



Nature as Culture of *Penghayat*: The Landscape, Reaction, and Movement of *Penghayat* in Cilacap

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Nature; culture;
Penghayat; landscape;
movement; Ethnography.

How to cite:

Khoirnafiya, S. (2019).
Nature as Culture of
Penghayat: The Landscape,
Reaction, and Movement
of *Penghayat* in Cilacap.
ETNOSIA: Jurnal
Etnografi Indonesia. 4(2):
127 - 143.

DOI:

10.31947/etnosia.v4i2.7653

ABSTRACT

This article aims to explain how *Penghayat* does not remain silent when their views and their ritual practice are questioned. This paper describes *Penghayat* views that nature as a looking way in their daily lives and practices. They use metaphors such as folksong and traditional art contained in nature to interaction and reaction, not only with their members/citizens (self) but also with other people (others). They have knowledge about nature presenting and functioning. The knowledge of the Jagad Gumelar Ginulung in Jagad Alit is the blueprint, as guiding, from their Kaki and Nini (ancestors) spoken. With ethnographic research and landscape discourse, the author reveals how nature is seen as a culture in society. The rituals show how the values of the role of nature, both the universe and the human self-contribute to daily life, including *Penghayat* belief.

1. Introduction

In 2015, a speaker in the *Pawukon* nomination discussion told me that his friend's house of the *Penghayat* in Solo had been burned because it was considered a deviant sect. As a result of the incident, his friend's family left home even though it was storing a number of a *kris* (or *keris*).

A similar phenomenon occurred in 2018 in Cilacap about a banner that read: "Sedekah selain Allah mengundang Azab Loooh", "Buat Program Wisata yang Allah tidak Murka", "Rika Sing Gawe Dosa Aku melu Cilaka" and "Jangan Larung Sesaji Karena Bisa Tsunami." The banners signal a ban from a group of people about the *larungan* ritual because it is linked to the impact of the tsunami disaster in Cilacap. The Cilacap resident who did not oppose the contents of the banner, when I invited discussions early in 2019, said that she still concerned and sad about the earthquake in Palu on 28 September 2018 and Makassar has its effect so the citizens should not do *larungan* ritual as ceremony celebration. The

banner was finally removed by the installer. The *Penghayat* people told me about the situation that he felt offended by the contents of the banner because it related to his tradition that he had preserved so far. He also made writing on his personal blog related to the news.

The miss-understanding is a lesson for us to try to understand the culture of the "owner". How *Penghayat* as part of Cilacap resident's reaction to the banner related to the perspective of those who put nature as their culture. The biological and ecological conditions are shaped and defined through cultural and symbolic processes. Culture can thus be re-created according to the perspectives and interests of each historical actor. Culture is related to the mythological framework that deals with practical matters. The economic rationale can be recognized through myths and rituals (Sahlins, 1930). Culture is not a passive interpretation but the guidelines for action that are limited and at the same time lose. This is related to how history is narrated by the perpetrators (Sahlins 1981 and 1985). The *larungan* and other rituals of the *Penghayat* in Cilacap relate to the history of the Cilacap people, how these traditions were carried out in the past and then re-created or the history of practices interpreted. This means that the practice carried out by *Penghayat* is not a material problem of money economic motives but maybe social or political-economic reasoning of love for their ancestors in the cosmological view, cultural reason as well as the practical reason. This logic explains how the *larungan* ritual packaged in the form of a "fishing festival". An official at the festival on September 27, 2019, played the role of Raden Tjakrawerdaja III as *Adipati* (King) of Cilacap in the past who gave his blessing by handing over the 10 *jolden* to elders of fishers.

Cilacap makes me interested. In Cilacap, the number of *Penghayat* organizations numbered more than 30 organizations even hundreds of thousands of *Penghayat*, but some of them do not show their identity. However, I found the writings of the Head of the Culture and Tourism Office of Central Java that Cilacap was the best place for *Penghayat* practices. The article was not explicit, but I caught that the story in Cilacap was special. At least, I raise questions, why the story of the *Penghayat* in Cilacap is not like the *Penghayat* in Solo, and the various cases that I have found in Yogyakarta, Medan, Semarang, Brebes, and Jakarta (two years during preliminary).

During conducting my research of the *Penghayat* in Cilacap, there are several factors that affected their life in Cilacap including their children to be educated in school. However, in this article, I want to outline the relationship between the nature and culture of Cilacap with the life and response of *Penghayat* in Cilacap. The relation between natural space and culture has an impact on the life of the *Penghayat* and forms a 'unique' view. In the natural and cultural context of Cilacap, the *Penghayat* is not a group with a negative stigma, as a heretical sect, adherents of *KTP* (identity), atheist, occult, and matters of traditional symbols alone, but the *Penghayat* is equal to other citizens who have the ability to narrate in the context of natural space and Cilacap culture.

This article about the *Penghayat* is not the only one, but together with various other studies on the *Penghayat* and the existing "local religion". The existence of "local religion" reveals the idea of Kruyt (1893-1905) that local religion as an early stage religion which

was replaced in the idea of religious evolution (see Kruyt 2008) can be criticized. In another study, the issue of *Tantu Pagelaran* from Pigeud (1924) revealed the syncretism of Javanese, Hindu (Shiva), and Buddhist culture (Setyani, 2011) syncretism from religious practices at that time was also questioned by some *Penghayat* even though it revealed the greatness of the previous Kingdom era. Popular writings from Geertz (1973, 2014) about the Javanese religion contributed with criticism. Critics of his study moved Woodward (1988, 1999) to write *Slametan* and Javanese juxtaposed with Islamic perspectives, which Woodward's study was later criticized by Stange (2007; 2008). The studies of local religion revolve around the philosophy of Javanese life (Endraswara, 2013), history and practice (Beatty, 1999), the development of the *Penghayat* (Dewi, 2015), the conversion of the *Penghayat* (Rosidin 2000), *Penghayat* construction (Azis 2016; Ikhsan 2017), the struggle for the political stage of the *Penghayat* (Aryono 2018), and so on. The local religion researching specifically about the *Penghayat* in Java shows that this study is interesting, the existence of the *Penghayat* can be associated with modern and postmodern issues. For me, the limitations of the study of nature as the culture of the *Penghayat* in the context of the movement and the discourse make this paper complement previous research.

2. Method

This article is based on ethnographic research in Cilacap. The ethnography research was conducted in several sub-districts in Cilacap. Before going, I had conducted research on *Penghayat* for preliminary for more than 1.5 years in Jakarta on *Penghayat Sapta Darma*. With consideration of issues and research ideas (dissertation) is now focused in the Cilacap region.

Data collection activities began from March 2019 to the present, with the beginning of the East Cilacap region, in Nusawungu, Pesanggrahan, Kroya, Adipala, Maos, and in Kesugihan. It finds out the natural conditions and life of the *Paguyuban Resik Kubur Jero Tengah* (PRKJ). Data is collected from follower in a multi-site method, where I follow the movements of the *Penghayat*. I also move to central Cilacap such as Mertasinga and Sidanegara where the *Penghayat* often gathers in the *Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Indonesia* (MLKI). At the moment, I am in the western region of Cilacap and live in Kawunganten by following the movements of the *Penghayat* in Jeruk Legi, Bantarsari, Gandrungmangu, Sidareja, and Wanareja at the *Paguyuban Budaya Bangsa* (PBB). The unity of the Cilacap region that is not separated from one another for the life of the *Penghayat* made me consider a multi-site approach. At least, this approach will be able to understand how the Cilacap landscape relates to the *Penghayat*.

I obtained the data collection from observation of Cilacap nature and the *Penghayat* life as well as the results of in-depth interview from the *Penghayat* that I followed in their movement. I interview not only *sesepuh* (elders) by MLKI, PRKJ, PERSADA, and PBB, but also *Penghayat* organization and other organizations related in Cilacap which provided more extensive information, such as *Lapeksdam-NU*. The topics of the interview include the practice of appreciation rituals, the meaning of ritual values, history, and how nature functions because they provide important value to the *Penghayat*. I then interpret this information qualitatively.

3. Result and Discussion

- **Penghayat in Cilacap**

The term *Penghayat* appears in connection with President Suharto's speech on August 18, 1978. *Penghayat* is associated with the term belief in God as a culture. People who acknowledge and believe in the values of the appreciation of the belief in God Almighty are referred to as *Penghayat* (Sutarto, 2006:43). *Penghayat* does not belong to religion based on TAP MPR No. IV/MPR/1978 concerning GBHN by referring to article 1 of Law Number 1 PNPS of 1965 concerning Prevention of Abuse and/or Blasphemy of Religion. In addition, because of the authority of the *Penghayat* Organization under the Directorate General of Culture, the *Penghayat* are non-adherents of the officially recognized state religion, of which only six official religions, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The reason is during the 1960s, the Ministry of Religion provided provisions for the fulfillment of the elements: the existence of belief in God Almighty, having a clear legal system for its adherents, having a holy book, and a prophet (Mufid, 2012).

The conditions cause local beliefs that become the religion of the *Penghayat* not to be recognized by the state as a religion. Nonetheless, Sihombing (2009 in the Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010:53) states that the flow of belief is included in the definition of religion in the General Comment of the International Covenant on Civil Rights which explains religion and belief must be broadly defined.

Penghayat is also associated with mysticism and *abangan* (Mulder, 1983; Ricklefs 2017, 2013) who tend to see their activities personally and contestation with Islamization. This is different from Geertz's view by raising *slametan* as a communal party, symbolizing social aspects and not just mystics (protection from spirits or subtle people like *memedi*, supernatural creatures). *Slametan* becomes a kind of forum with the community, bringing together various aspects of social life and individual experience, in a way that minimizes uncertainty, tension, and conflict - or at least is considered to do so (Geertz, 2014:3). Likewise, what is seen in Cilacap, *slametan* is still practiced by *Penghayat*. The *slametan* that is part of the ritual of the Ceremony is also reviewed by Arroisi (2015) who sees the *Sekatenan* Ceremony, *slametan* tradition as a form of syncretism. But Geertz's idea is not to describe the militantly or orthodoxy of *Penghayat*, with their *Slametan* is different from the general of *kejawen*-Islam *slametan* and the Arroisi study does not reveal how the *Penghayat* also narrates that they are genuine or pure or not mixed with their understanding of the existing religion.

The communal practice is a critique of Watini's writing (2014) that places the *Penghayat* in the individual's mind. I am not rejecting the existence of the personal motivation of the *Penghayat*, such as overcoming fear, overcoming frustration, and satisfying the intellect, but Watini's study does not present aspects of the conversation outside of rituals of meditation or prostration. In a joint ritual in *Sanggar* or *Pasemuan* (ritual place) they intertwined exchange knowledge, discuss how to build togetherness to the problem of fear, share frustration and experience, and share other organization knowledge.

The studies of the *Penghayat* show the breadth of the *Penghayat* in religious identity. I understand that the *Penghayat* in Cilacap is simply a person with Javanese outlook on life-related to Javanese history. However, the actual identity possessed by the *Penghayat* has a complex variation of various factors such as religion, language, kinship, domicile, ancestral land, homeland, political preferences, and profession which are described by changing elements.

In Cilacap, *Penghayat* gathered and organized in *Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Indonesia* (MLKI), which is based in Sidanegara. The MLKI is a place for the *Penghayat* through the 2012 change process. MLKI Cilacap oversees 29 *Penghayat* organizations or 32 organizations in different versions. *Penghayat* organizations in Cilacap can be seen in the following table.

Number	Region	<i>Penghayat</i> Organization Name
1.	Nusawungu	Paguyuban Payung Agung
2.	Kroya	PRKJ Paguyuban Sumarah Kwaruh Hak Kawruh Hak 101
3.	Adipala	Paguyuban Tunggal Sabdo Jati Tunggal Jati Cahaya Buana Cahaya Sejati Ngudi Luhur Budi Luhur
4	Binangun	Paguyuban PWSKK Mugi Rahayu
5.	Cilacap Selatan	Paguyuban Anggayuh Panglereming Nafsu (APN) Suci Hati Kasempurnaan (SHK) Pakoso
6.	Cilacap Tengah	Perjalanan Tri Luhur PIKIR Hondodento Perorangan Kelompok Studi Jawanologi
7.	Cilacap Utara	Sapta Darma (Persada) Sukma Sejati Sekartaji
8.	Kawunganten	Paguyuban Hidup Betul Wayah Kaki Kamanungsan
9.	Bantarsari	Hak Sejati
10.	Jeruk Legi	Tunggal Piwulang Paguyuban Sumarah Kwaruh Hak
11.	Cipari	Jawa Sejati (PAJATI)
12.	Wanareja	Paguyuban Kapribaden Paguyuban Budaya Bangsa (PBB)

The relatively large number of *Penghayat* is found in the Paguyuban Resik Kubur Jero Tengah (PRKJ), which is relatively centered in the regions of Kroya, Adipala, Pesanggrahan, and areas around Nusawungu, Daun Lumbung, and Kesugihan. PRKJ is known as Anak Putu, Wong Perlon, and Trah Bonokeling. They are centered on the grave of Ki Bonokeling in Jatilawang, Banyumas.

The *Penghayat* enclave in the eastern area of Cilacap is the PRKJ, while the *Penghayat* enclave in the western part of Cilacap is *Penghayat Naluri*, who metaphorically in several organizations, such as PAJATI and *Paguyuban Budaya Bangsa* (PBB). Meanwhile, the Cilacap City area also has a number of *Penghayat* organizations, such as *PIKIR* and *Kaweruh Hak*.

The *Penghayat* distribution in Cilacap can be seen in the existence of the *Penghayat* office that I made in the table. However, the actual distribution was broader. For example, I found the *Sapta Darma* (Persada) studio in Nusawungu, Teluk Penyus, and Sidareja, even though the organization office was in Mertasinga. I also met *Penghayat* of PBB not only in Wanareja, but in Ujung Manik Kawunganten, Bojong Kramasari Kawunganten, Panikel Kampung Laut, Rawajaya Bantarsari, Gandrungmangu, and Banjar Patroman which is part of West Java Province, west of Cilacap. Likewise, for Wayah Kaki organization, we can also meet not only in Kawunganten, but also in the Adipala District.

Anakputu, Wong Perlon, and Trah Bonokeling run the Javanese tradition on the basis of the Javanese *Aboge* (*Alif Rebo Wage*) calendar system. Most of them, if asked, will say that they are Muslim, which is different from most *Penghayat* of PBB that they said pure of *Penghayat* even they claim to be militant.

Anakputu believes that Kyai Bonokeling is a sacred ancestor. We will see *Anakputu sowan* (going to the grave) of Kyai Bonokeling in *Sadran* month by walking. We can see them in *kaendran* (Kyai Bonokeling's *petilasan*) will be visited the previous week. According to their story, the *Kaendran* place around Mount Selok believed to be the meeting place of Kyai Bonokeling and Nyi Roro Kidul.

Pasowanan is also carried out to the tomb of Gusti Pinundi in Kroya which is his breed (kinship, red). In the appreciation ceremony, *Anak Putu* uses *beskap* (black clothes), wear *blangkon* or *iket* and *bebet* for fathers (men), while mothers (women) use the *kebaya* clothing with *tapih*. In a confined space, they use *pethakan* (white cloth). In *Pasowanan*, they clean the grave (grave rehearsal). This is believed to be the *qobul* (realizing) that becomes their need (*perlon*). Their ways are to be connected to *Hyang Maha Murbeing Dumadi*. Purposes (*perlon*) are carried out in all the months in their life cycle, from the *Suran* to the *Besar* month. Anakputu Bonokeling also conducts *slametan* related to the life cycle. Rituals are based on the life cycle from humans born, married, giving birth, until death. The '*mlebu*' salvation ritual (initiation, red) is also important because it will be counted as part of Anakputu kinship.

The number of rituals performed by Anakputu can be seen from the *keputusan* (large *slametan*) rituals. At that time, *Bedogol* would bring a bigger *keputusan* as part of the circumstance that he had to attend the *keputusan*, like an uncle as *Bedogol* from the mother whose house I lived in at that time. *Bedogol* is a ritual leader who has an important position in their social life, in addition to the main Chief of the Kyai Kunci. In fact, the life of the *Penghayat* of PRKJ was closed to those outside Anakputu. This is related to the history of their survival. However, at least we can see their rituals when they are in

Pasemuan (ritual or custom place), when they praise their prayers burning *menyan* (incense), while *menyan* is burned when they "pray" in their ancestors' graves.

Penghayat of the PRKJ is closed to the outside of them, even some *Penghayat* do not know their ritual procedures. This different character of the *Penghayat* PBB is more open. They sometimes even talk *semblotongan* (carelessly) and *cablak* (frankly) to establish intimacy with people outside them, including researchers. They are forthright and often criticize researchers in humorous situations.

Penghayat PBB has the *semedi* (meditation) ritual. There are two kinds of *semedi*, that is *semedi* and *puja semedi*. They also have the *mocopatan* tradition. *Mocopatan* for them is prayer. In starting the *semedi*, they will be led by a person who is *nyekar* or *nembang* (singing) a *mocopat* before the silent meditation. *Mocopat* becomes accompaniment of rituals such as birth, marriage, and *pangruti layon* (death ritual), also when their babies cry, when they feel the need to refuse to bark, and so on. The *mocopatan* tradition is usually carried out on the day of *weton* (birthday of Javanese calendar) of the homeowner. We will hear them sing from 9 pm to 12 pm, even more so if the agreed target is to spend one of their songs. Because it is a prayer, in *Rawajaya* these *mocopatans* are usually not used *gamelan*. This is different from the *mocopatan* learning procession in *Wanareja* is accompanied by *gamelan*. Both of them, if they follow, together provide valuable lessons.

- **Cilacap's Landscape**

Cilacap is the largest district in Central Java with an area of ± 225,360.84 ha, inhabited by around 2 million people. Cilacap's shape is very unique because it stretches from north to south bordering the Indian Ocean. The northern region is bordered by Banyumas and Brebes Regencies, while the southern region is bordered by the Indian Ocean. The western region of Cilacap is bordered by West Java (Pangandaran Regency, Ciamis Regency, Banjar City, and Kuningan Regency), while the eastern region borders Kebumen Regency. The easternmost region is Nusawungu, while the westernmost is Dayehluhur. Cilacap region is divided into 24 Districts, 269 villages, and 15 urban-villages. The topography of Cilacap Regency varies from mountainous areas, sloping terrain, to coastal areas. The highest mountain range is in Gunung Subang in Dayehluhur District, while the lowest area is in Kampung Laut District.

Nusakambangan Island is also part of Cilacap. Nusakambangan is known as the mysterious Island. This island is called the Death Island because it became a court place of the G-30 S/PKI incident and the irregularities of malaria outbreaks that occurred in the Dutch era. In Nusakambangan there were a lot of motorcycle crashes because they were on a coral cliff and Segara Anakan waters. Some residents believe that Nusakambangan is a gathering place for the spirits of haunt and Nyi Blorong Kingdom. Nyi Blorong's bodyguards often resemble beautiful women who are seductive and want to be married like the stories of residents who have married one of them. Although it looks mysterious, this island is a mainstay for Cilacap people. They believe that Nusakambangan could prevent the tsunami disaster in Cilacap. Nusakambangan is like a hill that is filled with trees and there are swamps. In this swamp, it is said to be found

several crocodiles. If a white crocodile is found, local people believe that it is an embodiment of Prabu Dewata Cengkar, the spirit king who was defeated by Aji Saka, the origin of Javanese people. *Penghayat* PBB *mocopatan* know *sigra gumulir* song which tells about how to control the crocodile.

Cilacap once was a swampy area which we can find evident from several regional names that use the word *kedung* (swamp), for example, Kedungreja, Kedung Waringin, and Kedungbenda. Nusakambangan can be seen from the Teluk Penyu (Turtle Bay) while we explore history at Pendem Fortress. Nusakambangan is in the middle of the Teluk Penyu waters connecting it and Pangandaran Beach, West Java.

In Teluk Penyu, we can find many ships anchored, a Fisherman estimates more 500 ships. When I went there, I saw that they did not look out at sea. Apparently it was Friday-Kliwon. Most fishermen believe that on the *Friday-Kliwon* taboo goes to sea so the fishermen do is put offerings on their boats. They use the offerings to be put on the boat and fishing gear. Common offerings are rice or porridge, fish, bananas, drinks such as bitter coffee or just a glass of water, and telon flowers. On Thursday evenings or Friday mornings, there are still many flower sellers and offerings at traditional markets in the fishing and coastal areas of Teluk Penyu.

The fisherman hopes to be given safety and luck from the way he is grateful. There is also the view of other fishermen that if they go to sea on Friday-Kliwon, the fishermen will get an accident due to the lack of guarding against the "guard" of the southern sea. The prohibited day (taboo) is used by fishermen to carry out other activities, such as meetings, social gatherings, community service, and other activities involving fishermen in their respective groups. *Arisan* is recognized by fishermen as a means to facilitate donations in the event with contributions ranging from 400 thousand (rupiah) per fisherman. This month of Suran is a *slametan segoro* tradition (sea alms or *larungan*) held for many years. Friday-Kliwon is also used by some fishermen to repair their boats and nets. This statement was justified by another fisherman when I interviewed him in Pangandaran after lived few months Teluk Penyu. He was in the house of the boat owner on Friday-Kliwon since it is taboo to the sea. This fisherman also told about the great Suran tradition with 400 thousand fishermen per pull for making *uberampe* (equipment) and *jolen* (large offerings).

In contrast to Teluk Penyu fishermen, fishermen on Sodong Beach, located under Selok Mountain have a way of catching fish by not using boats but only putting nets. A stall seller at Sodong Beach described it, although it looked calm, the seawater there was very dangerous so that no boat was going to sea, there is a story that reveals a boat disappeared after trying to sail. The story then continued with a myth about Nyi Roro Kidul who made the fishermen as soldiers in Kidul Palace. Another story also emerged about the magic of Nyi Blorong in the *pesugihan* (getting rich ritual) story, so that snakes that appear on the Sodong Beach should not be killed (snake is closely related to the Nyi Blorong). This belief made sellers should lead snakes out of shops in case the reptile sliythier in instead of kill them. There is a belief that the snakes around the Sodong Beach are the embodiment of the commanders or troops of Nyi Blorong who are the favorite

commanders of Nyi Roro Kidul. Around this beach, it is believed that whoever comes to Cilacap earlier, the presidential candidate will become president, and some people say that Jokowi has come late at night to quietly come to Mount Selok. Whether true or not, but the salesperson was sure, even though he blatantly told me as a supporter of Prabowo.

Cilacap is famous for its caves and the beach. The scenery on Sodong Beach, for example, is Rahayu Cave, Ratu Cave, and Nagaraja Cave. We can also see other less popular caves, such as Lawa Cave or Kampret Cave and Pakuwaja Cave with *Pakuncen* that is a *Penghayat* PRKJ. In this Pakuwaja Cave, I see baths and *semedi*. The Rahayu Cave, Ratu Cave, and Nagaraja Cave are related to cave that can bring someone together with Nyi Ratu Kidul. In Ratu Cave there is a belief that Bung Karno received the *Pancasila wangsit*, so it is not surprising that in Ratu Cave we see the bird view of *Garuda Pancasila* at its entrance. Meanwhile, Soeharto is said to have meditated more in Nagaraja Cave as a cave believed by the Kingdom of *Ratu Kidul*. Here also heard the story of the giving of the Nyi Roro Kidul Heritage Kris called the Sacred Heritage of Grand *Nagaraja*. This heritage is believed to have supernatural powers so that it can transform into a giant dragon. Concerning the difference between dragons and snakes, some residents argue that giant snakes are dragon-shaped. The *Nagaraja* snake is green with a *jolden* crown that is believed to rule thousands of supernatural beings in Nagaraja Cave. A person is believed to be able to obtain the heritage of Eyang Nagaraja when he meditates in the Cave in his dream will be met by a beautiful woman known as Nyi Ratu Kidul.

At the noodle seller's house around the cave, I found a painting of Nyi Roro Kidul (which he likened to Nyi Ratu Kidul) mounted on the wall. The seller is a native there and has been selling for more than twenty-five years. I stopped at this stall when walking along with the strong smell of *menyan* around the caves. She was seen escorting a woman who was going to take a bath in Rahayu Cave. There is a belief that water from the caves in Mount Selok can be used as a means to treat disease, so it is not surprising that some people who come in carrying bottles. There was no story that women meditated in Rahayu Cave, but it was men who meditated there.

The other views of Selok Mountain are several places of worship. When climbing the mountains we see *Pura* of the *Mandara Giri* and *Vihara* of the *Tri Ratna Mandara Giri* with its caretaker Mbah Bhante. Mbah Banthe was called by Rama Tedjo who was formerly a *Penghayat Tri Tunggal* and then converted to Buddhism. We also see the Great *Padepokan* of *Sahyang Jati* as one of *Padepokan Penghayat*. We can also see the tomb of *Kyai Mahfud* who is believed to be the tomb of Mbah Somelangu that is still visited by his successor.

Selok Beach is better known even though in some billboards it is mentioned *Sodong Beach*. If one calls it *Sodong Beach*, generally it has been through the entrance ticket payment to *Sodong Beach*, while the term *Selok Beach* when someone passes it down the steep stairs from *Selok Mountain* without having to pay for a ticket or round the mountain for more than half an hour of walking.

Selok Mountain is not the only one. In the eastern region of Cilacap we will find the and Srandil Mountains. There are taboo in the Twin Mountain and Srandil Mountain for bringing the couple to be married. There are stories that the arrival of President Soeharto on Srandil Mountain, the story of many Chinese people coming in the *Suran* month. Around Srandil Mountain, apparently there are several *Penghayat* organizations. They are *Wayah Kaki*, *Sabda Tunggul Jati*, *Cahya Buwana*, *paguyuban Cahya Sejati*, *Paguyuban Kaweruh Hak 101*, and *Paguyuban Kerabat Mataram*. However, *Wayah Kaki* is better known in *Kubangkakung Kawunganten*, West of Cilacap.

Srandil Mountain is popular with the myth of *pesugihan* (getting to be rich) or supernatural powers. There is a story about the mystery of *pesugihan* in *Srandil*, which is *tumbal* (sacrificed), but it is denied by residents. Although believed to be a disadvantage, the people around Srandil seem to live a simple life, mostly as farmers. *Pesugihan* is only a mythos, even for local residents, neighbors who look like they have a rich house due to *pesugihan*, so they are not happy because they are not liked by the local people.

Srandil Mountain, although it is called a mountain, people call it is a small mountain. It is similar to a forested hill. If we go around it only takes no more than 10 minutes, this is different from Selok Mountain which takes hours on foot. In *Srandil* precisely at the top, we climb the stairs that have been made there are places for the pyramid. *Eyang Semar* or *Tunggul Sabdo Jati Kaki Doyo Amung Rogo* is said to occupy the main *pepunden*. No wonder there is a group called the *Wayah Kaki* and *Tunggul Sabdo Jati*. Some people believe that they will obtain the *Kalimasada mestika* as a sacred treasure to open their fortune when they meet the figure of Grandma *Sukma Jati*. *Mustika* that absorbs positive energy will cleanse the negative energy that is in humans. This positive energy is believed to be obtained directly instead of sacrificing. They believe that everyone has different inner forces that can be felt from the vibrations of energy. That is related to one of *Srandil* meanings, a connection with a place to seek justice. There is a belief that if there are two or more people at odds if they are brought to *Srandil* they will be queried or reconciled, including disputes with themselves.

The Cilacap landscape relates to the livelihoods of its citizens, including *Penghayat*. Most of the *Penghayat* in Cilacap are farmers although some *Penghayat* are officials or state apparatuses and entrepreneurs. They are farmers, both in the sense of rice farmers, fish farmers, garden farmers, or fisherman farmers.

The center of rice is in Maos. There are differences in conditions that make Maos better known as a rice producer rather than Adipala. The Maos district has been irrigated with irrigation systems from the Serayu River, while Adipala has not maximized the irrigation system and is dependent on rain and mountain water flow. However, Adipala farmers are proud because they produce plants like Palawija, not so in Maos. The soil in Adipala is more likely to Palawija plant because the soil is not cracked (large with holes). Along the farmland in Adipala, we also encounter graves. Some graves look clean) along Adipala.

In the harvest season, we see a stretch of yellowing rice on agricultural land, there are also *palawija* and coconut trees. The agricultural land is drained by the rivers around it. There are several rivers including the Serayu River, Cikawung River, Cijalu River, Kedung Pasung River, Citandui River, and Cibereum River. A river is also a place where farmers catch fish, in addition to ponds. Fish food can also be seen from nature, such as taro leaves. They said that if the Cibereum overflowed so residents of parts of Sidareja would be flooded.

In dry season, in some places, the rice harvest failed because the river flow did not meet the needs of rice. Not only the rice, but also wells dry up. In some place west of Cilacap, such as *Kawunganten*, even though in the mountains there is still lack of water in the dry season. They must *ngangsu* (draw) using a motor to several wells where there is still water. Meanwhile, wells that still have water sometimes are in the form of saltwater, like the one I used in the last few weeks. I also feel how rice pests such as *kethupluk* (ladybug soil) enter the house. However, residents responded it calmly, as if they were already accustomed to seasonal pests. They keep turning on the lights by putting a bucket of water around the lamp and most of them choose to turn off the lights.

Cilacap nature is not only mountains, but part of the Cilacap area is also covered by forests. Forests are managed by the state, private sector, and the surrounding community. Private companies make forests as plantations such as rubber, coconut, coffee, and pinus. Some views of the rubber forest can be found, for example, in the Ciseru Cipari area. The wood plantations we can find along the *Kubangkakung Kawunganten* road. There are also *Jatropha* plantations, eucalyptus oil, and patchouli. In Cilacap, the term of the *deres* farmer is also known for those who take water from coconut trees and rubber tree.

From the Cilacap landscape, *Penghayat* lives with Cilacap nature. This starts from the *Tajakembang* community located in Cijeruk Village, Dayeuhluhur District to Nusawungu. Cilacap's landscape is related to various folklore and history. For example, the Serayu River is associated with the 8th century Galuh Kingdom, where Galuh ended around the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, along with the end of the Sunda Kingdom, centered on Pakuan Pajajaran (Zuhdi, 1991). The power of the Galuh Kingdom covered Banyumas and Segara Anakan areas and was replaced by Mataram. The power of Mataram in 1629 ended because the Dutch controlled Cilacap from 1705-1942 (Zuhdi, 1991). In the era of Mataram kingdom, Cilacap Regency was better known as Handaunan (currently Donan). Mataram's power over the Cilacap region made the infiltration of Javanese in the Cilacap.

Cilacap is a former resident of southern Banyumas. The residency was an administrative division in a province in the Dutch East Indies and later in the Indonesian independence until the 1950s. A residency consists of several districts. The Banyumas ex-residency covers four districts, namely Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap, and Banjarnegara. The four districts have historically good attachments. This is because the formation of the four regencies in the ex-residency was motivated by the tragic event of the death of a prominent Adipati Warga Utama from the Wirasaba duchy. His Death left a legacy to

his former Banyumas residency known as pepali 'abstinence' Adipati Wirasaba. This is related to the killing of him to slander from Demang Toyareka (his own younger brother). The defamation of Ki Demang Toyareka is a response to the violation of Adipati Wirasaba on the second agreement. Both agreed to marry off their sons and daughters. Adipati Wirasaba sent his daughter to be a *selir* (concubine) to Sultan Pajang. Ki Demang Toyareka was upset to report to Sultan Pajang that Adipati Wirasaba's daughter was a widow of the district. Sultan Pajang was angry and sent soldiers to execute Adipati Wirasaba on his journey to Pajang, whereas the meaning of *kabla* widow is the status of a widow that has not been married or still holy. The soldier managed to thrust the spear into the chest of the Adipati. Before he died the Adipati Wirasaba gave authority (*pepali* or taboo) to his descendants, the Wirasaba duchy community. *Pepali* includes: do not marry with *Toyareka* kinship and do not ride the *dhawuk* or a gray horse.

The *papali* is known by *Penghayat* but there are several versions of it, for example just riding the *dhawuk* horse. She is said that the horse is special because the horse is only suitable for kings and nobles. The incident made a kinship with *Trah bonokeling Jatilawang Banyumas* with *Anakputu Cilacap*. In addition, Cilacap as a former of Banyumas residency, influences the use of the *Ngapak-Banyumasan* language by Cilacap people.

- **Nature as Culture of *Penghayat***

A woman who lives in Jayagiri around Gunung Jaya, whom I call *Mamak*, does not remain silent when the local residents question their religious beliefs. Her daughter also answered it. When her kinship questioned who followed her parents as *Penghayat* PBB. *Penghayat* PBB has a history of *naluri* (*kodrat* or instinctual) teaching centered on *Wanakriya Gombong*. In contrast to her daughter, who answered that the decision to follow her parents was due to human rights and while leaving quietly, *Mamak* tried hard to answer all the questions she knew. She quests about *Rahayu's* greetings and the purple cloth covering the corpse, the question that is often expressed is related to what the scriptures are. She loudly answered that *Jagad Gumelar* was honestly spoken by their *Kaki-Nini* (male-female ancestor) or abbreviated as *Turki/ni*. *Jagad Gumelar's* explanation for *Mamak* relates to the universe that can be used as a guide to his life, although not written in the form of a book, she believes that the teachings of *Jagad Gumelar* would not be able to be written in a book.

Mamak admits that she has a more confident character than some other *Penghayat*. She even motivated a *Nini* (*mbah*) to pour out his heart because the *Nini* child questioned why she was present at the *sarasehan* of *Penghayat* meeting. Now, *Nini* is not taking part in *sarasehan* because her daughter is saying, why does she keep on *nggoleti* (seeking) God. *Nini* now lives in her own home and works to find grass or to harvest.

When there is an event in his village, *Mamak* will try expressing her opinion. One of her opinions is when slaughtering a cow. She suggested that the cow's head should be planted into the ground and placed at the crossroads around his village. She was very sure that the tradition had preserved from ancestors (the head of a cow as an offering) was not intended for satan as many times people thought it was, but a sign of gratitude

for the earth that had given human life. The opinion is similar to her daily life putting aside a little rice on his plate which is said to be believed for his ancestors. However, *Mamak's* opinion was opposed by other residents, the residents said that instead of being buried underground and eaten by maggots, the head of a cow weighing up to 25 kg should be distributed by residents. There is a case when a resident is ill due to the head, his leg is festering and it is said that there are maggots, yet *Mamak* still visits the resident at the Hospital.

Mamak shared her experience with other *Penghayat PBB*. She was enthusiastic when we discussed the funeral traditions of *Penghayat PBB* with some interesting experiences shared by other citizens. For example, the story of Mr. Sarino who intends to treat the corpse (*pangruti layon*) with the procedures of *Penghayat PBB* to his citizens in Kebumen, but the family of the body rejects and finally buries with Islamic procedures. For some reason, about 100 days from the funeral, the grandson of the corpse from Jakarta suddenly came to Kebumen and got angry, like someone possessed asking for the body to be buried by the procedures of *Penghayat* and then the family confuse. So, Mr. Sarino in Cilacap was called and asked for help like the one his grandson wanted. With careful consideration, Mr. Sarino could not possibly open the coffin, he also understood that he did not get problem with the police if he opened the grave, so he looked for alternatives by making new smaller crates that were then filled with purple clothes (*wungu* as wake up cloth) and finally placed on the grave of the deceased. Then after that incident, the grandchild recovered immediately.

The grandfather *sukma* (spirit) enters into his grandchildren, in *Penghayat PBB*, the term *sukma* different from *hidup* (soul of life), in anthropology called *mana*. Such practices have structural dynamics that have meaning for cultural masters by defining objects or people who are part of them (see Sahlins, 1930:26-28), although they are related to kinship relationships, where entry into one's body is not always the case. This explains their belief in the presence of Den Nur Hadi Wahyuningrat as Ki Bagus Hadikusuma's successor who became the son of the chosen child even though there was no blood relation. The story is similar to the birth of Ki Bagus Hadikusuma, the earliest elder of the teachings, after the stomach (womb) of his mother who was boarded by a *Pleret kris*. The form change is transformed with complex (Sahlins, 1930;30-37). A king in the terminology of *satrio paningit* (chosen person), is able to mediate relations with the cosmos which is the power of his sovereignty (Sahlins, 1983). The heroism history of Ki Bagus Hadi Kusuma and his son who is connected with which makes *Penghayat PBB* continue to preserve their teachings with a variety of rituals, which can be different from other *Penghayat* because of the admission process of his students who are scattered in various regions. This makes the *Penghayat PBB* ritual differences in Rawajaya and in Gandrungmangu. Even so, they believe it is in the unity of the instinctual teachings taught by Ki Bagus Hadi Kusuma.

The relationship between human and the *sukma* for the *Penghayat* can be seen when they read *kidung* (hymns) and *erang-erang* (reminder statement) when guiding the corpse's *sukma*. It appears they are communicating with the *sukma* of the dead, such as one of the

pupuh (paragraphs) of the *Kinanti* song that was read when I attended a ritual at Kawunganten and Rawajaya.

Duh kadang ingsun ning kubur [Yes, my brother/sister who is buried]

Mapan ono jeroning bumi [Well established in the earth]

Mugo-Mugo antuka pangapura (Hopefully get forgiveness)

Pariyitno lawan sing eling [Ready to guard and keep in remember]

Akeh kang podo nggudo rencono [Many will tease the plan]

Ono jaman sunyo ruri [There is an era of Suwung / lonely and pitch dark]

Mr. Sarino who lives around Gunung Ujung Manik explained some of the meaning of the *kidung* that were read during *mocopatan*. A *kidung* that we once discussed was also a *pangruti layon* (corpse procedure). One song of *Gambuh* is as follows.

Ruktinya Ngakah Ngukud [Take care of it by trying to master]

Ngiket Ngruket Tri Loka Kakukud [Tying tightly or attaching three universes into one]

Jagad Agung Ginulung lan Jagad Alit [The Big World realm is inserted into the Small World]

Den Kendel Kumandel kulup [Strengthen your belief my son]

Lan kalaping alam kono [Against the glitter of that nature]

The *kidung's* message, according to Mr. Sarino, an effort to get closer to God, then humans must be able to control themselves and bind the three worlds. That are lust, anger, and actions that are not good. The *kidung* of *Rukti Ngakah Ngukud*, in several writings in the media it is stated that it is the 65th, *Pupuh Gambuh*, *Serat Wedatama* by KGPAA Sri Mangkunegara IV. The Three Realms are said to be the three universes, namely material nature, the mental realm, and the spirit realm. Meanwhile, the big universe is the macrocosm, which is the whole universe, and the small universe is the microcosm of human beings. Thus, just God has power over the macrocosm, humans should also rule over the microcosm. Humans should be able to subdue the turmoil that is in him. The desires and dreams should be arranged in harmony because humans are often tempted by the glitter of the world, so they must strengthen their beliefs. Another *kidung* is the *Sarira Ayu* song. It is read for starting the barring. In another version, *Kidung Sarira* is called *Kidung Sunan Kalijaga* who was a guardian from Java and does not eliminate Javanese traditions in his Islamic *da'wah*.

Do they plant the heads of animals to bring prosperity, or in the end, is it excessive? Are the *larungan* and *slametan* continuously wasteful? Are their behavior considered as rational? For *Penghayat PBB*, humans are produced in nature and they do not violate natural laws (nature). For some anthropologists, this view emerges that humans are very dependent on nature, that is, dependent on water, wind, air, and land or landscapes. Nevertheless, humans have an influence on nature, fertility, and damage.

In *Penghayat's* cosmological mind, this is similar to the concept of culture as a coherent or holistic tradition. This view of culture includes not only human activities which include elements such as the economic life of production and social relations of kinship but also "material culture". They control nature which they interpret as a culture. This is

because nature is interpreted as the world of *gumelar* which is reflected in the world *gumulung*. The universe that is around for humans is part of human beings themselves. Even in conversations with them, the universe has a likeness to the human self. Thus, protecting the natural environment is looking after humans themselves.

Nature unity can be expressed through dance art. It is the unity of motion, patterns, fashion, and accessories. In Suran for example, a *Baladewa* dance is often performed. *Baladewa* is a puppet figure known for being honest, decisive, fair, and wise. This figure is believed to be a god who cast out evil spirits thus residents hope to be saved.

The art created by humans, all movements are landscapes, becomes a projection that animals and plants grow by perceived melody (feeling). The art depicts human consciousness and historical knowledge (Langer, 1967a). In symbolic logic, the composition of art, not merely material but non-material, or vice versa. There is a relationship between forms in it, of course, if humans change their original form, it requires knowledge of the meaning of the sign and provide its interpretation (Langer, 1967b). Symbolic transformation is a natural thing from humans. The myth is difficult to connect, but with story formulation, it will be easily accepted. Thus, art, is not only a form of play or entertainment, but is a special form of thought or thought construction, which distinguishes it from the basic form of animals. Rituals as well as art become an active link of symbolic change as a basis for human growth. Symbolic articulation depends on how it provides functions and effects. Ritual and mythic interests influence thinking and have practical power (Langer, 1948).

Penghayat has the language used to communicate with their environment, for example, the *cowongan* (dance asking for rain) and *ebeg* (horse braid) tradition. In *ebeg* dance, we will find an elder called a *penimbul*. *Penimbul* is believed to be able to invite *indang* (ancestor spirit in different realms) to participate in dancing and enjoying the entertainment of braid horses. In *Sitinggil*, a *penimbul* said that the pilgrims were not satan, but their ancestor, who would be comforted (after feeling comforted would return home). In *PBB Sanggar*, the *ebeg* shows their close relationship with the *penimbul* and *indang*. The children did not appear to be afraid when a dancer and the audience entered *indang*, while some other residents prepared to provide offerings such as rice and side dishes or telon flowers. They look happy, laughing, enjoying the *ebeg* dish. *Penimbul*, as someone who is able to communicate with "the *indang* person" will ask, what food he/she wants.

The humans relate to others, conducting an inter-personal dialogue. The clue is the achievement of their communication through dreams, myths, spells, and singing. Animals and plants in faith may have human *sukma* because of *sin* which must be accounted for. For *Penghayat PBB*, the animals such as goats or horses may have human *sukma*. Therefore, the animals should not be despised, like dogs they tell of being able to make a call to prayer when the evening comes. For them, such animals could have human *sukma*. Likewise, *kris* artifacts are creatures, as described by *Penghayat* in Teluk Penyau. He said that several times both of his *kris* had been handed over to other elders in Cilacap, but it was said that the full word of the *kris* seemed to indicate anger and

movement, and finally returned to the *Sapta Darma* resident. It is said that the soul in the *kris* wants to remain close to him.

4. Conclusion

The natural landscapes for *Penghayat* contain a cultural landscape of understanding. A cultural landscape is an environment that is influenced by humans that are interpreted and functioned for their life. They have a cultural landscape because as far as they carry out activities on their nature. This view reveals that human activity is responsible for the natural change, climate change, and natural damage. As long as nature is not over, humans manage nature wisely while nature defends its interests. It will be angry if it is threatened. This is related because humans are in several relationships at once, including human relationships with the world in which their lives, human relationships with people between whom their lives, and finally the relationship between humans and self.

Most of the Cilacap *Penghayat* is farmers who meet household needs with their own production. They are independent by producing agricultural products than others, for example, the animal feed they care for comes from what they grow. The virtue of the *Penghayat* is related to how he/she treats the land, water, wind, and air around them. They are not individuals who are aggressive wanting to use nature. Nature is not to be owned by individuals, but nature is functioned for the common good. *Penghayat* makes themselves attached to nature, the presence of nature in the cultural landscape. *Penghayat* creates stronger bonds between their neighbors. With the principle of the cosmo-ecology, they believe human health and human well-being depend on the presence of nature. Local wisdom held by the resident of Cilacap explained that humans help nature (land) which actually will help humans themselves.

5. References

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