



Baduy Luar's Weaving as an Identity and Embodiment of *Pikukuh Karuhun*

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ABSTRACT

The Baduy Luar tribe is one of the many tribes in Indonesia that produces garments in the form of woven fabrics they create. In the course of its development, the weaving of the Baduy Luar Tribe was gifted by the cultural anguish of the Baduy Tribe, who always respect the universe and nature that they preserve, which is part of the *Pikukuh Karuhun* that they carry out as adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. *Pikukuh Karuhun* is a way of life for the Baduy Tribe and is applied thoroughly in their lives, including woven fabrics made by the Baduy Luar Tribe. The woven fabrics of the Baduy Luar have gone through various developments, including the use of additional tools and manufacturing techniques using *songket*, which is used to make motifs and decorations on woven fabrics, and synthetic threads as a substitute material used to make woven fabrics. In addition to the development they have made of the woven fabrics they make, the Baduy Luar Tribe creates several cloth motifs that become the identity of the Baduy Luar Tribe and distinguish it from the Baduy Dalam Tribe, whose ancestors they respect and obey. The Baduy Luar tribe also instills their philosophy of life in some of the woven fabrics they make so that they have sacred values for the Baduy Luar tribe, such as the Adu Mancung weaving, which is specifically for the traditional events they carry out.

Keywords: Cultural Wisdom; Nature and Cultural Conservation; Sunda Wiwitan; Weaving of the Baduy Luar Tribe

INTRODUCTION

The Baduy Luar and Baduy Dalam tribes gather in several traditional ceremonial activities, such as the Seba ceremony, which is a sign that even though they are separate according to their customary system, they still share the same beliefs and spiritual relationship (Maharani, 2009). In ceremonial activities, the differences between the two ethnic groups can be easily identified through their clothes. The Baduy Dalam tribe uses black woven cloth (*Aros*) on the lower body



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and white (Jamang) on the upper body based on how it is used. Meanwhile, the Baduy Luar tribe wears all-black clothing, with a blue headband and the Adu Mancung motif as a belt to hold down the lower garment. The Baduy Tribe produces the weaving themselves, from making materials and preparing tools to the finishing stage.

Weaving is a legacy that the Baduy people have preserved until now as a manifestation of their obedience to *Pikukuh Karuhun*, which they make as a way of life as adherents of Sunda Wiwitan (Meilani, Syauta & Sudarman, 2022). This *Pikukuh* implies that the Baduy Tribe should prioritize simplicity as a principle applied in everyday life and obliges the Baduy Tribe to preserve their culture and natural surroundings. Based on the *Pikukuh*, all the knowledge and skills regarding woven fabrics and weaving were continuously passed on by the Baduy people to their descendants. Apart from that, the Baduy Luar Tribe also develops the woven fabrics they make as a manifestation of their philosophy of life, which adheres to a monogamous system, and as a differentiator between the Baduy Luar and Baduy Dalam Tribe identities. It is intriguing to discuss the Baduy Luar Tribe's cultural wisdom from the point of view of how Baduy Luar's woven fabric relate to their identity and how they show what they believe.

METHOD

The method used in this study is qualitative research with an ethnographic approach. Qualitative research emphasizes deep understanding and the meaning of a problem rather than generalizations based on post-positivism philosophy, which is used interpretatively and inductively to examine the natural condition of objects. Therefore, the researcher's presence at the location is important for understanding an actual and factual event (Sugiyono, 2017). The ethnographic research method seeks to interpret patterns of behavior, beliefs, language, norms, and various other things related to the culture of a group of people that continue to develop over time. Ethnographic research means building a systematic understanding of human cultures from the perspective of people who have studied those cultures (Spradley, 2007).

This ethnographic approach carried out by collecting secondary data from literature studies as support and references, as well as primary data collected by researchers at the site through interviews and documentation of informants who are traditional elders and weavers of the Baduy Luar Tribe.



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RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Baduy Luar's Weaving as an Identity

Weaving used by the Baduy people is used as traditional clothing because the resulting weaving shows identity with characteristics and has a symbolic meaning with motifs that fulfill and illustrate various religious teachings, namely maintaining the balance of nature so that each motif produced has natural nuances, traditional values, and is based on the weaving function is used. Weaving produced by the indigenous people of the Baduy tribe is dominated by white, which is interpreted as a symbol of purity and rules that are not influenced by an outside culture. In addition, its rough texture and simple motifs give it its character and set it apart from the others. Meanwhile, the weaving produced by the Baduy Luar indigenous people is dominated by dark colors, such as black and dark blue. In addition, in the Baduy Luar ethnic weaving variety, there are decorations on the ends with simple colors following the existing rules for each weaving motif.

In general, the Baduy Dalam tribe has three types of weaving: Samping Hideung, Jamang, and Samping Aros. Meanwhile, the Baduy Luar Tribe has developed the weaving into various motifs such as Adu Mancung, Jangkawari, Susuwatan, Samping Suat, and Suat Samata.



Figure 1 Left: Baduy Dalam traditional clothing; Right: Baduy Luar, traditional clothing

Source: left: David Andreas, 2021; right:

<https://twitter.com/gnfi/status/1127483423663112192>



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The use of Baduy clothing is divided into four parts based on the part of the body that is covered, including an *ikat* for the head, *jamang* for the upper body from the shoulder to the waist, *beubeur* or belt for the waist, and *samping* or pants that cover the lower part of the waist up to the knees. The two groups of the Baduy tribe have differences that can be easily recognized based on their clothing color. The Baduy Dalam tribe uses simpler fabrics, namely Jamang and Samping Hideung weaving which has natural based black and white colors. Meanwhile, the Baduy Luar tribe wears Jamang Hideung and *bulao* (blue) colored woven on their *ikat*.

In manufacturing, the woven fabrics made by the Baduy Luar Tribe also differ from the Baduy Dalam Tribe. The manufacture of woven fabrics of the Baduy Luar Tribe has had developments adapted from weaving techniques from outside the Baduy Tribe, namely the songket technique used by the Baduy Luar Tribe to make several motifs on their woven fabrics to make them more varied. Apart from that, the Baduy Luar Tribe has also made their weaving to have a broader range of colors compared to the Baduy Dalam Tribe but still pays attention to the rules for using colors that have been stipulated in the Baduy Tribe's *pikukuh*, namely Color Saba Yarn which includes the colors bodas (white), hideung (black), bereum (red), koneng (yellow), hejo (green), and bulao (blue).

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The practice of dressing by the Baduy people is a form of obedience to the *Pikukuh Karuhun*. *Pikukuh Karuhun* for the Baduy people is their perspective on life that applies to all Baduy people without exception. One of the awkward passages reads, “*nu lojor teu meunang dipotong, nu pondok teu meunang disambung, ...*”, which means “don't cut long things, don't join short ones, ...” which has substance to maintain the authenticity of something based on their nature. This *pikukuh* has the essence of the Baduy people's perspective on life both in the macrocosm and microcosm aspects, as well as being the basis and principle for the Baduy people to preserve nature and the elements in their life.



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Figure 2: Baduy Luar's Pakara Tinun in use by Baduy Weaver
Source: Personal Documentation, May 19, 2022

All activities of the Baduy Tribe have a spiritual foundation instilled in their consciousness, including in their economic activities. The Baduy people have weaving skills which are passed on to their successors. Even though the Baduy Luar Tribe have developed its weaving techniques, they still make weaving based on the traditions and rules set by their ancestors.

The materials and tools used to make weaving are environmentally friendly and made by the Baduy people. A set of tools used by the Baduy Luar Tribe called Pakara Tinun is made with materials that can be found around them, almost entirely made of wood whose types and characteristics have been arranged. The use of natural materials is also a manifestation of the Baduy Luar tribe's compliance with *Pikukuh*, which regulates them to continue to preserve nature by not using tools or materials that can damage the environment that might be found in the weaving process, such as in the textile and garment industry.

As previously stated, the threads used to make the woven fabric of the Baduy Luar tribe consist of 6 colors (see Table 1)

These coloring materials are natural ingredients found around the Baduy Tribe environment. The Baduy Luar tribe makes these dyes with a series of color extraction processes to be absorbed into the plain threads they make. Apart from that, the yarn that the Baduy Luar tribe makes themselves comes from natural materials such as cotton and pelah leaf fibers.

Apart from that, the Baduy Luar Tribe symbolizes *Pikukuh Karuhun* from one of their woven fabrics, namely the Adu Mancung motif, which signifies loyalty to their partner. The appearance of the Adu Mancung motif can be seen in Figures 3 and 4.



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Table 1: Baduy Luar's Threads Color Material Source

Warna	Asal Warna
<i>Bodas</i> (white)	The white color of the Baduy Luar thread comes from the original color of the thread material, namely the Cotton plant (<i>Gossypium</i>).
<i>Hideung</i> (black)	The black color on the Baduy Luar thread comes from the skin of the Jengkol Fruit (<i>Archidendron pauciflorum</i>).
<i>Bereum</i> (red)	The red color of the threads of the Baduy Luar comes from the seeds of the Galuga or Kasumba rivet plant (<i>bixa orellana</i>) and the fruit of the areca nut plant (<i>areca catechu</i>).
<i>Koneng</i> (yellow)	The yellow color of the Baduy Luar thread comes from the leaves of the Putri Malu plant (<i>Mimosa podica</i>).
<i>Hejo</i> (green)	The green color, and the thread material for the Baduy Luar Tribe comes from the leaves of the Suji plant (<i>Dracaena Angustifolia</i>).
<i>Bulao</i> (blue)	The Baduy Luar thread's blue color comes from the Tarum plant's leaves (<i>Indigofera tinctoria</i>).

Source: Kaffah, 2019; Megantari, 2019



Figure 3: Baduy Luar's Adu Mancung Weaving Motif in use

Source: Megatrust.co.id



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Figure 4: Baduy Luar's Adu Mancung Weaving Motif
Source: Personal Documentation, May 19, 2022

The Adu Mancung weaving motif is based on the substance of the interaction relationship between humans and culture and divinity, which explains how values relate to human interaction with these aspects, which can be explained using the applied aesthetic theory of Joedawinata (2012), which is related to the beliefs and culture of the Baduy Luar Tribe deeply instilled that men and women who have been arranged are a gift from God, and they must maintain their relationship. In the Adu Mancung Motif Weaving, the Baduy Luar Tribe metaphoricity each bride and groom as individuals who are then brought together in a triangular shape that is destined to be together forever, as in their belief that they have monogamy in the marriage relationship between men and women of the Baduy Luar Tribe.

The Adu Mancung motif is used during wedding ceremonies. This beubeur weaving is intended for brides and grooms. Only the Baduy Luar Tribe can use this woven, which is woven using the songket technique used to create geometric accents on the woven. For the Baduy Luar Community, regarding the relationship between marriage and Baduy weaving, the Adu Mancung motif is used as a dowry and a talisman. For many years, it has been customary for the bride to present Adu Mancung weaving to the groom as a dowry. The men will provide a set of kitchen utensils in the future.

Following the motif's meaning, this Adu Mancung weaving expresses the hope that the bride and groom will have a peaceful and lasting household bond. A peaceful and lasting household is an indicator of the prosperity of a family in Baduy culture. They do not see wealth as a determinant of well-being in family relationships, but rather their loyalty to them. For the Baduy people, in the provisions that have become a guideline for life, namely the Baduy *pikukuh*, which has existed for centuries, loyalty to a partner is regulated in an orderly manner. This *pikukuh* says that the Baduy people are monogamous. They only have one partner. For them, a partner must be devoted,



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trustworthy, and affectionate. So that the family they founded will be eternal and a source of blessings.

The moral lesson conveyed in the Adu Mancung motif emphasizes a wise and prudent way of life. The Baduy people's perspective on marriage is expressed in the sacred woven cloth as a marker of the contract of the bride and groom as in the Sadat process when declaring the marriage guided by Puun, to keep the bride and groom as a couple becoming an inseparable couple.

CONCLUSION

The Baduy Luar tribe practices their beliefs thoroughly in their lives. Even though they are more open to the influence and presence of outsiders of the Baduy, the Baduy Luar Tribe still maintains and practices the *Pikukuh Karuhun*, which the Baduy Tribe must comply with. In the woven fabrics they make, the Baduy Luar Tribe makes their weaving an identity that distinguishes the Baduy Luar and Baduy Dalam Tribes. Apart from that, this weaving is also part of its *Pikukuh Karuhun* practice which obliges all Baduy tribes to preserve nature. The tools and materials are made from natural materials from around the residence of the Baduy Tribe. Pakara Tinun is made from wood found around the area. Rules of Saba Yarn Color is also used in making yarn dyes as a material for woven fabrics of the Baduy Luar Tribe, which are found around. In addition, the Adu Mancung woven motif is one of the manifestations of *Pikukuh Karuhun* adopted by the Baduy Luar Tribe, which adheres to a monogamous matchmaking system that upholds loyalty to their partners. The wisdom of the Baduy Luar tribe is implied in the woven fabrics they make, not just for clothing.

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