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## *Pamali* as a Social Bond of Kuta Traditional Village Communities

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**Abstract:** Kuta village is a traditional village located in Karangpaningal village, Tambaksari district, Ciamis regency, West Java province, Indonesia. At least three things make Kuta village a traditional one. There are similarities in terms of materials and forms of their residential buildings, still preserved rooted deep customs, and finally, there still exist traditional leaders and *Kuncen* who oversee the course of customs. These traditional customs are actualized in the form of *Pamali*. This research portrayed *Pamali* enforced in Kuta Traditional Village who can move the community and bind it with social bonds. This study used a qualitative approach with an ethnographic method. The data analysis was done through observation, open interviews, and documentation. The results showed that *Pamali* in Kuta Traditional Village affects almost all aspects of life, such as: *Pamali* related to procedure for building a house, house materials, the shape of the house, the direction of the house, the layout of the house, the layout of the rooms; *Pamali* related to the preservation of Leuweung Karamat “sacred forest”; *Pamali* related to naming someone; *Pamali* related to health issues; *Pamali* related to working procedures; *Pamali* related to marriage; *Pamali* related to burial of the body; and *Pamali* related to rituals. All forms of *Pamali* act as social institutions that control the behavior of Kuta residents in interacting with their ancestors, others, and nature. *Pamali* is a social bond that leads to sustainability customs, community harmony, conservation of residents health, and preservation of the environment.

**Keywords:** Kuta Traditional Village, traditional custom, *Pamali*.

## 帕玛利作为库塔传统乡村社区的社会纽带

**摘要：**库塔村是一个传统村庄，位于印度尼西亚西爪哇省恰米斯县坦巴克萨里区卡朗帕宁加尔村。至少有三件事使库塔村成为一个传统村。他们的民居建筑材料和形式有相似之处，仍然保留着根深蒂固的习俗。最后，他们仍然存在着传统的领袖和海带来监督习俗的进程。这些传统习俗以帕玛利的形式得以实现。这项研究描绘了在库塔传统村庄强制执行的帕玛利，他们可以移动社区并将其与社会纽带联系起来。这项研究采用了人种学方法的定性方法。数据分析是通过观察、公开访谈和记录来完成的。结果显示，库塔传统村的帕玛利几乎影响到生活的方方面面，如：帕玛利与建造房屋的程序、房屋材料、房屋的形状、房屋的方向、房屋的布局、房间的布局；实际的与保护卡拉马特森林“神圣森林”有关；帕玛利利与个人有关；

帕玛利与健康问题有关；实际的与工作程序相关；帕玛利语与婚姻有关；实际的利与有关的工作。所有形式的实际的都充当社会机构，控制库塔居民与祖先、他人和自然互动的行为。实际的是一种社会纽带,可以促进可持续发展习俗、社区和谐、保护居民健康和保护环境。

**关键词：**库塔传统村，传统习俗，帕玛利。

## 1. Introduction

A traditional village is a village that physically has similarities in terms of materials and forms of its residential buildings, still preserved rooted deep customs, and lastly, there are still traditional leaders and *Kuncen* who oversee the course of customs. Furthermore, the community itself is called community or traditional community.

According to [1] community or traditional community is A social unit that in performing its social interactions involves intensive relationships with a very high frequency of face-to-face, able to carry out traditions that have existed since the beginning; Social relations based on family ties, close friendship ties lead to a feeling of “we” for all its residents, the affective motivation; Unifying residence, physical house and rules.

West Java Province is 1 of 34 provinces in Indonesia. In this province, there are several traditional villages, one of which is the Kuta traditional village. The profoundness of the customs in the Kuta traditional village is still maintained. It is not only because these customs are overseen by traditional leaders and *kuncen* but also as the implementation of taboos, superstition, or *Pamali*. *Pamali* is closely related to various aspects of life such as culture, beliefs, and faith that comes from traditions and customs that apply in people's lives [2]-[3].

Maryati Sastrawijaya [4] defined *Pamali* as prohibition with consequences that will occur if violated, which makes people afraid to violate it. Sometimes it was told that it was came from ancestors and scaring him with something, which might be easier for sticking to his heart and strengthening his trust. That is the reason that *Pamali* comes as a tool to shift, everything that must be avoided.

In Sundanese, “*Pamali*” is an adjective. This word has a meaning with “*Pantangan*” (abstinence) and “*Panyaraman*” (prohibition). “*Kapamalian*” means something that is considered *pamali*, which if violated will have a “*Matak*” (cause something) according to the belief of ancestors. Thus, what distinguishes “*Kapamalian*” from prohibition is its “*Matak*”, the consequences that are believed to befall someone or some-thing if it is violated. Some of “*Matak*” are believed to impact the violator, while others are believed to have an effect on the environment [4]-[6].

In the Sundanese-English dictionary written by

Jonathan Rigg [3], *Pamali* was defined as forbidden by some moral feeling of wrong. Prohibited as un-lucky. An interdict, often superstitious but respected for fear of incurring God's displeasure or some overruling power.

This study can be said to have elements akin to a novel as it seeks to contribute to the current debates in the scientific literature. To achieve its objectives, this study presents several interesting aspects and combines various concepts.

Theoretically, this study assumes that the indigenous people of Kuta village adhere to *Pamali* as an order that has functional and imperative social enforcement. *Pamali* has deep social taboos against local words, objects, actions, people, environment and culture. The violation of *pamali* can cause disgrace, shame, damage, and loss in life. This concept enriches our understanding of how traditional societies regulate behavior and its relationship to spiritual, social and natural life [7]-[10].

In addition, this study discusses three interrelated concepts in human relations with society, namely social interaction, social processes, and social products. In the *pamali* context, social conventions play an important role in shaping individual behavior. These social conventions create long-term agreements about what should be done and how individuals should act. This shows that there is a strong influence on individual behavior in Kuta society [11].

The discussion of this research also includes social ties in the traditional village community of Kuta. Social ties are described as cultural institutions where individuals support, trust and cooperate on a voluntary basis. The people of Kuta village have inclusive social ties due to the homogeneity of the community, which is based on an extended family system. Attachment, commitment, involvement, and trust are categories of relationships that form social ties in society, especially in rural areas [8].

This discussion provides a deeper understanding of social dynamics in the indigenous community of Kuta village and its relevance in a wider social and cultural context. By incorporating theories and concepts from scholars like Travis Hirschi [9], the research strengthens its arguments and contributes to ongoing debates. It can be viewed as a novel that captures the essence of traditional society, delving into topics such as social bonds, values, and relationships. Travis Hirschi's theory on social bonds in conventional

society, which encompasses attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, further enhances our understanding of the social fabric within rural communities such as Kuta village. This research contributes to the existing body of knowledge by bridging the gap between theory and practice, shedding light on the intricacies of social relationships and their impact on indigenous communities.

The novelty of this research lies in a deeper understanding of the role of pamali in the traditional village community of Kuta. This research reveals how pamali functions as a social institution that controls people's behavior in interacting with God, ancestors, and the universe. This research also identifies the impact of pamali on customary sustainability, community harmony, population health, and environmental preservation.

In addition, this study highlights pamali as a strong social bond in the Kuta traditional village community. This concept provides an understanding of mutual support, mutual trust, and cooperation that underlies social ties in the community. This research also discusses the relevance of pamali in building a strong community and maintaining the environment and harmony sustainably.

Another novelty is the understanding of pamali as a traditional heritage that still has benefits today. This research reveals that the ban on cutting down trees in the forest and the form of houses on stilts still continues to this day, helping to maintain the continuity of life for the people of the traditional village of Kuta. This research underscores the importance of maintaining tradition in a modern context and proposes the application of pamali values in character education and guidelines in everyday life.

By broadening the understanding of the role of pamali in the traditional village community of Kuta, this research makes a new contribution to the scientific literature. This could pave the way for further research on the role of tradition in community development, cultural preservation, and environmental harmony. This research also shows the importance of maintaining and respecting local values in community development and the tourism sector by adopting local traditions to strengthen Indonesian identity and character.

## 2. Research Methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative approaches usually use research strategies such as narrative, phenomenological, ethnographic, and case studies. The research method used is the ethnographic method, which reveals the socio-cultural meaning by studying the daily life patterns of social groups or organizations. Studying the pattern of life includes behavior, belief systems, language, and cultural values. The research refers to the procedures presented by Spradley, including: determining the research location,

which is Kuta traditional village in Ciamis; asking questions listed in the research problem formulation; collecting data related to *Pamali* conducted by observation and interviews; and taking notes and documentation related to research. Data collection activities in qualitative research were carried out from various sources, such as interviews, observations, and photographic and written documentation. Finally, the researcher reviews all the data, assigns meaning, and processes it into categories or themes that cross all data sources. After the data is collected, the writer performs analysis by referring to the social bond theory of Travis Hirschi. Fig. 1 shows a flowchart of the methodology used in this study:

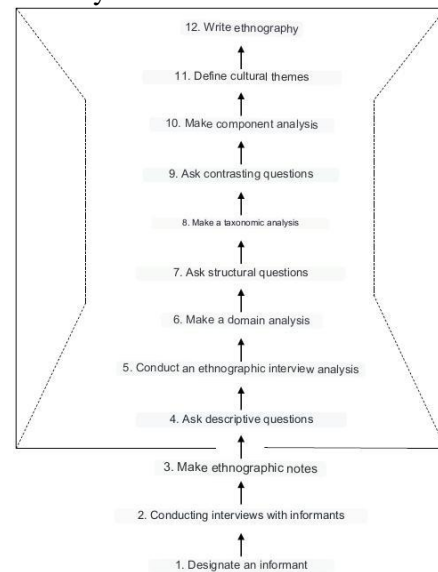


Fig. 1 Flowchart of the methodology

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1. Kuta Traditional Village Profile

Kuta traditional village is administratively located in Karangpaningal village, Tambaksari district, Ciamis regency, West Java province. This village is bordered by Cibodas village in the north, Margamulya village in the west, and the Cijolang River in the east and south. The name Kuta comes from the location of the village, which is in a valley and surrounded by cliffs. In Sundanese, areas with such conditions are called "Kuta" [5].



Fig. 2 Gate of Kuta Traditional Village

The population of the Kuta traditional village in 2022 was recorded as 287 people with 117 families. All residents of Kuta are Muslims, with most population making a living as palm sugar craftsmen. On average, each family has eight palm trees.

There are two versions regarding the origin of the Kuta traditional village:

First Version, It was said that King Galuh, Prabu Ajar Sukaresi, was wandering with his bodyguards. The odyssey was carried out to find a suitable area to be the center of the government.

Second Version, It began with two kingdoms that both targeted Kuta village. These two kingdoms are Cirebon Kingdom and Mataram Kingdom. The delegation from Cirebon Kingdom, Raksabumi, apparently arrived in Kuta earlier. Thus, Raksabumi guarded Kampung Kuta at the end of his life. When he died, Raksabumi, known as Ki Bumi, was buried in Cibodas Village, a neighbor of Kuta village. Ki Bumi is considered the forerunner of the Kuta community, and until now, Kuta village is led by the descendants of Ki Bumi [5].

### 3.2. Customs and *Pamali*

The customs in the Kuta traditional village include customs related to residential buildings, related to *leuweung karamat* “the sacred forest”, related to naming a person, related to health problems, related to work procedures, related to marriage, related to burial of bodies, related to rituals, and related to arts. These customs are implemented in the form of *Pamali*.

#### 3.2.1. *Pamali* Related to Residential Buildings [5]

*House materials:* It is *Pamali* if the walls of the house are made of walls and the roof is made of tiles. A house should have cubicle walls with a roof made of *kiray* or palm fiber.



Fig. 3 Stilt house with *kiray* roof and cubicle walls

*House shape:* It is *Pamali* if houses are built in forms other than stilt house.

*House's direction:* It is *Pamali* if house is built with a random direction. The direction of the house must be based on the birthday of the head of the family, namely:

- born on Monday: facing northeast

- born on Tuesday: facing northeast
- born on Wednesday: facing southwest
- born on Thursday: facing east south
- born on Friday: facing east
- born on Saturday: facing north
- born on Sunday: facing southwest

*House's position:* It is *Pamali* if the space between one house and another house (*ngagendong*) is close and without a border. A house could be built if it is approximately 100 meters from another house and separated by a bamboo fence, shrubs, or other plants.



Fig. 4 Each house *ngagendong* is separated by shrubs or other plants

*House's room:* It is *Pamali* if rooms are carelessly made in the house. The rooms in a house must be configured exactly the same as was the room configuration of the house in front of it, which was built before. If the house in front of questioned house has four types of rooms (*enggon*, *tengah imah*, *los*, *pawon*) then the room of the questioned house is expected to be configured like it as well. In addition, the position of each room must be parallel to the rooms from house in front of it. For example, *pawon* (kitchen) is also facing the *pawon* of the house in the front of it.



Fig. 5 The number and position of the rooms in the house align to the house front that was built before

*Houses layout:* It is *Pamali* to carelessly build a parent's house and a child's house close together. According to ancestral beliefs, the east is the place of *wiwitan* or the place of origin. Thus, the position of the parent's house must be to the east of the child's house. If the houses between children are close together, the position of the older child's house must be to the east of the younger child's house.

*House's landing:* Before adhering to the six *pamali*

mentioned above, there is one *pamali* that is apply at the beginning of building a house. It is *Pamali* to build houses on random land because not all land is suitable for a family. Therefore, before building a house, the head of the family essentially performs a *neyag* procession. *Neyag* is performed on the birthday of the head of the family and refers to the *kliwon* calendar. The procession time happens in the afternoon, located in the middle of the land area where the house is planned to be built. *Neyag* is a procession of testing the land where a house will be built. *The Neyag* procession begins with making a hole. Next, the rice is wrapped on a piece of bamboo that has been filled with water and then placed in the hole that has been made and covered with a steamer. The next morning, the grain on the bamboo is checked. If the grain does not fall, then the land is considered suitable for building a house.

### 3.2.2. *Pamali Related to the Burial of the Corpse*

It is *Pamali* to bury bodies in the Kuta traditional village area, including the residents of Kuta themselves.

### 3.2.3. *Pamali Related to Sacred Forests*

It is *Pamali* if the sacred forest is entered wearing footwear and gold jewelry.

It is *Pamali* to spit, urinate, and defecate in the sacred forest.

It is *Pamali* to enter the sacred forest except on Mondays and Fridays. *Pamali* is intended to restrict people from entering the forest. If the forest is often visited, it is feared that it will damage the plants. It is said that Monday and Friday were determined because those two days were considered prosperous. Monday is the birthday of Prophet Muhammad, and Friday is the day of his death.

It is *Pamali* to cut down or pluck any plants in sacred forest.



Fig. 6 The entrance of sacred forest



Fig. 7 "Kuncen" is performing a ritual in a sacred forest

### 3.2.4. *Pamali Related to Rituals*

Customs in Kuta traditional village are also manifested in various traditional ceremonies. There are ceremonies that are performed individually, such as ceremonies related to life cycle, building a house, and various ceremonies that are common to all Kuta residents, such as: *nyuguh*, *hajat bumi*, and *babarit* ceremonies. Not everyone can provide an offering. It is *Pamali* if women who are in the menstrual period make an offering. Women who are menstruating are considered to be in a "dirty" state, while offerings are presented to their ancestors as a sign of respect, which means that they must be clean, "pure".

### 3.2.5. *Pamali Related to Giving Names [2]*

It is *Pamali* to give the Javanese name to a child. The child's name must be a Sundanese name, which is described in the Sundanese sentence '*ngaran teu meunang tina basa Jawa kudu Sunda*'.

### 3.2.6. *Pamali Related to Working Procedures*

Sundanese sentence '*lamun nyadap ulah nyolendangkeun sarung*' means when someone is going to tap a palm sugar, he should not wear a sarong.



Fig. 8 A villager is going to tap a palm sugar

### 3.2.7. *Pamali* Related to Health

'*Teu kenging ka cai wayah bedug*' in Sundanese means it will be *Pamali* to have bath in the middle of the day. The purpose is not to let people have a bath in the middle of the day.

### 3.2.8. *Pamali* Related to Marriage

'*Teu meunang turun ka ranjang atawa naek ka ranjang*' (it is *pamali* to marry younger or older brother/sister-in-law). *Pamali* is intended to expand familyhood.

'*Tujuh poe sanggeus nikah teu meunang sakamar*' (the bride and groom sleep in the same room for the first seven days after marriage). This is *Pamali* for those who are married in an arranged marriage. It is feared that within a few days after the wedding, one or even both of them feel uncomfortable, so if the couple divorces, the woman is still a virgin.

### 3.2.9. *Pamali* Related to Pregnancy

It is *Pamali* for women to eat coconut that has germinated (almost sprouted) because the sour can cause an abortion. In order for *Pamali* to be obeyed, it is said if someone violates it, it may cause her child to be gotten by fever often.

Based on the opinion by Humaeni quoted from Juansah [10], the words of *Pamali* in indigenous peoples have many meanings and uses for those who believe and apply to their lives.

According to Kridalaksana [7] *Pamali* is "the meaning of utterances that are prohibited"; expressed in various forms, including the negative imperative "don't" or with the phrase "it is not justified". The prohibition is expressed in various forms, including the form of a negative imperative, in Sundanese, especially in the Kuta traditional village community, it is identified as *Pamali*. According to Winick, quoted from Juansah [9], awareness about *Pamali* in the Kuta Traditional Village community is an indicator of how strong the social ties are. People of Kuta Traditional Village are afraid to violate *Pamali* because even though there is no religious, moral, legal sanction basis, they have an awareness of the value of being obedient to traditions that are considered to have many meanings and uses in their lives. In fact, behind *Pamali*'s expression there are values of local wisdom, such as the following.

The house should not be walled or roofed. It is actually associated with an adaptation effort to the soil conditions of Kuta traditional village, which is unstable. Houses made of solid walls and tiled roofs will collapse due to heavy pressure on the ground.

The house must be in the form of a stilt house, which actually keeps the house from being damp. Houses made of bamboo and wood are susceptible to termites, whereas termites like to live in damp

materials. Thus, the house should not be directly attached to the ground. In the past, stilt houses were meant to avoid wild animals and floods.

Houses must face each other so that if the occupants of the houses are affected by a disaster, the neighbors in the front of them will know.

The number of rooms in the house and its position must match the house in the front of it. In addition to the neatness of the environment, another reason is to maintain the neighborhood. For example, if someone is cooking, the neighbor should not smell the aroma of the food when they are both cooking. If the smell of cooking is smelled by the neighbor and they are not sharing the food, it causes an unpleasant feeling.

Burying the body must be outside Kuta Village. Apart from being said to be a form of *Pamali* for the Kuta people for their ancestor Ki Bumi, who was not buried in Kuta village but in Cibodas village, it is actually to prevent the Kuta people from digging too deep for fear of landslides because the soil is unstable.

- It is *Pamali* to enter the sacred forest with footwear and wearing gold jewelry. *Pamali* is not only interpreted by the Kuta people as highly respecting the ancestral teachings about simplicity and togetherness but also intended to keep plants that are trampled on from being damaged. It is also to remind that what we wear must be adjusted to a certain place.

- It is *Pamali* to spit, urinate, and defecate in the sacred forest. This shows that Kuta's people uphold the values of cleanliness, courtesy and discipline. Spitting, urinating, or defecating carelessly will pollute the environment.

- It is *Pamali* to cut down and pluck plants in the forest. This is intended to preserve the forest.

- It is *Pamali* to give the child a Javanese name. This *Pamali* is not only a tribute to the Sundanese ancestors but also an effort to preserve Sundanese culture.

- It is *Pamali* to wear a sarong when tapping palm sugar water. The aim is to maintain the safety of palm sugar craftsmen. Tapping palm sugar water while wearing a sarong may cause the sarong getting caught in the palm leaf so that the person could fall.

- It is *Pamali* to have a bath in the middle of the day. The reason is that at noon the body temperature is "hot" so that if it is splashed with cold water it will result in a drastic decrease in temperature which might result in fever.

## 3.3. Application to Society

Kuta traditional village community as a homogeneous community living in remote villages makes social ties between families and neighbors in one environment based on the traditional values and togetherness of one community. Referring to Hirschi's theory [9] of social bonds in conventional society, it is explained that there are four categories of relationships:

attachment (emotional bonds in relationships), commitment (individual attitudes toward certain objects), involvement (involvement felt by the stimulus in certain situations), and belief (faith). Social ties in the Kuta traditional village occur because the community has an emotional bond with their primary group and traditional leaders (*kuncen*), so this form of attention gives strength and a strong sense of responsibility to comply with the rules. These four relationships result in social bonds in the community, especially in rural areas, including the Kuta traditional village. The social ties in the Kuta traditional village are created because of the emotional connection with their ancestors, who are considered to have contributed to providing a place to live for the Kuta people. Furthermore, what has been passed down by their ancestors, including *pamali*, is obeyed. Community members not only feel but also believe that by obeying or not violating the rules, their lives will be safe, preventing them from calamity in any form.

*Pamali* as ancestral cultural heritage has usefulness in the present, such as the existence of *pamali* making houses using tiles and walls and requiring the construction of houses on stilts, which turns out to be adaptive to the natural environment to avoid wild animals, damp, and termites that can damage the house and heavy loads. The layout of the house that requires facing each other and the linear space of the house also has a social and security function. All of these have good cultural values for society. Then, how can the benefits of existing local traditions be continued for the present. We need to initiate new traditions through innovation to anticipate the stagnation of tradition. Efforts to explore the richness of local culture in the architecture of the archipelago can start from mapping the knowledge of how they build their techniques in the hope of producing a variety of creative and innovative products. For this reason, mapping is the initial stage of a strategic plan to summarize the potential of traditional architectural products that can become cultural tourism commodities. With its uniqueness and characteristics that are attractive to tourists, stilt houses in Kuta Village can be a guideline and action plan to produce and market traditional architectural cultural products with commodity value. Apart from being a commodity, the stilt house can also be used as a modern home model with new innovations. There are already houses in urban areas that are built by adopting the form of houses on stilts but made of wood, booths, walls and tiled roofs. The architecture of the house continues to develop, giving birth to various new forms by adopting local culture and innovation. The heritage of traditional architecture can survive and continue in the sense that the inheriting community is still alive because it has the power to continue. The architectural form of the traditional house turned out to be admired and became distinct impression in the minds of those

who witnessed it.

*Pamali* associated with felling trees in the forest of Kampung Kuta also has usefulness and benefits for human life and other living things such as plants and animals. The existence of *pamali* cutting down trees in the forest of Kampung Kuta is an effort to preserve the forest, which needs to be applied in maintaining the relationship between humans and nature. The usefulness of this tradition, which is full of local wisdom, is able to answer the issue of the environmental movement that must be carried out in this archipelago country. Furthermore, behind the procedures for building a house, there are values that can be followed in everyday life. These values are universal so that they can be applied not only in the Kuta Traditional Village but also throughout Indonesian islands. There is a value of caring, tolerance, and neatness, which is implied in one of the house building rules that must face each other. Moreover, the procedures for building houses that contain noble values may be input for stakeholders in the housing development sector. In addition to being able to lead to a neat and "beautiful" city arrangement, it also maintains and revives the values of caring and tolerance in the lives of urban people who currently tend to be egocentric.

#### 4. Conclusion

The research on *pamali* in Kuta traditional village provides significant academic contributions in several aspects. First, it sheds light on the social institutions that control the behavior of Kuta people in their interactions with the Almighty, ancestors, and the universe. This understanding contributes to the field of anthropology and cultural studies by highlighting the role of traditional customs in shaping community dynamics.

Second, the study emphasizes the sustainability of customs, the harmony of the community, and the preservation of the environment. This insight can inform research on community development and environmental conservation, demonstrating how adherence to cultural practices can contribute to the well-being of residents and the maintenance of a sustainable environment.

Furthermore, the research identified *pamali* as a social bond within the Kuta Traditional Village community. This finding has implications for social cohesion and conflict resolution strategies. It highlights the importance of mutual support, trust and cooperation based on shared understanding, which can be valuable for researchers and practitioners working in community development and social integration.

Moreover, the study recognizes the usefulness of *pamali* in the present and advocates its wider implementation as a tool for character education and guidance in daily life. This aspect contributes to the

field of education and ethics by highlighting the universal applicability of the values embedded in pamali, suggesting its potential as a framework for character development in a broader society.

Lastly, the research suggests that adopting local traditions, such as the layout of houses, can contribute to the preservation of cultural identity and character in the housing and tourism industry. This finding provides insights for stakeholders in these industries, offering opportunities to incorporate local wisdom and promote sustainable cultural tourism.

In conclusion, the research on pamali in Kuta traditional village contributes academically to various fields including anthropology, cultural studies, community development, environmental conservation, social cohesion, education, ethics, and the housing and tourism industry. It provides valuable insights into the role of pamali as a social institution, its impact on community dynamics, and its potential for wider application in contemporary society.

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