

**THE DYNAMICS OF OVERNMENT POLITICAL POLICY
TO AGAMA DJAWA SUNDA (ADS) ; Study of Historical Analysis and Its
Development**

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Abstract

Sadewa Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat or known as Madrais was born in Kuningan and had studied religious insight at several Islamic boarding schools. However, the pattern of his life was dominated by mysticism, so that he feels he has received revelation from God. It was on the basis of receiving this revelation that Madrais founded the *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS). The Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) is one of the local belief systems in Indonesia and had developed in the Cigugur, Kuningan and several other areas in West Java. In its development, it often experiences obstacles and resistances. Even so, its adherents are still able to maintain the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) and move according to the times. The basic conception of Javanese-Sundanese belief lies on three main pillars, namely the *Concept of God*, *Pikukuh Tilu* and *Customary Law* (Circumcision, Marriage and Death) according to the teachings developed in ADS.

A. Overview of the figure of Sadewa Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat

Sadewa Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat or better known in the Kuningan community as Madrais. Madrais was a descendant of noble descendants of the Gebang palace (now Losari).¹ Apart from the name Madrais, he also has other names, namely Pangeran Surya Nata, Pangeran Kusuma Adiningrat, Taswan, Gusti Ahmad, and *Rama Panyipta*. However, he was still better known as Madrais. Madrais is the son of Pangeran

¹ Anas Saidi, (E.d), *Menekuk Agama, Membangun Tahta: Kebijakan Agama Orde Baru*, (Depok: Desantara: 2004), p.307. Related to the real name of Madrais, namely Sadewa Alibassa Koesoema Widjaja Ningrat, see W. Straathof, *Agama Djawa-Sunda: Sedjarah, Adjaran, dan Tjara Berpikirnja*, (Majalah Basis, 1971), p.199; and Tendi, "Islam Dan Agama Lokal Dalam Arus Perubahan Sosial", *Al Tahrir*, Vol 16, No 1 (Mei 2016), p. 47-68.

Gebang², namely Pangeran Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat who married Nyi Kastewi, a fifth descendant of Tumenggung Jayadipura Susukan.³

However, the year of birth of Madrais cannot be ascertained, because there are several versions that mention the number of years of birth. Some literature estimates Madrais' birth years to be 1822, 1825, 1833, and 1835.⁴ However, according to family and descendants, Madrais was born in 1822.⁵ Madrais' birthplace is uncertain. Rosidin stated that Madrais was born in Cigugur, a village at the foot of Mount Ciremai, three km west of Kuningan Regency.⁶ However, according to information from his family and descendants, Madrais was born in Susukan Ciawigebang, a small sub-district about seven km east of Kuningan Regency.⁷

Regarding the Madrais lineage, according to Pangeran Djatikusumah (Madrais' grandson), Madrais was one of the descendants of a member of Walisongo who had great influence in Java and Pasundan, namely Sunan Gunung Djati. The Madrais lineage from his father who is a descendant of the Gebang principality is as follows:⁸

1. Sunan Gunung Djati
2. Prince of Pasarean
3. Prince Wirasuta
4. Prince Wira Sutajaya (Sutajaya Wira Upas)
5. Prince Seda Ing Demung
6. Prince Nata Manggala
7. Prince Seda Ing Tambak

² About Prince of Gebang, see: Anwar Sanusi and Tendi, (2019) "The Image of Prince Gebang in Babad Sutajaya Manuscript", *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Oktober 2019, p. 226-241.

³ Pangeran Djatikusumah, *Pemaparan Budaya Spiritual Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang* (Cigugur Kuningan, 1997), p.4.

⁴ Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, *Penghayat Orthodoxy and The Legal Politics of the State: The Survival of Agama Djawa Sunda (Madraism) in Indonesia*, (Indonesia an the Malay World Jurnal, Vol. 42, No. 122, 2014), p.5.

⁵ Anas Saidi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 307.

⁶ Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Kebatinan, Islam, and The State: The Dissolution of Madraism in 1964*. Tesis, (Leiden: Leiden University, 2000), p.34.

⁷ Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, *Op. Cit.*, p.5.

⁸ Tendi, *Sejarah Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) di Cigugur Kuningan 1939-1964*. Tesis, (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2015), p.89. Related to this genealogy, the genealogy written by Prince Djatikusumah starts from Prince Wira Sutajaya (Sutajaya Wira Upas). Read more, Prince Djatikusumah, *Pemaparan Budaya Spiritual Adat Cara Karuhun Urang...*, p.6.

8. Prince Seda Ing Garogol
9. Prince Dalem Kebon
10. Prince Sutajaya Upas
11. Second Prince Sutajaya
12. Prince Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat

Persoalan silsilah keturunan Madrais menjadi polemik di masyarakat, karena banyak sekali versinya. Antara lain sebagai berikut :

1. Madrais lahir dalam kondisi yatim ketika masih dalam kandungan ibunya, yakni Nyi Kastewi.
2. Madrais sebagai putra Pangeran Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat dipertanyakan banyak orang.
3. Madrais sebagai anak syah dari Pangeran Gebang namun diragukan kebenarannya.
4. Madrais lahir sebagai anak yang tidak memiliki status pernikahan.⁹

In 1825, Madrais was entrusted to Ki Sastrawardana, the village head of Cigugur.¹⁰ And at the age of ten, he worked for a village head of Sagahariang (a village about two km west of Cigugur) with the name Taswan, but he replaced it with the name Madrais (short for Muhammad Rais). Then Madrais entered the Pesantren.¹¹ Madrais was a student of Kiai

⁹ Isu negatif yang menyatakan bahwa Madrais adalah anak haram, bermula ketika Pangeran Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat berselingkuh dengan Nyi Kastewi yang seorang janda cantik. Pada saat kekuasaan Keraton Gebang masih tegak berdiri menguasai wilayah Ciawigebang, setiap desa diwajibkan mengirim salah satu warganya untuk mengabdikan kepada Keraton Gebang. Nyi Kastewi adalah salah satu warga dari desa Susukan yang diutus untuk mengabdikan di Keraton Gebang. Hingga suatu waktu, Pangeran Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat tergoda oleh kecantikan dan keelokan Nyi Kastewi, sehingga Pangeran berani menyuruh Nyi Kastewi untuk memenuhi hasrat syahwatnya. Pada akhirnya, hubungan terlarang itu terjadi dan Nyi Kastewi pun hamil. Tendi, *Op. Cit.*, p.93.

¹⁰ Ki Sastrawardana was ordered to be madrais' adoptive father and to protect him, not to hide his father's sins. At the time of Madrais' birth, the Gebang Kingdom was a kingdom that did not want to submit and often put up resistance to the Dutch colonial. On that basis, the Dutch colonial authorities did not want to recognize Sutajaya (father of Prince Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat and grandfather of Madrais) as king, and dismissed him from the Kingdom of Gebang. In addition, the Dutch colonial authorities continued to monitor and observe noble members and descendants of Gebang. By the time Prince Alibassa Koesoema Widjajaningrat ascended the throne, the power of the Gebang Kingdom had been weakened. Gebang kingdom territory was then transferred to the Sultanate of Cirebon. Considering madrais is the son of Prince Gebang, it is not surprising that Madrais is entrusted far to the Cigugur area. In an attempt to trick and save Madrais from Dutch colonial surveillance, Ki Sastrawardana gave him a new name, Taswan.. Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Kebatinan, Islam, and The State: The Dissolution of Madraism in 1964*. Tesis, (Leiden: Leiden University, 2000), p.36.

¹¹ Husnul Qadim, *Strategi Bertahan Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) Cigugur*. Jurnal KALAM, Vol. 11, No. 2, (Bandung: UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2017), p.338.

Ishak in Ciawigebang, studied at the Belisuk Islamic Boarding School in Brebes, and studied at the Ciwedus Islamic Boarding School.¹² However, in 1837, Madrais began to get acquainted with the science of *kebatinan*.¹³ Even Madrais studied mysticism and mystical things by practicing some meditation and fasting rituals. He claimed to have received revelation. Mystical practice encourages Madrais to leave the *pesantren* and wander to meditate and contemplate revelation,¹⁴ Madrais also learn *Ngelmu Hakekat* or *Ngelmu Sejati Cirebon*.¹⁵

In 1840, Madrais returned to Cigugur to build a simple house (now the Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal Building).¹⁶ However, because he felt that he was not sufficient to understand the revelations he had received, Madrais continued his wanderings to various holy places in West and East Java under the name Gusti Ahmad so that the Dutch colonial government did not know his identity.¹⁷

In 1850, Madrais received revelations from God. The revelation that stated that he had been chosen by God to be His messenger and to convey new teachings to the Sundanese people.¹⁸ At that time, Madrais was still a devout Muslim.¹⁹

¹² Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Op. Cit.*, p.38.

¹³ Tendi, *Op. Cit.*, p.104.

¹⁴ Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, *Op. Cit.*, p.7

¹⁵ *Ngelmu Hakekat or Ngelmu Sejati Cirebon is a religious or mystical teaching that is widespread in the Karesidenan area of Cirebon, especially in Cirebon and Indramayu areas. The source of this science teaching is notebooks called Primbon that are handwritten using Javanese. Cirebon mixed Kawi (Sanskrit) with Arabic and Javanese letters. By the leaders of Islam (Wali) this teaching is opposed to be preached. Read more, Kamil Kartapraja, Aliran Kebatinan dan Kepercayaan di Indonesia, (Jakarta: Yayasan Masagung, 1985), p.90. Baca juga Kamil Kartapraja, Aliran Kebatinan dan Kepercayaan di Indonesia, (Jakarta: Yayasan Masagung, 1985), p.131.*

¹⁶ The house is located in Kampung Wage, Cigugur Village, Kuningan Regency. Now it became The Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal Building when Madrais had established The Sunda Djawa Religion (ADS) and used as a center of Religious Activities Djawa Sunda (ADS). The word "paseban" means a place to meet or gather. "Tri" means three, which means taste, mind, and thought.. "Panca" is the five senses. "Singular" means the manifestation of God Almighty. Literally, Gedung Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal means a place to unite three things, namely taste, mind, and thought that are manifested in a manner, then translated through the five senses when hearing, seeing, speaking, acting, and stepping closer to God Almighty. Interview with Gumirat Barna Alam. 2 Juli 2020.

¹⁷ Tendi, *Sejarah Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) di Cigugur Kuningan 1939-1964*. Tesis..., p.111.

¹⁸ W. Straathof, *Agama Djawa-Sunda: Sedjarah, Adjaran, dan Tjara Berpikirnja*, (Majalah Basis, 1971), p.203.

¹⁹ Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, *Penghayat Orthodoxy and The Legal Politics of the State: The Survival of Agama Djawa Sunda (Madraism) in Indonesia*, (Indonesia an the Malay World Jurnal, Vol. 42, No. 122, 2014), p.7.

Madrais married Nyi Maskinah in Cigugur in 1880 at the age of 58.²⁰ In 1885, Madrais founded a *pesantren* in Cigugur. His *santri* comes from Bandung, Garut, Ciamis, Sukabumi, Tasikmalaya, and several other areas in West Java.²¹ The teachings developed by Madrais, namely Islam and spiritual mysticism. He also taught the teachings of other beliefs to find their common ground in the One Godhead.²²

Madrais taught equation as he had previously received revelation, namely that he was a messenger of God to convey new teachings to the *Sundanese* people. On that basis, Madrais began to gradually break away from Islam. This also caused Madrais to clash with local *kiai*, namely K. H. Muhamad Tohir (Madtohir).²³ In this religious tension, K. H. Muhamad Tohir accused Madrais of being the illegitimate son of Prince Gebang who did not have the right to become a prayer priest because it made his prayers invalid. Since that frequent feud, Madrais began to feel uncomfortable being a Muslim.²⁴

In 1925, madrais relations with the Dutch colonial government began to improve. This happens because of some of the efforts made, namely the first; Apply for the title of prince. Second, Madrais and his family created a playbook to guide his followers. Third, Madrais sent a letter of application to the Regent of Kuningan, Mohamad Ahmad (period 1921-1940) to ask for protection and recognition of his belief system. Then the Regent of Kuningan, Mohamad Ahmad, sent the letter of request to the Resident of Cirebon named R. P.M. Van der Merr and discussed by the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies named D. Fock to solve the problem. The peak, based on a letter of recommendation dated October 6, 1925 From the Advisor of Bumi Putera, Rudolf Aernoud Kern, the Dutch Colonial Government officially recognized the existence of Madrais teachings under the name Igama

²⁰ Tendi, *Op. Cit.*, p.112. Related to his marriage, in addition to marrying Nyi Maskinah from Cirebon, Madrais has also been married to four other women, namely Nyi Siti Yamah from Tasikmalaya, Nyi Murtasiah from Sukabumi, Nyi Munigar from Ciamis, and Nyi Ence from Bandung. Read more, Suwarno Imam S, *Konsep Tuhan, Manusia, Mistik dalam Berbagai Kebatinan Jawa*, (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), p.104.

²¹ Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Kebatinan, Islam, and The State: The Dissolution of Madraism in 1964*. Tesis, (Leiden: Leiden University, 2000), p.40.

²² Neng Darol Afia, *Tradisi dan Kepercayaan Lokal pada Beberapa Suku di Indonesia*, (Badan Litbang Agama, Departemen Agama RI, 1998), p.10.

²³ K. H. Muhamad Tohir was Madrais' friend when studying at pesantren. He was a follower of Islamic puris (a faithful believer who adhered to tradition, especially on the purity of teachings and languages) in Cigugur. Read more, Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Op. Cit.*, p.47.

²⁴ Y. Ruchiyat, *Agama Djawa Sunda*. (Seri Pastoral No. 95, 1983), p.6.

Djawa Soenda Pasoendan.²⁵ In this connection, the Dutch East Indies Government allowed Madrais teaching activities and only recognized them as customary law.²⁶

In 1936, Mount Ciremai showed signs of erupting by showing volcanic activity, Madrais and his followers climbed to the top of Mount Ciremai to perform a ritual with the aim of reducing Mount Ciremai's activity. When finished, Madrais did not immediately return home but he established a hermitage on a hillside at the foot of Mount Ciremai called *Curug Goong* in the Cisantana area (a village about 2 km to the west of Cigugur). It was at this hermitage that Madrais received a message saying that "*Isuk jaganing geto anjeun bakal nyalindung di handapeun camara bodas anu bisa ngabeberes alam*" (in the future, you will take shelter under white cypresses that can save nature).²⁷ The money is mentioned above, he tells his followers.

Madrais died in 1939 (18 Shura, 1872 Saka) at the age of 118. Madrais' body was interred in Kampung Pasir, a hill located to the west of Cigugur.²⁸

B. Main Teaching of Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS)

1. Concept of God in Javanese-Sundanese Belief

Adherents of madrais teachings do a strategy to reduce the reality of their beliefs so as not to be too conspicuous, because if their religion is known in general, then the dark story of intimidation and discrimination by community groups in the past is feared will be repeated. Their limited circumstances, be it in terms of the quantity of followers or various other aspects, make them keep hiding their true beliefs first..²⁹

Adherents of the Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS) are of the view that all life and life comes from God. They called Him *Gusti Sikang Sawiji-Wiji* (God Who Is The Essence of All Essence). He is the one who exists but no one made Him. There is no direction and no place, is by Himself, and His power has nothing to match Him. It becomes the four forms of light, red, yellow, white, and black. Then merge into the

²⁵ ANRI, *Laporan-laporan Gerakan Protes di Jawa pada Abad XX*, (Jakarta: Penerbitan Sumber-sumber Sejarah ANRI, 1981), p.209-213.

²⁶ Nuhrison M. Nuh, *Op. Cit.*, p .30.

²⁷ Tendi, *Op.Cit.*, p.137.

²⁸ Ahmad Muttaqien, *Spiritualitas Agama Lokal (Studi Ajaran Sunda Wiwitan Aliran Madrais di Cigugur Kuningan Jawa Barat*. Jurnal Al-Adyan, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (2013), p.93.

²⁹ Tendi, Tesis. *Op. Cit.*, p.83.

Mandala Panta-Panta, the clear layer of *Kahiangan* (Divine Light). Then created the sun, moon, stars, core of fire, wind, and earth. Spirit was created by God but there is no form, namely human spirit, vegetable spirit, and animal spirit. In its development the spirit is given a form. Therefore, for humans who always believe in God and realize that they are a form created by God, they should worship God.³⁰

2. Bustle Three

The teachings of Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) basically depart from two principles, namely the Way of Human Characteristics and the Way of the Nation. Human Characteristics are the basic elements that exist in human life. There are five elements found in the Characteristic Way of Man, including; (1) Compassion (love), when talking about humanity means that it contains love. (2) *Undak Usuk* (familial order), for humans who are aware of their family structure, such as father, mother, child, brother, sister, grandfather, grandmother, grandchild, and so on. That awareness exists only in human life. (3) Manners (code of conduct), *Tata* means rules and *Krama* means association. This is an order in the pattern of social life in order to achieve a peaceful relationship. (4) *Budi* Language and Culture, humans are virtuous creatures. This is meant to know his own identity. (5) *Wiwaha Yudha Naraga* (human nature who always fights everything before doing it), *Wiwaha* means consideration, *Yuda* means war, and *Naraga* means ourselves.³¹

Meanwhile, the principles of the Way of National Characteristics are matters related to the spirit of nationality which includes Form, Custom, Language, Literature, and Culture. The existence of humans and living in groups socially is God's will, as well as in the affairs of the nation and state. Because when humans are born, they cannot reject or become part of the nation they want. Everything has become God's will and God's will must lead to goodness. Human duty is only to maintain the mandate given by God.³²

The teaching of Javanese Sundanese spirituality (ADS) is a teaching that emphasizes the original Sundanese teachings or what is known as *Sunda Wiwitan*.

³⁰ Didi Wiardi, *Bertahan untuk Tidak Gugur, Religi (Adat) Cigugur*. Dalam Budi Susanto, *Sisi Senyap Politik Bising*. (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2012), p.182.

³¹ Wawancara dengan Gumirat Barna Alam. 2 Juli 2020.

³² Ibid.

The concept of Javanese Sundanese religious spirituality (ADS) has a concept known as the *Pikukuh Tilu* which emphasizes three high awareness, namely human (human characteristic method), national nature (the nation's characteristic method), and serving what should be (*madep ka Ratu raja*).³³

There are several elements in understanding *Pikukuh Tilu*, namely God, humans, and real humans. God according to this school is the one who is above all. God is One, All Powerful, All Just, Most Cheap, and Most Wise. Especially with Humans, as one of God's most perfect creatures. *Pikukuh Tilu* consists of two words, namely "*pikukuh*" and "*Tilu*". *Pikukuh* comes from the word stubborn which means sure, constant, firm, or consistent. While *Tilu* is a number or level of numbers which means three. So the *Pikukuh Tilu* are “the three affirmers that are the foundation of human life and are carried out consistently to achieve perfection as a true human being”.³⁴

Meanwhile, Pangeran Djatikusumah, as the grandson of Madrais and the current leader of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS), provided an explanation for each letter contained in the *Pikukuh Tilu*. *Pikukuh Tilu* consists of the letters P-I-K-U-K-U-H-T-I-L-U. With the following explanation:³⁵

P	<i>Pinareng keur dumadi</i>	Origin
I	<i>Iman kudu sayaktosna</i>	Faith must be true
K	<i>Ka gusti nu nyipta tadi</i>	To God who has created
U	<i>Ulah mung saukur saur</i>	Don't just say something
K	<i>Kudu nembrak jadi polah</i>	It must be real to be an act
U	<i>Ulah rek nya samar nya lampah</i>	Don't get wrong in your actions
H	<i>Hirup geus nembrak ngawujud</i>	Life is clearly visible
T	<i>Tumitis jadi manusa</i>	Dripping became human

³³ Ahmad Muttaqien, *Spiritualitas Agama Lokal (Studi Ajaran Sunda Wiwitan Aliran Madrais di Cigugur Kuningan Jawa Barat)*. Jurnal Al-Adyan, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (2013), p.95.

³⁴ Pangeran Djatikusumah, *Pemaparan Budaya Spiritual Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang*, (Cigugur-Kuningan, 1995), p.16.

³⁵ Pangeran Djatikusumah, *Wicikan Paparan Pikukuh Tilu; Leunyapaneun Putra-Putri*, (Kuningan: tanpa penerbit, 1915 Saka), p.36. See also: Tendi, *Bertahan Melawan Terpaan: Agama Jawa Sunda Pada Masa Kepemimpinan Tejabuana*, (Malang: Ahlimedia Press, 2021).

I	<i>Ieu jadi diri pasti</i>	This is already a definite individual
L	<i>Lulungan patokan iman</i>	behavior is a measure of faith
U	<i>Urang kudu ngaji rasa</i>	We have to study feelings

Pikukuh Tilu is nothing but an extension taken from the phrase *tri tangtu* or *tangtu telu*. *Tri Tangtu* is a concept or philosophical thought whose rationality is used to maintain harmony in life, both vertically and horizontally. The philosophical *tri tangtu* is "three to unite, one to three". The principle is that "three things" are actually "one thing", and vice versa. In the indigenous peoples of West Java, *tri tangtu* is a standard or book of cultural morality as a reference for human behavior which includes three aspects of life, namely *Tri Tangtu Dina Raga* or *Salira* (standard or guidance concerning the person as a human being), *Tri Tangtu di Nagara* (pakem or guidance that regulates the life of individuals or groups in society or the state), *Tri Tangtu di Buana* (pakem or guidance that is parallel to the Tri Politika / Montesquieu concept which divides power into Judicative, Legislative, and Executive).³⁶

Pikukuh Tilu in Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) is a guide or guideline for individuals to lead to authenticity and perfection. The important points in the *Pikukuh Tilu* include three things, including the following:

a. *Ngaji Badan* (Self-Assess)

The Koran consists of two words, namely "the Koran" and the "body". The word "koran" means researching, studying, understanding, and realizing. Meanwhile, the word "body" means the whole body and everything in the universe that can be absorbed by the five senses ". Things that must be realized in doing the Koran body are understanding the existence of humans who cannot live alone, but live together with all entities on earth. Because it cannot be denied, humans will always interact with all the entities around them through their five senses.³⁷

b. *Mikukuh Kana Tanah* (Love The Homeland)

Mikukuh Kana Tanah (Love The Homeland) means that humans must cling to national things. The initial stage in *Mikukuh Kana Tanah* is to realize

³⁶ Ahmad Muttaqien, *Spiritualitas Agama Lokal (Studi Ajaran Sunda Wiwitan Aliran Madrais di Cigugur Kuningan Jawa Barat)*. Jurnal Al-Adyan, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (2013), p.96-97.

³⁷ Pangeran Djatikusumah, *Surasa Husus Lenyepaneun Pikeun Warga Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang*. (Kuningan: tanpa penerbit, tanpa tahun), p.1.

wholeheartedly that the existence of a nation and being part of that nation is God's will. Every human being is only able to plan, but the determinant of everything is God Almighty. Thus, it is fitting to be part of a nation and to be grateful to have been given the opportunity to live with everything that is inherent in humans. Because humans have been destined to become part of the community of a nation and one proof of gratitude that humans must be proud, guard, and uphold their nationality.³⁸

c. *Madep Ka Ratu Raja 3-2-4-5 lilima 6* (Facing the king)

Madep means pointing or facing. However, the teachings of *Madep Ka Ratu Raja* are not meant to appear to and respect the Queen and the King in the nature of a person. However, referring to the symbolic meaning which means Queen *nu ngararata* and Raja *nu ngajagat* average, both have perfect meanings. Broadly speaking, *Ratu Raja 3* can be interpreted as a basic human component, namely *sir*, race, and thought. *Ratu Raja 2* means two opposing natures that exist in the world, such as male and female, day and night. *Ratu Raja 4* means that humans must be careful in using their two arms and two legs. *Ratu Raja 5* means that humans must be aware of the five senses. *Queen Raja Lilima* which means the nature and function of the senses. Meanwhile, *Ratu Raja 6* means that you have to check and be aware of the five Kings of Kings. Don't let one of the Kings or the *Qibla* lead you to a deviant direction.³⁹

3. Customary Law (Circumcision, Marriage, and Death)

Apart from these basic teachings, the *Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS)* has its own views and teachings on the customary law of circumcision (circumcision), marriage and death which is of course very contrary to Islam. However, adherents of the *Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS)* continue to preserve and maintain this customary law even though there are many stigmas that come and are not even accepted by the community.

³⁸ Pangeran Djatikusumah, *Wicikan Paparan Pikukuh Tilu; Leunyapaneun Putra-Putri*, (Kuningan: tanpa penerbit, 1915 Saka), p.11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.29-33.

In the customary law of circumcision or circumcison, according to Gumirat Barna Alam (Rama Anom), adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) are not required to perform circumcision or circumcison as is done by Muslims, except for very urgent health reasons. They believe that God has created man with a very perfect body, of course, according to their respective uses. So there is no need to add or remove limbs. However, there are also not a few followers of the Agama Djawa Sunda who perform circumcision or circumcison for health reasons.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, in marriage law, for adherents of the Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS) marriage is a legal obligation. With the aim of glorifying God and as a means for humans to continue to develop and continue their descent. In practice, it is not allowed to tie the sacred promise of marriage in front of an official leader appointed by the government, because the leader of the wedding ceremony is a special *penggawa* (army) who has been determined by the leader of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS). Things like this make ADS always opposed to government regulations. According to the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) belief, the best marriage for both partners is in the month of Mulud or Rabiul Awal. By prohibiting marriage within the age of 24 years for men and 20 years for women. Because the age in marriage will have a good or bad impact on the couple. The Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) also does not justify divorce, polygamy, mixed marriages between nations and forced marriages, because married people will become one in taste and mind, and one love and one action.⁴¹

As for the law of death or dealing with people who are about to die and taking care of their bodies, of course the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) has its own customs and procedures. One of the most unique habits is when a follower of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) is about to die (currently in death's door), then his family or friends are required to accompany him by saying "wajoh opponents !!!", which means "come on!" opponent!!!". This is done as motivation and a form of resistance so that people who are about to die are able to hold back and delay their death. However, if that person dies in the end, then family and friends who accompany him say "hih, bet

⁴⁰ Wawancara dengan Gumirat Barna Alam, 2 Juli 2020.

⁴¹ Ibid.

byan", which means "you, loser".⁴² Then for the procession of managing and burying the bodies, every member of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) who has died, their bodies are wrapped in black cloth and put in a teak coffin. After being put into the grave, the resting place for the corpse is given and sprinkled with charcoal, lime, and rice around the coffin.⁴³ The position of the legs and arms of the body must be slightly folded and in the process of burying the body as much as possible it is not in one place with the grave of people of other beliefs, including the grave of a Muslim.⁴⁴ However, in reality, according to local residents, the burials of Muslims, Christians and other faiths are in one burial area, namely the Kampung Pasir Cigugur cemetery. This is a clear proof of the very high value of tolerance among the Cigugur community, Kuningan

C. Dissolution of Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS)

On September 21, 1964, Prince Tedjabuana disbanded the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) in Cigugur, experiencing anxiety and panic. They were very surprised by what the leader was doing. Adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) are faced with the fact that the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS), which has been around for more than 100 years, is always strong and ready to face various kinds of problems and obstacles, and never even takes a step back, must be dissolved for various reasons. . They are confused and faced with choices regarding what belief or belief they will embrace after the dissolution of the Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS) to become their life guide.

Prince Tedjabuana disbanded the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) for the safety of his followers. Meanwhile, Prince Tedjabuana himself chose to become a Catholic.⁴⁵ The reason Prince Tedjabuana chose Catholicism was because the revelation of Camara Bodas or White Pine that Madrais received was Catholicism as Christ. Most of the

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Suwarno Imam S, *Konsep Tuhan, Manusia, Mistik dan Kebatinan Jawa*. (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), p.119

⁴⁴ Kamil Kartapraja, *Aliran Kebatinan dan Kepercayaan di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Masagung, 1985), p.132.

⁴⁵ Elisabeth Djuniasih dan Aceng Kosasih, *Penerapan Karakter Toleransi Beragama Pada Masyarakat Cigugur Kuningan yang Pluralis*. Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter, Tahun IX. No. 1 (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, April 2019), p.6

Javanese Sunda (ADS) adherents choose Catholicism and some choose other official beliefs.⁴⁶

The disbandment of the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) in 1964 actually became a blessing in disguise (a catastrophe that brought grace and blessings) for Catholics.⁴⁷ At the end of 1964, the Cirebon Catholic Church responded and provided a reply by means of a letter to Pangeran Tedjabuana and Panca Tunggal Kuningan, which stated that four Cirebon Catholic organizations, namely the Catholic Party, Catholic Women, Catholic Youth, and the Catholic Educators Council had received written statements from thousands of people who adhere to the Javanese and Sundanese Belief (ADS) who want to become Catholic.⁴⁸ Therefore, the Cirebon Catholic Church has a moral and spiritual obligation to educate, foster, and protect adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) to be given Catholic belief lessons. and on October 10, 1964, the Cirebon Catholic Church sent a team to meet Panca Tunggal Kuningan and discuss steps in Catholic formation. They are Pastor Kuppens OSC, Haditirta, and Andiwijoyo.⁴⁹

D. THE RETURN OF THE BELIEF OF DJAWA SUNDA (ADS)

The death of Pangeran Tedjabuana in 1978 made the former Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) lose a leader. Pangeran Djatikusumah realized that the leadership relay for the ancestral teachings of the Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS) was himself. Prince Djatikusumah was known as a person who was steadfast in his stance and highly upheld the culture of his ancestors. In him, have planted matters related to the Characteristic Way of Man and the Characteristic Way of a nation in earnest. So, at that time, Pangeran

⁴⁶ Interview with Gumirat Barna Alam (Rama Anom), July 2, 2020. According to Iman, thousands of ex-ADS devotees are registered with several parishes. They enrolled in various regions such as Cirebon, Bandung, Garut, Tasikmalaya, and other West Java regions. Ex-ADS people in Cigugur registered with St. Joseph's Parish, Cirebon, because in Kuningan there is no Catholicism. The ex-ADS registration process is carried out in an organized manner because it is carried out in a planned and systematic manner. A number of young ex-Religious Djawa Sunda (ADS) who are believed to be sent to Cirebon, met Prince Tedjabuana and the Cirebon Catholic Church. They were tasked with bringing forms of self-declaration to catholicism that will be filled out by ex-Religious Djawa Sunda (ADS) scattered in Cigugur, Kuningan. See more, C. Iman Sukmana, *Gereja Katolik Cigugur...*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius), p.95

⁴⁷ RF. Bhanu Viktorahadi, *Merefleksikan Integrasi Eks-Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) dari Perspektif Pertobatan Kornelius*. Jurnal Teologi, Vol. 07, No. 01, (Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, 2018), p.35.

⁴⁸ Lukas Nana Rosana, *Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik Paroki Kristus Raja Cigugur Tahun 1964-2003*. Skripsi (Yogyakarta: Universitas Sanata Dharma, 2005), p.56.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.55.

Djatikusumah began to make a movement to revive the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) which had been initiated by his grandfather. Prince Djatikusumah's efforts also paid off when he brought back the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) with a new face, namely the Way Karuhun Urang Adat Association (PACKU) with his loyal followers.

As for what was developed by Prince Djatikusumah in the Karuhun Urang Way Traditional Association as follows:

1. Relive the *Seren Taun*⁵⁰ handover of the past year to the year to come

The excitement of the Seren Taun celebration no longer occurred when the government forcibly dissolved the Cara Karuhun Urang Indigenous Association (PACKU) on August 25, 1982 through Decree No. 44 year 1982 from the West Java High Court and dismantled Seren Taun's preparations which would be carried out a few months later.

Even though the Seren Taun celebration has been prohibited, the expression of gratitude to God Almighty must not be lost either. The devotees have become accustomed to performing Seren Taun as a symbol of gratitude to God. According to Abah Kento, the Seren Taun celebration is still being carried out but in a simpler way and does not lose its essence. At that time, the Seren Taun celebration was carried out by distributing rice to the villagers to be peeled manually one by one. After being peeled within a few days and turning into rice, then the rice is collected at the Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal building to be used as a *tumpeng bogana* hers.⁵¹ Then the Seren Taun celebration is carried out with prayer and eating together as an expression of gratitude to God Almighty. For 17 years, the Seren Taun celebration was carried out in a simple manner. The Seren Taun celebration is also a means of consolidating the devotees to stay together and stay in touch. This caused the emotional closeness and

⁵⁰ Seren taun is a traditional ceremony of sundanese rice harvesting that is carried out every year. This ceremony took place solemnly and lively in various sundanese traditional villages. The traditional ceremony as a gratitude of the agrarian community is enlivened by thousands of surrounding communities, even from some regions in West Java and abroad.. Some of the sundanese traditional villages that hold Seren taun every year are: 1. Cigugur Village, Cigugur Subdistrict, Kuningan Regency, West Java. 2. Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, Ciptagelar Village, Cisolok, Sukabumi Regency. 3. Sindang Barang traditional village, Pasir Eurih village, Taman Sari subdistrict, Bogor Regency. 4. Kanekes Village, Lebak Regency, Banten and 5. Naga Village of Tasikmalaya Regency

⁵¹ The meaning of *tumpeng bogana* is that everyone *haya* takes food (*tumpeng*) which is part of it only. Not taking and eating other people's parts

togetherness of the believers to be even higher, even though it had been cornered by government policies.⁵²

In addition, another alternative made by Pangeran Djatikusumah was an effort to promote the Seren Taun ceremony by collaborating with culture-loving societies or organizations that have a role in the development of traditional culture. The effort also paid off when Pangeran Djatikusumah published the book "Seren Taun 22 Rayagung" in collaboration with the Institute for Cultural Studies of the Archipelago (LPKN) in 1997. The purpose of the promotion or publication of this book is to inform the public about the symbolic meaning contained in the celebration. Seren Taun.⁵³

Entering the reform era, in 1999 a large-scale Seren Taun celebration could be carried out and re-implemented. They refer to Law No. 9 of 1998 concerning the Implementation of Religious or Traditional Ceremonies. For 17 years, Prince Djatikusumah was unable to command the Seren Taun celebration to be held on a large scale, because at that time the Seren Taun celebration was prohibited by the government. At the next Seren Taun celebration which was held in 1999, Pangeran Djatikusumah packaged the Seren Taun Ceremony as a cultural event for the Cigugur agrarian community, not a religious ceremony (belief). It seems that this strategy is quite fruitful, so that they are free to practice the teachings and preserve the Javanese Sundanese religious tradition (ADS).⁵⁴

At that time, the Seren Taun Ceremony could be performed openly again at the Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal Building, because the Reformation government provided ample space for freedom of expression for all community activities. The Cigugur community with the traditional leadership of Pangeran Djatikusumah was able to rise up and actualize themselves in the midst of other communities, even racing among the surrounding communities. How happy Prince Djatikusumah and his loyal followers were when the Seren Taun Ceremony could be carried out again can be illustrated by the old nayaga gamelan Si Monggang who shed tears of joy when they

⁵² Wawancara dengan Abah Kento (penghayat), 20 Agustus 2020.

⁵³ Didin Nurul Rosidin, *Kebatinan, Islam and The State: The Dissolution of Madraism in 1964*. Tesis, (Leiden: Leiden University, 2000). p.59.

⁵⁴ Husnul Qodim, *Strategi Bertahan Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) Cigugur...*, p. 355

beat and heard the sacred gamelan sound in the Seren Taun Ceremony. It seems that the impact of the new packaging at the Seren Taun celebration, which Prince Djatikusumah transformed into a cultural event for the Cigugur agrarian community, made the Kuningan Regency government consider the Seren Taun celebration in Cigugur as a cultural asset that could be developed and sold to tourists. In this case, Cigugur can be used as a lure by the local government, to help Kuningan Regency become famous in the eyes of other people, without having to bother making a publication project, because on its own initiative, it has indirectly made publications through its own cultural assets.⁵⁵ Strangely enough, although there are many benefits from all forms of Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) activities that can be felt, especially in the development of culture and tourism, the Kuningan Regency government seems to often ignore and ignore the progress of the Cigugur people, especially the government is discriminating against all things the teachings of the Javanese and Sundanese Belief (ADS).

2. Identity Reconstruction

The thing that became the basis for Prince Djatikusumah to maintain the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) even though he received several bans from the government was a very high awareness from Prince Djatikusumah of experiencing the Human Character and National Characteristics, as well as awareness to preserve and maintain the culture of the people. ancestors. Although juridically, adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) refer to article 29 of the 1945 Constitution regarding freedom of belief and belief. However, the juridical factor is only a formality, because in practice the adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) often get discriminatory treatment from the state.⁵⁶

In responding to the discriminatory and undemocratic state domination and prohibition, the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) is faced with three solution options, namely exit, voice, and loyalty. With a firm determination the solution chosen by the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) was voice, fully agreeing to the state construction and carrying out the conversion under the subordination of the official belief.

⁵⁵ Didi Wiardi, *Bertahan Untuk Tidak Gugur...*, p.176.

⁵⁶ Wawancara dengan Abah Kento, 20 Agustus 2020.

However, they still voiced their voices to negotiate, even in situations and conditions that were deemed safe, to revive the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS).⁵⁷ Another response to the domination of the state, the resistance made by adherents of the Javanese-Sundanese Belief (ADS) is by being apathetic towards the state. Believers of the faith have always been apathetic and apolitical towards the state. The word "politics" for some adherents of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) has changed its meaning to become deceitful, deceitful, and the overturning of facts, which is certainly not appropriate for a country that contains democratic principles.⁵⁸

In defending the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) Prince Djatikusumah reconstructed his identity from a belief to Sundanese custom. This was done by Pangeran Djatikusumah to build a new identity and always adapt to the historical context at hand in order to make peace and be accepted by the community and the state. A change in representation from religious identity to representation of traditional (Sundanese) identities. Prince Djatikusumah's initiative in reconstructing the identity of the Sundanese Javanese Belief (ADS) into a Sundanese custom was the solution and strategy chosen to avoid state prohibitions and the actions of the majority group that often cornered them. This is because the use of customary identities cannot possibly be prohibited as in several other areas where local customs are also developing. Since entering the reform era, Prince Djatikusumah called Madrais teachings with the Sundanese Wiwitan Karuhun Urang (AKUR) tradition. Through the Adat Karuhun Urang (AKUR) Sunda Wiwitan, Pangeran Djatikusumah was able to develop his teachings freely.⁵⁹

The change in the identity of the Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) into Sundanese customs, of course, also changed the orientation of its membership. The Karuhun Urang (AKUR) Sundanese Wiwitan Adat members can at least be categorized into two groups. First, the pure adherents of Madrais teachings. Second, the Madrais adherents who adhere to one of the official beliefs recognized by the state (Islam,

⁵⁷ Husnul Qadim, *Op. Cit.*, p.356

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.357

⁵⁹ Nuhriison M. Nuh, *Paham Madrais (AKUR) di Cigugur Kuningan. Dalam Achmad Rosidi, Perkembangan Paham Keagamaan Lokal di Indonesia.* (Jakarta: Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Kementerian Agama RI, 2011), p.33.

Catholicism, Protestantism). With the existence of these two groups, in several aspects there must also be a variety of perspectives and practices of this Madrais teaching. The two groups are able to live side by side and not create a conflict that contains elements of SARA.⁶⁰ With this, the Cigugur community is actually known to have a high tolerance value and is able to become an example as a religious community that lives in harmony and harmony.

For religious leaders and the Cigugur government in general it does not become a problem or problem, even though they actually know, what is called the Karuhun Urang (AKUR) Sundanese Wiwitan Adat community is the same as the guidance and teachings of the Javanese Sunda Belief (ADS) founded by Madrais.⁶¹ They themselves now generally refer to them as “adat” or “adat communities”, following what the Indonesian government calls followers of beliefs other than the government's “official” belief. They refer to the new regulation, namely Law no. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights which has provided a normative basis that belief and belief are basic rights that cannot be contested.⁶²

⁶⁰ The pure members of the Madrais in Cigugur now number only 360 K.K., a long decline during the reign of Madrais and Prince Tedjabuana who were able to reach thousands of adherents. This is because of the madrais adherents who convert to official religion for the administrative benefit of the state and fulfill their civil rights. See more clearly, Didi Wiardi, *Bertahan untuk Tidak Gugur...*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009), p.178.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.359.

⁶² CRCS, *Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia in 2008*, (Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies/CRCS, Graduate School of Gadjah Mada University, 2008), p.17. Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights is an affirmation of the 1945 Constitution article 29.

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