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The Belief in the Existence of Supernatural Beings in the Community of Moslem Sundanese

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ABSTRACT

The Sunda Muslims today living with modernity in various aspects. In contrast, they are still embedded their minds in the spirits which come from the view of tradition and customs and teachings of Islam. The article discusses the conception of belief in the existence of spirits in today's Sundanese society. Described descriptively, the data is the result of micro-ethnographic research through in-depth interviews of selected informants. In addition to Allah, angels, demons, jinn and qarin (Islamic teachings), there are also spirits whose its existence is regarded as reality, namely the lelembut, the subtle creatures that existed before man including the gods, the devil and the dedemit. And the lelembutan that comes from the human spirit, namely ririwa, and sileman/karuhun. It is believed there are people who can interact for a variety of interests and motives including witchcraft and pesugihan (devil worship). This research provides a new perspective on the identity of Sunda Muslims today, as a basis in mapping the Sundanese with their thinking.

Keywords: Belief, Gaib, Islam, Supernatural Beings, Sundanese.

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1. Introduction

The majority of people in Indonesia follow Islam, this religion was spread through a propaganda by a messenger who worked as an Arab trader. Islam was accepted by the community through a variety of approaches including culture. The *walisanga* (nine saints) played important roles in the spread of Islam. In West Java, Islam was originally spread by Sunan Gunung Jati in Cirebon, then it reaches other areas inhabited by Sundanese people. Although the Sundanese people follow Islam, the teachings of *Sunda Wiwitan* (*Jati Sunda*) including the influence of Hindu and Buddhist can still be seen in various to this day. Today's Sundanese still have a belief in spirits, other than Allah, angels, and jinns (Islamic teachings), they also believe in the existence of supernatural beings such as the gods, the spirits of the elderly, including the various types of ghosts that inhabit the skys, the earth, and the oceans. This

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understanding already exists in history, Flekke in Etty R.S et al. (2012, p.42), states that before the nineteenth century, the religious life of Indonesian people was influenced by mystical synthesis drawn from diverse cultural traditions of pre-Islamic Indonesia. Included in the ancient manuscript containing religious teachings, Al Makin (2016, p.2), explained through his research on the modification of Hindu-Buddhist figures recounted in several Islamic works. This way is the method of blending local culture with the teachings of Islam performed by the *walisanga* on the island of Java, for Islam to be accepted. At first, this effort was an attempt of Islam to be widespread in a peaceful way, not as perceived by the west in general. Jasafat (2014, pp.191-210). But in the present reality the form of syncretism extends to the cultural aspects of religion and belief. In Sundanese society there are customs and traditions related to the belief in the existence of supernatural beings among them; such as *ngalokat* (the tradition of expulsion of spirits), *ngukus* (offerings of spirits and ancestors in several customs), *pangidinan* (a permission to do great things especially wedding and circumcision celebration), *umbal lelemah* (house cleaning tradition), *nyarang hujan* (rain handler) and others. All these traditions use prayers in the teachings of Islam, and some using the Sundanese mantra. The mantra is referred as a prayer, Sasmita (2017) calls it a magical poem in which there is an awareness that the whole universe has a soul. History mentions that mantra is already present in ancient Sundanese script, estimated to appear 16th century (Wartini et.al, 2010, p.14) among them Mantra Aji Cakra, Mantra Darma Pamulih, Mantra Pangabaran, and Soeloek Kidoengan Tetoelak Bilahi. The manuscript says there are 7 types of mantras namely *ajian* (power), *jampe* (sundanese pray), *jangjawokan* (incantation), *pelet* (seduction amulets), *raja* (the poem to spirits) and *singlar* (a spirits cleaner) (Suryani, 2012, p.5). According to Wibisana (2000, p.272), through the mantra of the Sundanese attempt to restore imaginary power that is considered to violate the imaginary authority on its natural imaginary origins. Imaginary here means centered on thoughts related to the subtle, in this case, supernatural beings.

This study discusses the belief in supernatural beings as one form of syncretism of Sundanese and Islamic teachings, which is still present in the Sundanese society to this day. This becomes an interesting phenomenon to be studied as the people who do this tradition are those living in modern times with modern thoughts and point of views. They often carry out the tradition in order to respect their parents' wish. They also do it as an effort to maintain the tradition that was passed on from their ancestors. Mamat Sasmita (Sundanese cultural expert) borrows the term *Piliang* calls them a hybrid society, people who live in the modern world but do not abandon the thinking of their ancestral tradition, especially thought related to belief in spirits (2012, p.16). This belief emerges in the form of oral literature from people who are considered as experts in the occult field, have magical knowledge, able to interact with spirits, and can solve various occult problems, by way of tradition and also Islamic teaching, namely *panarosan*. *Panarosan* is often identified as a shaman, but in this interview all the *panarosan* are more comfortable with the term *panarosan/pananyaan* (some one to ask) than shaman, because they feel the term shaman is very negative (see Wessing, 1988), in reality shaman is always associated with black magic in the interest of witchcraft and other personal interests such as implants, amulets, glory, offering through the help of spirits. According to Ocín (2017), shaman devoted to the spirits, while *panarosan* depends on Allah (God -Islamic teaching). Most of the *panarosan* has a *paririmbón* (*primbon*) which is a book or manuscript containing predictions, prayers, mantras (spells), various Javanese rituals, and a small part of the teachings on Islam (Simuh 1988, p.3). In Sundanese, the *primbon* contains also the various moments of life related to the owner, the day of birth, the good and bad days, the wishes, and even the hopes that are addressed to God.

This research is important as a basis for reviewing the Sundanese today, in another viewpoint, the oral literature on belief in supernatural beings is a manifestation of public knowledge in interpreting the surrounding world and its occupants (cosmology), became one of the identities of a Sundanese community. As Palmer points out, that cultural entities have their own archetypes (2005, p.265), unique, and original. This oral literature is not documented in the form of material or printed inscriptions, this knowledge is limited, because it is inherited, and all knowledge is experiential, expressed through the speech of a man who is considered an expert (controlled) so that it is considered as an actual fact of collective truth in the Sundanese society.

There has been a similar study conducted by Ukun Surjaman (1962). It was an ethnographic study that explored and mapped the belief in supernatural beings in the Sundanese people. This study discussed various types of supernatural beings in the Sundanese community at that time. The other

research ever done by Robert Wessing entitled "Spirits of the Earth and Spirits of the Water: Cthonic Forces in the Mountains of West Java". A research focus on the relation between stories and lore about some hills near a Sundanese village and the how-to-the-hill or down-hill varies with the mythological and symbolic elements. Only a few spirits related to it are described in the study, including *siluman*, and *ipri*. (Wessing, 1988, pp.43-63). Other studies suggest a variety of spirits creature separately, and some of it is a myth from the area that became the object of research (see Christomy, 2008).

This research charts the kind of spirits in Sundanese society, the names and descriptions of their form, complement, update and rejuvenate previous research. This research also reveals the type of cooperation with the spirits that until now still be done by the limited community.

2. Method

All the data in this research obtained through micro-ethnographic research with in-depth interviews for three year (2014-2017) on selected informants from the selected area of west java. The interview approach in this research uses informal conversational interview technique, this is because the informants prefer the informal atmosphere. In addition, the topic asked is interesting for him, so it takes calm and deep thinking. The technique used in asking questions is Probe & follow-up questions, with the aim that the data obtained deep and comprehensive, and on the other hand, informants feel comfortable responding to questions. (Patton 1987: pp.125-126).

The informants are known as *panarosan*, *panarosan* is someone who is considered to understand various things related to supernatural beings. This profession is already very rare in Sundanese society (especially in the urban environment), most of them are old, and not many people want to work as *panarosan*. In addition to studying the occult is quite difficult, a lot of sacrifices is done in order to gain the knowledge. The sacrifices can be economic life, psychological and physical health, and even his own life. The requirement that must be had before becoming a *panarosan*, is the existence of heredity, which is born from a family that deepens the occults knowledge, and should not have material ambitions (wealth, position, and lust). This oral literature is collected from 4 different *panarosan* which are: Aki Iko Tasik Malaya, Aki Ocin from Ciranjang-Cianjur, Aki Didin from Bojong koneng-Bandung, and Aki Entum from Pameungpeuk-Garut. After the data is recorded the results categorized, then equipped with supporting literature from other similar research.

3. The Sundanese cosmology

In the history, Sundanese people had their own view about the world. In the manuscript of Sunda *kropak* (box) 422, which contains about the cosmology of *Sunda Kuna* (a blend of Sundanese, Hinduism and Buddhism), it is said that the universe is divided into three worlds. The first world is *sakala*, the real world which is inhabited by creatures who have a body and spirit, such as humans, plants and other objects that can be seen, mobile and immobile. The second is *niskala*, the supernatural world which is inhabited by various creatures in the forms of gods and goddess, angels and neutral spirits known as *syanu*, *bayu*, *sadap*, and *hedap*. The third is *jatiniskala*, the world of true supernatural, which is inhabited by the Supreme One known as *Sanghyang Manon* and the Almighty Creator known as *Si Ijunajati Nistemen*, the creator of limits who cannot be limited. It is explained that the concept of *Sunda Kuna* cosmology in the script is not only intended as the knowledge of the universe structure, but also as a medium to help human achieve the goals in the end of their life, i.e., happiness and tranquility of living in the eternal *niskala* and *jatiniskala* (Darsa and Ekadjati, 2006, pp.22-26). This is also confirmed by Djunatan (2013, pp.288-314), who interpreted the Sundanese cosmology present in Sewaka Darma is a metaphor of the journey of human enlightenment, as well as Jakob Sumardjo's interpretation on the *pantun* Mundinglaya Kusumah and Eyang Resi Handeula Wangi regarded as the narrative of "piety teaching". Even so in the reality of life of the Sundanese cannot be denied there is a dualism of understanding the meaning of that cosmology, is a narrative about the journey of life that must be perfect (*sampurna* or *disampurnakeun*), and also mean that the world consists of parts of human life and other creatures, supernatural beings, the gods and even the Supernatural. This is allegedly due to the influx of Islamic teachings, which taught the concept of the *gaib* (*invisible*).

The emergence of Islam as a belief has given the Sundanese people a new point of view in looking at their world. In Islam, the universe is composed of five worlds. They are the spirit world, the womb world, the Earth, the grave (*barzakh*) world, and the afterlife world. Cosmology according to the

Islamic concept is based on the chronology or phase of human life (and other creatures) as written in the Holy Quran. (Darsa and Ekadjati, 2006, pp.27). Nevertheless, the Sundanese cosmology does not just disappear. There is a grey area where myths are still believed by some Sundanese people. This influences the development of Sundanese cosmology. According to Sumardjo (2011, p.23), Sundanese cosmology in Islamic era still includes the cosmology in the past. It does not eliminate the previous cosmology. It also does not immerse into a new concept. He added that all the concepts of old cosmologies, i.e., Hinduism and Sundanese cosmology are maintained.

3.1 Faith in the supernatural world in the teaching of Islam

Generally, the word '*gaib*' (*supernatural*) is defined as something that is not visible and hidden. *gaib*, in the understanding of Islam, is something which is not shown. In other words, it is a mystery. According to Islamic teachings, having faith in the supernatural is one of the proofs of piety. This is mentioned in the Holy Quran in Al-Baqarah (2:2-4). According to Shihab, the supernatural world is the object of faith. It is abstract, untouchable and unreachable. Therefore, something that is known and can be seen is not the object of faith. Shihab added that the supernatural is divided into two: the relative supernatural and the absolute supernatural. The relative supernatural is something that known by someone, but other people don't, such as death. The relativity depends on the time and the humans themselves. On the other hand, the absolute supernatural includes God, the end of the world and information about them (Shihab, 2010, pp.15-16).

Faith in the supernatural world includes believing in creatures which cannot be reached by the human senses, identifying as supernatural beings. In the understanding of Islam, it is mentioned that there are other creatures besides humans, they live in different dimensions:

- Angels, in Arabic mean messengers of God. Angels are messengers for a variety of functions (Shihab, 2010, pp.20-46) this is expressed in Quran section Fatir (35:1). Angels are called supernatural beings that are made of light. Angels are able to change into various forms perfectly, they are given the knowledge and the ability to do things that are difficult. (Alaydrus, 2013, p27).
- Genie, according to the definition in the Holy Koran, comes from the word *janna* which means covered or hidden (Shihab, 2010, pp.19-21) (This definition is based on human point of view who cannot see the form genie). In other words, the existence of genie is hidden from human. Genies can escape from the reach of the senses. Their shape cannot be seen. They have the ability to change into different forms (Shihab, 2010, p.44). Divided into two sexes, male and female, can see humans but humans cannot see them. They also have power that humans often asked them for help. It is also said that among the genies, there are genies who obey Allah and there are those who disobey Him. Like humans, genies eat, marry, have children and have a place to live. They can live in the sky, on Earth, in the mountains, in the ocean, at the market and at the roof of the house.
- Satan is a very familiar word for people. This is because in the history, it is known in various religious teachings. In Arabic, satan is defined as far, misguided, blazing, burned and extreme. Seeing from the meaning, Shihab considers satan as the nature, attitude, behavior which can be embedded in humans, genies, animals, and even virus or disease. (Alaydrus, 2013, p27). It is mentioned that satan has the power to hide himself and to enter human body. As described in Bukhari and Muslim hadith, like blood, satan flows through the descendants of Adam. Satan can also change form just like genie. They can take the form of a snake, but they can also take another form that looks charming and dignified. They do this to deceive humans and disturb them. (Alaydrus, 2013, p.27).
- The devil is the king of satan. He is the predecessor of satan. Satan in the devil's child whose job is to mislead people from the true path. In the Holy Quran, the devil is said as a creature who rebelled against Allah, because he would not bow down to Adam.

3.2 Supernatural beings in the belief of Muslim-Sundanese community

Didin (*panaros* from Bandung) said that supernatural beings are known in Sundanese society. He said that supernatural beings are not only angels, genie and devil, but there are also other types such as, *demit* or *dedemit*, *siluman* (demon), *sileman/karuhun*, *dewa-dewi*, *ririwa*, etc. In the view of

Islam all the spirits are categorized as jinn, but in view of the *panarosan* jinn is just one of its kind. Iko from Tasik, said that there are two supernatural beings: *lelembut* and *lelembutan*. This term is similar to that mentioned by Surjaman in his research. Ocín from Cianjur called it with the term *lelemes* and *lelemesan*, but the term is *lelembut* and *lelembutan* is more familiar for Sundanese. To explain the term *lelembut* they explain it through the activities of dreams, when we fall a sleep, in the teachings of Islam mentioned that humans while sleeping temporarily, and the spirit is in the grip of God. This spirit is described as *lelembut* or *lelembutan*. *Lelembut* is a supernatural being that does not come from human. It has already exist in this world; and *lelembutan* comes from people who have died (human spirits). Almost all Sundanese people categorize all kinds of these creatures with *jurig* words. Some of them are good and some others are bad. The good ones are considered helpful, but the bad ones like to frighten and do evil.

Supernatural beings are believed to live in different places. Some of them occupy and rule the place. They occupy suitable areas, such as haunted and also quiet and empty places. Some of them live on land (forests, mountains, caves, cemeteries), the sky, water (sea, rivers, lakes, fields, ponds, swamps and wells), trees (bamboo, banyan, frangipani, avocados tree etc.), and the roots of a tree (such as *Kaboa* tree). They can also live on heirlooms, like a dagger, cleaver, statue, whips, sticks, and others. It is alleged that its presence can be characterized by the howling dogs, goosebumps at night and certain odors. As explained by Didin, the sign of the emergence of genies is the smell of rotten potatoes. The presence of *Kuntianak* is marked by stench smell, while the presence of ancestors is marked by the smell of flower fragrances and herbs. *Lelembut* and *lelembutan* are very cultural, because there are customs and traditions to get closer to them, to ask for help or stay away from them. (see Mustapa, 2010, pp. 35-70). There are various types of *lelembut* and *lelembutan*, the following categories are *lelembut* that are considered good *lelembut*:

- *Dangiang*, is *lelembut* who live in villages and inhabit large trees like banyan trees, bamboo trees. *Dangiang* is considered helpful by the villagers. For example, if there is a plague or a disaster attacking the village, *dangiang* will give a *wangsit* to a chosen man. According to Garna (1987, p.329), *dangiang* is a fugitive from the era of Pajajaran Kingdom that turned into a satan.
- *Nyi Pohaci Sang Hyang Sri*, *Nyi Pohaci* or *Dewi Sri* is often *Dewi Sri* is often mentioned in various commemoration of human life phases. In several Sundanese communities, *Nyi Pohaci* is regarded as a supernatural being who maintain the fertility of rice and protect the granary or rice storage near the house (*leuit*) and also a special room inside the house to store rice (*goah*) to stay filled. Every Tuesday and Friday, the people do a tradition called *ngukus*, i.e., burning incense along with the offerings (*sasajen*) which are addressed to *Nyi Pohaci* and *karuhun*. In serving the offerings, many prayers and verses from the Holy Quran (*An-Nas*, *Al-Falaq*, *Al-Ikhlás*, etc) which are combined with spells in Sundanese language (*jampi/mantra*), are pronounced in the ritual included in traditional ceremonies related to planting rice (see ETTY RS. et al., 2012, p.159-173). *Dewi Sri* is a story or a myth that are often found in many countries, with various version (Wessing, 1990, pp. 235-257)
- *Nini* and *Aki Maranak* are two supernatural beings that are considered helping the birth process, according to the belief, *Nini* and *Aki maranak* accustomed to woo the baby out of the womb by lure toys. The followings are bad:
 - *Jurig Kuris*, is a ghost that carries smallpox disease.
 - *Jurig Jarian*, a ghost in the trash. It is believed to have a very ugly face. *Jurig Jarian* is told in many stories in several areas in West Java. Besides his ugly face, it is also feared by children as it smells very bad. Some people considered this ghost as a warning for children to prevent them from playing near the trash. It is believed that *Jurig Jarian* can be called to possess humans in *kuda lumping* and *debus* show.
 - *Jurig Cai* (water ghost) is divided into three types. They are *titi mangsa*, *kala mangsa* and *kili mangsa*. They are ghosts who like to disturb people in the bathroom or bath places like a river, or *pacilangan* (a bath place in a pond or river). *Titi mangsa* likes to go out at dawn, *kala mangsa* likes to go out at noon, and *kili mangsa* likes to go out at sunset.

- *Sandekala* comes from the word *shandya*, which means sign and *kala*, which means time. This ghost appears at sunset, to capture the little children who are still playing outside the house at night.
- *Kelongwewe*, a supernatural being in a form of old woman with long hair. She can fly. Many stories revealed that this supernatural being have breasts as big as pillows to hide children who like to play outside the house at twilight.
- *Kiciwis*, a ghost in a form of a cat or a black horse. It can disappear. If it is hit or kicked, it will grow bigger.
- *Jurig Siit*, a spinster ghost who never had an intimate relationship.
- *Jurig Gonggo*, a ghost that inhabits a bridge. This creature was actually a confuse human spirit who stay under the bridge.
- *Jurig Aden-aden* is similar to *maung kajajaden* (ghost tiger). However, aden aden can turn himself into a human, especially when it rains and he had to find a shelter.
- *Lulun Samak*, a ghost with a form like a mat. It lives in the river, drowning anyone who finds it.
- *Jurig Balukang*, a ghost that disturbs babies. It is said that the baby that is disturbed by this ghost will be grumpy, often startled and like to bite.
- *Jurig Bulak*, It is believed that *bulak* is an incarnation of a man who does *pesugihan* (offering), but he violates the rules of *pesugihan* (devil worship).
- *Jurig Conge/Bonge/torek* is a ghost which is believed to inhabit railroad. They usually disturb humans by making people who walk on the railroad deaf. Thus, they cannot hear the sound of the train from behind.
- *Jurig Kamangmang*, appears as a long-haired human with a lot of eyes hanging in his hair and body.
- *Jurig Pocong*, a human-shaped (*kafan*) ghost who wears a shroud, but usually has a darkish black face, and has no nose, mouth and eyes. Its presence is marked by the smell of carrion.
- *Jurig Bagong*, a ghosts that disturb babies by making them like a pig
- *Kecit/tuyul*, a supernatural being that can be kept to steal money. The reward is he must be breastfed by the human who keeps him. He must also be provided an empty room in the house and fresh blood to drink. He appears in a form of a child, bald with a fat belly. The practice of the cult is called *ngecit*.
- *Buta Hejo* (green giant), is a giant human with a green body. People often look for *Buta Hejo* for *pesugihan* (devil worship).
- *Jurig Monyet Bodas*, is a white monkey ghost. People come to this ghost to ask for wealth.
- *Jurig Ipri*, a ghost in a form of a snake. Some people say that the *ipri* is a female ghost. She has a body and a human head, but from the navel to down, she has a body like a fish (like a mermaid). She lives in river, lakes or ponds.
- *Jurig Aul* is a ghost which is half dog (head), half human (body and legs). His face is at the back of the body. It is believed that the hair (*aul*) can be used as a talisman. *Jurig Aul* likes to spit and his saliva can be found on wide leaves or bushes. People should not touch the saliva because it can be dangerous.
- *Kerod* is similar to *kelong/kelongwewe* but this ghost is male. His prey is teenage girls. To avoid him, a girl should not be hanging around outside at twilight.
- *Batara Kala*, is a supernatural beings who has a power over certain times and certain places. The existence of these creature becomes a determinant of good and bad days.
- *Siluman Gunung* (the mountain demon). It is said that the mountain demon only exists in Galunggung Mountain, because that is where the kingdom is. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Tasik, the names of the areas are associated with this myth, such as the Siluman's Village in the district of Setiaratu, Tasik Malaya (Wessing, 1988, p.53).
- The swamp demons. This demon inhabits *Rawa Lakbok* and *Rawa Onom*. The demon that inhabits Onom Swamp is known as Onom, while the one inhabits Lakbok Swamp is only called a demon, these belief is coming from Ciamis.

- *Dedemit* comes from the word *demit* that means occupy. *Dedemit* is considered as a scary and spooky place because it was believed that there is a ghost that occupies and rules the place. *Dedemit* is usually a quiet place, like an empty house, under big trees, and grave/tomb.
- *Rengkenek*, is almost the same with *Jurig Aul*, but he has a monkey head with front legs are shorter than those behind him.
- *Bungaok*. It is almost the same with *loklok*, but it looks extremely ugly and it makes sound like: "ngaok ... ngaok ..." *Bungaok* is usually asked by a *paraji* (midwife) or *indung beurang* to take all the bad things from a baby, including disease. His name was mentioned in the spell of a *paraji*: "Kop legleg bungaok méré balangbéngsalna, geuleuh keumeuhna, rujit bererwitna". (Soeganda, 1982, p.41).
- *Colek-colek* is a bird with a form like a dove with a black body and red eyes.
- *Jurig gulutuk sengir*, this ghost is well known in the Sundanese community. Some mentioned his form was a rolling head piece and then his eyes saw and then smiled, usually appear in the bamboo forest.
- *Tongtohot*, a well ghost that looks like humans but has no skin. Blood pours from his entire body. Some people call *tongtohot* as a *jurig sumur* (well ghost)
- *Dongkol* is a ghost with a human body and a buffalo head. This story comes from people who live in Pangalengan, especially in the area of Situ Cileunca.

The followings are the lelembutan that are considered good:

- *Guriang* is believed to be the great-grandparents or ancestors who protect their descendants.
- *Meong*, is considered as Prabu Siliwangi, who refused to convert to Islam, so that he is cursed by his own nephew, *Kian Santang*, into a tiger. However some psychics in west java consider this creature as a guardian tiger, a pet for a *panarosan*.
- *Karuhun* or ancestor, is defined as the ancestor whose soul dwells in the world, some said it died with the process called *nga-hyang* (disappeared) as some sort of incarnation for those that are considered sacred. Moreover they called it as *sileman*, nevertheless *sileman* usually passed by *tilem* (disappear by using *ajian*-a group of spells that has the function to increase inner-borne power). *Karuhun*, often linked with the spirit of village 's creators, the family who practicing magic (Christomy, 2008, p.66).
- *Nyi Roro Kidul*, some also call it *Nyi Lara Kidul*, Sundanese people called her *Ratu Pantai Selatan* (the Queen of the South Coast), while according to the Javanese *Nyi Roro Kidul* was the maid of Queen of the South Coast. *Nyi Roro Kidul* is considered to rule the South Coast of Banten, especially at *Pelabuhan Ratu* and its surrounding areas. *Nyi Roro Kidul* is believed to be a beautiful dressed woman dressed in a traditional royal-style dress. There are various versions of this subtle story. Some categorize it as a goddess, but some others categorize it as a *siluman*.
- *Sang Hyang Kalang* has a form of flying horses, which have wings and ability to fly. It is very sacred in Tasikmalaya. He is believed to occur when people are or wish to do evil, or immoral act. Its presence is considered to thwart such actions.

The followings are lelembutan that are considered bad:

- *Ririwa*; *ririwa* appeared because of these things: the reason of the death is unknown, attacked by a tiger, drowned, suicide or killed, and poisoned by others. *Ririwa* is usually hanging around for 40 days after the person died.
- *Bobongkong* is a skull wrapped in a shroud. *Bobongkong* is usually another name for *ririwa* who has lived too long in this world.
- *Kuntianak*. She was a woman who died when she was trying to give birth to her baby. She has a form of a woman with her hair loose over her hollow back. *Kuntianak* lives at the river banks where people like to bath and in the trees by the river. *Kuntianak* also likes to live then on fragrant trees or shady trees that are covered with growing roots.
- *Kuntilalakina* is a ghost of man who walks with his hands, while his feet are above the head facing forward.

- *Centring Manik* is a ghost in a form of an old woman. The legend was associated with the presence of *Prabu Siliwangi*.
- *Baralak*. The form is like a luminous red cloud that stays in hidden places like caves.
- *Pajaratan* is a ghost (genie or devil) that occupies old graves. He may take any form as he wish.

3.3 Cooperation with supernatural beings

There are also people who collaborated with supernatural beings in order to receive assistance with certain benefits. Cooperation is performed by a *dukun/shamans* of Sundanese community with supernatural beings with the purpose of hurting people, this includes:

- *Santet*

Santet attacks the victim from a far distance. It uses inanimate objects such as a cloth, straw (a doll made of straw; a kind of voodoo doll), needles, razor blades, broken glass, stone, broom sticks, candles, yarn, flowers, incense and others as the media. According to Al Bantanny (2015), the *buhul* is a combination of original wild boar bones from Alas Roban forest, deadly snake venom, white incense, quill, lard, ground from the victim's house or the dirt from his parents' grave, and rotten eggs. First, they are all mixed, planted in the ground and given the ritual. After they become a kind of oil, a paper which has been written with the victim's name is put inside. Then, they are dipped into the blood of a *Cemani* chicken. Finally, the oil is spread near the victim's house. In the beginning, the pain that occurs in the victim's body is normal and the symptoms are not visible to the eye. Generally, the pain is only in certain parts of body. Nothing can be found when the victim is x-rayed. The aim of *santet* is to make the victim poor because he will finish his money depleted for medical treatment. (Al-Bantanny, 2015)

- *Teluh*

Teluh is the opposite of *santet*. *Teluh* is identical with the elements of animate objects, like animals. The characteristic of *teluh* is the emergence of light like a red flame that shot out and goes into the target's house. If someone is attacked with *teluh*, his body will be swollen because there are animals such as worms, coconut insects, centipedes and others inside his body. The signs of *teluh* is there is a leech or bad odor inside the victim's house.

- *Tenung*

Similar to *santet* and *teluh*, the only difference is the medium used. *Tenung* uses inanimate objects that can be sent just like *teluh*, and can only be sent through the ground. The effect caused is the presence of inanimate objects, such as broken glass, nails, needles, pieces of zinc, wire, razor blades, staples, rusty metal, inside the body. The sign of a person who is attacked with *tenung* is the presence of cracks with a regular zigzag shape in the floor inside the house.

- *Guna-guna* (hexes)

Guna-guna (hexes) uses the media that are used daily such as food, drinks and clothes. If the food and drinks are swallowed, *guna-guna* will lock the victim's body immune and make him die. Meanwhile, if the victim wears the clothes, he will feel uncomfortable and will usually die because of an accident. A sacrifice in *pesugihan* is also a kind of *guna-guna*. According to Ekadjati in Akbar as cited by A. Masruri in *The Secret of Santet, teluh or santet* is the legacy of the past that continue to survive in Sundanese community today (Akbar, 2015).

In *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian* manuscript that was written in the 6th century, it is said that *teluh* is the feeling of heartache, depressed and unhappy that are diverted to another person. According to Nitibaskara in Akbar the practice of *santet* and *teluh* in Banten has been done long before the emergence of Islam, since the era of Old Banten. The practice of *santet* began to appear after the emergence of Islam and the religion is followed by the people of Banten. This is because in the era of Hinduism and Buddhism, before Islam emerged, there were already supernatural elements that syncretized with animisms belief. According to Nitibaskara in Akbar (2015), the types of *teluh* in Banten are *teluh angin* (wind witchcraft), *teluh banyu/air* (water witchcraft), *teluh Geni* (fire witchcraft), and *teluh pangjarahan* (unseen spirits of the grave). *Teluh angin* and *teluh air* send sharp objects such as wires, needles, nails, etc., while *teluh api* and *pangraja* create a disaster. In West Java, the practice of *santet* is mostly done in the northern and southern coasts, such as Pangandaran (Ciamis), the coast of Karawang, Cianjur and South Sukabumi. According to Didin, people who do *santet*, cooperate with supernatural beings like genies and satans. There are some conditions that a person must fulfil if he

wants to cooperate with these supernatural beings. He has to do various activities which show infidelity to Islam and are forbidden in Islam, such as change his religion, worship satans, fornicate, drink alcohol, kill, insult the Holy Quran, drink the blood of *cemani* chicken, eat raw pork, contemplate and not allowed to bathe in certain time. Another form of cooperation with supernatural beings that is done by most of Sundanese people is *muja/muhit* (worship), is an attempt to ask for wealth from supernatural beings. In returns, the person has to provide a sacrifice (*wadal*) in the form of offerings or human life, giving half of the age to serve in the land of the spirits. The Sundanese community called this activity, *ngaras*, which means visiting *kuncen* (the key guard of the place that is considered haunted/sacred) or *dukun* (shaman) to perform the activity of *muja*. There terms in *pesugihan* are the followings:

- *Nyegik* is the term used for a worship activity or *pesugihan* on pig demon. The sacrifice can be the life of a family, either children or parents. In *nyegik*, the perpetrator is given a black robe and with it he can transforms into the a wild boar. With his body, he touches the wall of rich people houses and the supernatural power will suck these people's treasure/money into his belly. Usually the wild boar is called *Babi Ngepet*. To change his form into human, the wild boar can be captured and put into a *saroong*
- *Munjung*. This term is used for offering or worship to *buta hejo* (green giant). *Munjung* is done by sacrificing a woman to marry *buta hejo* and have intercourse with him minimum once a week, every Tuesday night or Friday night.
- *Ngetek*. This is a term used for offering to monkey demon. Some people called it *nyupang*. The sacrifice given is the same with *buta hejo*, but can also be accompanied with the life of family members.
- *Ngipri*, is the term for the worship to *Ipri* demon that looks like a mermaid. Some people called it snake demon.
- *Ngecit* is the term for offering by keeping *tuyul* or *kecit* (in Sundanese community). *Tuyul* is sold by shamans, this phenomenon does not only exist in West Java, but also in Indonesia in general. *Kecit* or *tuyul* usually must be breastfed by his caregiver, and given a dark and empty room. Some people say that *tuyul* or *kecit* can also be fed with a drop of blood every day. *Tuyul* in traditional Sundanese community is believed as a corpse of a 9 months old baby, who died on Tuesday or Friday and was stolen from the grave. With certain rituals, they changed into *tuyul*.

The areas that are considered as places for *pesugihan* in West Java are Gunung Masigit, Gunung Manglayang in Bandung, Gunung Hejo in Subang, Gunung Gede in Cibodas, Gunung Sancang in Garut, Gunung Ciremai and Gunung Kromong in Cirebon, Goa Gedung Manik and Gunung Salak in Sukabumi, etc.

4. Conclusion

The knowledge of supernatural world in Sundanese society is part of spirituality, as a form of faith. The question of belief in the existence of spirits, equated with the question of why a Muslim should pray. The mystery of the appearance and its form of being likened to the mystery of faith, can not be answered by ratios, not contrary to ratios but rather fixing and equipping ratios, which are considered unable to reach transcendental truths. As Aquinas expressed, Cassirer cites that religious truths can be superrational and supernatural, but they cannot be called irrational (Cassirer, 1990, p.109). In the western view, religious intuitive thought is often judged inferior to rational thought, but as Capra points out, there is a relative, absolute knowledge, or a conditional truth and transcendental truth. It also includes the understanding that rational knowledge is in fact limited. (Capra, 2006, pp.17-20).

This belief about the spirits is not a deep debate, but instead becomes an interesting discourse, a material variety of popular culture products today. In other fact this belief is used as a motivation for Sundanese people to have a good world life, not against the will of God. This way of thinking is present in most Sundanese societies, as Sumardjo (2003: p.319) points out, that the Sundanese originally had a character like holiness, hygiene, order and spiritual quality in their religiosity. They live in religion and beliefs that affect all aspects of life. For the Sundanese, religion and beliefs are still rules and controls in managing human relationships with God, nature, himself, others and in the pursuit of material progress and inner satisfaction (Ajip Rosidi, 2006). This seems to make one of the Sundanese characters less aggressive, because they have a belief there is life after death. (Sumardjo, 2003, p.319).

So that when died and then into the gaib nature, human can get perfection, if not perfect then there must be someone who perfecting it. This phase is a prototype of the piety of a Sundanese should be, a journey termed as *rawayan jati*, a bridge of *shiratal mustaqim* ala Sunda, i.e. the process of life journey right in the straight path as a Muslim-Sundanese. (Suryalaga, 2009, p.23)

Cosmology in the understanding of the Sundanese is not merely a world that is seen as a phase to be traversed, as previously expressed there is a dualism of understanding. Because in fact what is mentioned in the cosmology of Sunda, that there is a world inhabited by a variety of spirits, which in reality is believed to be society. Understanding of the division of the world separating the real or the unseen is present in the midst of a small part of society, although they do not deny that one day they will become supernatural.

Islamic teaching serve as a basis in several Sundanese traditions, the various rituals in the tradition and its completeness (offerings and equipment) pertaining to the spirits are not regarded as a polytheism, except for cooperation in devil worship and witchcraft. The debate about this phenomenon is only present from the fundamentalists of Islam and local cultural fundamentalists; Al Bustomi called it "suspicion" is still in the phase of discourse (Albustomi, 2012, p.28).

The belief in the existence of supernatural being, philosophically, it is a form of criticism so that Sundanese people can prepare themselves to face any circumstances, including fear. Besides that, this belief is an attempt to make Sundanese people to not greedy in pursuit of materialistic ambitions, and make them always remember the creator, God; the angels of death and the life after death itself. There is a proverb in Sundanese related to it:

Jodo, pati, bagja, cilaka mah kumaha Gusti. Da Jodo pati bagja cilaka mah kagungan Gusti.

Marriage, death, happiness and accidents are in God's hands, because He has the power over everything.

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