

The Construction of Sign that Form *Kabuyutan* Cibulan

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ABSTRACT

Cibulan or known as Cibulan Tourism Object is a place that is believed to be *kabuyutan*. This belief is not only seen from the myths that develop in the community around Cibulan, but there are signs which are the construction of a *kabuyutan*. This study uses a paradoxical aesthetic approach belonging to Jakob Sumardjo, namely the triple pattern or *tritangtu*. Cibulan has the necessary signs such as Well 7 as a symbol of determination, *Batu Petilasan* as a symbol of speech, and a large tree as a symbol of *Lampah* which indicates a *kabuyutan*. These three signs are also symbols of *Sang Hyang Hurip* and *Tritangtu*. Apart from the *tritangtu* element, Cibulan's location is at the confluence of the male and female rivers as a condition for building a *kabuyutan*. That is the construction of signs forming *kabuyutan* where this research will explain the signs and the role of the Cibulan *kabuyutan* in society.

Keyword: *kabuyutan*, cibulan, sign, river, *tritangtu*.

INTRODUCTION

Cibulan is a tourist attraction located in Manis Kidul Village, Kuningan, West Java. This tourist attraction presents a bathing pool in which there is a sacred god fish. In addition to providing a god fish bathing pool, Cibulan Tourism Object also has another attraction, namely the source of *Sumur 7* spring. *Sumur 7* is a place believed by the surrounding community as a place whose spring water can provide blessings. Not only that, *Sumur 7* has a myth about *petilasan* which is believed to be a *petilasan* from Prabu Siliwangi. Myth is a nation's story about gods and heroes in ancient times, containing interpretations of the origin of the universe, humans, and the nation contains deep meanings expressed in supernatural ways (Pratiwi, 2017, p. 2).

With the Kuningan community's belief in the myths that exist in Cibulan regarding

sumur 7, *petilasan*, and God's fish, makes Cibulan a place that has magical and sacred power. But whether the sacredness is only a belief that is passed down orally from generation to generation, or there are signs that can be used as a benchmark that this place was built with a specific purpose.

Sumur 7 is called *buyut* or *kabuyutan* which is believed by the community and visitors, especially psychics, to be the Tummaritis hermitage during the Semar era in the puppet show (Noerdjito, et al, 2009, p. 367). *Kabuyutan* comes from the word *buyut* which means "taboo" or forbidden, which is a special place that cannot be visited by just anyone because the place is sacred and isolated from human habitation (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 115). A place is called sacred because of the presence of *Sang Hyang Hurip* in that place. Based on *Baduy* mythology, *Sang Hyang Hurip* consists of *Batara Kersa*

(*Tekad, Kehendak*), *Batara Kawasa (Lampah, Tenaga, Energi)*, and *Batara Bima Mahakarna (Ucap dan Pikiran)*. The three entities become a single entity called *Batara Tunggal* or also known as *Sang Hyang Hurip* in the book of *Sawaka Darma*.

There are certain conditions for *Sang Hyang Hurip* can be present in a place or *kabuyutan*. The condition that must exist is that the place must have symbols of *Tekad, Ucap, and Lampah*. The symbol of *Tekad* or sky is a source of water, the symbol of *Lampah* or the earth is represented by the presence of forests or large trees around it, while for the symbol of *Ucap* as the human world there must be an arrangement of large stones (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 119).

Kabuyutan cannot be built just anywhere. *Kabuyutan* can only be built at the confluence of two rivers, or it can be called *Patimuan* (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 118). The two rivers are also called the male river and the female river. The Male rivers usually have clearer water. This male river enters the female river whose water tends to be turbid. The flow of the female river comes from upstream to downstream and is long. That is why the water in the female's river tends to be turbid. The female's river is also the state river that unites the villages. Therefore, people do not have the freedom to choose sacred locations, they just look for it and find it with the help of mysterious signs (Eliade 2002, p. 21).

Judging from its environment Cibulan, it can be said that Cibulan was built with a specific purpose. The location of Cibulan has similarities with the characteristics that exist in a *kabuyutan*. But this must be examined more deeply because there has been no research on whether Cibulan is a *kabuyutan* or just a sacred place.

With the above problems, a study is certainly needed that can answer these

problems. This study will try to see if Cibulan has the necessary requirements to become a *kabuyutan*.

This study used Jakob Sumardjo's Paradoxical Aesthetic approach, namely the three or *tritangtu* pattern. The philosophical basis of Sundanese society is often referred to as *tritangtu* or three-pattern relationship. The philosophical basis of Sundanese society is called *tritangtu* or triple pattern relationship. The concept of *tritangtu* or three pattern is harmonizing two different things and producing one harmony from both.

The Sundanese three pattern comes from the cosmology of Baduy and Jatiraga Galuh. As a farming community, they consider there are three important parts in this life. The three important parts are the sky as the giver of rain, the land as the place where plants grow, and humans who harmonizemaarry between the sky and the earth or land so that these things can happen. Therefore there are three *buana* or worlds known as *buana nyuncung* (above), *buana pancatengah* (middle, human), and *buana larang* (earth) (Sumardjo, 2014, p. 177). The symbols of the three worlds are water representing the upper world, land representing the lower world or earth, and stone representing the middle world or humans.

The term of *tritangtu* is mentioned in the old Sundanese manuscript, *Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian* (1518) on plate 26 "this is *tritangtu* on earth, *Bayu pinahka prebu, sabda pinahka rama, hedap pinahka rei*" (these are the three provisions in the world. *Kesentosaan kita ibarat raja, ucap kita ibarat rama, budi kita ibarat resi*) (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 59). The text shows that *tritangtu* has elements of *bayu, sabda, hedap* or Sundanese terms are now better known as *lampah, ucap, and tekad*. *Lampah, ucap, tekad* can

be interpreted as something alive or *Sang Hyang Hurip*. This is the reason why in Sundanese culture everything is divided into three provisions so that everything can be *hurip* or in the sense of being safe, healthy, prosperous, perfect, good and right.

Based on Baduy mythology, *Sang Hyang Hurip* consists of *Batara Kersa* (*tekad, kehendak*), *Batara Kawasa* (*lampah, tenaga, energi*), and *Batara Bima Mahakarna* (*ucap and pikiran*). The three entities become a single entity called *Batara Tunggal* or also known as *Sang Hyang Hurip* in the book of Sawaka Darma.

Basically, *tritangtu* is the unity of *Tekad, Ucap, Lampah* (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 60). *Tekad, ucap, lampah* itself actually has a contradiction or opposite nature in it. *Tekad* is opposite to *Lampah*, while *Ucap* is the connector or mediator of both. *Ucap* as a mediator is referred to as the middle *siger* or middle *siniger*. The middle *siger* is a philosophy of harmony which if there are two existences that have opposite properties (contradictions), then the two existences can be harmonized by the existence that has the nature of both. Thus, the three are one and the one contains the structure of the three (Sumardjo, 2019, p. 65).

The method in this research is a qualitative method. According to Sugiyono (2011), qualitative research methods are research methods based on the philosophy of post-positivism, used to research on natural object conditions. The data collection techniques carried out in this research are literature studies, observation, and documentation.

1. Literature Study

Researchers try to find data by reading previous studies or books that have relevant data in accordance with the chosen research topic. "In the formulation

of concepts, researchers have the freedom to give meaning according to their research objectives, or choose from existing formulations from previous researchers" (Koentjaraningrat, 1977, pp. 29-36).

2. Observation

According to Arikunto (2002, p. 133) observation includes loading activities on an object using all sensory devices. Researchers look directly at the object to be studied to obtain data based on the experience gained in the place where the research object is located. By looking directly at the object of research and interacting with the actors there, researchers can get data that can be used as a reference source and can also be a comparison of previously obtained data.

3. Documentation

Sugiyono (2007, p. 329) states that documents are records of events that have passed in the form of writing, pictures, or monumental works of a person. Data in the form of writing and images related to the object of research are collected and researched in order to obtain the information needed in the research.

DISCUSSION

A. The requirements of Cibulan as a *Kabuyutan*

Kabuyutan is a sacred place for Sundanese people. Sacred places are often considered as places that have spiritual values, places that have magical power. In the life of Sundanese society, it is possible that the concept of *kabuyutan* began to exist during the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom era, but the written mention of *kabuyutan* was only found in the 11th century AD (Yulifar, 2018, p. 475). Not a few people believe that sacred places are places where supernatural things gather. Therefore, there are many rules and prohibitions when entering a sacred place.

Not all sacred places can be made into a *kabuyutan*. There are certain requirements for a place to be a *kabuyutan*. A place can be called *kabuyutan* if it has the necessary conditions. As Jakob Sumardjo said that the great-grandfather or *kabuyutan* is a sacred place where *Sang Hyang Hurip* is present in that place.

The requirement for *Sang Hyang Hurip* to be present in a place is that there must be *Tekad*, *Ucap*, and *Lampah* symbols in that place. *Tekad*, *Ucap*, and *Lampah* are the requirements that must exist in a *Kabuyutan*. This is what distinguishes *kabuyutan* from other sacred places.

In addition to the symbol of *Sang Hyang Hurip* in that place, a *kabuyutan* can only be built between a male river and a female river that meets or *patimuan*. (source)

1. Symbols of *Tekad*, *Ucap*, and *Lampah* in Cibulan

Cibulan which is located in Manis Kidul Village or now known as Cibulan Tourism Object, is geographically located in the middle of a settlement. But the nature around Cibulan is still well maintained and beautiful. The big trees around Cibulan are still standing strong more than 50 years old. Natural springs in Cibulan are also still maintained. The spring is part of the Cibulan Tourism Object and is known as *Sumur 7*.



Figure 1.
Cibulan bathing pool with god fish in it
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

If we try to map Cibulan Tourism Objects, it will look like the picture below.

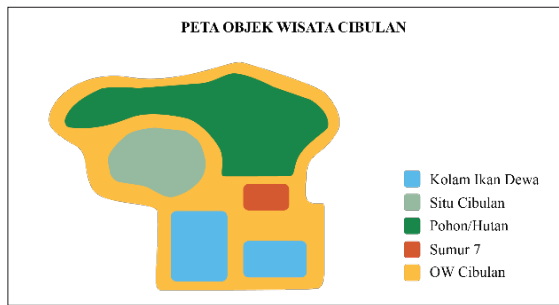


Figure 2. Cibulan Tourism Object Map
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

It can be seen that Cibulan has a green part which is an area of many large trees that are still maintained. The brick-red part is part of the *Sumur 7* area in which there are springs and *petilasan* stones.

When viewed from the mapping of Cibulan Tourism Objects, Cibulan has a symbol or sign that is needed as a condition for the presence of *Sang Hyang Hurip*. The signs are *Tekad*, *Ucap*, and *Lampah* which are one of the requirements for the existence of a *kabuyutan*.

The symbols can be seen as a *tritangtu*. So that we can see the three patterns in it. Symbols or signs of *Tekad*, *Ucap*, *Lampah* in Cibulan can be seen in table 1.

Symbol	
<i>Tekad</i>	Spring Source <i>Sumur 7</i>
<i>Ucap</i>	Petilasan Stone
<i>Lampah</i>	Forest or Big Tree

Table 1. Symbol of *Tekad Ucap Lampah* in Cibulan

a. *Tekad* = Spring Source *Sumur 7*

Cibulan has a spring known as *Sumur 7*. This spring represents the symbol of *Tekad* in Cibulan as one of the requirements for *kabuyutan*. The source of the spring water can also represent the sky or the upper world. Water evaporates into the sky into clouds and drops rain on the earth.

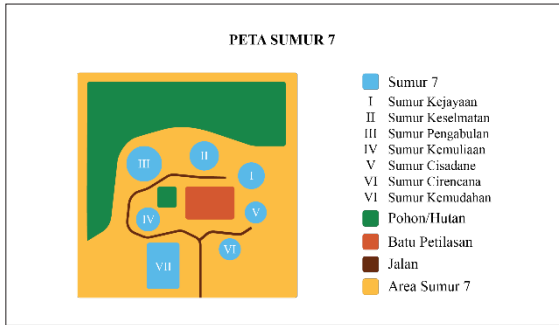


Figure 3. Map of Sumur 7 with information on the sequence of wells, paths, petilasan stones and forests (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The source of *sumur 7* spring water or often called *Sumur 7* is one of the religious attractions in Cibulan Tourism Object. It is called *sumur* because the spring water that comes out forms like a small pool or *sumur* (Prasetyo et al, 2022, p. 31). The seven *Sumur* have different sizes ranging from 1.5 meters x 1.5 meters, but there are *Sumur* that are quite large ranging from 3 meters x 4 meters, namely the seventh *Sumur*.

Each *Sumur* has a name, namely (1) *sumur kejayaan*, (2) *sumur keselamatan*, (3) *sumur pengabulan*, (4) *sumur kemuliaan*, (5) *sumur cisdane*, (6) *sumur cirancana*, and (7) *sumur kemudahan*. The names represent wishes or *Tekad*.



Figure 4. one of the wells and springs at the *sumur 7* area as a *tekad* symbol (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

The seven *sumur* located in the area of *sumur 7* can be read as double *Tritangtu*. This is because the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, 5th, 6th *sumur* are *Tritangtu* which is harmonized into the 7th *sumur*. This is the reason why the 7th *sumur* is the last *sumur* visited after the other 6 *sumur* which visited consecutively and has a larger size than the other *sumur*.

b. *Lampah* = Tree or Forest



Figure 5. *Bunut* trees around the *sumur 7* area as a *lampah* symbol (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

Lampah symbols in the form of forests or large trees. Large trees are a symbol of the land or can be referred to as the underworld. Looking at the Cibulan Tourism Object map, there are many large trees in Cibulan. In the *Sumur 7* area there is also one tree surrounded by the seven *Sumur*. the trees in Cibulan are *bunut* trees more than 50 years old.

c. *Ucap* = *Petilasan* Stone



Figure 6. *Petilasan* stone of Prabu Siliwangi as a *Ucap* Symbol (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The last one is a symbol of *Ucap* which is a symbol of humans. in the *Sumur 7* area there is a stone arrangement that is believed to be Prabu Siliwangi's *petilasan*. The stone arrangement is in the form of stones that are now covered by white cloth. The stone arrangement is in a building that was built specifically to protect the stone structure.

Female's stones or flat stones are found at the bottom of the white cloth. Behind the white cloth, there are rocks the size of coconuts covering the flat rock below. The flat stone covered with rocks is believed to be King Siliwangi's footprints.

Male stones are stones that stand upright. This male stone is covered by a white cloth. When ordinary people see the stone, they will think the stone is a tombstone. In fact, the stone is not a tombstone. Judging from the signs, this *petilasan* stone is a stone of harmony because it has a male stone and a female stone in one place.



Figure 7. Prabu Siliwangi *Petilasan* Stone
(male and female stone)

(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The signs or symbols that exist in Cibulan are the application of the concept of *tritangtu*. If it is described it will look like in chart 1.

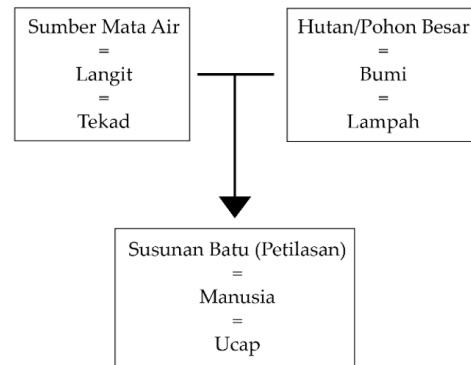


Chart 1. Harmony of the *tritangtu* symbol in the *sumur 7* area

The source of *Sumur 7* springs represents *tekad* dan *langit* is harmonized with a large tree that represents *lampah* dan *tanah*. This harmony produces a harmony of the two, namely the *petilasan* stone that represents *ucap* and the human world. Based on the signs or symbols, Cibulan can be said to be sacred because *Sang Hyang Hurip* can come to the place. This also indicates that Cibulan already has one of the requirements as a *kabuyutan*.

2. The Confluence of Two Rivers

A place can be said to be a *kabuyutan* if the place is built between the confluence of two rivers. A place that has Symbols of *Tekad*, *Ucap*, dan *Lampah* can not be categorized as a *kabuyutan* if it is not between two rivers. Places that have the symbol of *Sang Hyang Hurip* but are not between two rivers are only categorized as sacred places.

Cibulan can be categorized as a *kabuyutan* if there are two rivers meeting and flanking the Cibulan area. These rivers are categorized as a male river and a female river. The male river is the river that meets the female river. Male rivers tend to be clearer water. The female river is a larger river than the male river and the water tends to be turbid. The female river can also be called the state river that unites the village. Water from the female river or state is used by residents as a source of livelihood that irrigates rice fields.

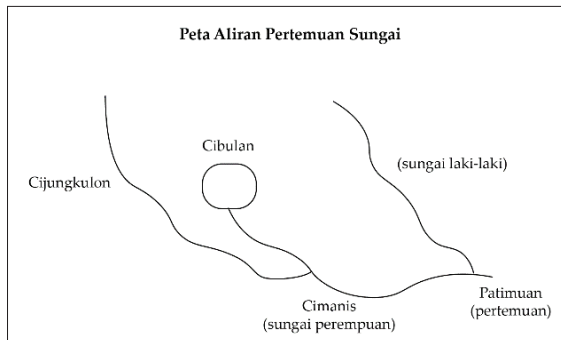


Figure 8. Flow map of the meeting between the male river and the female river flanking the Cibulan (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

Judging from the mapping above, Cibulan is flanked by two rivers. Cibulan is not only flanked by two rivers, but Cibulan also has a middle river. This middle river will later join the female river.



Figure 9. Small river as a Male River (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The First River is a small river which is a male river. This river originates at the foot of Mount Ciremai precisely around the Sayana City Forest. The Mount Ceremai area has abundant natural resource potential, including biological resources, land resources and springs (Alviya, 2006, p. 87). This river flow will meet the female river, namely the Cimanis river in the Tonjong area of Sangkanurip Village, Cigandamekar.



Figure 10. Cimanis river as a female river (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The second river is the Cijungkulon - Cimanis river. Cijungkulon River is a river that originates in Balong Dalem. Balong Dalem itself is a source of spring water that is accommodated into a pond or balong and the flow of water is used for fields and agriculture. The flow of the Cijungkulon river will meet the main river, the Cimanis river. The unification of the Cijungkulon river that enters the Cimanis river is in the Ciniru Jalaksana area.



Figure 11. The Confluence of Two Rivers from male river and female river (Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

The Cimanis River is the main river in the Cibulan district, which is the Female River. The Cimanis River is a combination of two headwaters, the first being Balong dalem and the second being the flow of the Cibulan spring. Before the confluence with the male river, the Cimanis river has two

dams. The first dam is Lame Dam located in Ciniru Jalaksana Village and the second is Katiga Dam located in Sangkanmulya Cigandamekar Village.



Figure 12. Lame Dam used to irrigate residents' rice fields
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)



Figure 13. Katiga Dam used to irrigate residents' rice fields
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

This dam is used as irrigation to be used by the surrounding community. Water in Sundanese culture has become a unity of life. Without water there is no life. Water is not only for the needs of human life, but also for agricultural life (Sumardjo, 2015, p. 85)

The Cimanis River has a *Tritangtu* element. The Cijungkulon River as a symbol of *Tekad* and a small river at the foot of Mount Ciremai as a symbol of *lampah* unite to enter the Cimanis River which is a symbol of *Ucap*. The flow of the *Cimanis* river as harmony continues until it meets the larger river, *Cisanggarung*, and continues to the sea.

B. Old Sundanese Government System in Manis Kidul

Nowadays, where Indonesia is the most Islamic country in the world, *kabuyutan* still exists. The current government of course follows the system established by the Indonesian government. If examined more deeply, the Sundanese village government system can still be read today.

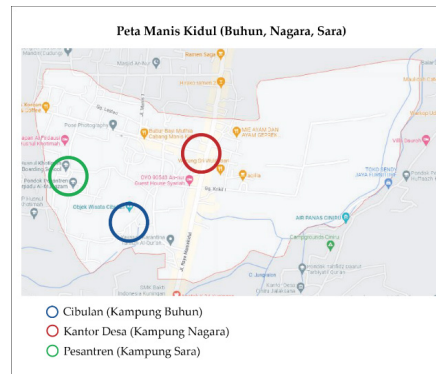


Figure 14. Map of Manis Kidul village which is similar to the old Sundanese government
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

As with the Sundanese government system in *Kabuyutan* Cibulan, which is now part of the Manis Kidul Village area, the government system can be read based on the Sundanese village government system influenced by Islamic teachings.

Manis Kidul Village when viewed from the map has a Sundanese village government system. The division of this village can be seen from the existence of Buhun, Nagara, and Sara villages.



Figure 15. The group from *Balong Dalem* was welcomed by a group from Cibulan to carry out the *Kawin Cai* ritual
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

Kampung Buhun takes care of customs or the place where *Kabuyutan* Cibulan exist. *Kabuyutan* Cibulan always carries out the tradition of the *Kawin Cai* traditional ceremony every year. The *Kawin Cai* ceremony is a procession of uniting water from the spring with the Tirtayartra Balong dalem water source. This ceremony aims to ask the Creator for rainwater for the fertility of land and rice fields.



Figure 16. Manis Kidul Village Office as *Kampung Nagara*
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

Nagara Village is a place to take care of all administrative matters or the Village Head's Office. The Village Head's Office is a place where the government is carried out in the village.



Figure 17. Pontren Husnul Khotimah as a *Kampung Sara*
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo 2022)

Kampung Sara is an Islamic village where in Manis Kidul village there are two large Islamic boarding schools. The two boarding schools are Pontren Husnul Khotimah (HK) and Pontren al-Multazam (AM) founded by KH. Sahal Suhana, SH.

The boarding school was established in 1994. Therefore, Manis Kidul Village can be said to have a Sundanese village system that is influenced by Islamic influence.

C. *Kabuyutan* Cibulan as The Center of Traditional Activities in Manis Kidul Village

As a *kabuyutan*, there are certainly many traditional activities that involve Cibulan. One of the traditional activities carried out is the traditional ceremony of *Mapag Cai* or *Kawin Cai*.



Figure 18. The group from Balong Dalem is preparing to leave to Balong Cibulan
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

The traditional ceremony of *Kawin Cai* is a ceremony to call rain when drought hits. Ceremony for the community is a belief in the power of mythology that develops in the area where they live, to contribute to the welfare of their environment (Djuniarti, 2017, p. 104). The ceremony of *Kawin Cai* was originally held on the 30th *rowah* in the Islamic calendar system or in the month of *rajab*. Now the date of the ceremony is uncertain. The date is determined following the arrival of the rainy season but must coincide with Friday *kliwon*.

The procession of *Kawin Cai* is carried out by the Sundanese community as a customary tribute to uphold their ancestral heritage: combining or harmonizing two springs with power and purity (Djuniarti & dwimarwati, 2017, p. 333). The first spring

is *Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra* spring located in *Babakanmulya* Village. The second spring is *Cikembulan* (Cibulan) spring in *Manis Kidul* village.



Figure 19. The procession puts water from *Cikembulan* spring into jar
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

Water from the *Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra* spring is carried in a jar by a group from *Babakan Mulya* village to be delivered to *Cibulan*. After arriving in *Cibulan*, a group of jar carriers from *Babakan Mulya* Village jars containing water from *Balong Dalem* were brought into the *Cibulan* Tourism Object area where *Cikembulan* Spring was in it. After the jar were brought in, water was taken from the *Cikembulan* spring source into the jar containing water from the *Balong Dalem* spring. So that there was a union of two springs in a jar.



Figure 20. The Procession of Pouring the Mated Water into *Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra*
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

Furthermore, after the unification of the two springs in the *Cikembulan* spring area, the jar containing the mated water is brought back to the *Balong Dalem* area. The water in the jar is poured into *Balong Dalem Tirta Yatra* unites and flows to irrigate the villages that are passed by the water flow from *Balong Dalem* spring.



Figure 21. sprinkling the water from the unification to village leaders
(Source: Documentation Eko Budi Prasetyo, 2022)

The next activity is to pour water from *Balong Dalem* to the village leaders who are present. By sprinkling the water from the unification to village leaders, it is hoped that the villages they lead can get blessings, the land they live in becomes fertile and does not dry out. The village leaders are figures from 7 villages including *Babakan Mulya* Village, *Maniskidul* Village, *Jalaksana* Village, *Sadamantra* Village, *Padamenak* Village, *Ciniru* Village, and *Nanggerang* Village. These villages are fed by rivers that flow from *Balong Dalem* spring and *Sumur 7* spring in *Cibulan*.

In addition to being a form of effort in asking for rain and fertility, the Traditional Ceremony of *Kawin Cai* is also related to myths believed by the people there. So consciously or not, the myths that are still believed today are myths that have existed for a long time and have developed (Tambunan et al, 2017, p. 114). That myth of *Kebowulan*.

Kebowulan is the name of an ascetic named *Resi Makandria*. When *Resi*

Makandria was meditating, he was mocked by a pair of birds for not having a wife and children. Hearing the ridicule, Resi Makandria asked Resi Guru Manikmaya for a wife. Hearing the request, Resi Guru Manikmaya finally granted the request by marrying his own daughter named Pwah Aksari Jabung to be married by Resi Makandria. But Resi Makandria felt embarrassed to marry Pwah Aksari Jabung who had a beautiful face like an angel. As a middle way, so that the marriage could be carried out and Resi Makandria did not feel burdened by the beautiful face of Pwah Aksari Jabung, finally Pwah Aksari Jabung turned into a Deer and Resi Makandria became a Buffalo. This marriage gave birth to a child named Pwah Bungatak Mangalengale. After growing up, Pwah Bungatak Mangalengale was married to Sang Wreti Kandayun who founded the Kingdom of Galuh.

That is the myth believed by the surrounding community. The Traditional Ceremony of *Kawin Cai* is also a form of respect for the events that occurred in the myth of *Kebowulan*.

CONCLUSION

Cibulan has signs or symbols that represent *Tekad*, *Ucap* and *Lampah* in it as a requirement for *kabuyutan*. These signs indicate the presence of *Sang Hyang Hurip* there. These conditions become a sign construction that makes Cibulan can be categorized as *kabuyutan*.

The signs in Cibulan are *Sumur 7* as a symbol of *Tekad* or the sky. *Bunut* tree as a symbol of *Lampah* or earth is also present in the Cibulan area, the *petilasan* stones as a symbol of the *Ucap* or the human world. This stone arrangement is a *petilasan* that is believed to be Prabu Siliwangi's *petilasan*. This *petilasan* is a pancer or harmony of the duality of spring water as a symbol of

Tekad that is harmonized to the *bunut* tree as a symbol of the earth. Apart from these signs, the geographical shape of Cibulan also qualifies as a *kabuyutan*. Cibulan is flanked by two rivers that meet each other. The male river that flanks Cibulan has its headwaters at the foot of Mount Ciremai. The female river that flanks Cibulan is a canal from the Cijungkulon river and then enters the Cimanis river which finally meets the male river.

Apart from having a *Kabuyutan*, the governance of Manis Kidul Village is similar to the old Sundanese governance.. The old Sundanese governance was characterized by the division of territories based on their functions. Old Sundanese governance adheres to the *buhun*, *nagara*, and *sara* systems. Where the *buhun* village that takes care of customs is represented by *Kabuyutan* Cibulan, the *nagara* village that takes care of community administration is the Manis Kidul Village office, and the *sara* village that takes care of religion is represented by the largest boarding school in Manis Kidul Village, namely Pondok Pesantren Husnul Khotimah (HK) and Pondok Pesantren al-Multazam (AM).

Kabuyutan Cibulan as a village that takes care of customs based on the old Sundanese governance is the center of traditional activities in Manis Kidul Village. This can be seen from the ceremony of *Kawin Cai* which involves the spring water of *Sumur 7* in Cibulan.

Looking at all the terms and signs owned by Cibulan, Cibulan can be categorized as a *kabuyutan*. Cibulan is not only a tourist attraction, but also has cultural value contained in it. This cultural value must be preserved and introduced to the wider community, especially Kuningan so that it is not lost and will continue to be a legacy in the future.

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