they create\(^3\).

Location and site are described as the type of geography. Geographic categorization refers to the physic property of lands, such as topography, climate, soil, and vegetation. The type of geography not only impact on physical property, but also expresses the supra-physical element associated with myth, stories, and imagery which the landscape and human life combined. This association cannot be ignored, because it plays an important role as the formation of location and site concept. The concept of experiencing and interpreting on-site and location are identical with the idea of the spirit of a place or genius loci.

*Paparakoan* is only present in the dry paddy field, not in wet paddy field. *Paparakoan* stereometric includes the meaning of boundary. The travel routes of *pamakayaan* after held the *ngarawunan* procession in dry-wet paddy field of agricultural landscape that goes directly to the settlement, indicates that the last agricultural environment (wet paddy field) has no boundaries (read: unlimited and don’t have territory). As long as there are elements of land and water, that is where the wet paddy fields are. Wet paddy field can be very wide. Therefore, there is no need for the activity to surrounding the territory.

Meanwhile, *paparakoan* was presented in the dry paddy field. The boundaries of *paparakoan* which in the form of *swastika* are visible in the rectilinear form. The point of *pager* itself is beyond the boundary. The existence of *pager* symbolically needs to be realized through the activity to surround the boundary, that is entered the forest before returning to
the settlement. This procession shows the existence of territory that needs to be protected. The track of paninggaran trails shows the circular movement to kenca (to the left). Philosophically, this rotation is interpreted as the lap down, that is from singular to plural.

5. Conclusion
The events of ngarawunan and pamageran are mutually coexistent. They complement each other. The relation that occurs between two events in dry-wet paddy field of agricultural landscape with the settlement and forest build the spatial concept as a cultural landscape of paddy. The relation of landscape – agriculture – forest, not only merely presented physically, but is loaded with the cultural meaning that reflect the belief system and the values of indigenous knowledge of archipelago community that has a paddy culture.

The combination of two basic mentalities of dry-wet paddy field community, especially the wet paddy field on ngarawunan shows the spatial concept without boundary. While the mental basis of dry paddy field on pamageran presents the spatial concept with the boundary/territory, both are biting and complement each other harmoniously, which forms the original spatial concept of the still sustainable Kasepuhan Ciptagelar community.

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