

***Pamali* as Living Hadith: The Vernacularization of Prophetic Time-Ethics in Sundanese Society, Lebak-Banten**

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Abstrak: The *pamali* tradition includes prohibitions on leaving the house at times such as before sunset, before dawn, and at midday. This study examines these prohibitions among the Sundanese Muslim community of Kampung Cibeunyeur Hilir, Parakanbeusi Village, Lebak-Banten, as a case of *living hadith*, and analyses the extent to which they can be read as a vernacularization of Prophetic teachings. Using a qualitative living-hadith approach and Ronit Ricci's theory of vernacularization, data were gathered through in-depth interviews across generations and religious actors (*ustadz*, *kyai*, *kasepuhan*, parents, and children) and through a study of relevant hadiths and their classical commentaries. Rather than treating every *pamali* as a uniform derivation from hadith, the study argues that the three prohibitions exhibit different *degrees* of correspondence with Prophetic teachings: a strong textual linkage in the Maghrib case, a thematic correspondence in the midday case, and a largely interpretive correspondence in the pre-dawn case. The analysis further traces a plausible mediating chain toward hadith, classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), *kyai* and weekly *pengajian*, and oral parental transmission through which Prophetic values are localized into taboo language (*sandekala*, *tangange*, *hahalaen*) and cultural narratives (*kelong wewe*, *kulit kendur*). The findings suggest that certain *pamali* practices demonstrate substantive affinities with Prophetic teachings and are interpreted by some religious actors as culturally mediated expressions of Islamic values, while others function primarily as local ethical and protective norms. *Pamali* thus emerges as a living-hadith phenomenon of graded textual proximity.

Keywords: *Living Hadith; Sundanese Society; Pamali; Graded Correspondence; Vernacularization.*

Abstrak: Tradisi *pamali* mencakup larangan keluar rumah pada waktu-waktu tertentu seperti menjelang Maghrib, sebelum Subuh, dan tengah hari. Penelitian ini mengkaji larangan-larangan tersebut pada masyarakat Muslim Sunda di Kampung Cibeunyeur Hilir, Desa Parakanbeusi, Lebak-Banten, sebagai sebuah kasus *living hadith*, sekaligus menganalisis sejauh mana ia dapat dibaca sebagai vernakularisasi ajaran Nabi. Melalui metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan living hadith dan kerangka teori vernakularisasi Ronit Ricci, data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam lintas generasi dan lintas aktor keagamaan (*ustaz*, *kyai*, *kasepuhan*, orang tua, dan anak) serta kajian terhadap hadis-hadis terkait

beserta syarahnya. Alih-alih memperlakukan setiap *pamali* sebagai derivasi hadis yang seragam, penelitian ini justru berargumen bahwa ketiga larangan tersebut menunjukkan derajat keterkaitan yang berbeda dengan ajaran Nabi: keterkaitan tekstual yang kuat pada kasus keluar sebelum Maghrib, keterkaitan tematik pada kasus tengah hari, dan keterkaitan yang sebagian besar bersifat interpretatif pada kasus sebelum Subuh. Analisis selanjutnya menelusuri rantai mediasi yang masuk akal terhadap hadis, teks-teks Islam klasik (*kitab kuning*), kyai dan pengajian mingguan, serta transmisi lisan orang tua — yang melaluinya nilai-nilai kenabian dilokalisasikan ke dalam bahasa pantangan/tabu (*sandekala*, *tangange*, *hahalaen*) dan narasi budaya (*kelong wewe*, *kulit kendor*). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sejumlah praktik *pamali* memiliki afinitas substantif dengan ajaran Nabi dan dimaknai oleh sebagian aktor keagamaan sebagai ekspresi nilai-nilai Islam yang termediasi secara kultural, sementara sebagian lain berfungsi terutama sebagai norma etika dan perlindungan lokal. Dengan demikian, *pamali* muncul sebagai fenomena *living* hadis dengan kedekatan tekstual yang bertingkat.

Kata Kunci: *Living Hadis; Masyarakat Sunda; Pamali; Korespondensi Berjenjang; Vernakularisasi.*

1. Introduction

Until recently, some Muslims have tended to understand hadith primarily as normative texts documented in classical hadith compilations and used as authoritative sources of reference (Amelia et al. 2025). However, the development of contemporary hadith studies has shifted attention not only to textual analysis but also to the ways hadith are received, interpreted, and internalized within the social life of Muslim communities (Alifah and Hakim 2025; Siregar 2022). This perspective is known as *Living Hadith*, which examines the manifestation of hadith through social practices, traditions, and religious behaviors that continue to exist and evolve in society (Qudsy and Dewi 2018; Salam 2019). In this context, hadith can be manifested through cultural symbols, customs, and social norms that have developed over generations.

One of the interesting social phenomena to examine within the framework of Living Hadith is the tradition of *pamali* that exists in Sundanese society. *Pamali* is a system of customary prohibitions that is passed down orally and is believed to have certain consequences if violated (Qusyaeri and Azhari 2019). In practice, *pamali* is not only related to aspects of belief, but also functions as a mechanism for regulating social behavior in everyday life (Siahaan, J.Sutjiono, and Nainggolan 2024). One form of *pamali* that still survives today is the prohibition of leaving the house at certain times, such as before sunset, before dawn, and when the sun is at its hottest (midday) (Azellia

and Alimi 2025). Generally, these prohibitions are explained through symbolic or metaphysical narratives (Azellia and Alimi 2025). At the same time, this also indirectly conveys a message about protection, regulation of activities, and respect for time (Arif and Listiana 2023).

In the Sundanese cultural value system, *pamali* occupies an important position as part of local wisdom that serves to maintain harmony between individuals, communities, and the environment. *Pamali* is understood as a traditional belief, as well as a means of moral education, self-control, and the formation of social ethics from an early age (Arif and Listiana 2023). Through symbolic language and suggestive consequences, *pamali* becomes an effective non-formal instrument of social control in shaping compliance without the need for written regulations (Dini, Anggrestia, and Afkar 2024). In certain contexts, such as dusk or midday, *pamali* also reflects the sacralization of time in community life.

While much existing scholarship on living hadith in Indonesia has concentrated on communal ritual practices such as *maulid* (Ghoffari and Arifin 2024), *tahlilan* (Nurjaman, S, and Hasyim 2022), *yasinan* (Fajri and Mutawakkil 2024), and grave pilgrimages (Mustaghfiroh 2020). Comparatively little attention has been paid to non-ritual, everyday social norms. On the other hand, research on *pamali* in Sundanese society has been conducted more from the perspective of cultural anthropology and exploratory studies (Kesuma, Hamka, and Taufik 2024). This approach has succeeded in explaining the social function of *pamali* but has not yet placed it within the framework of hadith reception. This study therefore examines how Prophetic values are culturally mediated through taboo language, local symbolism, and intergenerational transmission within a Sundanese Muslim community and, crucially, with what degree of textual proximity in each case.

Complementing previous research, this study specifically positions *pamali* as a form of social reception of the Prophet's hadith. In addition, research examining *pamali* using the framework of hadith vernacularization is still quite limited (Zubir and Hilma 2018). In short, vernacularization is the process of translating the normative values of hadith into local language and cultural symbols. Specifically, the dimension of the sacralization of time in the *pamali* tradition, particularly related to the prohibition of leaving the house at maghrib, before dawn, and during the heat of the sun, has not been analyzed from the perspective of Living Hadith.

Therefore, this study uses the living hadith approach, which is an approach that places hadith as a living social phenomenon that is practiced and interpreted in

people's lives (Dadiono, Meliza, and Misbah 2026). This approach is used to examine how the values of hadith are received, interpreted, and manifested in the tradition of *pamali* related to the prohibition of leaving the house at certain times among the Sundanese people (Rismah, Amin, and Yahya 2025). Through this approach, the focus of the study is not only on the authenticity of the hadith text, but also on the form of cultural reception, social function, and meaning constructed by the community regarding this practice.

To deepen the analysis, this study uses the framework of vernacularization theory developed by Ronit Ricci. This theory explains the process by which religious teachings derived from formal texts undergo transformation into local languages, symbols, and practices so that they can be understood and accepted by specific communities (Faiqoh 2018). The mechanism of vernacularization in this study is analyzed through several stages, namely: meaning selection from the hadith, linguistic transformation into local languages (such as the term *pamali*), contextual adaptation to the social and ecological context of the community, and social internalization through intergenerational social transmission (Ricci 2011).

Methodologically, this research is descriptive-analytical qualitative in nature (Sugiyono 2016). Data was collected through a literature study of hadiths related to time etiquette and field studies or ethnographic sources on *pamali* practices in Sundanese society. This research focuses on the Sundanese people's perception of hadiths, namely the tradition of *pamali*. The object and location of the research were limited to the Sundanese community in Kampung Cibeunyeur Hilir, Parakanbeusi Village, Lebak-Banten Regency. Data collection techniques were carried out through in-depth interviews with Sundanese people who were considered representative to explain their views broadly (having relevant knowledge or experience) (Attar, Kosasih, and Al Mighwar 2025). These interviews were conducted with all groups, such as agents, namely ustaz, teachers, and *kasepuhan*, people from the older and younger generations, and children. Then, the analysis was carried out by connecting the text of the hadith as a normative source with social practices as a form of cultural reception, then tracing the process of vernacularization that bridges the two (Parwanto 2022). With this method, the study is expected to comprehensively explain how the hadith is not only understood textually but also lives and transforms in the local traditions of the community.

Based on the problem, review, and research methods, this paper aims to examine the tradition of *pamali*, or the prohibition of leaving the house, in Sundanese society

as a form of Living Hadith through the process of vernacularization. This study seeks to explain how the normative values of hadith regarding protection, time management, and safety are translated into local cultural norms. Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich the development of Living Hadith studies by expanding the object of study to the realm of non-ritual social norms. Contextually, this research contributes to understanding the dynamic relationship between Islamic teachings and the local culture of the Sundanese people, while also showing that *pamali* is not merely a traditional belief, but can also represent the continuity of prophetic values in social life.

Vernacularization refers to the process through which Islamic teachings are translated, adapted, and expressed within local languages, cultural forms, and systems of meaning (Tahko and Marjanen 2024). In Islamic studies, the concept goes beyond the literal translation of Arabic texts; it also involves the cultural and semantic adaptation of religious teachings to local contexts (Basthoh 2025). Ronit Ricci (2011) conceptualizes vernacularization as *Islam translated*, in which Islamic texts and concepts are transferred into local linguistic and cultural settings. This process may involve changes in expression, interpretation, and modes of transmission while retaining connections to the normative religious tradition.

In the Indonesian context, vernacularization illustrates the dialogical interaction between Islamic teachings and local cultures. Religious values may therefore be expressed through local traditions, advice, symbols, and social norms without necessarily being explicitly attributed to their original textual sources (Abidin, Aziz, and Ahmadi 2022; Sakinah 2024). This perspective is particularly relevant to Living Hadith studies, as it enables researchers to examine how Prophetic teachings are received, interpreted, and embodied within particular cultural communities.

Living Hadith generally refers to the ways in which hadith and the Prophetic Sunnah are interpreted and manifested in social life through practices, traditions, rituals, and behavioral patterns (Kholidun and Channa 2021; Suryadilaga 2019). In this sense, hadith is not limited to written texts but may become embedded in everyday practices and collective traditions. Qudsy (2018) distinguishes manifestations of the living Sunnah into written, oral, and practical forms. This study focuses particularly on the oral and practical dimensions of Living Hadith as reflected in the *pamali* tradition among the Sundanese community of Lebak, Banten.

Pamali refers to prohibitions rooted in customs and traditions and transmitted across generations. KBBI defines *pamali* (*pemali*) as a prohibition based on customs

(Khairunnisa and Wirdhaningsih 2020), while Miranda (2020) describes it as a prohibition associated with the possibility of misfortune when violated. From the perspective of folklore, *pamali* constitutes a form of semi-verbal folklore that functions to transmit values, regulate behavior, and protect individuals from perceived risks (Danandjaja 2012).

Beyond its function as a cultural prohibition, *pamali* may also be understood as a form of local wisdom shaped by collective experience and intergenerational socialization. Berger and Luckmann's (1991) perspective on social construction helps explain how such prohibitions become normalized through repeated practices and collective acceptance. In Sundanese Muslim society, some forms of *pamali* also contain ethical values that correspond with Islamic teachings, including maintaining manners, avoiding harm, and exercising caution in particular situations (Qusyaeri and Azhari 2019).

The intersection between *pamali* and Islamic values makes it relevant to Living Hadith research. Rather than if every *pamali* originates from a particular hadith, this study examines whether and to what extent certain *pamali* practices demonstrate correspondence with Prophetic teachings. Vernacularization is therefore employed as an analytical perspective to investigate how religious values may be translated into local cultural expressions, while Living Hadith provides a framework for examining their manifestation in everyday social practice.

2. Results and Discussion

Study of Hadiths on the Pamali

In contemporary religious discourse, there is a kind of discourse struggle within the tradition of *pamali*. This discourse struggle mainly arises in the context of the relationship between Islam and local culture. In other words, it brings together the arguments of the accommodative-cultural approach, which is widely embraced by traditionalists such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and the purificative approach that has developed among Salafis or the Islamic purification movement. This contestation is essentially related to issues of religious authority, the legitimacy of tradition, and the boundaries between custom and religious teachings.

Several arguments from figures identified with the Salaf, such as Andirja, explain that Islam must be free from things such as *pamali* because they are closer to *khurafat*, *tathayyur*, and *shirk*. Zainuddin believes that *pamali* can become *tathayyur* when someone believes they will have bad luck (Hidayatullah 2019). Meanwhile, Somad says

that in Islam, the intention must be considered first; if the intention is good, then it is permissible, including *pamali* (Pratama 2021). The latter argument seems wiser in addressing the tradition of *pamali*.

Based on this, for traditionalists, the *pamali* tradition is not viewed as a religious practice in its own right, but rather as a cultural medium that helps internalize Islamic values (Asbir 2025). Conversely, Salafis tend to associate *pamali* with beliefs about supernatural powers, bad luck, or metaphysical consequences that have no basis in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith (Mufida 2022). For this group, the main issue is not the social function of *pamali*, but the potential for doctrinal deviation that can arise from belief in non-Sharia causes.

Regardless of the debate surrounding *pamali*, at least the tradition of *pamali* has elements of Islamic values. From the perspective of living hadith, attention to these times has a normative basis that can be traced through a number of accounts of the Prophet Muhammad. The following are some hadiths related to *pamali* in the context of prohibitions on leaving the house at dusk, before dawn, and at midday. The hadith about *pamali* at dusk was narrated from Jabir bin 'Abdillah, the Prophet SAW said:

إِذَا كَانَ جُنْحُ اللَّيْلِ أَوْ أَمْسَيْتُمْ، فَكُفُّوا صِبْيَانَكُمْ، فَإِنَّ الشَّيَاطِينَ تَنْتَشِرُ حِينَئِذٍ، فَإِذَا ذَهَبَ سَاعَةٌ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ فَخَلُّوهُمْ

“When night falls or evening approaches, hold your children back, for demons are scattered at that time. When part of the night has passed, release them”.

This hadith comes from Jabir bin Abdullah and is found in the Sahihain (Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim). Al-'Asqalani (1996) explains that the term *junnah al-layl* refers to the onset of darkness when daylight begins to fade. At that time, there are changes in natural conditions that can be dangerous, so the Prophet advised that children remain indoors. In addition, the mention of *al-Sayātīn Tantasyiru* can be understood in its literal meaning or in a figurative sense as various potential dangers that arise during this transition period, such as wild animals, crime, or accidents (Al-Ayni 2001). In context, this hadith shows the habit of Arab society of allowing children to play outside in the evening, so the Prophet gave preventive guidance for their safety.

Specifically, there is no hadith that explicitly explains the prohibition of going out “before dawn,” but there is a hadith related to the morning time in the narration of al-Tirmidhi, with the following wording.

اللَّهُمَّ بَارِكْ لَأُمَّتِي فِي بُكُورِهَا

“O Allah, bless my people in the morning”.

This hadith is sourced from Sakhr al-Ghamidi and is considered *sahih* (Al-Tirmidzi 1977). The word *Bukūr* refers to the morning hours from dawn until early afternoon,

which is a time full of blessings because people are still physically and mentally fresh (Al-Mubarakfuri 1897). In addition, in the Prophet's daily practice, the time before dawn was filled with *qiyām al-lail* (Magfirah 2020). Therefore, what is conveyed in the collection of the Prophet's hadiths regarding this early morning time is not a prohibition, but rather a positive assessment. The very early morning is described as a blessed and productive part of the day.

It must be stated plainly that this valuation of time is not, in itself, an instruction to remain indoors. The connection between the blessing of the morning and the Sundanese *pamali* against leaving the house before dawn (*hahalaen*) is therefore not textual but interpretive: it is a correspondence the community itself constructs, harmonizing its own protective concern — historically rooted in the danger of moving about before daybreak in an unlit environment — with the Islamic sacralization of the early hours. Whether and how that harmonization occurs is an empirical question taken up in the analysis below, where it is treated as an interpretive correspondence rather than a direct derivation. At the level of the text, then, this hadith belongs to the Prophetic ethics of time.

Next is the last hadith regarding the prohibition (*pamali*) of leaving the house at midday. It should be noted, this hadith addresses the timing of worship in extreme heat rather than any prohibition on leaving the house, the *Tangange* and *Kulit Kendor* tradition is better described not as a direct vernacularization of the text but as a thematic correspondence with the Prophetic ethics of environmental caution and self-protection. The local taboo and the hadith converge on a shared concern avoiding harm during the hottest hours. The wording of the hadith in question is as follows:

أَبْرِدُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ، فَإِنَّ شِدَّةَ الْحَرِّ مِنْ فَيْحِ جَهَنَّمَ

“Delay prayer until the air becomes cooler, because the intense heat is part of the breath of Hell.”

In terms of quality, this hadith is considered Sahih among hadith scholars, sourced from several companions such as Mughirah bin Syu'bah, Abi Dzar, and Abi Said (Wensinck 1936). Furthermore, according to al-Asqalani (1996), this hadith relates to the extremely hot conditions in the Hijaz region, so that the Prophet ordered that the Zuhr prayer be postponed until the temperature dropped. The phrase “*fayḥ jahannam*” is understood as an affirmation of the danger of extreme heat to the physical condition of humans. Al-Nawawi (1989) adds that this hadith shows the flexibility of the Sharia in considering environmental factors and public interest. In addition, *Asbāb al-wurūd*

of this hadith is related to the complaints of the companions who found it difficult to perform prayers when the heat reached its peak.

Based on the explanations of the scholars, the hadiths related to dusk, dawn, and midday indicate several key principles, namely: (1) protection of individual safety, (2) adjustment of activities to environmental conditions, (3) regulation of the rhythm of life between worship, activities, and rest, and (4) a preventive approach to potential dangers. Implicitly, the arguments of the hadith scholars show that the emphasis on certain times has rational and social considerations that are contextual to the conditions of society.

Perceptions of Pamali Traditions among the Sundanese Society Lebak-Banten

In the context of Sundanese society, *pamali* is perceived as part of a cultural ethical system that regulates human relationships with the social environment, nature, and the spiritual dimension (Mulyani and Indriawati 2023). The values of politeness (*someah*), caution, and the principle of living in harmony with nature are reflected in various forms of *pamali* prohibitions (Khairunnisa and Wirdhaningsih 2020). Research on Sundanese culture shows that people often understand *pamali* not merely as myths, but as moral advice conveyed in symbolic form so that it is more easily accepted and obeyed, especially by children and the younger generation.

Interestingly, in the development of modern society, the perception of *pamali* has not completely disappeared, but has undergone a transformation in meaning. Some people still believe in them literally, while others understand them rationally as a form of social control and character education (Kesuma et al. 2024). In this context, the prohibition on leaving the house at dusk is often interpreted as a cultural strategy to protect children from environmental risks while instilling religious habits. This transformation demonstrates a process of cultural reinterpretation that allows *pamali* to remain relevant in contemporary life.

Based on this, this study aims to explore the practice and opinions related to the *pamali* of leaving the house at certain times among the Sundanese people. The object of this study is the Sundanese Muslim community living near the river in Kp. Cibeunyeur Hilir, RT/RW: 003/001, Des. Parakanbeusi, Kec. Bojongmanik, Kab. Lebak, Banten Province. This location was chosen for several reasons: 1) The entire community is Muslim, 2) The community has a complete range of generations, starting from Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964), Generation X (born 1965-1979), Generation Y (born 1980-1994), Generation Z (born 1995-2009), and Generation Alpha (born 2010-2024), 3) in terms of religious leaders or figures, as well as traditional elders, who are

still active, 4) in terms of professions, the community includes teachers, farmers, traders, and religious leaders. In this study, the type of interview chosen was unstructured and naturalistic.

Results from interviews with several residents in the village of Cibeunyeur Hilir indicate that the *pamali* regarding the prohibition on leaving the house is still practiced today. This *pamali* is routinely communicated verbally to remind everyone, especially children. According to IM (Personal communication, December 20, 2025), as a parent from the millennial generation, the oral tradition of prohibiting children from leaving the house at certain times has become a reflexive habit, especially the prohibition of leaving the house in the evening, except for the purpose of attending prayers at the mosque. Meanwhile, MM (Personal communication, December 20, 2025) admitted that she most often forbids her children from leaving the house at midday, especially to go to the river.

In general, some Sundanese people do not know the basic reasons for using *pamali* in the context of prohibiting leaving the house at certain times. As confessed by SR, a boomer (Personal communication, December 20, 2025), who said: “*duka nyah, dasarna timana, pokoknamah ti leuleutikgeh sok pamali cik kolot teamah, te menang kaluar ti imah wanci maghrib jeng beurang*”, meaning: “*I don't know where it comes from, but I know that it is pamali or prohibited to leave the house at dusk and during the day because my parents have always said so.*” From this statement, it can be said that they generally practice the tradition of *pamali* because it is based on the teachings of their ancestors, which are always listened to continuously.

In line with Sari's opinion, JN (Personal communication, December 20, 2025), who works as a farmer and sometimes fishes in the river, also expressed his ignorance about the source of the taboo. He said: “*Teteurang nya asalna timana pamali kaluar imah wanci maghrib jeng berang teh, sampe ayena urang masih makean jeng kadiri urang sorangan pamali heunte kaluar imah ti beurang, komo ka cai ja sieun ku kulit kendor*”, meaning: “*...even now I still use that pamali for myself, especially the prohibition against leaving the house during the day to go to the river, for fear of sagging skin.*”. Both representatives of informants SR and JN seemed unaware of the exact origin of the *pamali* tradition, but they did know that *pamali* is associated with mystical things such as ghosts.

Furthermore, HK (Personal communication, December 20, 2025), a housewife, admitted that she often forbids her husband from leaving the house before dawn. She always says to her husband: “*Ulah sok kaluar memeh subuh sien ja hahalaen*”. She

forbade it because her husband had a habit of defecating before dawn and always left the house to go to the river even though they had a bathroom. At least from some of the informants' statements above, it can be concluded that in the *pamali* among the Sundanese people of Lebak-Banten, there are three prohibitions on leaving the house; namely before dawn, before sunset, and at noon.

For the Sundanese community in the village of Cibeunyeur Hilir, the rules of *pamali* prohibiting leaving the house at certain times also have positive values. As stated by IM and MM (Personal communication, December 20, 2025) as representatives of the younger generation, they believe that the *pamali* rules have positive values, such as the prohibition on leaving the house at dusk, because it is used for Maghrib prayers and disturbs the order of the surrounding community. Even MR (Personal communication, December 20, 2025), an elderly woman, said: “*Pamali eta aya bagusna ogeh, soalna budak laetik ayenamah teu benang dihaloken lamun ku kolot tea, mangkanna sok disingsienan ku kecap “pamali” kaluar ti peutingmah tuh, baturmah sarolat*”, meaning: “*Pamali has positive values, especially for children who are difficult to reason with. Therefore, pamali can be a solution to get children to go to the mosque*”. In addition, HF (Personal communication, December 20, 2025) a trader believes that this *pamali* makes it easier for his child to take a nap independently amid his busy schedule as a trader.

Interviews with agents who could provide firsthand information about the *pamali* tradition of not leaving the house at certain times focused on three informants, namely a teacher, a cleric, and an elder. According to AT (Personal communication, December 21, 2025), as a young Islamic education teacher, *pamali* leaving the house at certain times is local wisdom that has developed in the community. He believes that *pamali* has become a habit, practiced, and grown and developed, which in turn has been passed down from generation to generation. This is evident from the *pamali*, such as sweeping at night and cutting nails, to the oral tradition of *pamali* about not leaving the house at certain times. In addition, he explains that Islam in Sundanese society has been integrated with elements of local wisdom. In other words, there has been an acculturation between Islam and local wisdom since ancient times, one example of which is found in the tradition of *pamali*.

Historically, RS (Personal communication, December 21, 2025), as an elder (*Sesepuh*) in the community, mentioned that taboos related to leaving the house have been practiced since long ago, even when he was a child. Taboos about leaving the house have always been associated with the appearance of demons, such as *Kelong*

Wewe (at dusk), *Kulit Kendor* (at noon), and *Kalong* (before dawn). According to RS, there are specific terms for each time period: the taboo against leaving the house at maghrib is called *Sandekala*, while at noon it is *Tangange*, and before dawn it is *Hahalauren*. He acknowledges that the interpretation of the *pamali* varies from person to person, but the meaning remains the same: it is associated with the arrival of demons, being taken by demons, and falling ill if the taboo is broken.

On the other hand, AL (Personal communication, December 21, 2025), as old kyai, believes that *pamali* may originate from Islamic teachings, such as the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. He said: “*pan asanamah saur Nabi geh lamun wanci maghrib teu meunang kaluar, ja soalna jurig keur wancina kaluar*”. In addition, for him, as long as the purpose of a tradition is good, it is acceptable to practice it and make it a habit. He bases this on the stories of the Walisongo, who spread the teachings of Islam through local wisdom, such as Sunan Kalijaga through wayang and gamelan.

More details regarding the origin of *pamali* are explained by AS (Personal communication, December 21, 2025) as a young kyai who graduated from an Islamic boarding school after 20 years of study. In this regard, he affirms AL's argument regarding the source of *pamali* leaving the house from the hadith. However, he argues that this tradition most likely originated from classical Islamic texts, such as *I‘ānat al-Ṭālibīn* by al-Dimyathi, which contains a chapter explaining the etiquette of nighttime, including the recommendation to protect family and children in the early evening based on a hadith about the spread of disturbance by demons. Furthermore, there is the concept of *qailulah* found in the book *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* by al-Samarqandi. This perception arose based on the fact that religious studies among the Sundanese community in the village of Cibeunyeur Hilir used classical Islamic texts such as *Durratun Naṣiḥīn*, *Fatḥ al-Qarīb*, and *Qatrul Ghaitis*. Therefore, it is highly likely that the *pamali* against leaving the house also originates from the classical Islamic texts. He even said that among the community, the recommendation to use the miswak generally only originates from the fiqh book *Fatḥ al-Qarīb*, not from the hadith.

In addition, AS (Personal communication, December 21, 2025) also stated that no one has raised any objections regarding the *pamali* of leaving the house; everyone complies with the customs passed down by their ancestors. According to AS, this can actually lead to positive habits, such as taking a break from outdoor activities for those who work outside and going to the mosque for Maghrib prayers in congregation, children participating in Al-Quran recitation, training children to take naps, doing

school assignments, and getting used to performing *qiyām al-lail* in the third part of the night without leaving the house.

From the perceptions of the Sundanese community in the village of Cibeunyeur Hilir, most of them do not know the source of the *pamali* against leaving the house. Therefore, authentically, this *pamali* is not recognized in Islamic teachings. As local wisdom of the Sundanese community in Lebak-Banten, this *pamali* has become integrated as a value system or unwritten rule that follows their daily lives. The implementation of this *pamali* is intended for all groups, both children and adults. The Sundanese community has utilized *pamali* as a means of learning and a strategy for character building.

Analysis of the Vernacularization of Hadiths Time Ethics: The Perspective of Sundanese Community in Lebak-Banten

Etymologically, the term vernacularization is defined as language of dialect spoken in a particular country or region (Wilson 2022). Meanwhile, vernacularization in religious studies refers to the process of translating, adapting, and localizing normative teachings into local languages, symbols, and cultural practices (Tahko and Marjanen 2024). Ricci (2011) explains that vernacularization is the transformation of religious texts from normative-textual forms into cultural expressions that can be understood and internalized by local communities. In the context of Islam Nusantara, this process does not always take the form of literal language translation, but also includes adaptation of meaning, simplification of messages, and integration with local value systems (Faiqoh 2018).

In the context of hadith studies, vernacularization can be defined as a study that focuses on translating hadith into local languages, one of which is Sundanese. The use of vernacularization in hadith studies is based on two factors, namely as a form of grounding hadith to help discuss hadith in the context of local Muslim communities with limited understanding of Arabic. *Second*, it is an effort to preserve and maintain local cultural assets, namely the Sundanese language (Zubir and Hilma 2018). In this study to analyze the vernacularization of *pamali* hadiths, Ronit Ricci's theory will be used, which focuses on the *pamali* tradition related to the prohibition of leaving the house at three specific times in Sundanese society, namely: (1) before sunset, (2) before dawn, and (3) at noon.

First, this tradition is generally conveyed through parental advice, with the warning that leaving the house at dusk can invite disturbances from supernatural

beings or abduction by supernatural beings. Although in practice this prohibition is understood as a cultural norm, the substance of this prohibition is related to Islamic teachings derived from the Prophet's hadith about the recommendation to keep children indoors at nightfall. The following is the normative text of the hadith prohibiting going out of the house before sunset.

إِذَا كَانَ جُنْحُ اللَّيْلِ أَوْ أَمْسَيْتُمْ، فَكُفُّوا صَبْيَانَكُمْ، فَإِنَّ الشَّيَاطِينَ تَنْتَشِرُ حِينَئِذٍ، فَإِذَا ذَهَبَ سَاعَةٌ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ فَخَلُّوهُمْ

Al-‘Asqalānī in *Fath al-Bārī* (1996), glosses *junnah al-layl* in this hadith as the first spread of darkness as daylight fades. Al-‘Aynī in *‘Umdat al-Qārī* (2001), notes that al-shayāṭīn tantashiru admits two readings: a literal one, in which devils actually disperse at this hour, and a figurative one, in which the phrase marks a transitional period of heightened exposure to harm. Al-Nawawī (1989) frames the directive under the value of protecting life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*) and stresses that it is temporary; binding only at nightfall until conditions settle. What the commentators affirm, then, is a time-bound protective counsel grounded in an unseen or figurative danger.

Building on al-‘Aynī's figurative reading we interpret the “spreading” of harm, in the present Sundanese context, as the ordinary hazards of dusk: failing visibility, movement near the river, and unsupervised children outdoors. The extension to wild animals, accidents, or crime is inference from the protective logic of the sharḥ. This aligns with Sundanese culture, *pamali* leaving the house is often interpreted as a time when it is forbidden to wander outside. To indicate the estimated time, the term used is *sandekala*, which is the transition from sunset to the sound of the call to evening prayer.

The term *sandekala* itself is derived from two words in the Sundanese language, namely *sande* which means “not”, and *kala* which means “time” (Sarip et al. 2025). Some Sundanese people believe that *sandekala* takes the form of a woman like *Kelong Wewe*, who often kidnaps children. *Kelong wewe* is illustrated as a jin with large horns, who can fly and has large breasts. Children kidnapped by *kelong wewe* are hidden (in Sundanese: *Dikeukeumpel*) inside her large breasts.

According to Ricci's view, the vernacularization of texts can be transmitted through local intermediaries. In Sundanese society, the transmission of hadiths takes place through weekly recitations and parental advice within the family environment. This weekly study process involves older and younger kyai with books on *fiqh*, *tauhid*, and *hadith*. Parental advice to children in transmitting the messages in the hadith texts about the prohibition of leaving the house plays a major role. Parents in Sundanese society often remind their children with an expression: “*Ulah ulin ja sandekala, engke bisi diculik ku kelong wewe*” atau “*Ulah kaluar wanci maghrib*,

muntamah daek solat jeng ngaji kaditu". This is aimed at encouraging children to pray Maghrib in congregation, not to wander around, and to participate in Al-Quran recitation.

The expression "*ulah kaluar wanci maghrib*" is a cultural recontextualization that aims to simplify the language of the hadith into local language. This shows a shift from specific advice to children to a general prohibition for all family members as a form of collective caution. The internalization of hadith in Sundanese society in this context no longer refers to the words of the Prophet Muhammad verbatim, but rather applies the values contained in the hadith through the practice of staying at home and using local languages.

Second, the tradition *pamali* leaving the house during the day is not explicitly explained in the hadith, but there is at least a passage related to the recommendation to delay the Zuhr prayer when the weather is very hot. The Prophet Muhammad said:

أَبْرِدُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ، فَإِنَّ شِدَّةَ الْحَرِّ مِنْ فَيْحِ جَهَنَّمَ

The command *abridū* to the severe heat of the Hijaz, reading it as an instruction to delay the Zuhr prayer until the heat abates, and treats *fayḥ jahannam* as an emphatic affirmation of the danger of extreme heat (1996). Al-Nawawī (1989) reads the same report as evidence of the Sharia's flexibility toward environmental conditions and the public interest (*maṣlaḥah*). In both commentaries the subject is the timing of worship, not leaving the house.

Normatively, this hadith does not talk about the prohibition of leaving the house, but rather about managing worship time in extreme weather conditions. However, in the context of Sundanese society, this normative message has undergone a cultural transformation into a taboo against leaving the house at midday. This phenomenon shows the process of adapting the text to the local culture.

If we apply the meaning of this hadith to the Sundanese cultural context, it can be interpreted that the taboo against (*tangange/kulit kendor*) at midday serves as a thematic contextualization of the same concern: an effort to avoid danger when the air temperature reaches its peak, much like the practice of forbidding children from bathing in the river at midday. The shift from provisions regarding prayer times to the taboo against leaving the house is our contextual inference; that is why this case is categorized as a form of thematic correspondence, rather than direct correspondence.

In Sundanese society, the term *tangange* refers to extremely hot weather, and in this case, it refers to the prohibition of going to the river during the day. The implementation of this *pamali* is expressed through the saying: "*Ulah ulin ka cai ti beurang, ja tangange, sieun ku kulit kendor*". There is a term *Kulit Kendor*, which means a demon that lives in water. There is a term *kulit kendor*, which means a demon

that lives in water. The phrase *kulit* (skin) is used because this creature resembles a very elastic mat (*kendor*). Therefore, according to the Sundanese people, if someone plays in the river at midday, they will be wrapped up and taken to the bottom of the river by the *kulit kendor*.

This expression actually shows caution and the need to rest so as not to get sick. In addition, the prohibition against going to the river during the day is logically intended to prevent children from falling ill, because medically speaking, bathing in the river in the hot sun can cause fever. Therefore, internalization of this hadith is carried out by resting or taking a nap. In conclusion, the vernacularization of the hadith about intense heat in Sundanese society shows a transformation from a normative text into a cultural norm in the form of a *pamali* against leaving the house at midday.

Third, the tradition of *pamali* not going out before dawn is an effort to ensure the safety of the Sundanese community. It seems that this prohibition was caused by the fact that in the past there were no lights, but now some people, especially Gen Z, are not familiar with this tradition. In the hadith, there is nothing that points to a prohibition or danger before dawn, only the blessings of the morning.

اللَّهُمَّ بَارِكْ لِيَّ فِي بُكُورِهَا

Al-Mubārakfūrī, in *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī* (1897), glosses *bukūr* as the hours from dawn into the early forenoon and locates the blessing (*barakah*) in the freshness of body and mind and in the merit of beginning one's affairs early. Crucially, the commentary reads the report as a valuation of time, a supplication for blessing upon the morning, not as a prohibition or a warning of danger. In the hadith studies, the time between nightfall and dawn holds a special place as a time for worship, especially for performing *qiyām al-lail* (Magfirah 2020). Thus, this hadith encourages Muslims to enliven the night with worship and to use the time before dawn as a moment for spiritual reflection. No commentator derives from this any instruction to stay indoors.

However, in Sundanese society, the message of the importance of this time has undergone a cultural transformation into a *pamali* against leaving the house before dawn. This tradition of *pamali* is known by the Sundanese people as *hahalaen*. The term *hahalaen* is a prohibition to avoid danger. This tradition is inseparable from the history of traditional Sundanese society, which was still dark and posed a threat to personal safety. Therefore, this tradition actually contains elements of *hifz al-nafs*.

The expression *pamali* for leaving the house before dawn varies greatly, including; “*cicing di imah, ulah kaluar tengah peuting kieu ja hahalaen*” (stay at home, don't go out in the middle of the night). From this statement, there is the phrase “*tengah*

peuting” (one-third of the night), which means that this time should be used for more positive things, whatever they may be. *Qiyām al-lail* is not limited to prayer alone, but also includes other positive activities, one of which is not leaving the house during one-third of the night (Kade et al. 2025). Through Ronit Ricci's theory, the *pamali* of leaving the house before dawn can be understood as the result of a process of vernacularization of the hadiths about the virtues of *qiyām al-lail*. To make it easier to understand the process of vernacularization of the hadiths on the *pamali* of leaving the house, see the following table.

Tabel 1. Vernacularization of *Pamali* Hadiths

Order of Hadith	Meaning Selection	Linguistic Transformation	Contextual Adaptation	Social Internalization	Degree of Correspondence
<i>Pamali</i> leaving the house at Maghrib	1. Time for reciting the Quran 2. Congregational prayer 3. Not time to play	1. <i>Sandekala</i> : فَكُفُوا صَبْيَانَكُمْ 2. <i>Kelong Wewe</i> : الشَّيَاطِينِ 3. <i>Dikeukeumpel</i> : تَنْتَشِرُ	<i>Kasurupan</i> : possessed <i>Kasialan</i> : unlucky <i>Leungit</i> : lost	1. Studying with the teacher 2. Performing the Maghrib prayer 3. Studying	Strong textual linkage
<i>Pamali</i> leaving the house at noon	1. Activities paused for a moment 2. Extremely hot weather	1. <i>Tangange</i> : شِدَّةَ الْحَرِّ 2. <i>Kulit Kendor</i> : فَيَجِ جَهَنَّمَ	<i>Reureuh</i> : resting <i>Mantak Muriang</i> : becoming sick	<i>Qailullah</i> : Take a break	Thematic correspondence
<i>Pamali</i> leaving the house before dawn	1. Special and Sacred Time 2. Time for devout worship	<i>Hahalaueu</i> : بَارِكْ لِأُمَّتِي فِي بُكُورِهَا	<i>Pupujian</i> : <i>Dzikir</i> <i>Paroek</i> : still dark	Habituation of <i>Qiyām al-Lail</i>	Interpretive correspondence

The table shows that the vernacularization of these time-related hadiths is real but uneven. Through Ricci's four mechanisms such as meaning selection, linguistic transformation, contextual adaptation, and social internalization. The Prophetic messages concerning protection at nightfall, avoidance of the midday heat, and the merit of the late-night hours have been recast into local prohibitions that are easy to grasp and transmit across generations. Yet the final column makes clear that the three cases are not equivalent: the Maghrib *pamali* reflects a strong textual linkage, in which an authentic hadith is locally restated and closely mirrored in practice; the midday *pamali* reflects a thematic correspondence, sharing the hadith's protective-environmental concern without deriving from its wording; and the pre-dawn *pamali* reflects an interpretive correspondence, in which the community harmonizes its own caution with the sanctity of the early hours in the absence of any prohibitive text.

Vernacularization, in other words, operates across all three cases but with decreasing textual proximity and it is this graded pattern, rather than a uniform derivation, that most accurately describes how Prophetic time-ethics live on in Sundanese *pamali*.

Reading Living Hadith in the Pamali Tradition of Sundanese Society

Based on the perceptions of the Sundanese people and the form of vernacularization, the portrait of living Hadith in this *pamali* leaving the house is easy to understand given the flexible nature of Islam. This universal characteristic of Islamic teachings also opens up opportunities for the development of local wisdom among followers of Islam in the archipelago, including among the Sundanese people of Lebak-Banten.

In the context of Sundanese society, *pamali* functions as a cultural mechanism that regulates individual behavior through prohibitions that have been passed down from generation to generation. The prohibition against leaving the house before Maghrib, before Subuh, and at midday is part of the ethical system of time that exists in society. Although in practice these prohibitions are often conveyed without explicitly mentioning the hadith, their normative substance is related to the messages of the Prophet's hadith about the etiquette of time, protection from danger, and the prioritization of worship at certain times.

From the perspective of living hadith, this phenomenon shows a form of cultural reception of hadith. *First*, the prohibition of leaving the house before Maghrib is related to the hadith that recommends protecting children and closing doors when night falls because at that time demons begin to spread (Muslim 1999). This evidence can be seen from several perceptions of the community who forbid their children from going out for fear of *kelong wewe* and *sandekala*. When viewed from the perspective of hadith, the Prophet Muhammad expressed his concern for young children who are usually far from zikir, because at the beginning of the night, demons roam around looking for a place to stay and will disturb anyone they encounter (Asy-Suyuthi 2021).

In line with this, al-Nawawi (1989) emphasized that this hadith contains elements of protection of life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*). Thus, it can be said that the prohibition is temporary, namely only at the beginning of Maghrib until the environmental conditions become more stable. The context of the hadith shows that it was customary for Arab society to allow children to play outside in the evening, so the Prophet Muhammad gave preventive guidance for their safety (Kurniawan 2019). Thus, this hadith actually has a pedagogical and protective purpose, not merely a ritual prohibition. This explanation is in line with the tradition of *pamali*, which prohibits children from going out as a

form of protection and instead directs their time towards studying or reciting the Qur'an at the mosque.

Second, the *pamali* of leaving the house before dawn can be linked to the hadith about the virtue of the last third of the night as a time for worship and supplication to Allah. This hadith explains the Prophet's practice of utilizing the early morning hours for important activities. In terms of wording, this hadith is not related to the *pamali* tradition practiced by the Sundanese community in general. However, in terms of meaning, the practice of *qiyām al-lail* is not only carried out in the form of formal worship (*mahdah*), but also daily worship (*ghair mahdah*), including refraining from unnecessary activities (Kade et al. 2025). Thematically, scholars understand that this time is a period that should be filled with worship, remembrance of God, and preparation for daily activities (Mujiburrohman 2014). Therefore, restricting activities outside the home when it is still dark can be understood in the context of caution (*iḥtiyāt*) and maintaining safety, especially in conditions where there was minimal lighting in the classical period.

Third, implicitly, the *pamali* against going out at midday is related to the hadith recommending postponing the dzuhur prayer when the heat is very intense, which contains a message of caution regarding extreme environmental conditions (Al-Bukhari 1980). This purpose is also the same as the taboo tradition practiced extensively by the Sundanese people to take a break from their daily activities. The expression *tangange* is a form of vernacularization by the community to make it easier to understand the meaning contained in the hadith. *Tangange* in Sundanese society is always assumed to be a condition when the sun is scorching. From this, it can be concluded that the *pamali* tradition is understood as a practical transformation of the values of the hadith into social norms of the community.

However, several informants from among the agents (*ustadz*) believe that the *pamali* tradition originates from Islamic teachings. This was recorded from the results of an interview with Alidam (AL) through his statement guessing that this had been taught and practiced earlier by the Prophet Muhammad. In addition, Asmad (AS) elaborated further on the *pamali* tradition, which originated from fiqh-style books that are widely studied in Islamic boarding schools (*kitab kuning*). For example, he mentioned that the recommendation to take care of family members in the evening is mentioned in the book *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* with the wording;

وَيُسْتَحَبُّ كَفُّ الصَّبِيَّانِ عِنْدَ انْتِشَارِ الظَّلَامِ؛ لَخَبَرِ الصَّحِيحِينَ: إِذَا كَانَ جَنَحُ اللَّيْلِ أَوْ أَمْسَيْتُمْ
فَكَفُّوا صَبِيَّانَكُمْ

“It is recommended to keep children indoors when night falls, based on a hadith in Sahihain: “When night falls or you enter the evening, keep your children indoors” (Al-Dimyathi, I‘ānat al-Ṭālibīn, juz 2).

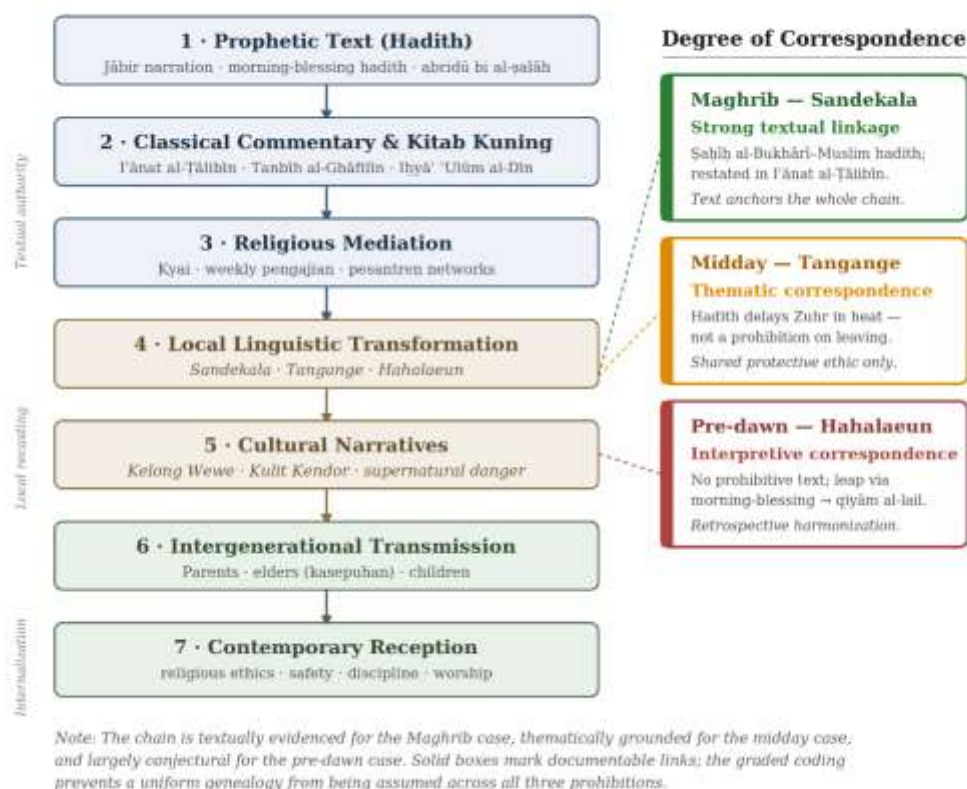
This redaction indicates the existence of a normative recommendation that is substantively in line with the practice of *pamali*, or the prohibition of leaving the house at dusk in Sundanese society. In addition, AS also said that *pamali* during the day potentially originated and spread from the book *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazali, which emphasizes the importance of using time proportionally.

وينبغي أن يكون للإنسان في يومه وليله أوقات مرتبة للعبادة والراحة والمعاش

“One should divide one's time between day and night for worship, rest, and daily activities.” (Al-Ghazali, *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, Kitab Tartīb al-Awrāt).

This division of time forms the basis of daily life ethics, including the recommendation to rest at certain times, such as midday (*qailullah*). In turn, this concept in local contexts, such as in Sundanese society, can develop into prohibitions or *pamali* on certain activities during the hottest part of the day.

If we break down Ricci's framework requires evidence not merely of resemblance but of transmission: a traceable path by which textual authority is carried into local language and practice. In Cibeunyeur Hilir this path is partly documentable. Weekly pengajian led by younger and older kyai study kitab kuning the community's own reading list includes Durratun Nāṣihīn, *Fath al-Qarīb*, and *Qatrul Ghaitis* — and one pesantren-trained informant (AS) explicitly locates the evening-protection teaching in al-Dimyāṭī's *I‘ānat al-Ṭālibīn*, the *qailūlah* recommendation in al-Samarqandī's *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, and the proportional ordering of daily time in al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. This suggests a mediating chain — Prophetic text → classical Islamic commentary and fiqh (kitab kuning) → kyai and pengajian → oral parental instruction → *pamali* — rather than a direct leap from hadith to taboo. The chain is best evidenced for the Maghrib case, where both a *ṣaḥīḥ* hadith and its restatement in *I‘ānat al-Ṭālibīn* are attested locally; it is weaker for the midday case, which rests on a thematic *adab al-waqt* rationale in *Ihyā*²; and it is largely conjectural for the pre-dawn case, where no prohibitive text anchors the chain. Making these differing strengths explicit is what allows *pamali* to be read as living hadith without overstating a uniform genealogy. To make it easier, an image is attached below:

Figure 1. The Vernacularization Chain of the Pamali Hadiths*From Prophetic text to local taboo, with graded degrees of correspondence*

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that the analysis of living hadith in the practice of *pamali* in Sundanese society is analyzed *etic* (data and sources of information from informants mixed with the researcher's interpretation) (Raffi'u and Faridi 2023). In researching living hadiths, an *etic* approach must be taken through “substantiation,” which is the act of understanding the purpose of *pamali* practices based on strong indicators that these practices are based on hadiths (Qudsy and Dewi 2018). Some of these indicators include: 100% of the Sundanese community in Cibeunyeur Hilir Village are Muslim; there is a strong suspicion among religious teachers that the *pamali* tradition originates from the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad; and there are informants who can explain that the *pamali* tradition of leaving the house at certain times is taken from the book *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* regarding time management. Therefore, it can be said that the practice of the *pamali* tradition among the Sundanese community is part of the living hadith practice.

3. Conclusion

Rather than a uniformly proven genealogy, the findings indicate varying degrees of correspondence between these *pamali* traditions and Prophetic teachings: strong in the Maghrib case, thematic in the midday case, and largely interpretive in the pre-dawn case. Recognizing these different levels of connection strengthens rather than weakens the analysis, since it situates *pamali* honestly within the spectrum of living hadith reception.

Through vernacularization analysis, hadiths can be revived as rules in social practice. Societies often do not refer directly to the text of the hadith, but internalize the values contained therein through traditions, customs, and cultural norms. In the context of Sundanese society, one form of vernacularization is evident in the tradition of *pamali*, which is a cultural prohibition that has been passed down from generation to generation. The historical development of Sundanese society shows that *pamali* is not static, but rather undergoes a process of transformation and acculturation, especially after the arrival of Islam.

Finally, the *pamali* tradition can be understood as a form of localization of Islamic teachings that reflects the encounter between religious texts and local culture. This phenomenon confirms that hadith has a dynamic dimension that continues to live in the social space through the process of interpretation and cultural adaptation.

This study has several limitations. First, it is based on a single local community (Kampung Cibeunyeur Hilir, Lebak-Banten), so its findings are not automatically generalizable to Sundanese society as a whole. Second, the historical genealogy of hadith transmission cannot always be demonstrated; the mediating chain from text to taboo is well evidenced in some cases and conjectural in others. Third, the three forms of *pamali* differ in their textual proximity to hadith and should not be treated as evidentiary equals. Future research might test this graded model across other Sundanese communities and trace the *kitab kuning* chain through additional *pesantren* networks.

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