



ISLAM NUSANTARA: A STUDY ON THE EFFECT OF LOCAL WISDOM VALUE ON CUSTOMARY COMMUNITY'S PIETY IN KAMPUNG NAGA

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Abstract

Community empowerment takes a long time and an appropriate strategy to achieve success. Moreover, innovation delivered constitutes the regulations restricting the empowered community's moving space. This research generally portrays pamali (taboo) strategy in conducting community empowerment and particularly aims to study local wisdom value in building the piety of the Kampung Naga community. The research was conducted using a phenomenological descriptive qualitative approach with an interactive technique of analysis. Data collection was carried out through interview, observation, and documentation. The research results showed that innovation constituting local wisdom made by Kampung Naga community's ancestor could build piety in three domains: spiritual, social, and environment. Through those three pieties, Kampung Naga community becomes a powerful Islam community in archipelago nuance and becomes an Islam community called rahmatan lil alamin.

Keywords: Local Wisdom Value, Community's Piety, Community Empowerment, *Kampung Naga*

Abstrak

Pemberdayaan masyarakat membutuhkan waktu yang panjang dan strategi yang tepat untuk mencapai keberhasilan. Apalagi inovasi yang disampaikan berupa peraturan-peraturan yang membatasi ruang gerak dari masyarakat yang diberdayakan. Penelitian

ini secara umum memotret strategi pamali dalam melakukan pemberdayaan masyarakat, dan secara khusus bertujuan mengkaji nilai kearifan lokal dalam membangun keshalehan masyarakat Kampung Naga. Penelitian dilakukan dengan pendekatan diskriptif kualitatif fenomenologis dengan tehnik analisis interaktif. Penggalan data dilakukan melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa inovasi yang berupa kearifan lokal yang dibuat oleh nenek moyang masyarakat Kampung Naga mampu membangun keshalehan dalam tiga bidang, yaitu keshalehan spiritual, sosial, dan lingkungan. Dengan ketiga keshalehan itu, masyarakat Kampung Naga menjadi masyarakat Islam yang berdaya dalam nuansa nusantara dan menjadi masyarakat Islam yang rahmatan lil alamin.

Kata Kunci: Nilai Kearifan Lokal, Keshalehan Masyarakat, Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Kampung Naga

Introduction

Islam is a universal religion. It means that Islam is intended not only to one group, ethnic, or state but also for all human beings in this universe. Islam, originally, is a local religion.¹ It was a religion born in the Arabian state or precisely in the Hijaz region. This religion was intended to answer the problems arising and developing mainly related to tradition, local wisdom, and belief system in the Arabian area. This religion upholds humanity and societal values and has fundamental principles so that Arab people were amazed at and embraced them. This religion was proselytised continuously and finally became a universal religion.

Islam, formerly a local religion intended to answer local problems, is inseparable from the local situation, tradition, and culture of the Arab community becoming its background. History tells that when Islam came, Arab people have local tradition, culture, and wisdom that can be modern compared with surrounding areas.² Those cultures and local wisdom was not destroyed and rejected by Islam immediately. As long as it did not deviate from Islam's basic principle, that culture and local wisdom could be accommodated or assimilated wisely and prudently.³ That is called *urf* or *ma'ruf* in Islam. For example, the

¹ M. Zainal Abidin, "Islam dan Tradisi Lokal dalam Perspektif Multikulturalisme", *Millah*, Vol. VIII, Number 2 (February 2009), p.307.

² Muhammad Imarah, *Al-Islam wa al-Urubah* (Kahirah: Al-Haihal Al-Mashriyyah Al-'Ammah lil Kitab, 1996), pp.11-12. See also Badri Yatim, Dari Makkah ke Madinah, in Taufik Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: PT. Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), pp.29-30.

³ Abd. Rahim Yunus, "Nilai-nilai Islam dalam Budaya dan Kearifan Lokal", *Jurnal Rihlah*, Vol. II, Number 1 (Mei 2015), p.4. See also Nurrohman and Abd. Hannan EF, "Islam dan Kearifan Lokal: Perspektif Teologis Hubungan Antara Agama dan Budaya di Kampung Naga", *Jurnal al-Tsaqafa*, Vol. 14, Number 02 (January 2017), p.383.

culture of *tawaf* or walking around *Ka'bah*. Before Islam came, Arab people have been accustomed to do *tawaf*, but they did so without wearing no clothing (in the nude). After Islam came, the habit of *tawaf* remained to be undertaken but by wearing *ihram* clothing.⁴

As aforementioned, the proselytising model utilising urf (local culture and wisdom) was imitated widely by *para wali* (Islam religious leaders) living in Indonesia, particularly in Java land. They utilised local wisdom to deliver and to explain Islam values to local people.⁵ They sometimes also conducted cultural syncretism to the old belief system by including Islam's basic principles. This proselytising method was sufficiently effective to invite people to embrace Islam. They did not realise that the culture implemented and believed to be Islam culture is not found in other Islam states.⁶ It is the manifestation of *Islam Nusantara* existence (an Indonesian Islamic model).

Islam Nusantara is an empirical form of Islam developed in archipelago through interaction, contextualisation, and interpretation of Islam tenets and values universal in nature and compatible with the archipelago's socio-cultural reality. Therefore, this Islam model emphasises local wisdom value in delivering Islam tenet rather than on citing verse or hadith. Customary community in Kampung Naga, Tasikmalaya, West Java is one of the examples. These people in Kampung Naga all embrace Islam. They do *sholat*, fast, etc, just like Muslim in general, but most of their understanding and implementation of Islam sharia are taken from local wisdom inherited from their ancestor. It, of course, interesting to study more in-depth.

Researchers have conducted many studies on Islam and local wisdom topic, but they often stop at studying acculturation, assimilation, and syncretism. Nurrohman and Abd. Hannan EF, for example, examined the relationship between religion and culture in Kampung Naga. They concluded that religion and culture preserved in Kampung Naga lead to syncretism, but syncretism born from harmonising religion and culture is not polytheism or idolatry.⁷ Imtiyaz Yusuf, studying the encounter between Islam and Hindu-Buddha civilisations in Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia, concluded that the encounter between those civilisations result in a syncretistic culture that in turn

⁴ Hamka, *Tafsir al-Azhar Juz X* (Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Panjimas, 2004), pp.88-89.

⁵ Irham, "Bentuk Islam Faktual: Karakter dan Tipologi Islam Indonesia", *el-Harakah*, Vol. 18, Number 2 (2016), pp.204-205.

⁶ Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Dakwah dan Dialektika Akulturasi Budaya", *Religia*, Vol. 15, Number 1 (April 2012), pp.47-48.

⁷ Nurrohman dan Abd. Hannan EF, "Islam dan Kearifan Lokal", p.383-394.

results in mystic-patterned and tolerant Islam.⁸ In the classical text, Al Makin, studying harmonisation and syncretism between Islam and Hindu-Buddha, concluded that syncretism between religious traditions as part of the pluralism concept has been practiced since Singosari Majapahit times.⁹ Nurhuda Widiana, studying the interaction between Islam and local culture in Samin community, concluded that Samin people's declination against the new tenet (Islam) is a part of their love to local values.¹⁰ Abdurrahman Misno Bambang Prawiro, studying the Hajat Sasih tradition in Kampung Naga, concluded that Hajat Sasih is the manifestation of acculturation between local culture and Islam values.¹¹ Agung Setiawan, exploring local culture from a religious perspective, concluded that Islam is a tolerant religion replete with moral values. Islam religion leaves the productive local culture not staining the *aqidah* to keep existent and to be the legal foundation.¹² Meanwhile, this research studies the other side, focusing on the effect of local wisdom on the people's piety. The research setting is Kampung Naga customary community in Neglasari Village, Salawu Sub District, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java Province.

Local Wisdom in Islam Development History

Generally, local wisdom can be interpreted as local ideas or thoughts that are prudent, wise, and having good values inculcated into and followed by its people or community. Agung Setiawan defines local wisdom as ideology and science in the local community's activity in answering many problems to fulfil their life needs.¹³ Local wisdom also contains the term local culture wisdom. Local culture wisdom is local knowledge united with a belief system, norm, and culture expressed in tradition and myth in a very long period. Therefore, local wisdom is something explicitly related to local culture and reflects local people's lifestyle. In other words, local wisdom resides in the local culture.

⁸ Imtiyaz Yusuf, "Islam and Buddhism" in Catherine Cornille (ed), *Inter Religious Dialogue* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2013), p.362.

⁹ Al Makin, "Unearthing Nusantara's Concept of Religious: Harmonization and Syncretism in Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic Classical Texts", *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 54, Number 1 (2015M/1437H), pp.1-27.

¹⁰ NurhudaWidiana, "Pergumulan Islam denganBudayaLokal: StudiKasus Masyarakat Samin di Dusun JepangBojonegoro". *Teologia*, Vol. 26, Number 2 (July-December 2015), pp.198-214.

¹¹ Abdurrahman Misno Bambang Prawiro, "Akulturasi Islam Sunda: Kajian terhadapTradisi Hajat Sasih", *Ibda' Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, Vol. 11, Number 1 (January-June 2013), pp.61-75.

¹² Agung Setiawan, "BudayaLokaldalamPerspektif Agama: Legitimasi Hukum Adat (Urf) dalam Islam", *Esensia*, Vol. XIII, Number 2 (Juli 2012), pp.203-221.

¹³ Setiawan, "Budaya Lokal dalam Perspektif", p.207.

Islam, as a universal religion, viewed from its historical journey, is always open to local thought, tradition, and wisdom different from it. Even Islam often appreciates local thought, tradition, and wisdom by adopting and making it an integral part of Islam. Such reflection can be traced from Islam cultural history during Rasulullah's life and after his period, in both material and non-material forms.¹⁴

Historically, before Islam's coming, Makkah people were known as those with high social solidarity feeling in one group or ethnic, loving and respecting guests, and having good discussion tradition in decision-making. Those traditions were appreciated by Prophet Muhammad SAW using accomplishing or perfecting them. Local wisdom of Makkah people having high solidarity in a group was perfected with universal human solidarity. It is revealed in his say, "please help your relatives who mistreat and who are mistreated". Appreciation of guest welcoming tradition is put onto his say "everyone who believes in Allah and the judgment day should respect his guest", and appreciation of local wisdom in decision making through discussion is revealed in Qur'an Surrah Asy-Syuro verse 38: "whose affair is determined by consultation (discussion) among themselves".¹⁵

Arabs, before the Islam period, were known as the nation loving to wage ethnic war. Nevertheless, they have local tradition and wisdom prohibiting warfare in certain months: Dzul Qo'dah, Dzul Hijjah, Muharram, and Rajab. They left war on those months, and some made their habit of making a pilgrimage to Kaaba. Those making pilgrimage can see other ethnics in Kaaba peacefully.¹⁶ Local tradition and wisdom concerning those *haram* months were also adopted by Rasulullah through Allah's decree in Surah At-Taubah verse 36 by mentioning it as a straight religion.

In Madinah, some preexisting local wisdoms before Islam's coming remained continued by integrating Islam value contents into it. War institution, for example, remained to be continued by integrating humanity content into it. Rasulullah prohibits his people from annoying those weak like children, women, and elders, and those who are undertaking their religious rite in war. Non-Muslim's worship places may not be disturbed or destroyed. The lost enemy should not be mistreated and should be forgiven before apologising.¹⁷

¹⁴ Yusuf al-Qardhawi, *Madkhal li al-Dirasah al-Islamiyyah* (Bairut: Dar al-Fikr, 1993), p.253.

¹⁵ Yunus, "Nilai-nilai Islam dalam Budaya, p.4.

¹⁶ Hamka, *Tafsir al-Azhar*, p.204.

¹⁷ Yunus, "Nilai-nilai Islam dalam Budaya, p.6.

During post-prophet Muhammad SAW period, and when Islam encountered local tradition and wisdom outside the Arabian Peninsula, Islam kept appreciating local tradition and local wisdom outside the Arabian Peninsula. Islam perfects local tradition and wisdom by integrating Islam basic principles and values into them. The principles of humanity, equality, honesty, justice, and *tauhid* (unity of God) were used to perfect local tradition and wisdom outside the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁸

The utilisation of Baitul Mal as a money-saving place is a tradition belonging to the Roman nation. Umar bin Khattab adopted the tradition to save money coming to the state and not distributed it directly to those reasons to receive it. Umar did so when he served as the head of state by asking their best friends' deliberation. Those local traditions and wisdom still work today.¹⁹

The examples above show that Islam, since its original inception, has left the productive local wisdom and local cultural product to keep existing. When there is a fundamental difference, Islam as the religion with universal truth value can gradually slip away and get into the unique local world. Perhaps in its early contact, the Islam syncretism process would occur. That is very reasonable or fair, and as the mind and intelligence of Islam embracers develop, such symptoms will disappear themselves. Such a way was imitated continuously by Islam scholars in undertaking proselytising in the archipelago.

On average, traditional Islam scholars in Indonesian were accommodative to local wisdom. They did not eradicate local tradition and wisdom immediately in conducting their proselytising because not all local traditions and wisdoms are in contradiction with *aqidah* Islam and counterproductive.²⁰ Many local traditions and wisdoms are productive and can be used to enforce *Islam*. Therefore, Islam's face becomes not "singular", but it appears with different looks. It does not matter as long as its substance does not change. It means that the five pillars of *Islam* and six pillars of *Iman* are inevitable, but attributes worn should not like those worn by Arabs. Traditional festivals belonging to a region can be held using Islam reference to be a beautiful combination between Islam (Arab) and local colors. For example, the celebration of 1 Muharam is held differently in some states, the celebration of *sekaten* in Yogyakarta, Minangkabau local wisdom that has united with Islam value includes: "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah*" (custom building on Islam law, Islam law building on Qur'an)

¹⁸ Ibid. p.6

¹⁹ Ibid. p.6

²⁰ Setiyawan, "Budaya Lokal dalam Perspektif, pp. 210-211.

or Madura local wisdom called “*abantal omba’, asapo’ angen*” (using *syahadat* as its pillow, using *iman* as its blanket).

The description above is a concrete example showing that Islam was born and came into contact with local culture and wisdom. Islam was not born in the region devoid of local wisdom. Islam was born and encountered Arab local culture, and later Persian, Turk, and archipelago cultures. Therefore, Islam cannot be identical to Arab culture only. Arab culture is not the only culture recognised and corresponding to Islam values. Islam comes into a region’s local culture and makes it local culture and wisdom and Islam culture all at once, including customary community’s local wisdom in Kampung Naga Tasikmalaya.

Kampung Naga at a glance

Kampung Naga is the name of a customary community settlement complex existing in the Tasikmalaya area. This *kampung* (village) is unique, and its origin has not been revealed ultimately. It is unique because its people consider it taboo, impolite, and *pamali*²¹ to speak of their village’s history. Regarding the story, Kampung Naga’s founder was an influential figure from the Mataram Kingdom who failed to do his task. He did not dare to come back to the kingdom and preferred living in Kampung Naga by disguising his original name. This opinion was expressed clearly by *Punduh*²² stating that what making the story or the history of Kampung Naga’s origin unclear is the disguise of figure hiding in Kampung Naga and *Paremeun Obor*,²³ the burning of Kampung Naga conducted by DI/TII group led by Kartosoewirjo impacting on the lost archive and customary heirloom.²⁴ It is these two factors making the history of Kampung Naga’s origin still unrevealed completely until today.

²¹ *Pamali* in Sundanese language means abstinence, prohibition, and taboo. The infringement of *pamali* will usually get punishment from customary community or may get unpleasant experience, e.g. unlucky life. Such a *pamali* was basically made to maintain decorum and prestige, to conserve environment, and to educate people in order to take any action carefully and thoroughly.

²² *Punduh* is an individual assigned to help *Kuncen* in dealing with the relationship with outsiders. His main duties are to establish the relationship with government and to welcome the guests coming from outside the village. *Kuncen* is the leader of custom serving to lead and to maintain Kampung Naga community’s tradition in daily life. In undertaking his task, *Kuncen* was helped by *Lebe* and *Punduh*. *Lebe* served as technical executor of wedding, mourning ceremonies, and other tasks that should be done by *Kuncen* when *Kuncen* could not do it.

²³ *Paremeun Obor* means the loss of trace. The word *Paremeun* in Sundanese language means dead or dark, while *Obor* means lamp, light, or lighting. So *Paremeun Obor* means the dead lamp or light.

²⁴ Interview with Maun as *Punduh*.

Currently, there are some versions of Kampung Naga's origin history.²⁵ In 1630 Sultan Agung, coming from Mataram attacking Batavia under Singaparna's leadership was defeated. These troops neither came back nor surrendered themselves to VOC but hid in the hilly forest near Ciwulan River. They covered their identity up by changing his name and dialect into the Sundanese language. Since then, the troops following him and surrounding people might not mention Singaparna's name and called their village Kampung Naga. The prohibition of mentioning Singaparna is intended to remove his trace and prevent Singaparna's existence from being tracked by anyone. Therefore, until today, the mentioning of Singaparna's name becomes taboo, impolite, and *pamali*.

The second version told that Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah or so-called Sunan Gunung Jati asked one of his servants named Singaparna to proselytise Islam religion to the western part of Java Island. Singaparna did such the order and went to Neglasari Village, now belonging to Salawu Sub District of Tasikmalaya Regency's area. One day, Singaparna got the instruction to conduct contemplation (meditation). In such contemplation (asceticism), he was instructed to reside a place now called Kampung Naga. Therefore, Singaparna was called *Sembah Dalem Singaparna* by Kampung Naga people. He was respected, exalted, and even sacred because he was considered as their *karuhun* or ancestor. Practices of respecting, exalting, and making him sacred were conducted by avoiding mentioning their ancestor's name directly. The direct mentioning of the ancestor's name was considered as *pamali*. For those reasons, when there is a similar or identical name, the name of either a person or place, they will avoid or replace the mentioning of it. For example, when mentioning Singaparna Sub District,²⁶ Kampung Naga people renamed it into "Galunggung" Sub District. It was done because Singaparna is similar to the name of *Sembah Dalem Singaparana*.

The third version told that Kampung Naga's native people came from Mount Galunggung's slope, Singaparna-strain Sundanese people. Singaparna is the name of religion leaders or an Islam scholar having supernatural power, constituting the son of Prabu Rajadipuntang or the last king of Galunggung. Prabu Surawisesa attacked Prabu Rajadipuntang from the Sunda Kingdom because Prabu Rajadipuntang no longer embraced Hindu and switched to embracing Islam religion. This event occurred in the 16th century. In dealing

²⁵ The story about Kampung Naga's origin was explored from three figures: Ade Suherlin as *Kuncen*, Henhen as *Lebe*, and Maun as *Punduh* using interview method.

²⁶ Singaparna Sub District is one of sub districts belonging to Tasikmalaya Regency's area. This sub district is adjacent directly to Salawu Sub District.

with such an attack, Prabu Rajadipuntang saved this heirloom property, given it to Singaparna, and told him to keep himself. Singaparna brought such heirloom property and kept himself in a valley called Kampung Naga.

The fourth version told that *Naga* (Dragon) in Kampung Naga is most people's imagination connecting Kampung Naga to the story of a mythic animal coming from China, *dragon*. In their opinion, Kampung Naga is not connected at all to such a mythic story. However, it is more appropriate to associate the mentioning of Kampung Naga with its geographic location. The term "NaGa" was taken from the word abbreviation "dina Gawir". The word *Dina* means "located", while *Gawir* means "valley or slope". It is intended to facilitate the people to mention and recall the village located in such a valley. Therefore, the origin of Kampung Naga derived from the habit of mentioning conducted by surrounding people.²⁷

From some versions of the story about the history of Kampung Naga's origin, it can be concluded that: firstly, there are ancestors highly respected, exalted, and sacred, Singaparna. There is a grave believed to be the grave of Singaparna until today. This grave plays an important part in Kampung Naga people's customary tradition. Secondly, Islam has entered into and has been embraced by Kampung Naga people since the 16th century. The entry of Islam to Kampung Naga was brought by Islam scholars whose ancestors embraced Hindu religion. Therefore, some traditional ceremonies, the implementation of which is similar to Hindu religious tradition, are still found, e.g. an offering of flowers or food (to spirits, etc.) or *sesaji*.

Geographically, Kampung Naga was located in the valley encircled by a mountainside with green and shady trees, so that this village is as if hidden behind those trees. This village is adjacent to Cigalontang Village in the north, with mountainside and Garut-Tasikmalaya highway in the south, Ciwulan River in the east, and hill or mountainside serving as the border between Kampung Naga and Kampung Babakan all at once in the west.²⁸ Administratively, this village belongs to Neglasari, Salawu Sub District, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java province. This village is about 800 m from Neglasari governmental centre, about 5 km from Salawu Sub District, and 106 km from West Java Province. It is located in the edge of a highway connecting Garut to Tasikmalaya Regencies. Tasikmalaya City's position is about 30 km to the east, while Garut City is about

²⁷ Interview with Tatang.

²⁸ Observation and interview with Tatang.

26 km to the west.²⁹ Because of its location on the highway's edge, this village is very affordable, using public minibus vehicle for the Bandung-Garut-Singaparna route, about 3 hours from Bandung.

To come to Kampung Naga, the only way to be passed through is to step on about 335 rungs of the ladder that are meandering and steep. Their condition has been relatively good with concrete construction, thereby safe to be passed through and not slippery despite the rain. The path to go to this location is descending, but going to the highway is ascending. Having stepped on the last rung to go to Kampung Naga, a wide dirt road that can be passed through by three-person side by side all at once can be found. The path is the dike of Ciwulan River bordering Kampung Naga and *leuweung tutupan* (protected forest).

Beautiful scenery can be seen on the right and left sides. There is Ciwulan River that is not too deep on the right. The protected forest, the forest considered sacred by Kampung Naga people, can be seen across the river. Farmland, dry field, pond, and water flowing from the mountainside cracks can be seen on the left. Getting closer to the settlement, domestic animals are belonging to Kampung Naga people. Going further to inside, small chambers can be seen located in the edge of or above the pond serving toiletry function. The sound of water flowing from the shower existing inside the chambers shows that Kampung Naga settlement is getting closer. There are two entrances to the settlement: main gate, the position of which is across the mosque, and the narrow entrance to the village. It takes 30 minutes to go to the settlement from the highway.

Kampung Naga passed through by Ciwulan River and encircled by mountainside replete with these trees located at 488-meter altitude to feel cool and comfortable. Its air temperature ranges between 21.5° and 23° Celcius, with humidity ranging between 75% - 85% and an annual rainfall of 289 mm. Therefore, Kampung Naga's temperature is cool either on the day or at night and very cold in the morning. It makes everyone feel happy and comfortable staying in Kampung Naga after a tiring journey by going down along many ladder rungs.

Topographically, Kampung Naga located on the foot of the valley, in which the land surface in the west is higher than that in the east. To Kampung Naga people, such land condition is good as it is consistent with what they have believed and their belief system. The settlement with such topography is called *Taneuh Bahe Ngetan*. It means good land (soil) for settlement and agriculture.

²⁹ Monograph of Neglasari Village.

Rationally, such settlement condition can be analysed scientifically. The people living inland leaning to the east (*Bahe Ngetan*) will receive more ultraviolet light from the sun, thereby affecting their health positively.

Kampung Naga's land is 10 hectare wide. Such a wide land is utilised for settlement, farmland, protected forest, and fishery land. The land used for settlement is 1.5 hectare wide with 111 buildings. It includes a hundred and eight buildings for dwellings, one building for the mosque, one building for the meeting hall, and one building for rice barn. The mosque and meeting hall are located in parallel, while the rice barn is located in the west. There is a wide empty land in front of the mosque, and the meeting hall used to be square and functioning to hold the customary ceremony. The dwelling buildings are established parallel from the east to the west or vice versa and face-to-face facing the north or the south. The dwelling building consists of *rumah panggung* (stage houses) made of bamboo and plaited bamboo laths.

Meanwhile, its roof is made of *nipah* leaves, *ijuk* (palm fiber), or reeds. Its architectural and interior designs are simple but organised tidily and beautifully, thereby air and light are circulated well.³⁰ Besides, its building is earthquake-resistant. It can be seen from no building collapsing or developing significant damage during the incidence of the earthquake at 7.3 SR shaking Tasikmalaya on Wednesday, September 2, 2009.

About 314 people dwell Kampung Naga, with 108 family heads. This number is consistent with the number of dwellings. Therefore, if a new family wants to build a house in Kampung Naga, it should ask the *Kuncen* for permission.³¹ The land in this Kampung Naga is *ulayat* land, the custom-owned land. Every citizen of Kampung Naga who will build house should unnecessarily buy the land; asking the *Kuncen* for permission is enough. However, because the land used for dwelling building is not wide, only 1.5 hectares, many Kampung Naga people can not build a house and live beyond Kampung Naga. Some of them live around Kampung Naga, in West Java, and even in foreign countries. Other factors affecting Kampung Naga people to live beyond Kampung Naga are cross-village marriage, education, occupation, etc. Those living beyond Kampung Naga are often called "Sanaga" citizen. Sanaga means "*se-Naga*", one Kampung Naga.³² It indicates that although they do not live in Kampung Naga,

³⁰ Observation and interview with Risman.

³¹ Interview with Karmadi.

³² Interview with Karmadi.

they remain to be recognised to be Kampung Naga citizen as long as they keep holding on Kampung Naga's custom and culture.

Local Wisdom and Belief System of Kampung Naga Community

In Kampung Naga community, tradition has in-depth meaning acquired hereditarily, compiled, and embodying into the form of local wisdom coming from the ancestor. The community becomes a means for bequeathing cultural value, innovation, and social transformation, thereby creating local wisdom. Local wisdom functions to be the control in living within society. In this case, local wisdom determines what should be done and not be done by the people. Local wisdom will limit the community's behaviour to harm others' interest and not harm the surrounding environment. Kampung Naga people's local wisdom is reflected in modesty and equality, obedience and loyalty to undertake tradition, respect to the environment, time utilisation, and preference for to type of art preserved.

The form of local wisdom in simplicity and equality can be seen from: *Firstly*, the house building model. The house building of Kampung Naga people should be the same in terms of size and model, stage house without using brick, made of wood and bamboo, despite building house using brick or building mansion. Its roof should be made of *nipah* leaves, ijuk (palm fiber), or reeds. Its floor should be made of wooden or bamboo board. The house should face to the north or south and face its neighbor's house in front of it. House's wall should be made of plaited bamboo and may not be painted but using lime.³³ *Secondly*, the lighting used should be *petromak* (kerosene pressure lantern) rather than an electrical lamp. Electricity network may not enter into Kampung Naga, but electronic appliances like television are not prohibited, and storage battery is used as the power supply.³⁴ *Thirdly*, the clothing and lifestyle of *Kuncen* are as same as those of *Lebe*, those of *Punduh*, and ordinary people, in daily life and holding customary ceremony.³⁵

Local wisdom in complying with and being loyal to tradition can be indicated with: firstly, compliance with and loyalty to holding *Hajat Sasih* rite. This rite is the expression of gratitude to God embodied into the pilgrimage to ancestor's grave conducted six times a year, on Syuro (Muharram), Maulud (Rabiul Awal), Jumadil Akhir, Ruwah (Sya'ban), Syawal, and Raya Agung

³³ Observation and interview with Tatang.

³⁴ Observation and interview with Juhandi.

³⁵ Interview with Warsin and Erwin.

(Dzulhijjah) months. This rite can be attended by males who have entered into *akil baligh* (adulthood).³⁶ Secondly, it can also be seen from the compliance and loyalty to the implementation of life slogan: the behavioural principle, *boro-boro pinter teu bodo-bodo acan* (living neither smartly nor stupidly). It means that Kampung Naga people will keep silent, not speak, and then go away when there is commotion, dispute, or disagreement because they feel stupid. The feeling of being stupid ones can be seen from their life principles: *teu saba, teu boga, teu banda, teu weduk, teu bedas, teu gagah, and teu pinter* (not travelling, not living lavishly, having no property, not invulnerable, not strong, not sturdy, and not smart). They consider that they do not inherit excessive property from their ancestor, but they can use the inherited property to live in modesty.³⁷ Thirdly, they may not speak of their village's history, particularly on Tuesday and Thursday.³⁸ Fourthly, they do not speak haphazardly, particularly using the word *garing* (dry), do not sit down with legs being stretched forward to the west when staying in the mosque and meeting hall, do not harm animal, and do not break the twigs of trees existing in Kampung Naga.³⁹ Fifthly, they should respect and cater to guests, comply with Kuncen, worship, and respect ancestor.⁴⁰

Local wisdom of respecting the environment can be seen from: *firstly*, the prohibition of entering into protected forest. Kampung Naga people are prohibited from touching or entering into, moreover taking any objects existing in the protected forest and on the hill located in the west of mosque and meeting hall.⁴¹ *Secondly*, it can be seen from the agricultural management implemented. Kampung Naga people may not use chemical fertiliser and pesticide in cultivating plant.⁴² *Thirdly*, it can be seen from the spatial borders and their use in Kampung Naga that have been clear, for settlement, agricultural, cattle breeding, fishery, and protected forest. Kampung Naga people may not build house beyond settlement land, although the settlement land has been replete with building, or may not build toilet out of fishery land.⁴³

Local wisdom in time utilisation can be demonstrated with good and bad days or months for holding customary ceremonies. For example, *Sapar* and *Puasa* months are bad and tabooed months for holding customary ceremonies

³⁶ Interview with Henhen.

³⁷ Interview with Munir.

³⁸ Interview with Juhandi.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Interview with Risman.

⁴² Interview with Akman and Uhad.

⁴³ Interview with Je'eng.

because it coincides with *nyepi* ceremony. Meanwhile, Syuro, Maulud, Jumadil Akhir, Ruwah, Syawal, and Raya Agung are good months for holding customary rite.⁴⁴ The months of *Janli* (acronym of January-July) are the ones believed to be good for planting rice to Kampung Naga people.⁴⁵ Kampung Naga people basically still believe that this life is always affected by invisible nature, and that objects and other animals affect each other.

Local wisdom related to the type of art preserved can be seen from the music instruments that may be played in Kampung Naga. There are four music instruments that may be played: *Terbang Gembrung*,⁴⁶ *Angklung*,⁴⁷ *Beluk*,⁴⁸ and *Rengkong*.⁴⁹ Other music instruments such as *gong* and art coming from outside Kampung Naga like *wayang golek*, *pencak silat*, *dangdut*, *tayub*, and etc are prohibited from being played directly.⁵⁰

Local wisdom is interrelated to belief system. Religion as a belief system serves to be social control and to be the foundation of custom (local wisdom). The integration of religion and custom becomes an attempt of harmonising life.⁵¹ This statement is synchronous with the existing condition in Kampung Naga community. Kampung Naga community holds very strongly on ancestors' custom. On the other hand, they implement the religion's tenet they hold on well.

Kampung Naga people hold on Islam religion. Islam is the only religion existing in Kampung Naga. They recognise the presence of the five pillars of Islam: *syahadat* (the profession of faith), *sholat* (ritual prayers and actions performed five times daily), *zakat* (tithe), *puasa* (fast), and *haji* (hajj). They also believe in the six principles of iman (belief): belief in Allah SWT, in His angels, His Holy Books, His apostles, *qodho* and *qodar*, and judgment day. *Sholat* practice is conducted not differently from that did by Muslim in general, including *sholat*

⁴⁴ Interview with Ade Suherlin.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Terbang Gembrung* is the type of large-size rebana. This *Terbang* is played only three times a year: *Idul Fitri*, *Idul Adha*, and *Maulid Nabi*.

⁴⁷ *Angklung* is the type of music instrument type made of bamboo. This music is played by children when there is guest coming. The guest usually gives *saweran* (wage) after they have played the *angklung* completely.

⁴⁸ *Beluk* is not actually music instrument, but spoken song using high tones. In other words, *beluk* is an art relying on the singers with high voice.

⁴⁹ *Rengkong* is a music instrument made of long bamboo, and tied with ropes and rice burden on its two ends. It can be played by carrying on and shaking it to the left and to the right.

⁵⁰ Interview with Dadin.

⁵¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Beberapa Pokok Antropologi Sosial* (Jakarta: PT. Dian Rakyat, 1992), p.239. See also Laode Monto Bauto, "Perspektif Agama dan Kebudayaan dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Indonesia: Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologi Agama", *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial*, Vol. 23, Number 2 (December 2014), pp.11-12.

jum'at, *sholat idul fitri*, *idul adha*, and other *sholats* corresponding to Islam tenet's general guidance. Similarly, in relation to the practices of *puasa* (fast) and *zakat* (tithe), they fast on Ramadhan month, starting and ending it according to the Republic of Indonesia government's decision. They pay *zakat fitrah* around the end of Ramadhan month.⁵²

In relation to *hajj*, Kampung Naga people consider that they unnecessarily go to Holy Land Makkah that is so far from their residence because holding *Hajat Sasih* ceremony on Dzulhijjah (Raya Agung) is enough to them.⁵³ *Hajat Sasih* ceremony on Raya Agung month is held on 10th, 11th, or 12th date, corresponding to the days other than Tuesday and Thursday. When *Idul Adha* day falls down beyond Tuesday and Thursday, *Hajat Sasih* ceremony is conducted after *Idul Adha* prayer. There is no slaughtering of sacrificed animals, either goat or cow, on that day. They focus on holding *Hajat Sasih* ceremony only. They believe that undertaking this ancestor tradition means respecting their ancestor. Something not done by their ancestor and something not coming from their ancestor's tenet are considered as taboo. When it is done by Kampung Naga people, it means that they have broken their custom and do not respect their ancestor. It will surely result in disaster. Meanwhile, the slaughtering of sacrificed animal on *Idul Adha* Holy Day has never been conducted by their ancestors in this village.⁵⁴ However, the actual reason of why they do not slaughter sacrificed animal is that because most people in Kampung Naga have minimum income, thereby can suffice their need for food only rather than for sacrificing.⁵⁵

Religion education is conducted routinely in Kampung Naga. Quran studying activity is held for children on Monday and Thursday. Meanwhile, that for adults is conducted on Thursday night.⁵⁶ The educators for this Quran studying activity come from Kampung Naga people having more knowledge and experience they have acquired from studying in the schools outside Kampung Naga. This activity aims to strengthen Islamism and belief (faith) in The Creator (Allah SWT). Nevertheless, Kampung Naga people's belief in animism (the power of invisible creature) is still very strong. It can be seen from the availability of *sesaji* (offering of flowers or food) in every ceremony (e.g. house construction, wedding, mourning, and other ceremonies). Even they believe in the presence of invisible creatures living in certain areas or places that can harm the people

⁵² Interview with Iin.

⁵³ Interview with Dani and Madin.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Interview with Tatang.

⁵⁶ Interview with Iin.

living in that place anytime. *Jurig Cai* is an invisible creature residing the river, particularly the deep river (*leuwi*). *Kuntil Anak* is an invisible creature coming from the dead pregnant woman and she loves to harm the women who are giving birth or who will give birth. *Ririwa* is an invisible creature loving to harm and to frighten people at night.⁵⁷ Kampung Naga people call the places where the invisible creatures live the terrible ones. They will keep far away from those places as much as possible. In addition to terrible places, there are some holy places that should be taken care of for their holiness: mosque, meeting hall, and Eyang Singaparna's grave.

The Effect of Local Wisdom on Kampung Naga People's Piety

Community empowerment takes a long enough time and patience, moreover the empowerment material pertains to regulations (read: local wisdom) limiting the community's evolving freedom. Therefore, an appropriate strategy is required for the empowerment to be successful. Kampung Naga people's ancestors used *pamali* strategy to safeguard the regulations developed in the attempt of building their community's powerfulness. Despite the regulations apparently illogical sometimes, such strategy in fact can preserve life sustainability and build the people's piety. However, instead it departs from the *pamali* that Kampung Naga people's piety is created and the life sustainability is maintained. Here is the elaboration on the effect of local wisdom that has been explained above with Kampung Naga people's piety.

Local wisdom concerning the house buildings is that they should be constructed in row, face to face with front and back doors in parallel, and same model. This wisdom can create Kampung Naga people's piety in some ways: avoided from crime and immorality. The house owners can recognise and oversee those getting in and out of the neighbor's house, so that they will identify those who want to do bad deed, moreover in the presence of local wisdom prohibiting the Kampung Naga people from closing the door when they are receiving guest coming from either inside or outside Kampung Naga. Therefore, anyone existing at home will be monitored by their neighbor living across their house. Through this system, Kampung Naga people can take care of themselves and their environment from criminal or immorality felonies.⁵⁸

Other piety is to strengthen *silaturrahim* relation. In their leisure time, Kampung Naga people often seem to chat with each other while sitting in their

⁵⁷ Interview with Dani and Madin.

⁵⁸ Interview with Ade Suherlin.

own house porches. They talk about many things concerning their life, make a joke, and sometimes while producing plaited bamboo craft for their own or being soled as souvenir to the guests coming. Such condition, of course, can strengthen emotional relation and kinship between the fellow village citizens. In addition, the piety created from house construction model is the life replete with modesty, in parsimony, and avoided from competition. Building model and width, and house furniture that have been arranged prevent Kampung Naga people from competing for life luxury. For example, there may not be chair, dining table, bed, and etc in the house. Therefore, they will not think to fill in their house with furniture different from their neighbors.⁵⁹ They cannot compete for pursuing secular luxury in this village.

Local wisdom concerning the prohibition of using electricity can create Kampung Naga people's piety in maintaining kinship relation. The entry of electricity can encourage the entry of electronic appliances like television. It can impact on the people's life pattern and life style. They will fill in their house with television in throng. They will compete for buying better television. They will prefer watching television program on the television they have. Such condition will gradually fade kinship relation. It will be different if television can be played using storage battery only. Colored television will of course take more power than non-colored one. Therefore, people will reluctantly compete for owning television, and even will have their own television reluctantly because they do not want to bother recharging their storage battery. They will prefer watching television along with their neighbor while establishing kinship relation. In addition, this wisdom can create piety in taking care of environment. Houses in Kampung Naga are made of flammable materials, so that they can avoid themselves from electricity use. They worry about short circuit problem. Therefore, if short circuit occurs, their residence will be burnt completely.⁶⁰

Local wisdom concerning clothing and lifestyle creates Kampung Naga people's character in living with equality. It is the equality between people and their leader. The clothing worn during customary ceremony is not different for *Kuncen*, *Punduh*, and *Lebe* as the commander of ceremony, and for the public, so is the clothing in daily life. Their residence also has size and shape as same as those of public's residence. It is difficult to distinguish leader from people in this village, because their lifestyle is the same and there is no significant difference. It is also difficult to distinguish leader from people physically. The difference can

⁵⁹ Interview with Tatang.

⁶⁰ Interview with Ade Suherlin.

be recognised when they have played their own roles.⁶¹ Such condition is found in the community applying democratic system. Kampung Naga people, in fact, have applied democratic system as well.

Local wisdom concerning *Hajat Sasih* ceremony celebration can create the Kampung Naga people's characters of loyalty, respect, and always remembering the dead family members.⁶² Essentially, *Hajat Sasih* is the ceremony of praying for their ancestors. However, it includes not merely praying, but also other activities accompanying such as cleaning funerals, cleaning depok⁶³, and conducting *kenduri* packaged in a unique customary ceremony. Therefore, in addition to the character of respecting ancestors, there are other characters resulting from this *Hajat Sasih* ceremony: always maintaining the cleanliness of ancestors' grave, mutual cooperation, and providing meal to those who have work hard.

Through local wisdom concerning *hidup boro-boro pinter teu bodo-bodo acan*, Kampung Naga people can determine their stance more wisely, particularly when dealing with dispute. They prefer establishing fraternity and avoiding themselves from the conflict between fellow citizens. They love peace more than hostility.⁶⁴ This wisdom is actually similar to an idiom stating a thousand friends are too little, but one enemy is too many. It indicates that Kampung Naga people prefer more peaceful life in their homeland.

The local wisdom of not speaking of village's history can create the character of sincerity (*ikhlas*) in doing charity and avoiding themselves from disgracing other. Basically, speaking of history is to talk about the ancestors' success and failure. An individual's success will be a sweet memory, but his failure will be a bitter one. Therefore, speaking of history can impact on the two: the lost sincerity replaced with showing off stance (*riya'*), and the emergence of resentment.⁶⁵ Thus, the prohibition of speaking of village's history becomes making sense to avoid the excessive praise or disgracing to the figures who have contributed to building their village. It is in line with the credo of community empowerment developed by Lao Tzu, stating that when the leader has completed his work, people should be able to note that this achievement is the output of their collective effort.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Interview with Tatang.

⁶² Interview with Henhen.

⁶³ *Depok* is the former place for doing prayer (*sholat*). It is located in the front part of and in the right of mosque and meeting hall. This *Depok* is closed and without door. The only way to enter into is to use ladder.

⁶⁴ Interview with Maun.

⁶⁵ Interview with Ade Suherlin.

⁶⁶ See, Totok Mardikanto, *Konsep-konsep Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (Surakarta: UNS

The wisdom of not speaking haphazardly can create the character in keeping our mouth. Basically, mouth can be advantageous and disadvantageous. Therefore, Islam teaches its followers to use their mouth as well as possible. Qur'an Surrah An-Nisa: 114 explains that "There is no good in most of their secret talks save (in) him who orders *sadaqah* (charity in Allah's Cause) or *ma'ruf* (Islamic monotheism and all the good and righteous deeds which Allah has ordained) or conciliation between mankind, and he who does this, seeking the Good Pleasure of Allah, We shall give him a great reward". Considering this verse, according to Tatang, local wisdom prohibiting the people from speaking haphazardly is very prudent.⁶⁷

The wisdom of not sitting down with legs being stretched forward to the west (*kiblat*) when staying in the mosque and in meeting hall creates the behavior of respecting the symbol of religion. An individual's good and bad behavior can be seen from his *akhlak* (*character*) to the Creator, his fellows, and environment. The respect to the symbols of religion reflects the good behavior to the Creator. Therefore, this prohibition reflects the Kampung Naga people's respect to the symbol of religion, *Ka'bah*.⁶⁸

The wisdom of not harming the animal and not breaking the twig of tree is implemented because animals and plants are Allah SWT's creatures, just like mankind. Therefore, their existence should be maintained and should not be harmed or damaged. Harming or moreover killing animal and damaging the plant can clearly damage the life chain. The damaged life chain can affect adversely the human life. For that reason, the prohibition from harming animal and breaking the twig of trees is the form of wisdom in preserving environment.⁶⁹

The wisdom of respecting and catering on the guest creates the personal character of doing the religion's order obediently. Islam's tenet views the guest as the lofty one, because the guest is considered as the connector of relationship (*silaturrahmi*). Many verses of Quran and hadiths explain the importance of respecting and catering on the guest: Quran Surrah Hud verse 78 and hadith narrated by Bukhori stating that "everyone who believes in Allah and the judgment day should respect his guest". Local wisdom concerning an order to respect and to cater on the guest well is a form of implementations of the religion tenet held on by Kampung Naga people.

Press, 2010), p.120.

⁶⁷ Interview with Tatang.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Local wisdom concerning the compliance with *Kuncen* is implemented because *Kuncen* is the highest (supreme) leader in Kampung Naga. *Kuncen* is selected according to the requirement approved by Kampung Naga people and through discussion. The elected *Kuncen* is the legitimate leader. Obedience to and compliance with leader is the manifestation of obedience to Allah and His Apostle. It is in line with Quran Surrah An-Nisa verse 59 ordering the obedience to Allah, Rasul (Apostle) and *ulil amri* (leader). Therefore, the obedience to *Kuncen* is another implementation of religion tenet held on by Kampung Naga people.

Local wisdom of doing worship is implemented because worship is the highest form of mankind's service to his God. Every human being is ordered to do worship to his God as explained in Quran Surrah adz-Dzariyat verse 56. This wisdom is intended to create religious character and obedience among Kampung Naga people to their religion tenet.

Local wisdom of appreciating ancestor creates the character of Kampung Naga people who always serve their parents, particularly those who have died. Their service is embodied into their willingness to pray for and to clean their grave. In Kampung Naga, the attitudes of respecting and appreciating their ancestor are reflected on *Hajat Sasih* ceremony conducted six (6) times a year.⁷⁰

Local wisdom concerning the prohibition of entering into protected forest creates Kampung Naga people's piety in taking care of themselves and their environment. There are two forests taken care of by Kampung Naga people: the forest located in the mountainside slope in the west of Kampung Naga and the restricted forest located in the east of Kampung Naga. The rational reason of the prohibition from entering into protected forest in the mountain slope in the west is that because the mountainside is adjacent directly to Kampung Naga people's dwellings. The mountainside is very vulnerable to landslide. If people are allowed to get into and out of the forest and to take some objects existing in the forest, there will be a big risk, landslide that of course will endanger the people living below. Therefore, in the presence of "no entry" instruction, people will not dare to touch it and the potency of landslide will be mitigated, because the soil is restrained by trees and grasses that can restrain the soil. Meanwhile, the rational reason of restricted forest in the east of Kampung Naga is, among others, that there are many water sources getting out of the forest. The dense

⁷⁰ Interview with Henhen.

forest that has never been entered by anyone makes the water sources produced by this forest well-maintained.⁷¹

Local wisdom concerning the prohibition of using chemical fertiliser and pesticide creates Kampung Naga's piety in taking care of environment. Chemical fertiliser believed to be able to grow the plant quickly in fact exerts adverse side effect on the soil (land) and human health. So does chemical pesticide. Chemical pesticide believed to be able to eradicate pest quickly exerts negative effect on the food chain. Otherwise, the utilisation of organic fertiliser can improve the soil's fertility in long term, and the utilisation of organic pesticide will kill certain pest only and will not harm other animals necessary to the growth of plant.⁷² They can produce organic fertiliser and pesticide themselves. In fact, through using organic fertiliser and pesticide their harvest product is also abundant.

The local wisdom of paddy planting time regulation creates the Kampung Naga people's creative and innovative characters. *Janli* is the time considered as appropriate for Kampung Naga people to plant paddy. Actually, the fertile farmland condition and the abundant water source can be used to plant paddy along the year. However, people plant paddy on January-July only. And they plant horticultural plant on other months. This same planting period is a creative innovation as it can reduce the pest attacking the plant. For example, the number of bird pests attacking the paddy starting to bear fruit will be reduced because they are distributed in many areas. It will be a different condition when there is paddy plant in one area only; they will attack the place because no paddy is found in other areas.⁷³ Another form of creativity is that they can cultivate the land with declivity of 15 degrees through terracing (*terasiring*) system.

Local wisdom in restricting the land used for settlement purpose creates Kampung Naga people's piety in maintaining their existence. The 10-hectare wide area of Kampung Naga is very impossible to be developed for its settlement area. This village's borders have been obvious: land for farming, fishery, animal breeding, forest, and settlement. If the settlement land is developed, the land for farming, fishery or animal breeding will be automatically reduced. When such land conversion occurs, the employment field will be limited. It will impact on their life, the more difficult life because the more limited employment field and

⁷¹ Interview with Maun.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Interview with Tatang.

in turn the smaller income. Therefore, land use restriction should be governed in such a way that the existence of Kampung Naga remains to be maintained.⁷⁴

Local wisdom concerning the prohibition from holding ceremony on Sapar and Ramadhan creates Kampung People's character of tolerance and respect to the excellence of month. Sapar month is considered as *nyepi* (last day of Hindu calendar, when no work is done) by Kampung Naga people. Ramadhan month is the one when Islam communities fast. Therefore, the prohibition of holding ceremony on Sapar and Ramadhan months are the manifestation of Kampung Naga people's tolerance to Islam and Hindu communities.⁷⁵

Local wisdom in using music instrument creates Kampung Naga people's consistent character. The music instruments that may be played in Kampung Naga are *Terbang Gembrung*, *Angklung*, *Beluk*, and *Rengkong*. Modern music instruments like guitar, piano, organ, and etc may not be played in this village. It indicates Kampung Naga people's consistency with their choice.⁷⁶

Kampung Naga People's Piety Reflecting the Face of Islam Nusantara

Overall, local wisdoms of Kampung Naga people as aforementioned impact on the three pieties: spiritual (*hablun min Allah*), social (*hablun min an-nas*), and environmental (*hablun min al-alam*). Spiritual piety, for example, can be seen clearly from the people's compliance with the implementation of *Hajat Sasih* ceremony six times a year. This rite takes a long enough time in its organisation: the beating of *kokol* (drum made from bamboo or wood which is struck to sound an alarm) by a citizen characterising the beginning of *Hajat Sasih* rite. The people go in throng to Ciwulan having heard *kokol* sound to take a bath and to take *wudhu* (ritual ablution before prayers). Having taken a bath and *wudhu*, they wear clothing without wiping the water on their body using towel, and without wearing underwear and footwear to go to their own home. Having arrived at home, they change their clothing with the one used specifically for *Hajat Sasih* ceremony, including *totopong* (headband), *baju jubah* (robe) and *sinjang* (sarong), and by wearing no underwear and footwear. Thereafter, they go to and enter into the mosque by washing their foot first in the *wudhu* place existing in the right and the left of mosque while waiting for *Kuncen*, *Punduh*, and *Lebe* praying in Bumi Ageung (the place for storing heirloom) to ask for permission to conduct pilgrimage in the grave. Having prayed completely,

⁷⁴ Interview with Ade Suherlin.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Interview with Tatang.

Kuncen walks to the grave followed by *Punduh*, *Lebe*, and participants of *Hajat Sasih* assembling in the mosque.

The participants of *Hajat Sasih* assembling in the mosque get out while carrying palm-rib broom taken from the mosque. The broom is carried on the right shoulder while walking together and without speaking with each other. Having arrived at the grave, they pray under *Kuncen's* leadership facing to the *kiblat*. Having prayed, they clean up the grave. The activity of cleaning up the grave takes a long enough time and is conducted submissively and devoutly without chatting with each other. After it has been complete, they close it with pray and go back to the mosque. On the other hand, Kampung Naga ladies have prepared *tumpang* (ceremonial dish of yellow rice served in a cone shape) in the mosque that is ready to eat by the participants of *Hajat Sasih* and their family. However, before *tumpang* is eaten, it is prayed for first by the *Hajat Sasih* participants led by *Kuncen*. The *tumpang* that has been prayed for may be eaten in the mosque or brought home to be eaten along with the family.

That is a form of spiritual pieties among Kampung Naga people, the compliance with doing worship accompanied with the implementation of local tradition ceremony. It instead characterises mainly the manifestation of *Islam Nusantara* that is unique and different from Islam in other areas. Spiritual piety resulting from the combination of compliance with undertaking Islam sharia and local tradition implementation can actually be found easily in Islam communities in archipelago. An example is *nyadran* ceremony. *Nyadran* is a *Hajat Sasih*-like ceremony with different procession. *Nyadran* ceremony is found widely in Central Java region.⁷⁷ Even Kyai Muhammad, the caretaker of *Pesantren Tegalrejo Magelang*, has ever combined his spiritual piety and local art, inviting (presenting) *jatilan* art during *khataman Quran* (reading through the Quran to the end).⁷⁸ Therefore, spiritual piety of Kampung Naga people combining religion and local tradition is the process of enriching the life of *Islam Nusantara*. It, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, does not belong to "Islam syncretism" category, but belongs to "*pribumisasi Islam*", Islam considering local needs in formulating religion law without changing the law itself.⁷⁹

On the other hand, social piety of Kampung Naga people can be seen clearly in community's attitude and behavior in undertaking life everyday. In

⁷⁷ Hamidullah Imda, "Penguatan Nilai-nilai Sufisme dalam Nyadran sebagai Khazanah Islam Nusantara", *Jurnal Islam Nusantara*, Vol. 02, Number 02 (July-December 2018), p.151.

⁷⁸ Irham, "Bentuk Islam Faktual, p.214.

⁷⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*(Depok: Desantara, 2001), pp.109-129.

more detail, considering the classification of social piety as suggested by Ilyas Abu Haidar,⁸⁰ the piety of Kampung Naga people can be explained as follows:

1. Piety in social and political activities:
 - a. Prioritising discussion, as indicated with the election of custom head.
 - b. Determining the attitude wisely and avoiding dispute
 - c. Avoiding themselves from disgracing others
 - d. Being tolerant to others and others' sacred months
 - e. Respecting the symbols of religion
 - f. Respecting guest and strengthening *silaturrahim*
 - g. Obeying leader and respecting ancestors
 - h. Loving mutual cooperation
2. Piety in science and culture:
 - a. Paying attention to the time for farm planting pattern
 - b. Choosing art consistently
3. Piety in taking care of themselves
 - a. Keeping far away from crime and immorality
 - b. Performing modestly (rather than lavishly) living behavior
 - c. Living equally
 - d. Helping others sincerely
 - e. Doing worship well

The piety results from the attempt of adapting Islam to native tradition in social aspects taken by Kampung Naga community leaders by means of integrating social local needs into universal religion laws. This manifestation of Kampung Naga people's social piety is in line with the tenet required by Islam (*maqosidus syari'ah*) prevailing generally.⁸¹ Therefore, the manifestation of social piety resulting from the application of Kampung Naga people's local wisdom is not different from the social piety of Islam community in general that applies Islam tenet values completely (*kaffah*).

⁸⁰ Ilyas Abu Haidar, *Etika Islam dari Kesalehan Individu menuju Kesalehan Sosial* (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2003), p.123.

⁸¹ Ridwan Jamal, "Maqoshid al-Syari'ah dan Relevansinya dalam Konteks Kekinian", *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, Vol.8, Number 1 (2010), pp.8-10.

Environmental piety of Kampung Naga people can be seen from their attitude and behavior of taking care of their surrounding nature. Nature is a part of life that should be maintained and taken care of by Kampung Naga people to make their life harmonious. Kampung Naga people view themselves, nature, and the relationship between the two from religious perspective. Therefore, the felling of trees may not be done before asking the God and ancestor for permission first by conducting pray ritual and providing *sesaji*. It, for example, can be seen from Kampung Naga people intending to fell the trees for house construction purpose. The process of felling the trees starts with *selamatan* (ceremonial meal) in the house holding the event attended by their close relatives. Then, it is followed with praying and having meal. Thereafter, they go to the location of trees felling. Before the fell of trees begins, an assigned individual prays while burning incense. After the tree has been felled and collapsed, the praying officer sits down with crossed legs on the base of tree to pray again.⁸² This procession indicates Kampung Naga people's compliance with preserving the environment.

In addition, the piety of Kampung Naga people in taking care of and maintaining environment can be seen from the prohibition of entering into and taking any objects from the protected forest, the prohibition of using electricity, and the prohibition of using chemical fertiliser and pesticide in cultivating the farmland. This piety affects positively the Kampung Naga people's life, for example, they are avoided from both landslide and forest fire disasters very potentially occurring when preventive measure using local wisdom is not taken.⁸³ Local wisdom concerning the maintenance of nature affecting the Kampung Naga people's environmental piety is in line with Islam values contained in Surrah Ar-Rum verse 41. It indicates that the integration of local environmental needs into universal religion laws can result in local environmental piety and prevails universally.

Here is the face of *Islam Nusantara*, the face of Islam present with the integration of local values into universal Islam laws resulting in the piety its adherents. The face of *Islam Nusantara* developing in Kampung Naga not only impacts on its people's peace, but also becomes *rahmat* (God's mercy) to its surrounding environment.

⁸² Nandang Rusnandar, "Tatacara dan Ritual Mendirikan Rumah di Kampung Naga Kabupaten Tasikmalaya", *Patanjala*, Vol. 7, Number 3 (September 2015), p.540.

⁸³ Yus Darusman, "Kearifan Lokal dan Pelestarian Lingkungan: Studi Kasus di Kampung Naga Kabupaten Tasikmalaya dan di Kampung Kuta Kabupaten Ciamis", *Jurnal Cendekiawan Ilmiah PLS*, Vol. 1, Number 1 (November 2016), p.8.

Conclusion

Local wisdom of Kampung Naga people can be classified into five parts: *firstly*, the wisdom in simplicity and equality including dressing style and lifestyle, house building model, and prohibition from using electricity. *Secondly*, the wisdom in undertaking tradition includes holding *Hajat Sasih* ceremony, respecting and catering on guest, not speaking of village's history, not speaking of haphazardly, not sitting down with legs being stretched forward to the west (*kiblat*), not harming animal, not breaking the twig of trees, and behaving modestly. *Thirdly*, the wisdom of maintaining environment includes the prohibition from using chemical and pesticide fertilisers, the prohibition from entering into protected forest, and the obligation of using land according to its function. *Fourthly*, the wisdom in utilising time includes the regulation of paddy planting pattern starting on January to July, and not holding customary rite (ceremony) on Sapar and Puasa months. *Fifthly*, the wisdom of choosing music instruments that may be played includes *Terbang Gembrung*, *Angklung*, *Beluk*, and *Rekong*. Those local wisdoms can lead Kampung Naga people to the pious ones spiritually, socially, and environmentally. Through this piety, Kampung Naga people can be a powerful community that can play their role as the Islam community that is *rahmatan lil alamin* (a mercy to the worlds) that is born from the archipelago land.

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