

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Playing with the Senses. A traditional Martial Art in West Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

Purpose. This paper examines *silat*, an Indonesia traditional martial art, from a sensory anthropological perspective. The focus of the study is on the *maenpo* Cikalong, one of the old martial arts developed in Cianjur Regency, West Java, which emphasises the refinement and development of the human senses.

Methodology. We used a qualitative research strategy with in-depth interviews, participant observations, and literature studies following the Creswell research protocol. The data was analysed through the lens of the anthropology of sense as developed by Mauss and later revised by Classen

Main findings. *Maenpo* has undergone transformations from an exclusive aristocrat martial arts to a practice everyone can learn, and from a deadly martial art to a more defensive skill. We found that instead of growing as a sport and modern martial art like other *silat* branches in Indonesia, *maenpo* is developing more as an art and philosophical exercise.

Conclusions. By emphasizing the senses in our study, we believe that the development of traditional martial arts in Indonesia can be directed into a more local and cultural base rather than just being promoted as a sport and modern martial art.

Novelty. Studies on the sensoric aspects of *silat* are only found in small numbers and the anthropological approach to the senses has proven useful to reveal the other side of deadly martial arts.

Introduction

Pencak silat is a martial arts sport that originates from ethnic traditions in Indonesia. The development of *pencak silat*, henceforth referred to as *silat*, can be assessed from the increasing number of *silat* schools or training centres throughout the country, locally known as *perguruan*. *Silat* training centres emerged as an effort to systematically transfer *silat* knowledge and skills to its members [Irwandi 2018; Andrian, Qodariah 2020]. Often, one centre will develop into several others if the number of students increases or if there are different methods of practising a different style. The dynamics of the division of one martial arts school can only enrich the variety of forms and philosophy of *silat* in newer centres.

The advancement of *silat* in Indonesia is also marked by the widespread use of *jurus* and fighting choreography in various action movies [Anggraini 2014; Anggara 2015; Bahruddin 2015]. *Jurus* is a short sequence of

specific movements learnt by memory that is a fundamental pedagogical tool in *pencak silat* training [Wilson 2009: 96]. Since 2010, some movies like like *The Raid 1*, *The Raid 2*, *Headshot*, *Wiro Sableng*, *Merantau* and *Alif Lam Mim* have become box office hits in Indonesia. Some movie stars with a martial arts background have turned out to be new idols and symbols on the national and international film scene [Fadli 2016; Hardi 2016]. Iko Uwais who starred *The Raid 1* and *The Raid 2* is an athlete and a *silat* master, and so does Yayan Ruhian who appeared in the Hollywood's *Star Wars: The Force Awakens*. Moreover, *pencak silat* has also become the pride of sports supporters when Indonesia succeeds in winning gold medals in international competitions in Southeast Asia, Asia and worldwide [Andika, Wahyudi 2020; Irianto, Lumintuarso 2020]. This achievement cannot be separated from the role of the Indonesian Pencak Silat Association [IPSI], which was established in 1948 in Surakarta, Central Java. Various studies on the role of

IPSI in accommodating and developing the tradition of *silat* have been conducted [Wilson 2002, 2015; de Grave 2016; Facal 2016; Pratama, Trilaksana 2018].

Throughout the paper, we will explain *silat* as a part of culture; not just as a means of training the body, but also as a protocol for self-mastery, for developing the inner eye, and for processing the senses. The focus of the study is on Cikalong *silat*, a form of traditional *silat* from Cianjur Regency, West Java, which emphasises the subtlety of the mind and senses. The case study focused on the Maenpo training centre, led by R.H. Azis Asy'arie, hereinafter referred to as Wa Azis, in the city of Cianjur. The people there are mostly Sundanese, the indigenous ethnic group in the West Java province, one of highly group influenced by Islam [Millie 2017]. We found that instead of emphasising the spiritual aspects which form the basis of some Sundanese *silat*, including *maenpo* [Wilson 2002; Heryana 2018], Wa Azis instead highlights its rational aspects. He shows how every motion in *silat* can be explained by science. However, it cannot be denied that *maenpo* has a very high moral character and philosophical dimension. This is ultimately believed to be part of mastering *silat* as a whole, not only in relation to enhancing physical skills, but also self-mastery through efforts to hone one's feelings. Employing an anthropology of sense perspective, we will explain how *maenpo* training actually leads to the development of sense not just physical strength.

Sense, body and culture

Anthropology of sense, which has developed rapidly since the mid-nineties, tries to explain in detail the cultural dimension at the level of the perception of feeling, not its physical manifestation [Classen 1997; Le Breton 2017; Cox 2018]. Anthropologists' attention to senses that are detected sensually can be in terms of "... sensory communication such as speech and writing, music and visual arts, and also to various values and ideas that can be conveyed through the sensation of smell, taste by the tongue, and touch" [Classen 1997: 401]. Sense is explained as the link between mind and body, ideas and objects, and the self and its physical and social environment. All sensory sensations work together to produce an understanding of certain objects [Hockey & Allen-Collinson 2009; Howes 2019].

Classen and Howe [1996] have stated that each culture forms its own sensory model, which is strongly influenced by different value systems and perceptions of taste. This model is then transmitted within the community through various discourses, practices and metaphors. However, they explain that not all communities have the same concern about issues of the senses [Classen, Howe 1996: 86]. We consider the different interests of the community to be part of different cultural experiences, coupled with the experience of receiving a different education. Generally, sensory models that take the form of

local knowledge or tradition in a community are eroded by development and westernisation [Papadopoulou 2018] and no longer emerge as the primary concern of the community.

Furthermore, anthropology of sense emphasises aspects of perception which are manifested in material-based expressions, such as film, photography and music [Pink 2013; Drysdale, Wong 2019]. However, there are many variations in this field of study, such as how a child learns to walk, move its limbs, seeks balance, and moves [Clement, Waitt 2017]; or how adult humans in modern times learn to sense precisely and mark the momentum when their fingers have to press harder or softer on their touch screen monitors or devices [Jewitt, Mackley 2019]; how the sensoric experiences are then enculturated [Thyssen, Grosvenor 2019]. It seems that studies of the senses have begun to be very attractive to anthropologists in relation to sensory study theories [Patterson *et al.* 2012] or sensory ethnography [Pink 2010, 2013]. While anthropology mostly deal with cultural perspective, the notion on the study of sense in anthropology is also influenced by psychology [Bellehumeur, Chambers 2017; Camposampiero 2018; Soltys 2018].

In this study, we intend to explore the lessons of recognising our own body, and how to master this through *silat* training. The Sundanese *silat* researcher, Wilson [2009: 94], shows that one of the easiest ways to do this is to return to the theory of Mauss [1973] regarding training to master the body. Mauss introduced the idea of the art of using the human body, which could only be mastered through training or education. The techniques for moving and feeling our whole body, which are called 'techniques of the body', must always be trained in order to be 'effective and traditional'. According to Mauss, this technical matter is not something extrasomatic, in the sense that there must be technology outside our body, such as equipment or machinery, but can be done with our own limbs. Our body is actually the first and most natural human tool that needs techniques to master it [Mauss 1973: 75]. As investigated by Clement and Waitt [2017], children not only learn to walk on foot but also feel whether the road is flat, climbing, descending, turning or straight. Therefore, children can anticipate how strongly the foot should hold on the body when the road is uphill, or vice versa, how strong the grip of the fore-foot should be to hold the speed of the body when the road is descending. This skill is through the process of embodiment or enculturation then become the part of individual ability [Thyssen, Grosvenor 2019].

Other researchers such as Allen-Collinson [2009], Allen-Collinson & Owton [2015], and Jackson *et al.* [2015] have touched the issue of embodiment with a phenomenological approach. They propose it as a theoretical basis for explaining embodiment as the amalgamation of the conception of the body and action through various social and historical processes. In another direction,

Farrer [2009] reveals that in Malay silat, the Sufi mysticism plays important role in the enculturation process. Meanwhile, Samudra [2008] has indicated that by a systematic exercise, the body will memorize all the *jurus* learned by students.

From this discussion, we argue that practising *silat* is not just a matter of training the body to move according to the *jurus* taught by the trainer. When the *pesilat* or *silat* practitioner makes physical contact with his or her opponent, it does not matter how hard the impact is, but when the limbs clash, they must be able to feel how strong the opponent's potential is. In this paper, we will specifically explain how the technique of touch in feeling the presence or existence of something [Paterson 2007; Paterson *et al.* 2012] is studied by the *pesilat*. If the technology of touch has so far been linked to the development of digital technology [Paterson 2007; Jewitt, Mackley 2019], in this paper we will consider it from a local perspective regarding sense with the body as its tool. In general, sensory sensations due to touch provide information about the character of objects, surfaces, the overall environment, and our own body [Hockey, Allen-Collinson 2009: 227].

Methodology

We used a qualitative research strategy with in-depth interviews, participant observations, and literature studies following the Creswell research protocol [2009: 178-179]. A field researcher lived in the informant's house to observe and follow their everyday life. Participant observation was conducted to experience the feelings of the informants, to participate in various activities and to gain experience about taste and sense. Sense, or *rasa*, which is obtained through touch in the case of the Cikalong *maenpo*, is a personal experience that is difficult for researchers to capture. Paterson *et al.* [2012: 10] state that it is even difficult for in-depth interviews to unravel the meaning and sensations felt by informants. They suggest increasing the number of observations involved in obtaining data.

The research strategy that we initially designed relied on interviews because the focus of the original research was on the development of *silat* in the local community. As part of a study initiated by Kampung Silat Jampang, Bogor, we conducted research in Sumedang and Cianjur Regencies over a period of six months from July to December 2019, while observations were made over a span of three months, from September to November 2019. In Sumedang, the research focused on The Garuda Putih School [Purwanto, Saputra 2020], while in Cianjur it centred on the Maenpo Cikalong School.

In the field, we chose key informants according to the criteria that we compiled, especially with regard to mastering the techniques and philosophy of the Cikalong *maenpo*, having an insight into Cianjur culture, and having a network with other *pesilat*. We chose a *silat*

master who had an advanced *maenpo* training centre and took part in martial arts training; visited various places that had become part of the historical trajectory of *maenpo*; and participated to a limited extent in daily life at informants' houses, training centres, and *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). We are both men who come from Javanese cultural backgrounds who have a slightly different tradition and language from Sundanese. As a university professor, Purwanto mostly deals with the *silat* master to discuss the philosophy and mysticism in *silat*. Meanwhile, Perdani, a graduate student, has the ability to perform *silat*; and it became an advantage when asking questions and developing interviews about senses, even when having to practise together with the master to sharpen the senses.

Research findings

The making of maenpo Cikalong

The *maenpo* Cikalong *silat* school was developed by Raden Haji Ibrahim (1816-1906) in the early 19th century. He was a direct descendant of Raden Adipati Aria Wiratanudatar IV, Regent of Cianjur, who was in power from 1727 to 1761. Before using the name Raden Haji Ibrahim, he was called Raden Jayaperbata. Raden is a noble title used by Javanese and Sundanese aristocrats, while Haji is an Islamic term for those who have performed the *hajj* in Mecca. As a descendant of the Cianjur aristocratic figure, Ibrahim was a prominent Sundanese *menak* or nobleman. Various studies have recorded the history of Ibrahim and the development of *maenpo*, including those of Wilson [2002], Heryadi [2004], Asy'arie [2010, 2014], Abdullah [2013] and Heryana [2018].

According to our informants, in developing the Cikalong *maenpo* Ibrahim studied and formulated knowledge on more than 17 martial arts teachers; Wilson [2002] even mentions around 40 teachers. Even though he became a *silat* expert, Ibrahim continued to look for teachers to deepen his *silat* knowledge and skills. Four teachers greatly influenced the development of Ibrahim's martial arts: Raden Ateng Alimuddin, who was Ibrahim's brother-in-law from Kampung Baru Jatinegara, Jakarta; Abang Ma'ruf, from Kampung Karet Jakarta; Abang Madi, from Kampung Gang Tengah, Jakarta; and Abang Kari from Kampung Benteng, Tangerang. The deep involvement between Ibrahim and the Betawi warriors was because he had joined his brother who was serving as Regent of Jatinegara in the 1820s [Asy'arie 2013]. In the development of *maenpo*, some of the movements and nomenclatures are similar to the traditions inherited from these teachers.

After learning from various schools and training centres, Ibrahim came to the conclusion that the *silat* skills he had learned so far had the aim of crippling and killing opponents [Nawi 2016]. In addition, the

silat that was developed in Cianjur, as indicated in the studies of Wilson [2002] and Heryana [2004], had the characteristic of using *tenaga dalam*, or inner energy. Sabandar and Cimande for example, emphasised the use of *tenaga halus*, or refined inner energy, and mysticism. Such teachings made Ibrahim anxious; his strong Islamic background and involvement in Sufism made him feel that hurting opponents was not in accordance with the principles he had learned. In his spiritual journey, Ibrahim continued to search for and formulate the style of *silat* with movements aimed at saving, not killing, the opponent. This idea was actually an influence of his martial arts teacher in Betawi, namely Kari [Heryana 2018: 319].

Given the introduction of subtlety and more spiritual goals, the development of *maenpo* seems to have been limited to certain aristocratic groups and circles. That said, this was due to the notion that only nobles or and those who had stabilised their social positions were able to control their evil desire [Wilson 2009; Yuniadi *et al.* 2018]. One informant explained that “...in the past, the teachings of *maenpo* Cikalong were only spread secretly among the

Cianjur *menak* circles because the group was considered to have good morals.” As a martial arts school, the Cikalong *maenpo* has the philosophy of always trying to save opponents. Deadly movements by opponents are changed by adding slick movements, hand positions and senses. *Maenpo* Cikalong emphasises the principle of learning to fight, not to fight per se. If *silat* fighters continue to try to hurt their opponent, they need to learn more deeply. *Pesilat* are bound by the teachings, behaviour and identity of the fighters, who always keep a low profile.

“... in *Maenpo* Cikalong, people who master *silat* when asked whether they can do martial arts or not, will usually answer that they can't do anything and tend to be modest. So it is rather difficult for us to know that someone has a *maenpo* or fighter in the Cikalong *maenpo* tradition. “

The information we obtained from our informant above was in accordance with Wilson's [2002] notes. In his study, Wilson even described how Ma'ruf, one of Ibrahim's teachers, who was a neighbour of Kari, another

Table 1. Core teachings of Gan Uweh

No.	Lessons	Reality in life	What <i>pesilat</i> should do
1	<i>Lamun deleka sok cilaka</i> (the wicked will be harm)	If you are happy to do harm to people, you will be harmed. We should protect the safety of others, even enemies.	<i>Pesilat</i> must be able to detect the strength of the opponent with a touch of the hand. Our opponents will also know our strength if we can feel our hands. Therefore, we must always respect the opponent.
2	<i>Laer aisan</i> (think a lot, consider the best)	Always be careful and considerate before making a decision, so that the choices you make are the right ones.	Consider the tradition and rules of <i>madi</i> , <i>sabandar</i> and <i>kari</i> . The final decision taken, <i>kari</i> , must be right in the sense that we are safe and the opponent is not at risk.
3	<i>Wijaksana</i> (wise)	Assume everyone is equal; do not look down on others. You must be wise but still confident.	Do not underestimate your opponents, even if they look weak.
4	<i>Depe-depe handap asor</i> (always low profile, humble)	Be flexible in your relationships and humble in dealing with others. Always develop attitudes and subtlety of character.	<i>Pesilat</i> who are increasingly knowledgeable will increasingly rely on sense and smoothness.
5	<i>Tungkul ka jukut tanggah ka sadapan</i> (look down at the grass, look up to the high trees)	We must respect and not discriminate against others. Always be kind to the poor; when you see the rich, you should be motivated to work harder.	<i>Pesilat</i> must remain vigilant and pay attention to the position or target of the top and bottom of the body. Likewise, for your own protection, the top and bottom must be balanced.
6	<i>Sauyunan</i> (get along well like a bunch of rice stalks)	It is better to maintain harmony and help one another.	The essence of each <i>jurus</i> is integration between the left and right; the hands and the feet. This must always be done in a balanced and integrated manner.
7	<i>Hirup tawakal</i> (steadfast, resilience)	Do not rely on the help of people.	Although every <i>jurus</i> is integrated, in every step to the right or left, the foot or hand must have a goal. As much as possible, an attack or defense should be completed with the previous <i>jurus</i> .
8	<i>Gelut jeung diri sorangan</i> (to fight with our self)	Understand yourself; do not give in to lust, because our main enemy is our lust.	Every fight or sparring involves emotions and lust, not mere technique and physical skills. Therefore, we must be able to control ourselves.
9	<i>Panceg na tangtungan</i> (sturdy stance)	Remain firm, strong and confident in your position.	The fighter must protect their position or <i>seser</i> ; each movement must be balanced by the <i>kuda-kuda</i> , one sturdy leg guarding the entire body.

of Ibrahim's teachers, did not know at all that Kari was a martial arts expert. Ibrahim finally also learned *silat* from Kari.

One important figure who is able to provide concrete guidance regarding low profile attitudes is Raden Haji Oeweh Soleh, or Gan Weh. *Gan* is an abbreviation of *juragan*, a term of respect for men with high social positions. One of his teaching is a guide to harmonious social life [Ash'arie 2013, 2014], which Heryana [2018: 326] refers to as the philosophy taught by Gan Uweh. Table 1 summarises the core philosophy of Gan Uweh's version of *maenpo* Cikalong.

The teachings of Gan Weh described in Table 1 are strongly influenced by the cultural context of Cianjur, which was coloured by the aristocracy of the old kingdom during the Dutch occupation of the 18th-20th century. In general, the teachings of Gan Uweh give priority to the nobility of character, religion and martial arts. Cianjur people must be able to *ngaos*, *mamaos* and *maenpo* [Wilson 2009; Heryana 2018]. The ideal form of the Cianjur community [Ristiani 2019] is that they practise a good Islam and are distinguished by their ability to *ngaos* or to recite the Quran well, and to have a level of refinement through mastering art, especially by developing classical Cianjur songs or *mamaos*. Therefore, the Cianjur community must not only obey religion, but also master the literary traditions which in the past were manifested in song form. To perfect this, they must also master the *maenpo* martial arts.

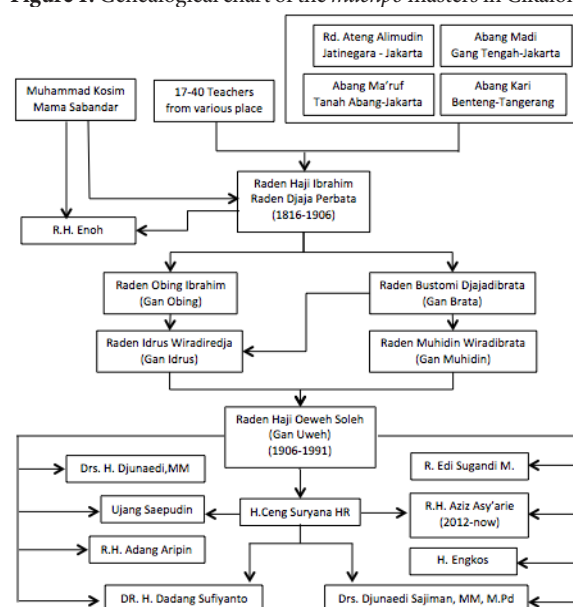
The Maenpo of Cikalong Mancika

We met R.H. Azis Asy'arie, who is usually called Wa Azis, to understand the development of the Cikalong *maenpo* today. As a warrior, he initially studied *maenpo* with his cousin Raden Edi Sugandi M. Kusumah, who was a student of Gan Uweh. Developing an interest in *maenpo*, he then studied directly at Gan Uweh. Furthermore, he became the successor to the Cikalong *maenpo* tradition, which was inherited by Gan Uweh, and founded the *Maenpo Cikalong Mancika*, or *Mancika* college, on 12 December 2012. In the genealogical chart of the founders, we can see that Wa Azis inherited his skills from Gan Uweh, who studied at Muhyidin and Idrus who obtained his knowledge from Bratadilaga, an Ibrahim's direct student [Wilson 2002]. Figure 1 shows the *silat* genealogy of Gan Uweh and Wa Azis.

Wa Azis developed a structured learning method in the form of a curriculum. His learning patterns were greatly influenced by his educational background at the National Academy of Engineering, Cikini, Jakarta, from 1969 to 1973. After graduating, he worked in a contracting company for several years, then returned to Cianjur to open a building material store in 1978. There, Wa Azis began to seriously learn *maenpo* to Gan Uweh. Later, after mastering *maenpo*, he modified the method of teaching Cikalong *maenpo*, while still maintaining its

core movements. It can be seen that he was very determined to give a scientific explanation of *silat*. This started from the public's assumption that the Sundanese *maenpo* and *silat* relied heavily on internal power. For him, the problem is not yet solved; where does the inner energy come from? How can the effects of *silat* movements be explained? Wilson [2002] and de Grave [2016] have explained the inner power that results from the *silat* tradition; on the other hand, however, *silat* movements must also be explained more scientifically, yet be easily understood by students.

Figure 1. Genealogical chart of the *maenpo* masters in Cikalong



Source: Modified from Asy'arie [2014] and Wilson [2002].

Often, in explaining certain movements, Wa Azis uses the analogy of buildings and technical terms. He will explain the anatomy of the body first, followed by theoretical physics to explain the movements and energy that result. An explanation of the *rasa* (sensing) and rules of *tempel* (touching or sticking to opponent's skin), although not comprehensive, can also be explained clearly with the building construction technique approach:

"...That's the use of construction science in physics, the force.... So if, for example, pressing this (pointing at a glass on the table), it will move. For example, this has 5 kilo durability; if we under press it with under 5 kilos of force, it will not move... but if we add another 5 kilos, it will move. The difference is this is only an object, but humans have a sense; even though 5 kilos have been added... there will also be a counterforce against it, - the opponent will push back the pressure against them. That is the force..."

According to Wa Azis, teaching *silat* using the analogy of construction makes a *jurus* easier for students to understand. Moreover, many of them are university students and come from educated circles. They will only

Table 2. Road map of belajar *maenpo*

No.	Steps	Meaning	Practices
1	<i>Kahiji: Keu'eung</i> (fear)	The images of fear, confusion and worry in the human mind that drive a person to learn self-defence.	<i>Jurus, pancer, tangtungan, pasangan sambutan, susun napel.</i>
2	<i>Kadua: Nineung</i> (longing for)	Feelings of longing or desire to practise the <i>maenpo</i> of Cikalong.	Principles of <i>madi-sabandar-kari</i> .
3	<i>Katilu: Leuheung</i> (bearable, not bad)	Categorised as an intermediate level in learning the <i>maenpo</i> of Cikalong.	Half of full force
4	<i>Kaopat: Teuneung</i> (memorising)	Courageous and confident but not yet mature; still often miscalculated and tends to be controlled by guts and courage alone.	Target accuracy
5	<i>Kalima: Ludeung</i> (sincerity)	Courage is accompanied by careful calculation; mature in thought, calm, orderly and wise.	<i>Maehan rasa</i> [ignore all lust]; <i>masagikeun</i> [cheerfully playing]

Table 3. Basic movements of *maenpo*

No.	Basic movements	Remarks
1	<i>Jurus</i>	A series of movements that become an integrated whole. There are ten basic forms of <i>maenpo</i> cikalong that must be mastered.
2	<i>Pancer</i>	Stance or a solid footing technique to support the flexibility of the body. The procedure of <i>pancer</i> involves initially staying on one foot, while the other foot moves. One leg remains still, not lifted, only rotating to follow the body movements. This supports the strength of the founding of something (milestone).
3	<i>Tangtungan</i>	The position of the body in the ready position, often referred to as <i>kuda-kuda</i> , and specifically called <i>tangtungan siap</i> . If the fighter moves actively, then <i>tangtungan pasang</i> are carried out. There are three types of <i>tangtungan</i> that must be mastered.
4	<i>Sambutan</i>	This is a continuation of the <i>tangtungan pasang</i> , which is manifest in the form of the attitude of the hands and feet on standby. <i>Sambutan</i> is the attitude of the hand in attacking or defending. There are three <i>sambutan</i> positions in the basic technique of <i>maenpo</i> .
5	<i>Susun tempel</i>	<i>Tempel</i> or <i>napal</i> literary means stick or sticking to parts of opponents body. <i>Susun tempel</i> is the position of the hands, especially the palms and outer wrists, to capture the feeling of the opponent's strength when gripping the opponent's limbs.

understand rational explanations, and not directly deal with spirituality or the Sundanese occultism called *kebatinan* [Waluyajati 2017]. Furthermore, Wa Azis explain that:

“Every movement in the Cikalong *maenpo* is logical; no one uses the help of jinn and whatever. The problem can all be explained if we understand engineering and construction.”

The transfer of sense and energy, as well as the movement of standing and hand positions, are often compared to building construction. The curved hand shape described by Wa Azis as a form of anti-fracture or anti-bending is analogous to the construction of a bridge.

“We have to get used to the curved hand position. In the field of building construction, the curved position is called anti-fracture, so if there is pressure or a push on the end, our hands won't break.”

Wa Azis explicated the systematic learning of *maenpo* in a learning road map. He composed a curriculum so that students could gradually master the *maenpo* while simultaneously measuring student learning progress. Table 2 summarises the stages of *maenpo* learning, the meaning of being at each stage, and the type of training that students are given and must master.

The development of the learning road map was inspired by his experience while studying at college and was actively involved in student organisations. According to Wa Azis, someone who enters an organisation must have a goal that should be passed as a stage to achieving the ultimate goal. As a comparison, he said that when he was first a student, each time teachers just delivered lessons without a clear structure and he was shocked that students did not know the extent of the results of their training. Assisted by his son, he then used his experience of organizations to create a road map.

A *maenpo* student must master five basic movements: *jurus, pancer, tangtungan, sambutan, and susun napal* or *tempel* [Wilson 2002; Heryana 2018: 323-324]. Table 3 shows a summary of these movements.

The main indicator of mastery of *maenpo* Cikalong is not on the specific skills to possess the *jurus* of martial arts, but on the ability to do *susun tempel*. This skill is manifested in the ability of a *pesilat* to assess the strength of opponents and the possibility of overcoming them. Often also referred to as *tapal* or *tapalan*, from the verb *napal* [Wilson 2002: 60-61, 65], a skill refers to the sense when we touch or stick with the opponent. That is the moment when we can actually decide to continue a fight or to stop it.

During a training session, senior fighters often only demonstrate the *tangtungan* position, standing firmly

with a *kuda-kuda*, and extending their hands forward. Some times after the hands *napal* to each other, they withdraw, and do not continue with *sambutan* or other physical contact. According to them, only by *napal* will they already know who will win. If the power is not balanced, usually the fight will be cancelled. But if each contestant feels superior, a match will take place as proof of their supremacy.

Discussion

The skills of Cikalong *maenpo* are obtained from intensive training and conditioning of the body of a *pesilat* to produce responses in the form of *raga*, or physical abilities, and *rasa*, or senses. As an ability to sense, *rasa* exists at the level of perception [Classen 1997], meaning that it is clearly not a physical dimension. Cikalong *maenpo* students who practise seriously will find that what they learn is not physical strength, agility in motion, or deadly blows. They will actually learn how to control themselves and develop the sensitivity of their senses. For Wilson [2002: 54], sense is the level of feeling or awareness of a movement which needs to be trained, so that participants are able to read the strength of their opponent by touch and then overcome these strengths.

Maenpo teachers will observe the process of mastering this sensitivity of feeling and sensing in a series of exercises. They will notice the difference in *rasa* in each student's stroke or *pukulan*. *Rasa*, or sense, is trained over a long period by performing many *tempelen* or *tapal* exercises. The sensitivity of *rasa* in each person is different according to their ability and perseverance to practice. Initially, a student will be trained to memorize some moves which play with the opponent, called *usik*. *Usik* is a continuation of small movements with enough energy to make the opponent oblivious and unaware that he is under control. At the most basic level, *usik* and the ability to perceive are trained by *susun tempel*. They perform *napal* in pairs, with one person attacking the bottom of the arm after being harassed by his partner by trying to lockdown the hand. *Rasa* in the Cikalong *maenpo* tradition is a continuation of teaching after *jurus* and *usik*.

As explained by Mauss [1972], this exercise is a technique to control the body, which is the main and most basic instrument of humans. Practising together with other students becomes an education in disciplining the body to be effective and internalised. In the context of the Maenpo Cikalong fighter, a body that is trained continuously, and the ability to practise *napal* between one fighter and another, will increase the sensitivity of *rasa*.

The curriculum created by Wa Azis allows the trainer to monitor students in training their senses. Acquiring sensitivity is, as revealed by Clement & Waitt [2017], an important part of training taste. That is the time a student must progress to becoming a good *pesilat*. Measuring the

strength to position one's feet when kicking, while at the same time strengthening the position of the *kuda-kuda*, can only be done if participants have mastered sense, or *rasa*. Sensitivity training is always needed, even for adults [Jewitt & Mackley 2019], as it heightens the level of sensitivity of taste, which is called by Paterson [2007] sensory technology. The curriculum prepared by Wa Azis to explain the *rasa*, *jurus* and all the movements of *maenpo* in stages by analogy with building and physics formulas is part of such sensory technology.

On several training occasions, Wa Azis performed a *tempelan* by turning his face away from the student in order to feel the sensation, and he was able to control his sparring partners. His sensitivity is the result of the accumulated years of training and the inculcation of the character of the Cianjur aristocrats to whom he is attached. A *menak* tradition that emphasises spirituality, refinement and the subtleties of manners [Karmila *et al.* 2016; Karmila *et al.* 2017] allows sense training in Maenpo Cikalong to produce smoother energy and attachment. It is interesting to recall Classen and Howe's [1996] statement that sensory models are strongly influenced by different value systems and perceptions of *rasa*. As an aristocrat Sundanese *menak*, Wa Azis was fortunate to obtain all the training on subtlety from his social milieu and family.

The level of *pesilat's* perfection can be seen from the position of the *tempelan* of their hands, which makes the opponent unaware that they intend to attack. This position is ranging from (1) touching or sticking directly to the skin, then pressing down to feel the opponent's response; (2) sticking to the skin from a straight direction, without significant pressure; to (3) only touching the arm hairs. The highest level of a *pesilat's* sensitivity is when they are able to feel their opponent's strength with only a slight touch, compared to just touching the hairs. The finer our ability to cultivate our senses, the less our opponent will be able to feel our strength. Rough taste with a focus on great energy will easily show one's strength. Since the beginning, *maenpo* Cikalong has not pretended to be related to those with high martial arts; *pesilat's* physical appearance look normal, without prominent muscles, and is soft-looking [Kholis 2016; Soo *et al.* 2018].

All stages of Cikalong *maenpo* training are constructed to form ideal characters according to the Sundanese way of life and ethics. Although starting from Gan Uweh, and continued by Wa Azis and Cikalong *maenpo* teachers now, students are accepted from all groups of people, but the stipulation that everyone must be gentle individuals and not hurt others remains the basis of teaching. Inspired by the perspective of Foucault [2012], the importance of believing in the power of Sundanese aristocratic culture remains high. Maenpo is a form of discipline in shaping the subject [Leib 2017; Frijhoff 2018]. The body becomes the first target to be processed, to then produce an appropriate sense in

accordance with the demands of Sundanese aristocracy. In other words, as Samudra (2009:667) suggests, physical memory that is performed repetitively will enact socio-cultural meanings for individuals.

The disciplinary mechanism is observed not only through a structured curriculum and martial arts training, but also in Wa Azis' daily life. His daily activities are very organised; he gets up every morning at 4 for morning prayers, then has a breakfast of porridge. During the day, after lunch, he practises martial arts until before sunset. Every day he goes to bed before 9 pm to get enough rest. This organised way of life is instilled as one of the characteristics of Cikalong martial arts fighters. Referring to the philosophy of the Cikalong *maenpo* implanted by Gan Uweh and discussed above, it represents an effort to discipline the subject to become an ideal self. At the highest stage of the *maenpo*, which is *ludeung*, training no longer involves physical movement, but control of the desires. The mastery of sense and *ulin lemes* (subtle play) are levels that have become a fundamental value of the typical Cikalong *maenpo*. Only students who are Muslim can achieve this stage, because according to Wa Azis, only Islam is able to absorb the philosophy of the Cikalong *maenpo*. This is not surprising considering the close links between Sundanese martial arts that developed in the 19th-20th century and Islam [Patzold 2011; Heryana 2018; Diki 2018]. The work of Farrer [2009] in Malayan *silat* also confirmed this ties among Islam, local mysticism, and the practice of *silat*.

Conclusion

Looking back at the Sundanese cultural setting in Cianjur, from the *maenpo* philosophy developed by Gan Uweh, and the *silat* training practice of Wa Azis, it can be seen that *maenpo* has undergone several transformations. The first of these refers to the increasingly open recruitment process, no longer exclusive to the aristocracy. Nevertheless, discussion is still open regarding this transformation idea, as Wa Azis seems to prefer the development of *maenpo* in universities, which is the new upper middle-class base in Indonesia. Second, in relation to the transformation of *silat* itself, *maenpo* is a case that shows how *silat* skills as a martial art, which could be deadly, are encouraged to become a form of self defence that is more oriented towards personal and opponents' safety. Through refinement and philosophy that emphasise harmony, fights that may have fatal consequences are not expected to occur.

On the other hand, we have explained the development of *maenpo* as a martial arts school that emphasises the *rasa* or sense, and the ability of sensing. This development was in consequence of a curriculum to understand the techniques of mastering the body and sensing technology. In the study, we have also described how

aristocratic Sundanese cultural power remains alive, in the form of discourse that emphasises the subtleties of the mind, ethics and a low profile philosophy.

Further research is needed to explain more on the relation of Islam, local belief and practices, and with the development of *rasa* or sense and the inner power as the major strength of *maenpo*. Those aspects are the main parts of spiritual and cultural expressions of the Sundanese which enable their traditional arts to appear in a fine and sophisticated movements.

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Gra zmysłami. Tradycyjna sztuka walki na zachodniej Jawie w Indonezji

Słowa kluczowe: silat, sztuki walki, zmysły, Jawa Zachodnia, Indonezja

Streszczenie

Cel. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje *silat*, jako tradycyjną indonezyjską sztukę walki, z sensorycznej perspektywy antropologicznej. Badania koncentrują się na *maempo Cikalong*, jednej ze starych sztuk walki rozwiniętych w Cianjur Regency, Zachodnia Jawa, która kładzie nacisk na udoskonalenie i rozwój ludzkich zmysłów. Metody. Zastosowano jakościową strategię badawczą z pogłębionymi wywiadami, obserwacjami uczestniczącymi i analizą literatury zgodnie z protokołem badawczym Creswell. Dane analizowane przez pryzmat antropologii sensu opracowanej przez Maussa, a następnie zrewidowanej przez Classena. Wnioski. *Maempo* przeszło transformację z ekskluzywnej sztuki walki arystokratów do praktyki, której każdy może się nauczyć, z zabójczej sztuki walki do bardziej defensywnej umiejętności. Stwierdzono, że zamiast rozwijać się jako sport i nowoczesna sztuka walki jak inne odmiany *silatu* w Indonezji, *maempo* rozwija się bardziej jako sztuka i ćwiczenie filozoficzne. Wnioski. Poprzez podkreślenie zmysłów w niniejszym badaniu, autorzy wierzą, że rozwój tradycyjnych sztuk walki w Indonezji może być skierowany na bardziej lokalne i kulturowe podstawy, a nie tylko promować je jako sport i nowoczesną sztukę walki. Konkluzja. Badania nad sensorycznymi aspektami *silatu* występują w niewielkiej ilości, a antropologiczne podejście do zmysłów okazało się również przydatne do ujawnienia drugiej strony śmiertelnej sztuki walki.