The Construction of Sign that Form
Kabuyutan Cibulan

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ABSTRACT

Cibulan or known as Cibulan Tourism Object is a place that is believed to be kabuyutan. This belief is not only seen from the myths that develop in the community around Cibulan, but there are signs which are the construction of a kabuyutan. This study uses a paradoxical aesthetic approach belonging to Jakob Sumardjo, namely the triple pattern or tritangtu. Cibulan has the necessary signs such as Well 7 as a symbol of determination, Batu Petilasan as a symbol of speech, and a large tree as a symbol of Lampah which indicates a kabuyutan. These three signs are also symbols of Sang Hyang Hurip and Tritangtu. Apart from the tritangtu element, Cibulan’s location is at the confluence of the male and female rivers as a condition for building a kabuyutan. That is the construction of signs forming kabuyutan where this research will explain the signs and the role of the Cibulan kabuyutan in society.

Keyword: kabuyutan, cibulan, sign, river, tritangtu.

INTRODUCTION

Cibulan is a tourist attraction located in Manis Kidul Village, Kuningan, West Java. This tourist attraction presents a bathing pool in which there is a sacred god fish. In addition to providing a god fish bathing pool, Cibulan Tourism Object also has another attraction, namely the source of Sumur 7 spring. Sumur 7 is a place believed by the surrounding community as a place whose spring water can provide blessings. Not only that, Sumur 7 has a myth about petilasan which is believed to be a petilasan from Prabu Siliwangi. Myth is a nation’s story about gods and heroes in ancient times, containing interpretations of the origin of the universe, humans, and the nation contains deep meanings expressed in supernatural ways (Pratiwi, 2017, p. 2).

With the Kuningan community’s belief in the myths that exist in Cibulan regarding sumur 7, petilasan, and God’s fish, makes Cibulan a place that has magical and sacred power. But whether the sacredness is only a belief that is passed down orally from generation to generation, or there are signs that can be used as a benchmark that this place was built with a specific purpose.

Sumur 7 is called buyut or kabuyutan which is believed by the community and visitors, especially psychics, to be the Tu-maritis hermitage during the Semar era in the puppet show (Noerdjito, et al, 2009, p. 367). Kabuyutan comes from the word buyut which means “taboo” or forbidden, which is a special place that cannot be visited by just anyone because the place is sacred and isolated from human habitation (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 115). A place is called sacred because of the presence of Sang Hyang Hurip in that place. Based on Baduy mythology, Sang Hyang Hurip consists of Batara Kersa...
(Tekad, Kehendak), Batara Kawasa (Lampah, Tenaga, Energi), and Batara Bima Mahakarna (Ucap dan Pikiran). The three entities become a single entity called Batara Tunggal or also known as Sang Hyang Hurip in the book of Sawaka Darma.

There are certain conditions for Sang Hyang Hurip can be present in a place or kabuyutan. The condition that must exist is that the place must have symbols of Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah. The symbol of Tekad or sky is a source of water, the symbol of Lampah or the earth is represented by the presence of forests or large trees around it, while for the symbol of Ucap as the human world there must be an arrangement of large stones (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 119).

Kabuyutan cannot be built just anywhere. Kabuyutan can only be built at the confluence of two rivers, or it can be called Patimuan (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 118). The two rivers are also called the male river and the female river. The Male rivers usually have clearer water. This male river enters the female river whose water tends to be turbid. The flow of the female river comes from upstream to downstream and is long. That is why the water in the female’s river tends to be turbid. The female’s river is also the state river that unites the villages. Therefore, people do not have the freedom to choose sacred locations, they just look for it and find it with the help of mysterious signs (Eliade 2002, p. 21).

Judging from it’s environment Cibulan, it can be said that Cibulan was built with a specific purpose. The location of Cibulan has similarities with the characteristics that exist in a kabuyutan. But this must be examined more deeply because there has been no research on whether Cibulan is a kabuyutan or just a sacred place.

With the above problems, a study is certainly needed that can answer these problems. This study will try to see if Cibulan has the necessary requirements to become a kabuyutan.

This study used Jakob Sumardjo’s Paradoxical Aesthetic approach, namely the three or tritangtu pattern. The philosophical basis of Sundanese society is often referred to as tritangtu or three-pattern relationship. The philosophical basis of Sundanese society is called tritangtu or triple pattern relationship. The concept of tritangtu or three pattern is harmonizing two different things and producing one harmony from both.

The Sundanese three pattern comes from the cosmology of Baduy and Jatiraga Galuh. As a farming community, they consider there are three important parts in this life. The three important parts are the sky as the giver of rain, the land as the place where plants grow, and humans who harmonize between the sky and the earth or land so that these things can happen. Therefore there are three buana or worlds known as buana nyuncung (above), buana pancatengah (middle, human), and buana larang (earth) (Sumardjo, 2014, p. 177). The symbols of the three worlds are water representing the upper world, land representing the lower world or earth, and stone representing the middle world or humans.

The term of tritangtu is mentioned in the old Sundanese manuscript, Sang Hyang Siksadandang Karesian (1518) on plate 26 “this is tritangtu on earth, Bayu pinahka prebu, sabda pinahka rama, hedap pinahka rei” (these are the three provisions in the world. Kesentosaan kita iabar raja, ucap kita iabar rama, budi kita iabar resi) (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 59). The text shows that tritangtu has elements of bayu, sabda, hedap or Sundanese terms are now better known as lampah, ucap, and tekad. Lampah, ucap, tekad can
be interpreted as something alive or *Sang Hyang Hurip*. This is the reason why in Sundanese culture everything is divided into three provisions so that everything can be hurip or in the sense of being safe, healthy, prosperous, perfect, good and right.

Based on Baduy mythology, *Sang Hyang Hurip* consists of *Batara Kersa* (tekad, kehendak), *Batara Kawasa* (lampah, tenaga, energi), and *Batara Bima Mahakarna* (ucap and pikiran). The three entities become a single entity called *Batara Tunggal* or also known as *Sang Hyang Hurip* in the book of Sawaka Darma.

Basically, *tritangtu* is the unity of *Tekad, Ucap, Lampah* (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 60). *Tekad, ucap, lampah* itself actually has a contradiction or opposite nature in it. *Tekad* is opposite to *Lampah*, while *Ucap* is the connector or mediator of both. *Ucap* as a mediator is referred to as the middle siger or middle sineger. The middle siger is a philosophy of harmony which if there are two existences that have opposite properties (contradictions), then the two existences can be harmonized by the existence that has the nature of both. Thus, the three are one and the one contains the structure of the three (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 65).

The method in this research is a qualitative method. According to Sugiyono (2011), qualitative research methods are research methods based on the philosophy of post-positivism, used to research on natural object conditions. The data collection techniques carried out in this research are literature studies, observation, and documentation.

1. Literature Study

Researchers try to find data by reading previous studies or books that have relevant data in accordance with the chosen research topic. “In the formulation of concepts, researchers have the freedom to give meaning according to their research objectives, or choose from existing formulations from previous researchers” (Koentjaraningrat, 1977, pp. 29-36).

2. Observation

According to Arikunto (2002, p. 133) observation includes loading activities on an object using all sensory devices. Researchers look directly at the object to be studied to obtain data based on the experience gained in the place where the research object is located. By looking directly at the object of research and interacting with the actors there, researchers can get data that can be used as a reference source and can also be a comparison of previously obtained data.

3. Documentation

Sugiyono (2007, p. 329) states that documents are records of events that have passed in the form of writing, pictures, or monumental works of a person. Data in the form of writing and images related to the object of research are collected and researched in order to obtain the information needed in the research.

DISCUSSION

A. The requirements of Cibulan as a *Kabuyutan*

*Kabuyutan* is a sacred place for Sundanese people. Sacred places are often considered as places that have spiritual values, places that have magical power. In the life of Sundanese society, it is possible that the concept of *kabuyutan* began to exist during the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom era, but the written mention of *kabuyutan* was only found in the 11th century AD (Yulifar, 2018, p. 475). Not a few people believe that sacred places are places where supernatural things gather. Therefore, there are many rules and prohibitions when entering a sacred place.
Not all sacred places can be made into a kabuyutan. There are certain requirements for a place to be a kabuyutan. A place can be called kabuyutan if it has the necessary conditions. As Jakob Sumardjo said that the great-grandfather or kabuyutan is a sacred place where Sang Hyang Hurip is present in that place.

The requirement for Sang Hyang Hurip to be present in a place is that there must be Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah symbols in that place. Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah are the requirements that must exist in a Kabuyutan. This is what distinguishes kabuyutan from other sacred places.

In addition to the symbol of Sang Hyang Hurip in that place, a kabuyutan can only be built between a male river and a female river that meets or patimuan. (source)

1. Symbols of Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah in Cibulan

Cibulan which is located in Manis Kidul Village or now known as Cibulan Tourism Object, is geographically located in the middle of a settlement. But the nature around Cibulan is still well maintained and beautiful. The big trees around Cibulan are still standing strong more than 50 years old. Natural springs in Cibulan are also still maintained. The spring is part of the Cibulan Tourism Object and is known as Sumur 7.

If we try to map Cibulan Tourism Objects, it will look like the picture below.

![Cibulan Tourism Object Map](Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

It can be seen that Cibulan has a green part which is an area of many large trees that are still maintained. The brick-red part is part of the Sumur 7 area in which there are springs and petilasan stones.

When viewed from the mapping of Cibulan Tourism Objects, Cibulan has a symbol or sign that is needed as a condition for the presence of Sang Hyang Hurip. The signs are Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah which are one of the requirements for the existence of a kabuyutan.

The symbols can be seen as a tritangtu. So that we can see the three patterns in it. Symbols or signs of Tekad, Ucap, Lampah in Cibulan can be seen in table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tekad</td>
<td>Spring Source Sumur 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ucap</td>
<td>Petilasan Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampah</td>
<td>Forest or Big Tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Symbol of Tekad Ucap Lampah in Cibulan

a. **Tekad = Spring Source Sumur 7**

Cibulan has a spring known as Sumur 7. This spring represents the symbol of Tekad in Cibulan as one of the requirements for kabuyutan. The source of the spring water can also represent the sky or the upper world. Water evaporates into the sky into clouds and drops rain on the earth.
The source of sumur 7 spring water or often called Sumur 7 is one of the religious attractions in Cibulan Tourism Object. It is called sumur because the spring water that comes out forms like a small pool or sumur (Prasetyo et al, 2022, p. 31). The seven Sumur have different sizes ranging from 1.5 meters x 1.5 meters, but there are Sumur that are quite large ranging from 3 meters x 4 meters, namely the seventh Sumur.

Each Sumur has a name, namely (1) sumur kejayaan, (2) sumur keselamatan, (3) sumur pengabulan, (4) sumur kemuliaan, (5) sumur cisadane, (6) sumur cirancana, and (7) sumur kemudahan. The names represent wishes or Tekad.

b. Lampah = Tree or Forest

Lampah symbols in the form of forests or large trees. Large trees are a symbol of the land or can be referred to as the underworld. Looking at the Cibulan Tourism Object map, there are many large trees in Cibulan. In the Sumur 7 area there is also one tree surrounded by the seven Sumur. The trees in Cibulan are bunut trees more than 50 years old.

c. Ucap = Petilasan Stone
The last one is a symbol of *Ucap* which is a symbol of humans. In the *Sumur 7* area there is a stone arrangement that is believed to be Prabu Siliwangi’s *petilasan*. The stone arrangement is in the form of stones that are now covered by white cloth. The stone arrangement is in a building that was built specifically to protect the stone structure.

Female’s stones or flat stones are found at the bottom of the white cloth. Behind the white cloth, there are rocks the size of coconuts covering the flat rock below. The flat stone covered with rocks is believed to be King Siliwangi’s footprints.

Male stones are stones that stand upright. This male stone is covered by a white cloth. When ordinary people see the stone, they will think the stone is a tombstone. In fact, the stone is not a tombstone. Judging from the signs, this *petilasan* stone is a stone of harmony because it has a male stone and a female stone in one place.

The source of *Sumur 7* springs represents *tekad* dan *langit* is harmonized with a large tree that represents *lampah* dan *tanah*. This harmony produces a harmony of the two, namely the *petilasan* stone that represents *ucap* and the human world. Based on the signs or symbols, Cibulan can be said to be sacred because *Sang Hyang Hurip* can come to the place. This also indicates that Cibulan already has one of the requirements as a *kabuyutan*.

2. The Confluence of Two Rivers

A place can be said to be a *kabuyutan* if the place is built between the confluence of two rivers. A place that has Symbols of *Tekad*, *Ucap*, dan *Lampah* can not be categorized as a *kabuyutan* if it is not between two rivers. Places that have the symbol of *Sang Hyang Hurip* but are not between two rivers are only categorized as sacred places.

Cibulan can be categorized as a *kabuyutan* if there are two rivers meeting and flanking the Cibulan area. These rivers are categorized as a male river and a female river. The male river is the river that meets the female river. Male rivers tend to be clearer water. The female river is a larger river than the male river and the water tends to be turbid. The female river can also be called the state river that unites the village. Water from the female river or state is used by residents as a source of livelihood that irrigates rice fields.
Judging from the mapping above, Cibulan is flanked by two rivers. Cibulan is not only flanked by two rivers, but Cibulan also has a middle river. This middle river will later join the female river.

The First River is a small river which is a male river. This river originates at the foot of Mount Ciremai precisely around the Sayana City Forest. The Mount Ceremai area has abundant natural resource potential, including biological resources, land resources and springs (Alviya, 2006, p. 87). This river flow will meet the female river, namely the Cimanis river in the Tonjong area of Sangkanurip Village, Cigandamekar.

The second river is the Cijungkulon - Cimanis river. Cijungkulon River is a river that originates in Balong Dalem. Balong Dalem itself is a source of spring water that is accommodated into a pond or balong and the flow of water is used for fields and agriculture. The flow of the Cijungkulon river will meet the main river, the Cimanis river. The unification of the Cijungkulon river that enters the Cimanis river is in the Ciniru Jalaksana area.
dams. The first dam is Lame Dam located in Ciniru Jalaksana Village and the second is Katiga Dam located in Sangkanmulya Cigandamekar Village.

B. Old Sundanese Government System in Manis Kidul

Nowadays, where Indonesia is the most Islamic country in the world, kabuyutan still exists. The current government of course follows the system established by the Indonesian government. If examined more deeply, the Sundanese village government system can still be read today.

This dam is used as irrigation to be used by the surrounding community. Water in Sundanese culture has become a unity of life. Without water there is no life. Water is not only for the needs of human life, but also for agricultural life (Sumardjo, 2015, p. 85)

The Cimanis River has a Tritantu element. The Cijungkulon River as a symbol of Tekad and a small river at the foot of Mount Ciremai as a symbol of lampah unite to enter the Cimanis River which is a symbol of Ucap. The flow of the Cimanis river as harmony continues until it meets the larger river, Cisanggarung, and continues to the sea.

As with the Sundanese government system in Kabuyutan Cibulan, which is now part of the Manis Kidul Village area, the government system can be read based on the Sundanese village government system influenced by Islamic teachings.

Manis Kidul Village when viewed from the map has a Sundanese village government system. The division of this village can be seen from the existence of Buhun, Nagara, and Sara villages.

The group from Balong Dalem was welcomed by a group from Cibulan to carry out the Kawin Cai ritual (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)
Kampung Buhun takes care of customs or the place where Kabuyutan Cibulan exist. Kabuyutan Cibulan always carries out the tradition of the Kawin Cai traditional ceremony every year. The Kawin Cai ceremony is a procession of uniting water from the spring with the Tirtayartra Balong dalem water source. This ceremony aims to ask the Creator for rainwater for the fertility of land and rice fields.

The boarding school was established in 1994. Therefore, Manis Kidul Village can be said to have a Sundanese village system that is influenced by Islamic influence.

C. Kabuyutan Cibulan as The Center of Traditional Activities in Manis Kidul Village

As a kabuyutan, there are certainly many traditional activities that involve Cibulan. One of the traditional activities carried out is the traditional ceremony of Mapag Cai or Kawin Cai.

Nagara Village is a place to take care of all administrative matters or the Village Head’s Office. The Village Head’s Office is a place where the government is carried out in the village.

Kampung Sara is an Islamic village where in Manis Kidul village there are two large Islamic boarding schools. The two boarding schools are Pontren Husnul Khotimah (HK) and Pontren al-Multazam (AM) founded by KH. Sahal Suhana, SH.

The traditional ceremony of Kawin Cai is a ceremony to call rain when drought hits. Ceremony for the community is a belief in the power of mythology that develops in the area where they live, to contribute to the welfare of their environment (Djuniarti, 2017, p. 104). The ceremony of Kawin Cai was originally held on the 30th rowah in the Islamic calendar system or in the month of rajab. Now the date of the ceremony is uncertain. The date is determined following the arrival of the rainy season but must coincide with Friday kliwon.

The procession of Kawin Cai is carried out by the Sundanese community as a customary tribute to uphold their ancestral heritage: combining or harmonizing two springs with power and purity (Djuniarti & dwimarwati, 2017, p. 333). The first spring
is Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra spring located in Babakanmulya Village. The second spring is Cikembulan (Cibulan) spring in Manis Kidul village.

Furthermore, after the unification of the two springs in the Cikembulan spring area, the jar containing the mated water is brought back to the Balong Dalem area. The water in the jar is poured into Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra unites and flows to irrigate the villages that are passed by the water flow from Balong Dalem spring.

Water from the Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra spring is carried in a jar by a group from Babakan Mulya village to be delivered to Cibulan. After arriving in Cibulan, a group of jar carriers from Babakan Mulya Village jars containing water from Balong Dalem were brought into the Cibulan Tourism Object area where Cikembulan Spring was in it. After the jar were brought in, water was taken from the Cikembulan spring source into the jar containing water from the Balong Dalem spring. So that there was a union of two springs in a jar.

The next activity is to pour water from Balong Dalem to the village leaders who are present. By sprinkling the water from the unification to village leaders, it is hoped that the villages they lead can get blessings, the land they live in becomes fertile and does not dry out. The village leaders are figures from 7 villages including Babakan Mulya Village, Maniskidul Village, Jalaksana Village, Sadamantra Village, Padamenak Village, Ciniru Village, and Nanggerang Village. These villages are fed by rivers that flow from Balong Dalem spring and Sumur 7 spring in Cibulan.

In addition to being a form of effort in asking for rain and fertility, the Traditional Ceremony of Kawin Cai is also related to myths believed by the people there. So consciously or not, the myths that are still believed today are myths that have existed for a long time and have developed (Tambunan et al, 2017, p. 114). That myth of Kebowulan.

Kebowulan is the name of an ascetic named Resi Makandria. When Resi...
Makandria was meditating, he was mocked by a pair of birds for not having a wife and children. Hearing the ridicule, Resi Makandria asked Resi Guru Manikmaya for a wife. Hearing the request, Resi Guru Manikmaya finally granted the request by marrying his own daughter named Pwah Aksari Jabung to be married by Resi Makandria. But Resi Makandria felt embarrassed to marry Pwah Aksari Jabung who had a beautiful face like an angel. As a middle way, so that the marriage could be carried out and Resi Makandria did not feel burdened by the beautiful face of Pwah Aksari Jabung, finally Pwah Aksari Jabung turned into a Deer and Resi Makandria became a Buffalo. This marriage gave birth to a child named Pwah Bungatak Mangalengale. After growing up, Pwah Bungatak Mangalengale was married to Sang Wreti Kandayun who founded the Kingdom of Galuh.

That is the myth believed by the surrounding community. The Traditional Ceremony of Kawin Cai is also a form of respect for the events that occurred in the myth of Kebowulan.

**CONCLUSION**

Cibulan has signs or symbols that represent Tekad, Ucap and Lampah in it as a requirement for kabuyutan. These signs indicate the presence of Sang Hyang Hurip there. These conditions become a sign construction that makes Cibulan can be categorized as kabuyutan.

The signs in Cibulan are Sumur 7 as a symbol of Tekad or the sky. Bunut tree as a symbol of Lampah or earth is also present in the Cibulan area, the petilasan stones as a symbol of the Ucap or the human world. This stone arrangement is a petilasan that is believed to be Prabu Siliwangi’s petilasan. This petilasan is a pancer or harmony of the duality of spring water as a symbol of Tekad that is harmonized to the bunut tree as a symbol of the earth. Apart from these signs, the geographical shape of Cibulan also qualifies as a kabuyutan. Cibulan is flanked by two rivers that meet each other. The male river that flanks Cibulan has its headwaters at the foot of Mount Ciremai. The female river that flanks Cibulan is a canal from the Cijungkulon river and then enters the Cimanis river which finally meets the male river.

Apart from having a Kabuyutan, the governance of Manis Kidul Village is similar to the old Sundanese governance. The old Sundanese governance was characterized by the division of territories based on their functions. Old Sundanese governance adheres to the buhon, nagara, and sara systems. Where the buhon village that takes care of customs is represented by Kabuyutan Cibulan, the nagara village that takes care of community administration is the Manis Kidul Village office, and the sara village that takes care of religion is represented by the largest boarding school in Manis Kidul Village, namely Pondok Pesantren Husnul Khotimah (HK) and Pondok Pesantren al-Multazam (AM).

Kabuyutan Cibulan as a village that takes care of customs based on the old Sundanese governance is the center of traditional activities in Manis Kidul Village. This can be seen from the ceremony of Kawin Cai which involves the spring water of Sumur 7 in Cibulan.

Looking at all the terms and signs owned by Cibulan, Cibulan can be categorized as a kabuyutan. Cibulan is not only a tourist attraction, but also has cultural value contained in it. This cultural value must be preserved and introduced to the wider community, especially Kuningan so that it is not lost and will continue to be a legacy in the future.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


