

CHAPTER V

LAND ALLOCATIONS AND SHIFTING FARMING PRACTICE OF BADUY COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss the way Baduy people maintain their shifting farming practices as well as how they allocate their community land into three major portions. The first one is for shifting farming zone, where the land being allocated is located on the slope of the mountain inside their territory, which consists of secondary forests. The second zone is forest zone, and most of the forest areas are located on the top of the mountain and some of the area is located in the inner domain covering their sacred temple of *Sasaka Domas* (many stones). The last zone is housing areas, which are located on the flat areas in the Baduy territory and only some new areas are located on the slope of the mountain which they now consider unsuitable for farming.

5.1 LAND USE AND FARM CLASSIFICATION AMONG THE BADUY COMMUNITY

The land where the Baduy people stay has an important meaning to them, and beyond being used for earning a living by practicing subsistence farming, it is also their “duty” to protect the land as the guardians of the universe. They were born and have lived on that particular land, while sharing the same culture with other Baduy people, both inner and outer, with some differences to be acknowledged regarding their specific roles as an ethnic community. Furthermore, the Kanekes sub-district is considered sacred for the Baduy people. Since, within the inner Baduy domain lays the holy shrine of the Baduy called *Sasaka Domas/Arca Domas*, considered as the main sacred ground in the whole area. According to the some elders, this place was the center of the universe, where god created the first human being on the earth. This place is also used by the Baduy people for pilgrimages to commemorate their ancestors, and they also believe that when a Baduy person dies,

their sprits will return to this place to unite with the ancestors as well as with their god.

Within the Baduy territory, according to the state policy/rule, the land is entitled for the communal use and there is no individual land entitlement for the Baduy people inside their territory. The Kanekes village has been set as the communal land, based on the policy/regulation of Lebak district no 32/2001. This policy/regulation was established due to the conflict of land tenure between the Baduy people and outsiders who also wanted to open the land for farming from the Baduy neighboring villagers. However, in practice, the Baduy people recognize individual ownership of the land in the outer Baduy area only. Thus the land can be inherited/passed to the next generation or sold to another Baduy person. But, in the inner Baduy area, there is no individual or personal ownership.

Even before the district office set the policy of communal land use, the West Java provincial office had already set the regulation no 203/B.V./Pem/Sk/1968, regarding the forest area, including the Baduy territory as conserved and protected forest area. Baduy people manage and use this land and forest in the territory according to the belief and practice of the Baduy community. As the Baduy community divided into two major groups, they also divided the area of living into two categories; inner domain and outer domain. The inner domain is for the use of Baduy dalam (Tangtu) only, while outer domain is for the Baduy luar (Panamping). In general, in the Baduy territory the land use classification is divided into three types;

Table 5.1 Land allocation in the Baduy Area

Allocation	Amount (Ha)
Housing	972,57 Ha
Farming	1.664,28 Ha
Forest area	2.500 Ha
Total	5.136,85 Ha

The first one is the village/housing zone; this zone is usually located in the flat areas with the consideration that they did not need to flatten the area to build houses. However, there are some villages that are also located on the slope of the hills as well. There are currently 59 Baduy villages in total, three of which are located in the inner domain while the other 56 villages are located in the outer domain.

As I stepped up to hike the path that had been constructed by the local government of Rangkasbitung District in the early 1990's, I felt strange yet enthusiastic to know the Baduy community. There are several shops that sell daily needs for the Baduy along the way from the sub-terminal. Right on the top of the stairs there is a monument donated by the government made from concrete symbolizing the traditional weapon in the shape of bamboo. Beyond the monument lies the Baduy community domain with Kaduketug village as a welcoming point to visitors.

Kaduketug village is the first village of the Baduy community that people can reach easily as the main entry point. This village is also known as Kaduketug Jaro, hence Jaro Pamarentah (village leader) resides and maintains his office there. The Kaduketug village is located next to the border which connects to the sub-terminal established by the local government in 1997. In this village, there are currently 43 households with a total population of 120 people.

Just like most outer Baduy people, most Baduy residents of this village are farmers, while some engage in trading. Recently, some have worked as laborers or traders to earn most of their income. As the first contact village for the outsider, the outer Baduy in these villages are very open to outsiders who came to their domain for different purpose. The Baduy's rules welcome these visitors as long as they acknowledge, respect and obey the Baduy rules. The outer Baduy are more open to the influences from outsiders, such as languages, clothes and technology. Largely because of their frequent contact with outsider, the Baduy have adopted the mainstream Indonesian culture and are able to speak the Indonesian language, while some of them even try to speak some English words that they know.

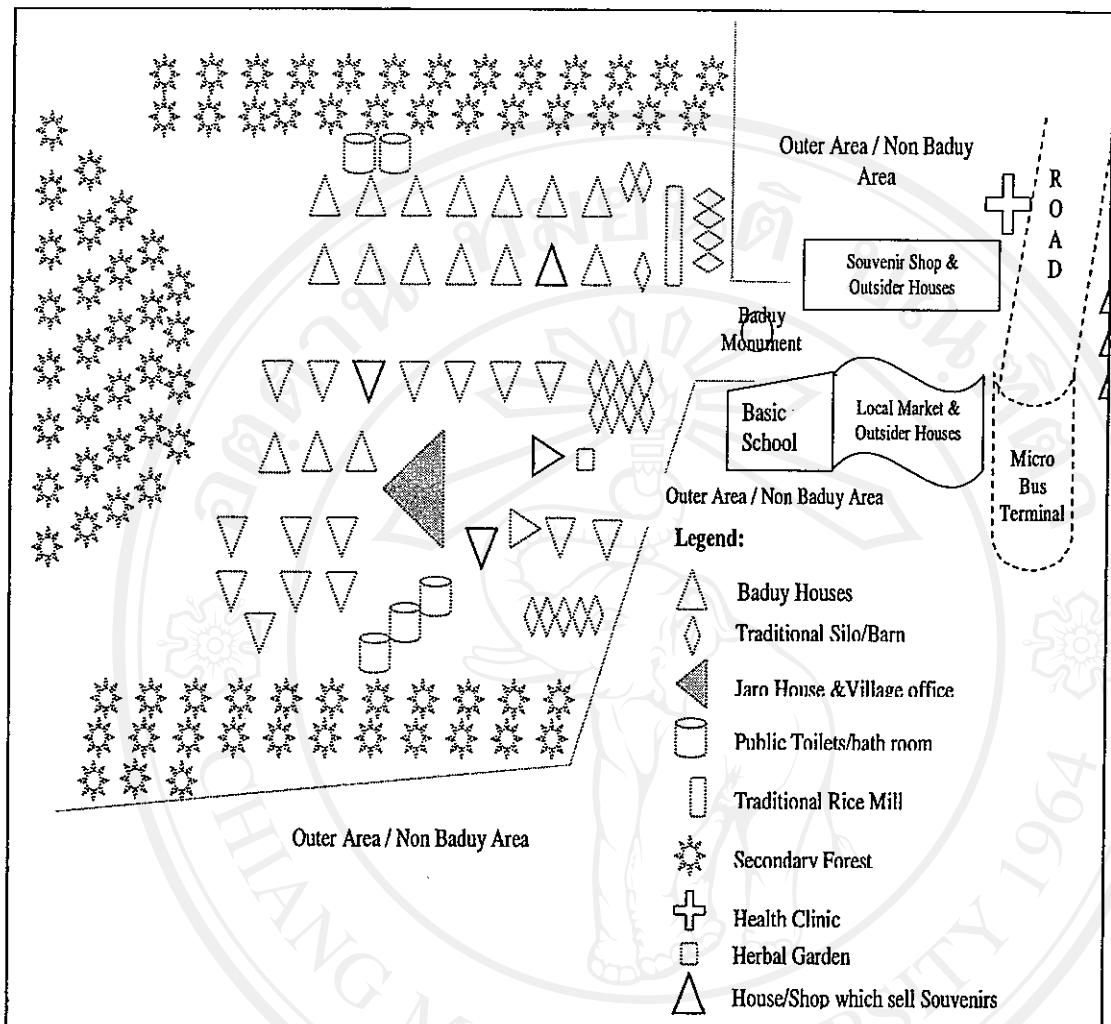


Figure 5.1 Map of Kaduketug Jaro Village

The second zone is a farming area, located on the slope of the hills above the village. This farming zone is used to grow paddy rice, fruit trees, or mixed vegetable gardens, from which they can use or sell the products outside of Kaduketug village. Before becoming a farming zone, the area is usually secondary forest, which was used in previous time and left fallow for a couple of years.

There are some differences in land use between the inner and outer Baduy. In the inner Baduy, land uses were allocated in turn, not for permanent use. Thus, after one of the inner Baduy finished doing farming on one particular piece of land, the other inner Baduy can use that land for farming in the next season. However, hard trees such as fruit trees and wood trees which have valuable means that were planted

by the previous land users, still belong to the person who planted it, and can be harvested at the owner behest, or can be passed to his children, or sold. This kind of practice is common among the Baduy people.

As a result, on one particular piece of land in the inner domain there can be an overlap of land rights. But this kind of practice is not a problem among the Baduy. They share the information between previous users and new land users at the community meeting before the planting season starts. In the outer Baduy domain, the land use right has become permanent and fixed, and can be inherited by their children. The outer Baduy will use the same piece of land for farming for a couple of years before the opening of new farming ground which has been left fallow for 4-7 years. So, in the outer Baduy area, the land can be traded or sold among them, even though there are no title deeds or certificates.

Consequently, as the main occupation of the Baduy people is farming, they spend lots of their time working in their swidden farms, whereas most of the Javanese people do not practice this kind of farming system anymore. Most Indonesian farmers prefer to work in irrigated paddy fields because they can produce more rice/paddy to be sold to the market and also because of the development programs that the government has promoted.

There are three types of traditional farming practiced by the Baduy people, based upon ownership and use. The first one is communal farming (Huma Serang), the second is elder farm (Huma Puun and huma Girang Seurat/Huma Kolot) and the last one is individual farm (huma/ladang). Huma Serang is the communal farm that is an ideal farming model for the Baduy people where they use land for rice production collectively. Although not all the Baduy people come at once, only the representatives from each village take turns to help maintain the communal farm between planting season and harvesting season. Both the inner and the outer Baduy use the rice produced from this communal land in ritual ceremonies.

Three locations of communal farm are located in the southern part of each inner village. The inner Baduy in each village will help to maintain the communal

farm in their own village, while the outer Baduy, will choose one out of three, depending on their faith, preferences and kinship to one of three inner villages. People who already help working on certain communal lands cannot work on other communal lands, since the production from the communal land is being used for rituals such as the *Kawalu* (fasting) ceremony which they hold in each inner village.

Besides working in their own farms (huma), the Baduy people also have an obligation to help work in the communal farms, the elder's farms and their parent's farms. Before they work on their own farming area (huma/ladang), they must wait until the work in the communal and the elder's farms are finished and ready to be used, after planting paddy rice is finished at these farms. After that they will help their parent's farms and then start to work on their own farms. Harvesting the rice from these lands follows the same order.

Table 5.2 Swidden Farm (huma) type in the Baduy community

Type of farm	Location	Farm land ownership	Laborer for Maintenances	Use of production
Huma Serang	Three inner villages: - Cibeo - Cikartawarna - Cikeusik	- Communal	- Representatives of Inner Baduy from the same village where the farm is located (male only) - Male representatives from outer Baduy	- Kawalu ceremony for inner and outer Baduy - Seba Ceremony
Huma Kolot	Three inner villages: - Cibeo - Cikartawarna - Cikeusik	- Puun - Girang - Seurat	- Representatives of Inner Baduy from the same village where the farm is located (male only) - Representatives of outer Baduy (male only)	- Puun - Girang - Seurat

Huma Ladang (regular individual farm)	Huma Tangtu (inner Baduy) is located in the inner domain only.	No land ownership (land use only)	family member (male and female)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family uses Seba ceremony - Other ceremony like marriage, circumcision, birth and death
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Huma Panamping (outer Baduy) is located in outer Baduy area - out of the Baduy territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family/ Individual Ownership - farm out of Baduy territory - has land entitlement/ title deed) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - family member (male and female) - labor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family uses Seba ceremony - Other ceremony like marriage, circumcision, birth and death

The third zone is a forest area. The majority of forest area is located on the tops of the hills and mountains in the Baduy territory, while some other areas are located in the southern part of Baduy territory, where the holy shrine is located. The forest area surrounding the holy shrine is a conserved and protected area which cannot be opened or used for farming or housing. In addition, the Baduy divide their forest into at least two classifications, first is *Leuweung Tutupan* (primary forest/closed forest), and the second one is *Leuweung Ngora* (secondary forest). The primary forest cannot be used for any reason. It is kept as watershed for their villages as well as to protect the water supplies for the river, which were used by other people out of Baduy territory. The secondary forest is allowed to be used for swidden farming.

Forest in the Baduy area is still considered to be in great condition, mainly due to the high diversity of flora and fauna. The Baduy community are very strict in maintaining their forest management. Primary forest cannot be opened for any reason, while secondary forest is used as a source of living by practicing shifting cultivation to grow paddy rice as well as other crops such as wood and fruits trees. Thus as a

result, a number of rare and endangered species are often seen in the Baduy forest, such as eagles, falcons and macaques. During my stay in the Baduy village I often traveled back and forth between villages through the muddy forest tract and saw the variety of plants and animals that inhabited the forest, thus I consider it very important to guard and preserve the bio-diversity of wild animals in this forest. This also shows how the Baduy community puts forth efforts to maintain their forests and watershed, including the animals that dwell in the forest as part of natural resources in an area that the state considers protected/conserved.

Table 5.3 Forest Bio-Diversity in the Baduy Area

Local Name	Latin Name
Monyet Buntut Panjang	<i>Macaca Fascicularis</i>
Lutung	<i>P. Cristata</i>
Landak Jawa	<i>Hysxrix Javanica</i>
Mencek	<i>Muntiacus Muncok</i>
Heulang Ruyuk	<i>Spilarius Cheela</i>
Heulang Brontok	<i>Spizaetus Cirrhatus</i>
Heulang Tutul	<i>Falco Mohoccensis</i>
Manuk Paok	<i>Pitta Guajana</i>
Tulung Tumpuk	<i>Megalaema Javensis</i>

The Baduy people classify their forest based on their environmental and religious ideology. They consider their land as the center of the universe, since they believed that god created the first human on their land, thus their duty is to maintain and regulate their ancestral law, which is for the benefit of all humans on the earth. Forest conservation by the Baduy is also supported by the Forestry Department, even though its personnel rarely come to the area to check the condition of the forest from encroachment. The Forestry Department has let the Baduy maintain the forest by themselves through customary rules and practices. Sometimes they check for evidence of encroachment by outsiders, since the forest where the Baduy dwell is considered as national conserved forest as mentioned in the regency regulations. These regulations mentioned that the natural resources of the Baduy areas belong and

will be maintained by the Baduy community with support from the local government, including the forest.

Some primary forest which has been degraded due to encroachment by outsiders was reforested again by the Baduy people, using local species which can grow well in the area. Without any direction from the Forestry Department, the Baduy have undertaken reforestation and manage their community forest by themselves because they aware that their forest has given them life by providing water, trees and animals that they can use. Thus, it has been seen as a positive effort by the government both at the local and central administrative levels. The Baduy also have won several award for conserving the forest and protecting bio-diversity. The Baduy community was awarded the highest environmental honor called *Kalapataru* several times from the Indonesian government which was handed over by the Indonesian President.

Secondary forest in Baduy territory can be easily noticed, since it is located near or surrounding villages both in the inner and outer Baduy villages. The Baduy can use the product from this forest mainly for fuel wood and to fix houses after permission is obtained from village elders. However, most of the outer Baduy prefer to buy logs/wood from nearby material shops since it was easier for them. Usually after the Kawalu ceremony finished, some of the Baduy people will maintain both primary and secondary forest by clearing the ground around their villages and around the forest area as well as track/path they used to go back and forth between villages. Thus, it is easier for them to notice if outsiders from neighboring villages are encroaching upon their forest, mainly primary forest. Moreover, since no one in the community, including outsiders, is allowed to cut or take trees from primary forest, the diversity in the primary forest is very high. According to my assistant who previously worked collecting forest tree data in the Baduy area, he found that in one sample plot measuring 1 by 10 meters, there were more than 15 different species of trees.

The disputes over forestland between the Baduy and the neighboring villages occurred in the year of 2005 after the Baduy people cut all the clove trees

planted by the neighboring villagers in the Baduy conserved forest, where none of the Baduy are allowed to clear the conserved forest area for farming. Moreover, clove trees are considered to be taboo to be planted in the domain of the Baduy community. More than 400 Baduy males from different villages, both inner and outer armed with daggers and swords, walked to the encroached area and cut the clove trees and demanded the encroacher to take off and warned them not to encroach on their land. Furthermore, according to my assistant, whom at that time also joined the Baduy people to clear the clove trees, the neighboring villagers tried to come back and threatened to kill the Baduy people. He was also threatened when the encroacher pointed him out as one of the provokers. However, the Baduy anticipated this situation and they were ready to guard the area accompanied by local police and military personnel whom they had informed through the local authority a couple days before.

From their forest, the Baduy can catch animals for the purpose of ritual ceremony called *Ngalanjak* (hunting animals). The animals often caught are *Buut* (Squirrels) and *Mencek* (Deer), as well as fish from the river. The animal meat and fish are used during the *Kawalu* ceremony and shared among the Baduy who attend the ceremony at each three inner villages. Nowadays, wild animal and birds have become illegally hunted for commercial purpose. Mostly, young outer Baduy are involved in this wild animal trade.

With high forest bio-diversity, ethnic traditions, and local knowledge, as well as beautiful landscape surrounding the domain supported by the myth of the Baduy community, the area that the Baduy inhabit has become well-known for tourist/visitors with different purposes. This has inspired the local authority to open the Baduy domain as an eco-tourism destination, which can generate revenue for local government.

5.2 SHIFTING FARMING PRACTICES

The Baduy people start their day in the early morning around 04:00 AM to prepare themselves and their farming equipment such as daggers, sickles, and food

before they go to their farms. It is the wife who cooks rice and food for breakfast, and sometimes she will also prepare their lunch at home to be eaten at the field while they are resting. Around 6-7am, after having breakfast, they are ready to start their chores. Those, whose farming area is farther away, leave earlier than those who have closer farms sites. After men leave to work in the farm, most women stay a little longer in their house to do their house work, such as washing clothes, getting clean water as well as taking care of the children before they join their husband at the farm.

During the mid day around 11:00-13:00 those who are working in the farm take a rest and enjoy their lunch which is followed by a short nap. Then they continue their work in the farm until 15:00-17:00pm and then return to their home. However, during certain times and for those who have farms far from their village, they will stay overnight in their farming hut. Some stay in the farming site for more than two weeks, while others return to their home village once a week. After arriving at home, they take a rest for a while in their terraces drinking hot black coffee before they take a bath, which is followed by dinner. After dinner some of the males and youth males often gather at one house veranda to talk with their neighbors accompanied by black hot coffee or tea, with clove cigarettes (only in outer Baduy area) up until 10pm or until they feel ready to go to bed, relaxing their body and mind to be ready to start a new day the next morning.

Table 5.4 One day Time Table for the Baduy

Baduy Term	Time	Men	Women	Children
Isuk-Isuk	06:00-07:00	Starts Working at Farm	Taking care of domestic work	Go and follow their parents
Rangsang	08:00-10:00	Work at farms	Domestic work, pounding rice, collect clean water, etc	Help their parents working and play with their friends
Tengari	11:00-13:00	Taking lunch and rest as well as taking care of children and	Prepared lunch at the farm hut, rest and taking care of children and help their	Lunch and take rest or playing with their friends. Helping their parents

		continue working at the farm	husband to work and collect fuel woods. Or work at home to generates additional income	work at the farm or Collect fuel wood and clean water
Lingsir	15:00-17:00	Finish working at farm and ready to go back home	Finish working at farm and ready to go back home or work at home to generates additional income	Follows their parents back home. Plays with their friends
Burit	17:30-18:30	Take rest, drink coffee or tea and take bath followed by dinner with family	Take bath, prepare meals for dinner and followed by dinner with family	Take bath and plays with their friends. Dinner with family
Wanci budak sare	19:00-21:00	Talking with wife/family or neighbors	Talking with husband/family or neighbors	Listening to their parents or sleep
Wanci kolot sare	21:00-23:00	Sleep	sleep	sleep
Tengah Peuting	24:00-02:00	Sleep. Some men guarding their village in turn	sleep	sleep
Janari leutik	03:00-04:00	Wake up and prepare their items to be brought to farms	Wake up and help husband to prepare items, take bath, wash clothing or preparing meals	sleep
Janari Gede	04:00-05:00	Take bath and breakfast, drink coffee or tea	Taking care of children or get breakfast with husband	Wake up, take bath and breakfast

From the table above, we can see that the Baduy people, both men and women, are actively conducting their everyday lives to support their living. Moreover, Baduy children learn and practice the local knowledge directly from their parents such as collecting clean water, fuel wood, clearing the farm land from grasses, while they also use some of the time to play with their friends in the farm field. The Baduy men's activities are mostly conducted in farm fields and range from planting paddy rice, clearing grasses, cutting tree trunks for fuel wood, curing the paddy from disease as well as teaching their children to work according to the Baduy people's way, while women besides doing domestic work such as cleaning house, washing clothes and utensils, also help their husband at the farm fields and sometimes make hand woven textiles as well as teach their children to help them to perform activities as the way they were told by their parents and grand parents. Thus, the activities of the Baduy people in one particular year are mostly conducted between their house and the farm fields since the shifting cultivation (growing /paddy rice) is only done once a year.

At the end of the dry season, which is equal to the first month in the Baduy calendar called *Kaopat*, the Baduy people start their first activities which are related to farming by marking the area that they will open as farm field. This activity is called *Narawas*, during which the Baduy people beside marking the farming area they also cast spells and mantras to ask for the blessing and permission of god and their ancestral spirits for the people's safety and for high productivity from their field.

Then in the next following month of *Kalima*, the Baduy people will start the process of *Nyacar* or "clearing the ground" from shrubs and trees, the area of farming can be old farm areas that have been left for a couple of years or the secondary forest area that is allowed to be cleared by cutting the trees for the new planting season. After the process of cutting the grass and trees that are considered an obstacle for their farming they will collect and put it all together as *nukuhan* in the month of *Kanem*. The processes of clearing the ground for new farming areas is conducted by all the relatives of particular households through a labor exchange system or for those who have enough money that they can hire laborers to perform this activity in their farms.

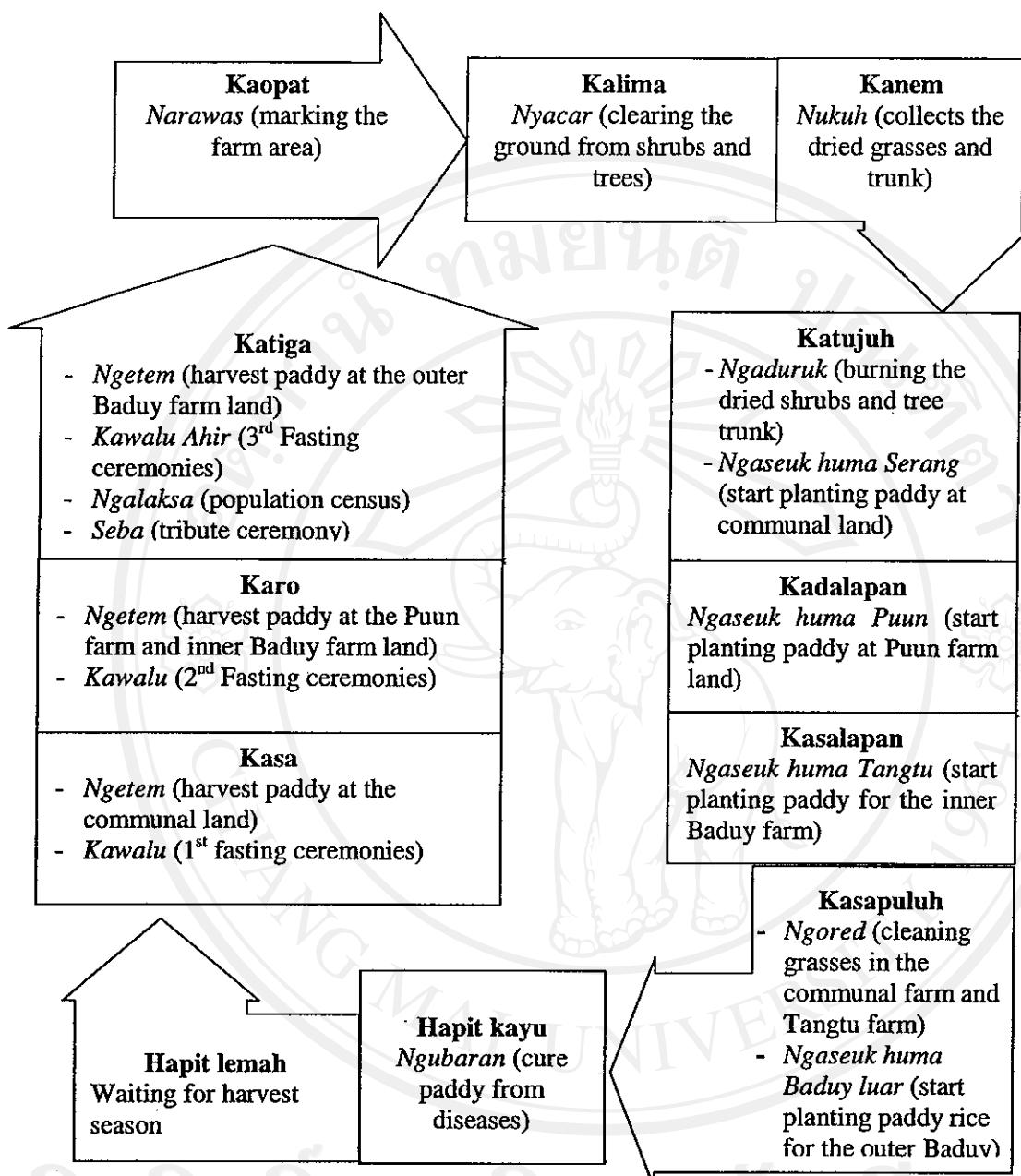


Figure 5.2 Baduy calendar and farming cycle in one year

In the month of *Katujuh* after the shrubs and trees start to dry, they will be burned as part of the process of opening farming fields called *ngaduruk*. The Baduy people will work together in the communal land before they start to work together in the Puun farm and their own farm field. After they finished burning the dried grass and trunks, the cleared ground is left for one week after which the Baduy people start to plant the paddy by making a hole in the ground using the sharp wood stick called *aseuk*.

The process of opening new individual farming ground can not be done before the ritual ceremony of *Ngaseuk Serang* (Planting paddy) in *huma Serang* (communal farm) is performed in the inner Baduy villages. A villager from each of the three inner Baduy villages of Cibeo, Cikartawarna and Cikeusik, with the assistance of outer Baduy villagers starts to plant the first seed of paddy rice in the three Baduy communal farms at the same day and time.

In the month of *kadalapan* the Baduy people will once again work together in the Puun farm to show their respect and obedience as well as to help their spiritual leader in maintaining his duty on conducting their traditional system and ancestral rules. The process is similar to the previous month where they work together in the communal farms. Then in the following month of *kasalapan*, the inner Baduy will start their farm field assisted by their family relatives who reside in the inner domain through labor exchange systems.

Then in the next month (*kasapuluh*) the outer Baduy will start the process of *ngaseuk* in their farm through a labor exchange system or by hiring additional labor, hence they also should actively perform the activity of planting paddy rice. The inner Baduy are not allowed to work in the outer Baduy domain, since the rules do not permit them to do so. During this month, in the communal land and elder's land, the paddy is already growing and the process of *ngored* or clearing the ground from grasses that can disturb the paddy growth is performed but not in the large numbers like in the process of *Ngaseuk Serang*. Besides clearing the ground of grasses, the Baduy also cultivate the short period crops, such as corn, long bean, yam and cassava, which they plant after planting paddy rice on the same farm land.

In the month of *Hapit Kayu* and *Hapit Lemah* the Baduy people start to cure the paddy plants that have been attacked by insects or disease by using traditional herbs. If the paddy grows well then they just wait and do other jobs such as trading, making palm sugar, gathering wild honey bees or making handicrafts. Besides that, some of the outer Baduy look for work as laborers in the nearby city, while the inner Baduy gather fruit such as bananas, jack fruit and durians, as well as other kinds of

vegetables that can be harvested from their farm a couple times in one year and sold to the nearby market or through the middlemen who often come to their villages.

The next following month is *Kasa*, where paddy in the communal farm (*Huma Serang*) is ready and mature enough to be harvested. *Ngetem* or *dibuat* is the harvesting process conducted when the paddies are ready and mature enough. Before the Baduy people collect paddy grain in their own field, they must wait until the harvesting (*Ngetem*) process in the communal farms is done being performed. Harvesting paddy in communal farms is performed by both inner and outer Baduy together in the same time. By using a small sickle the Baduy people collect the paddy grain with some part of its straw to allow them to tighten the paddy grain together.

After the Baduy people finish harvesting the paddy grain, they cannot bring the grain right away to the paddy barn/storage (*leuit*), they must dry the paddy grain first in the farm areas by putting the grains on the horizontal pole made from bamboo which has been prepared before they collected the paddy. Then after the paddy grain is dry, the Baduy people will do the process of *Ngangkut* or bring the dry paddy grain from the field to the storage house (*Leuit*) in their village. The process of *Ngangkut* can also be done through a labor exchange system or hiring labor.

The production from communal farms is used for ritual ceremonies like in the fasting (*Kawalu*) and tribute (*Seba*) ceremonies. The first *Kawalu* ceremony starts in this month, after the paddy from the communal land is harvested and dried. The Baduy people will not eat for one day to celebrate and to show their appreciation to their god for the paddy harvested. One or two days before the *Kawalu* ceremony is performed some of the Baduy males from each village of the inner and outer domains will gather and hunt wild animals from the forest and bushes in their territory or catch fish from the rivers for additional food besides rice and salted fish. Those who take part in planting and harvesting paddy rice from one section of communal land are able to take part in the *Kawalu* ceremonies in the same area. They are not allowed to shift from one communal farm in one inner village to the other communal farm in the same year. If one wishes to change they should inform the elders before the next planting season starts.

The second fasting day of Kawalu is on the month of *Karo*, after the Baduy people finish harvesting paddy rice from the Puun farm. The rituals are similar to the earlier *Kawalu* ceremonies. During this month the paddy rice in the inner farm domain is ready to be harvested. The last month is *Katiga*, and during this month the outer Baduy can harvest paddy rice from their individual farm and this is dried before they put the grain in the paddy storage or *leuit*. In this month the Baduy people also perform the last *Kawalu* before they conduct the *Ngalaksa* (population census) and *Seba* (tribue) ceremonies.

Ngalaksa is similar to a population census and the Baduy people should report the number of people living in each house, including pregnancies of more than four months to *Jaro Dangka* in order to identify the total population, which is also reported to *Jaro Pamarentah*. While in *Seba* ceremonies the representatives of the Baduy community led by *Jaro Pamarentah* and *Tanggungan* report and give some of their agricultural production to the local and provincial government as a tribute and show of appreciation for the guidance, protection and acknowledgement from the government.

5.3 LEUIT, PADDY STORAGE OF BADUY PEOPLE

Most of the Baduy people do not often consume their own rice production; they will consume their rice production occasionally such as during traditional and rituals ceremonies as well as during “crisis” situations where they can not afford to buy rice from the market in Cibengkung or in the neighboring villages on the border. The rice production (form in grain) will be stored in the paddy storage in a *Leuit* after the harvesting and drying process is performed at the farm and then carried to the storage through labor exchange systems or hired laborers. The Baduy will not sell their rice production since the rice/paddy production process is considered to be a part of their religious beliefs and is sacred.

The paddy storage (*Leuit*) is placed apart from the house and in some areas is located near the forest edge. The main reason for doing this is to prevent from disaster such as fire, since the Baduy housing is made from wood and will easily burn.

The shape of the Leuit is similar to the shape of a stage house of Baduy people, only the size is smaller and there are no windows in this structure, only one small door placed in the upper part of the wall made with a bamboo truss as an access point. In the leg of this structure there are round barriers to block pests such as rats from getting into the paddy storage. Moreover, since both the structure of the house and the paddy storage are made from wood the Baduy people place stone in each pole to prevent termites from cracking the structures.

Leuit for Baduy people is a must and it can be used as food security measurement as well as for wealth indicators. Most of Baduy people own at least two or three paddy storage structures, and some people even possess more than ten paddy storage structures (Leuit). Since most of the Baduy people use less of their rice production, some of the storage is very old and the paddy grain has reached an age of more than 100 years old. However, the quality is still fine since the Baduy people put some herbs in the storage to prevent the grain from decomposing or getting moldy. Therefore, paddy storage plays an important role for Baduy people in preventing them from hunger and lack of food.

5.4 NGASEUK SERANG (PLANTING PADDY) THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY OF PADDY GODDESS

One important ritual ceremony for the Baduy community is planting paddy rice in the communal land (*Ngaseuk Serang*). This ceremony is considered as the marriage of the paddy goddess (*Dewi Sri/Shang Hyang Asri*) with the land which the Baduy open as a shifting farm area. The ritual starts in the morning after the representatives of each household from the outer Baduy came to the location and wait for the instruction from the Puun as the Baduy religious leader. The Baduy males dress with their traditional costumes and stand in the front line, with an *aseuk* (long sharp pointed wooden stick) in their hand, which they collected on the way to the *huma Serang* from their villages. The women, in similar costumes, are ready with paddy seeds, given to them by the Baduy elders in the location. The paddy seeds are hexed by the Puun for three nights to get high productivity and make them resistant to diseases and supernatural matters that can lead to crop failure.

The people who work in the communal farm should act in a sacred manner without negative thoughts or actions such as spitting on the ground, or urinating in the area of communal land. Also females who are menstruating cannot take part in the holy ceremony of *Ngaseuk Serang*. Hence the level of sacredness is decided by the purity of the people who work in the communal farm. This was so important for them, because the communal farm (Huma Serang) is the model for the entire Baduy farm both in the inner and outer domains.

Before the ceremony starts, the Baduy priest will cast spells and talk to the spirits who occupy the land and other objects in the fields to ask them to acknowledge the Baduy people's planting season and other crops in that particular farm. Moreover, the priest will pray to their god to give them enough water and nutrients and to protect their crops in the fields so they will have enough rice and supply throughout the year.

After the Baduy priest finishes his task, the Puun commands the Baduy people to start making holes in the ground and plant the paddy seeds as they have learned from their parents in their own farming field. Within 30 minutes the ritual of *Ngaseuk Serang* has been conducted in $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare of communal farm land. Then after it is all finished, some of the members of the community, led by the *Girang Seurat* who is responsible for this ceremony, start to distribute food wrapped in banana leaves. It contains cooked rice from the communal farm, salted fish and meat that they get from hunting in the forest in the days before the ceremony of planting paddy rice is performed. After they finish eating their meals, they go back to their villages to continue daily life and tasks besides preparing the farm.

5.4 SUMMARY

In sum, the Baduy community divided their domain into three main forms of land utilization, a housing zone which is located in the flat area or near to the river, a farming zone, which is located on the mountain slope areas of their territory which also consists of secondary forest previously used for shifting farming and left fallow for several years before being used again for shifting farming. The third zone is allocated for forest area, and forest inside Baduy territory consists of two types,

secondary, which I have mentioned before and primary forest which is strictly closed for any kind of exploitation, except by the approval of the elders and Puun from the inner domain. The primary forest in Baduy territory is still in great shape and Baduy conserve the forest for at least two main reasons. The first is to protect their sacred ground from infiltration by outsiders and second to protect their areas from landslide and provide them with enough clean water for their needs, besides from the rivers inside their territory.

The Baduy livelihood is based on shifting cultivation, where they grow paddy grain in the dry farming land inside their territory. Shifting cultivation for the Baduy community is considered as part of maintaining religious practices besides ritual ceremonies. Shifting cultivation represents the marriage of paddy goddess and the land as the couple. Moreover, most of the Baduy religious practices are related to the agricultural process and production, from the beginning until the end. This shows the tight connection between their traditions, livelihood and the place where they live.

Farming practices among the Baduy are considered hierarchical orders. The Baduy will start planting paddy rice after they perform *ngaseuk serang* on communal farmland and the elders' farmland as well as their parent's farm land. This can be seen as mutual organization in labor exchange. However, in present days, some of Baduy members prefer to hire labor, and this has brought some changes in several hamlets which are more open for outsiders like Gajeboh villages, where in the rest of the hamlets labor exchange is still preferred by Baduy people.

Farming practice is also connected with some rituals that must be performed before planting paddy grain as well as after harvesting season, since farming practices are considered part of their religious practices to show their obedience to their ancestral traditions and rules, as well as to provide themselves with enough food, even though for daily consumption Baduy people rely on rice from the market. They keep their paddy grain in their storage called *leuit* as their rice bank for food security reasons. Thus farming practices are not merely to fulfill their needs but also as utilization of their identity as a traditional community with such specific identity.