

KAMPUNG KUTA RELIGION: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY IN WEST JAVA

Husnul Qodim

Faculty of Ushuluddin UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung
Jalan A.H Nasution No. 105 Cibiru, Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia
E-mail: husnulqodim@uinsgd.ac.id

Abstract

Kampung Kuta is one of the Sundanese traditional villages in West Java. They believe in the myth of the sacred forest and the origin of their ancestors which is preserved by the phrase of *amanah* and taboos. This article aims to analyze the indigenous religion of Kampung Kuta community. The study focuses on analyzing the relationship between social, economic and religious structures as its constituent elements. Using an ethnographic study based on structural functionalism theory, this study shows that the religious construction of Kampung Kuta has a mutually influential relationship with both economic and social structures. The economic structure depends on the livelihoods of farming and gardening which are determined by the changing seasons and natural phenomenon. This then created religious structures that were magical and ritualistic. The people believe that the forest and their places are surrounded by cosmic forces of the Sacred. Various myths and beliefs in the common origins of ancestors influence the structure of social life to preserve nature together. It can be reflected in the kinship system, social solidarity between relatives, social harmony and lifestyle of simplicity.

Keywords:

Religion; Indigenous People; Myth; Social Harmony.

Abstrak

Kampung Kuta merupakan salah satu kampung adat orang Sunda di Jawa Barat. Mereka meyakini mitos hutan keramat dan asal usul leluhurnya yang dijaga melalui *amanah* dan *pamali* (tabu) dari leluhurnya. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis religi masyarakat adat Kampung Kuta. Kajian difokuskan pada analisis hubungan antara struktur sosial, ekonomi dan religi sebagai unsur pembentuknya. Melalui serangkaian penelitian etnografi berbasis teori fungsionalisme struktural, hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa konstruksi religi Kampung Kuta memiliki hubungan saling mempengaruhi dengan struktur ekonomi dan sosialnya. Struktur ekonomi bergantung pada mata pencaharian bertani dan berkebun yang ditentukan oleh pergantian musim dan fenomena alam. Hal ini melahirkan struktur religi yang bersifat magis dan ritualistik. Masyarakatnya meyakini bahwa hutan dan tempat tinggalnya dikelilingi oleh kekuatan kosmis Yang Sakral. Berbagai mitos dan keyakinan terhadap kesamaan asal usul leluhur mempengaruhi struktur kehidupan sosial untuk memelihara alam bersama-sama, seperti tercermin dalam sistem kekerabatan, solidaritas sosial antar kerabat, harmoni sosial dan pola hidup sederhana.

Kata Kunci:

Religi; Masyarakat Adat; Mitos; Harmoni Sosial.

A. INTRODUCTION

The construction of religious structures of indigenous people is a significant object of study in anthropological studies. It doesn't only show the uniqueness of identity in the local cultural environment, but also reflects its construction which goes on along with the construction of socio-cultural identity. Community identity is constructed continuously through life experiences in and when interacting with the world. It means that throughout his life humans are actually constructing their culture.¹ Therefore, various religious communities including indigenous people, in their social-cultural context and natural environment, basically also continuously construct their religious structures through their daily life experiences, either within the community or when interacting with other communities, even with the universe.

One area that has quite number of indigenous people is West Java. A province inhabited by most Sundanese people. There are some indigenous people who adhere to local religion, such as Bumi Sagandu Dayak community in Losarang Indramayu², Madraisme in Cigugur Kuningan³, Kampung Naga in Tasikmalaya⁴, Kampung Mahmud in Margaasih Bandung, Kampung Cikondang in Pangalengan, Kampung Urug in Sukajaya Bogor, Kampung Gede Kasepuhan Ciptagelar in Cisolok Sukabumi, Kampung Dukuh in Cikelet, Kampung Pulo in Leles Garut and Kampung Kuta in Ciamis.

Kampung Kuta is one of the traditional villages that also has a unique local cultural identity. The construction of their religious

structures is shaped by the experience of social and natural interaction. Located in a hilly area and 40-hectare forest, all indigenous communities in Kuta claim as Muslim, but they also live with a variety of local myths and beliefs, such as forest pilgrimage rituals, *pamali* (taboo) and *amanat karuhun* (ancestors mandate).⁵ In traditional belief, the forest is divided into three parts, namely *tutupan* (cover), *titipan* (deposit), and *garapan* (arable). Only arable forests that are able to be used for farming. Because for them, humans (microcosms) are no different from nature (macrocosms). Because of the balance of human life and nature, forests can be maintained. Because if the forest is lost, the existence of their traditions and traditional beliefs will also be lost.

This article examines the religious structure of Kampung Adat Kuta in Ciamis. The study focused on the problem of religious structures construction and the relationship between social and economic structures as forming elements of religious structures. The author conducted a series of ethnographic research in the field in 2011, 2014 and 2015.⁶ The analysis was carried out using a religious approach as a system within the framework of structural functionalism theory. This theory sees society and its social structure as organisms. In structural functionalism, religion is regarded as the glue of society. Religion is analyzed to show how it contributes to maintaining the social structure of a community.⁷

This study reinforces previous studies on the Sundanese indigenous religion. Wessing, based on his anthropological studies in Pameuntasan Bandung, stated that the Sundanese could not

¹Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 71.

²Khaerul Umam, "Ngaji Rasa Dalam Pandangan Komunitas Dayak Indramayu," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2016): 34–45.

³Husnul Qodim, "Strategi Bertahan Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) Cigugur," *KALAM* 11, no. 2 (2017): 329–64.

⁴Abdurahman Prawiro, "Religion and the Local Tradition of Life Cycle Rituals in Kampung Naga, West Java," *Jurnal Al-Albab* 4, no. 1 (2015): 55–68.

⁵Based on researcher's observation to daily life of community many months ago, including two weeks in Ramadhan month in 2014.

⁶James P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, trans. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006).

⁷David D. Gellner, "Pendekatan Antropologis," in *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama*, ed. Peter Connolly (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), 28–29.

be separated from nature, space which they believed was inhabited by a variety of creatures, both natural and supernatural that integrated with a single unit.⁸ For instance, in the case of the Baduy, the Judge stated that the cultural and spiritual values of Baduy were related to beliefs and myths centered in Sasaka Domas, the prohibited forest where their site located.⁹ In the case of Kampung Dukuh in Cikelet, Garut, Abdul Syukur concluded that besides the Islamic tradition, the peoples possess their own tradition, such as myths, supernatural sanctions, and certain rituals related to the ancestors' beliefs. They succeeded to preserve the environment and natural resources rather due to the influences of their local tradition than others.¹⁰ In line with them, Adimiharja examined the Kasepuhan community on the slopes of Mount Halimun, West Java. According to him, despite modernization in processing nature in agriculture, they accepted it while maintaining traditions and the balance of natural

environment preserved in a ceremony related to Dewi Sri myth.¹¹

This study also similar to other religious studies in many regions in Indonesia, such as Java, Tengger, Hinduism, Sakai, Dayak, Bukit, and others. Meanwhile, those are different in many aspects such as the debate about the relationship between Islam and local culture which is interpreted syncretically by some scholars as an acculturative.¹² However, among other local anthropological studies, this study is in line with Radam's study of the religious structure of Bukit people in South Kalimantan. He concluded that the social system, both structure and its relations, economic life, in this case, the pattern of cultivation also determines the religious understanding and actions of the people.¹³

There have been many studies on Kampung Kuta customary in Ciamis, but not much about their religious structure. Some scholars focus on aspects of leadership, socialization, and inheritance of customs values, local wisdom, environment, learning and others.¹⁴ Soedarmo,

⁸Robert Wessinga, "Cosmology and Social Behavior in a West Javanese Settlement" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974), 282.

⁹Nurul Hakim, "Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forests in Baduy Region, Banten, Indonesia" (Wageningen University, 2006), 60.

¹⁰Abdul Syukur and Husnul Qodim, "Islam, Tradisi Lokal, Dan Konservasi Alam: Studi Kasus Di Kampung Dukuh Kabupaten Garut," *KALAM* 10, no. 1 (2016): 141–168.

¹¹Kusnaka Adimiharja, *Kasepuhan Yang Tumbuh Di Atas Yang Luruh: Pengelolaan Lingkungan Secara Tradisional Di Kawasan Gunung Halimun Jawa Barat* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1992).

¹²Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, trans. Aswab Mahasin (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981). See also Andrew Beatty, *Variasi Agama Di Jawa: Suatu Pendekatan Antropologi* (Jakarta: Murai Kencana, 2001). See also Niels Mulder, *Misticism in Java: Ideology in Indonesia* (Singapore: The Pepin Press, 1998). See also Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989). See also M. Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Jakarta: Alfabeta and INSEF, 2009). See also AG. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon, Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Canberra: ANU

Press, 2006). See also Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005).

¹³Noerid Haloei Radam, *Religi Orang Bukit: Suatu Lukisan Struktur Dan Fungsi Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Dan Ekonomi* (Yogyakarta: Semesta, 2001), 40–41.

¹⁴Subhan Agung, *Pemerintahan Asli Masyarakat Adat: Studi Kepemimpinan Adat Di Lembah Timur Ciamis* (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2017). See also Yus Darusman, "Kearifan Lokal Dan Pelestarian Lingkungan (Studi Kasus Di Kampung Naga, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Dan Di Kampung Kuta, Kabupaten Ciamis)," *Jurnal Cendekiawan Ilmiah* 1, no. 1 (2016). See also Zia Mariana Dharma and Leni Nur'aeni, "Upacara Adat Nyuguh Di Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis Pikeun Bahan Pangajaran Maca Artikel Budaya Di SMA/SMK/MA Kelas XII (Ulukan Semiotik)," *Jaladri: Jurnal Ilmiah Program Studi Bahasa Sunda* 3, no. 1 (2017): 51–57. See also Agus Efendi, "Implementasi Kearifan Budaya Lokal Pada Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta Sebagai Sumber Pembelajaran IPS," *Sosio-Didaktika: Social Science Education Journal* 1, no. 2 (2014): 211–218. See also Iman Hilman and Nandang Hendriawan, "Model Revitalisasi Dan Pelestarian Kearifan Lokal Dalam Mengelola Sumberdaya Air Pada Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Geografi UMS IX*, 2018. See also Ria Intani, "Konsep Tata Ruang

for example, stated that the socialization of customary rules of families in Kampung Kuta was carried out early.¹⁵ The same thing was conveyed by Sidik who stated that the inheritance of Islamic traditional and religious values was carried out through religious studies in mosques, traditional halls, and family environments. Bahrudin, one of a preacher, inherited Islamic values as seen in Hidayati's study result.¹⁶

Religious Structure

There are many definitions of religion. Lyden states that religion is a term that is difficult to define.¹⁷ Among scholars of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, there has been a long debate about the question of what religion really is.¹⁸ Eliade, for example, anthropologically defines religion as a set of beliefs and practices.¹⁹ Other scholars, such as Geertz, define religion as a cultural structure. He tends to regard religion as a human activity when describing cosmos law and its projections of daily life experiences.²⁰ Therefore, religion is a belief system that can encourage feelings and motivation in daily behavior. We can learn through symbols and behavior and also how they are interpreted.²¹

In anthropological discourse, constructing identity means being yourself, different from the others. Group identity is related to social

relations and social organization in cultural groups. There are limits to group classification regarding ownership that can be understood by the people involved.²² Markers of group identity can originate from a specificity that is believed to exist in adhered religion. Although, the conceptual boundaries of religion itself are often not strict and vary.

To explain the religion position in culture can be seen in the division of three culture forms. First, culture as a complex of ideas, values, norms, and regulations, is usually called a cultural structure; second, culture as a complex of patterned behavior activities of humans in society, usually referred as social structures; third, culture as objects, buildings, human works in physical form. As the division above, although it cannot be separated from the culture in physical form and social structure, this study focuses on the cultural structure in religion. It is related to the values, norms, teachings, and ideas about the mandate of ancestors believed by the people of Kampung Kuta. Cultural construction is not genetically inherited. But it is inherited through the learning process in society.²³

Therefore, cultural construction is very possible to change. The change applies to all societies because they are subject and target of change. The change process may take place at various speeds, evolutionary or revolutionary.

Rumah Tinggal Masyarakat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis," *Patanjala* 5, no. 1 (2013): 68–81. See also Erisa Weri Nydia et al., "Penerapan Faktor Budaya Dan Adat Istiadat Dalam Pola Membangun Pada Kampung Adat Kuta Kab. Ciamis, Jawa Barat," *Reka Karsa* 2, no. 4 (2014). See also Trisna Sukmayadi, "Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Dalam Pandangan Hidup Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta," *JPK (Jurnal Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan)* 3, no. 1 (2018): 19–29.

¹⁵Ung Runalan Soedarmo, "Masyarakat Dusun Kuta: Studi Tentang Peran Keluarga Dalam Sosialisasi Adat Istiadat Masyarakat Dusun Kuta, Desa Karangpaningal, Kecamatan Tambaksari, Kabupaten Ciamis" (Universitas Padjadjaran, 2004).

¹⁶Nuri Hidayati, "Kontribusi Ajengan Bahrudin Dalam Perkembangan Islam Di Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat 1981-1992 M" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2008).

¹⁷John Lyden, *Enduring Issues In Religion* (San Diego USA: Green Haven Press, 1995), 17.

¹⁸Gavin I Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co.Ltd. Publisher, 1990), 133.

¹⁹Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 283--284.

²⁰Husnul Qodim, "Clifford Geertz on Defining Culture and Religion (Anthropology of Religion Study)," *Jurnal Wawasan* 32, no. 1 (2009): 45.

²¹Clifford Geertz, *Tafsir Kebudayaan*, trans. Francisco Budi Hardiman (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), 55.

²²Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), 59.

²³Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1990), 186--187.

It appears neither coherent nor coherent because of the potential aspects of society itself and others come from outside.²⁴

Regional bases are often very important and crucial to be maintained by indigenous people. In addition, the basis of their traditional culture is often also faced with the changing reality come from outside, such as changes due to so quickly the influence of modernity. For indigenous people, ecological resources and economic resources are the most important resources in meeting their basic needs.

Cultural construction is formed and developed as a manifestation of human responses to challenges that arise in the process of adaptation to the environment. In the perspective of structural functionalism, Redcliffe Brown (1881-1955) views that culture is formed and developed as a manifestation of human responses to its environment based on various basic needs in the form of biological, social and psychological needs. The function of culture is in order to meet these needs. Culture has characteristics as shared property, mutual agreement (common denominator), shared ideals and the standard values of shared behavior.²⁵

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) asserted that all cultural actions are actually intended to satisfy all the organic (psycho-biological) needs of humans which are related to their entire lives.²⁶ Unlike Brown, who is more interested in observing individuals as persons occupying certain status in a social structure, Malinowski is more interested in individuals as a psycho-biological reality in a society. He emphasizes the aspect of humans as psycho-biological beings who have a set of psychological and biological needs that need to be met. Brown was interested and considered the social structure important, while Malinowski was more interested in culture.

In contrast to the two, Leslie Alvin White (1900-1975), a figure of structural

functionalism from North America, emphasized that culture is more a reaction to the development and progress of economic technology in an effort to preserve biological life.²⁷ He breaks down culture into technological structures, social structures, and ideological structures. The technological structure consists of a number of material, mechanical, physical and chemical equipment which is manifested in the form of tools for producing, erecting buildings and dwellings. The social structure includes all interpersonal relationships that are manifested in certain patterns of behavior, both individual and collective. The structure of ideology consists of all the ideas, beliefs, knowledge manifested in language and other symbolic actions. Mythology, theology, fables, philosophy, science and traditional policies include in this category.

The technological, social and ideological structure is basically the same and mutually supporting. So looking at culture needs to look at the interrelationships among structures in culture and also how cultural construction functions. But in certain areas and certain times, there is one structure that more prominent than the others. However, this does not preclude the possibility of ideological structures, especially religion, which functions to influence social structures and economic structures more dominantly. This study uses structural-functionalism analysis as an analytical tool to analyze the religious structure of the Kampung Kuta community and the interrelationship of influence among social, economic and religious structures as its constituent of environmental elements.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Residents and Settlements of Kampung Kuta

Kampung Kuta is one of the six villages in Karangpaningal, Tambaksari, Ciamis, West

²⁴Yudistira K Garna, *Teori-Teori Perubahan Sosial* (Bandung: Universitas Padjadjaran, 1992), 1.

²⁵Nur Syam, *Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), 31.

²⁶Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 171.

²⁷Syam, *Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi*, 36.

Java. The location is in the northeastern part of Ciamis in a valley surrounded by cliffs as high as 30-60 meters and Cijolang river which borders directly with Central Java. Kampung Kuta is located separately from other villages, as shown in figure 1. There are groves of forest trees around. Although this area is fertile, the soil conditions are unstable. It is located at an altitude of about 500 meters above sea level. The condition of the air is rather cold and cool.



Figure 1. Kampung Kuta from the top of the cliff with entrance access

Kampung Kuta has about 97 hectares area. It consists of residential land, rice fields and dry fields around 57 hectares and protected forests around 40 hectares.²⁸ The mainland is mostly planted with palm trees and upland crops (plantations) such as coconut, banana, cassava and others. Most of the population work as farmers and tappers. There are about 125 households with a population of 315 people (157 women and 158 men). Compared to other regions, the growth in birth rates in this area is relatively small.

The form of Kampung Kuta settlement tends to be straight and lined by the village road as the main access. The houses are built in groups lined back. It was built closely on family

inheritance land. It shows the existence of kinship among the residents. The adjacent house makes interaction among residents more intimate and stronger. It has an effect on the sustainability of the social structure of the community among those who still have family ties.

Houses in Kampung Kuta have almost the same shape. It is related to the customary rules that all house buildings must be made from the use of natural surroundings. The house is simple and not allowed to use brick, cement and sand walls. The roof does not use tile or asbestos, but uses curtains and fibers for the roof, as shown in figure 2. This is intended to preserve *kirai* and *kawung* (sugar palm) trees. The difference among houses is only in the type of glass or *gebyog* in windows, palm roofs of thatch and the use of booths or boards in the bulkhead. According to old people, the use of glass in new windows is in recent years. Grandma Awit (92 years old), for example, told: *Ari kapungkur mah tea aya nu ngangge jendela kaca siga nu ayeuna, kapungkur jendela ngangge gebyog* (no one used glass windows like now, because they used *gebyog*).²⁹



Figure 2. Balai Adat Kampung Kuta

²⁸Environmental Control Office Team, *Profil Kampung Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis* (Ciamis: Pemkab. Ciamis, 2002), 2–4. See also Hidayati, “Kontribusi Ajengan Bahrudin Dalam Perkembangan Islam Di

Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat 1981-1992 M,” 15–16.

²⁹Awit (mother of Kuncen mother-in law of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 3, 2011.

The protected forest in Kampung Kuta which covers around 40 hectares, is believed to be a sacred forest site. Here were born various legendary stories and myths about the origin of their ancestors. According to the story, the origin of Kampung Kuta originated from Galuh Kingdom, which previously planned to build a palace around the sacred forest. The kingdom has prepared materials such as smithy, stones and other items including preparing a puppet play for the inauguration. However, it turns out that the plan did not happen. These preparations were eventually abandoned and given *ancepan* (a kind of sign with a certain type of tree which was guarded by ancestral spirits). This relic is believed to be a sacred place until now.³⁰

2. The social life of Kampung Kuta

Kinship in Kampung Kuta community is very close. They have solidarity and close emotional relationship with one another because they feel they have the same ancestral origins and residences. Here are some kinship terms that are not much different from Sundanese society in general. Those kinship are based on *panca kaki* (the five vertical family order), such as *bapa* (father), *ema* (mother), *aki* (grand father), *nini* (grand mother), *buyut* (mother/father of grand mother/father), *bao* (mother/father of *buyut*), *janggawareng* (mother/father of *bao*), *udeg-udeg* (mother/father of *janggawareng*) and *kakait siwur* (father/mother of *udeg-udeg*). Also known as horizontal kinship terms, such as *akang* (older brother), *ayi* (younger brother), *adi* (younger brother or sister), *dahuan* (old brother in law), *emang* (uncle) and *bibi* (aunt).³¹

The formation of family in Kampung Kuta begins with endogamous and exogamous marriages. Marriage can be done with fellow residents or with outsiders. However, marriages are generally carried out endogamically, so that kinship is relatively

close. Exogamy marriages are generally performed by later generations. After the marriage takes place, the husband and wife will usually stay in the extended family home of the husband or wife until both are independent and have their own home. The daily habits of families usually gather to just chat or watch television in the home of the oldest family. It is especially at night after the routine of farming and gardening. These daily activities further strengthen kinship relations. Among extended families usually have a close kinship with other extended family connected with their ancestors.

Kampung Kuta people usually carry out social activities in unison, so social interaction among individuals runs harmoniously. A strong inner connection bounds a sense of togetherness. Collective bonding is built through the bonding of blood between fellow members of the community not only because of the impact of endogamous marriages, but also the existence of strong customary rules and the domicile of people who are close to one another. The condition of the community which is not too heterogeneous under customary rules makes the social level of the community not too sharp.

Unlike the other villages in Karangpaningal hamlet, Kampung Kuta is not only led by formal officials such as hamlet heads, but also informal or traditional leaders. This traditional leader has considerable influence in managing the values and norms of indigenous people, especially in maintaining the mandate of *amanah karuhun* and *pamali*. This traditional leader is called *Kuncen*. He was chosen based on lineage.³²

The daily life of community in Kampung Kuta are bound by unwritten norms that regulate their behavior. The norm is inherited from generation to generation. For example, the simple standard of living, eating from their agricultural products, simple clean clothes and building houses according to customary rules.

³⁰Karman (Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 16, 2014.

³¹Koentjaraningrat, Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi, 321.

³²Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011.

This simple pattern of life is intended to avoid greed to fit the lifestyle of the ancestors, as done by Ki Bumi during his life.³³ For example, the advice *sapapait samamanis* (living together in joy and sorrow) is intended to be selfless throughout his life. In addition, it is also advisable to help each other through the activities of mutual assistance in cleaning *solokan* (water drain) ahead of the rice planting season, house construction, exuberance, marriage, burial, and other ceremonies. There is also the suggestion of social ethics such as not to be arrogant in speaking and behaving as the ancestors habit. For example, two expressions *memeh pok kudu geus pok* (before saying, think firstly in advance so as not to offend others); *ulah asa aing uyah kidul* (do not feel yourself more than others).

3. The Economic Life of Kampung Kuta: Farming and Gardening

The economic life of the people of Kampung Kuta depends heavily on natural resources such as rice fields and fields. Therefore, the main livelihood is agriculture. Rice fields are wetlands that depend on irrigation systems. They usually harvest three times a year. While the fields (*huma*) are dryland whose irrigation depends on rainwater. They usually harvest twice a year with a planting period of 4-5 months. Huma rice is usually planted at the beginning of the rainy season. People plant rice in the land around Kampung Kuta which is located rather high, hilly and difficult to reach by irrigation. Some residents tried to make their own irrigation channels by channeling water through a longitudinal pipe to a field from a water source called *cai pengasih* in Kampung Kuta.³⁴

From the data obtained, more than 80 % of residents of Kampung Kuta work as farmers, as

well as tapping *kawung* (sugar palm) or sugar makers, as shown in the following table 1.³⁵

Table 1. Kampung Kuta community profession

No	Location	Total	%
1.	Farmer/Tapper	254	80.7
2.	Seller	19	6.0
3.	Carpenter	12	3.8
4.	Civil Servent	-	-
5.	TNI/POLRI	-	-
6.	Others including school	30	9.5
Total		315	100%

In addition to farming, residents of Kampung Kuta also grow gardens and raise cattle. Almost all planted their gardens with various trees and fruits. The most widely planted trees are sugar palm and a small portion of coconut trees. Therefore, in addition to rice, some residents also rely on sugar palm from their parents' garden. While fruit plants consist of rambutan, banana, jackfruit, mango, guava, cassava, cassava and others. There are also vegetable plants, such as basil, spinach, *petai*, etc., as well as medicinal plants, such as ginger, betel, *binahong* and others.

The daily life of the Kampung Kuta community is in the fields and gardens together consisting of husband and wife, sometimes assisted by teenage children, as shown in figure 3. This can be seen from the roadside to their rice fields. In certain seasons, husband and wife leave early in the morning to welcome planting and arrange irrigation. They returned home in the afternoon before sunset. Some bring supplies and equipment to prepare for eating and drinking all day. Usually, they have small huts on the edge of rice fields or on the edge of fields. Here they rest and cook food from the

³³Karman (Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 4, 2014. Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011. Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 6, 2011.

³⁴Sapta (Resident of Kuta, Farmer and Tapper), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011.

³⁵Pemerintah Desa, Monografi Desa Karangpaningal (Ciamis: Desa Karangpaningal, 2011).

fields, such as cassava and bananas. Some of them also use the hut as a place of prayer.



Figure 3. A mother working in a rice field

In addition to agricultural products, palm sugar is also the second source of income. Palm sugar trees grow in the forest around the village. It also grows in drylands and settlements. Because of many raw materials and its processing expertise, Kampung Kuta can produce palm sugar in a good. Making palm sugar involves all family members, namely fathers and teenage children. While mothers are involved in processing and cooking, although there are also many fathers who cook it themselves. Palm sugar processing is not only done at home but sometimes in the huts. While cooking palm which takes about 8-9 hours, they can graze in the rice fields around the huts. So it is not surprising that many fathers and mothers went to the rice fields since morning and back in the evening. It is a daily routine of farmers/tappers, some of them also raise cows.

Besides, Kampung Kuta community also has other income, such as employees and traders. Garden products such as fruit, vegetables and medicinal plants, mostly sold to the market or to distributors who usually come to the village. There are also garden products consumed by themselves. They also produce garden products to snacks such as *rengginang*, cassava chips, *apem*, *wajit* and others. Some residents of Kampung Kuta, sometimes also take advantage of their free time by making woven bamboo, broomsticks, palm roofs that they sell in the market.

4. Economic, Social and Religious Structure in Kampung Kuta

Function and structure in anthropology are opposed but support each other. The way it works is to analyze the structure so the elements of its formation is clear, then followed by an explanation of the function in the whole structure as a unified goal in the midst of occurring changes.³⁶ The culture at a higher level must be fulfilled for the people so they can stay alive. Its function is closely related to other elements in it, such as economics, science, religion, social institutions, and others.³⁷ Therefore, examining the religious structure in the Kampung Kuta community will be related to other elements. Relationships among many structures appear dominant and affect each other are economic, social and religious structures. The conceptual framework is shown in figure 4.

³⁶Horace M. Kallen, "Functionalism," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin RA Seligman, 1953.

³⁷Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 6 (1939): 938--964.

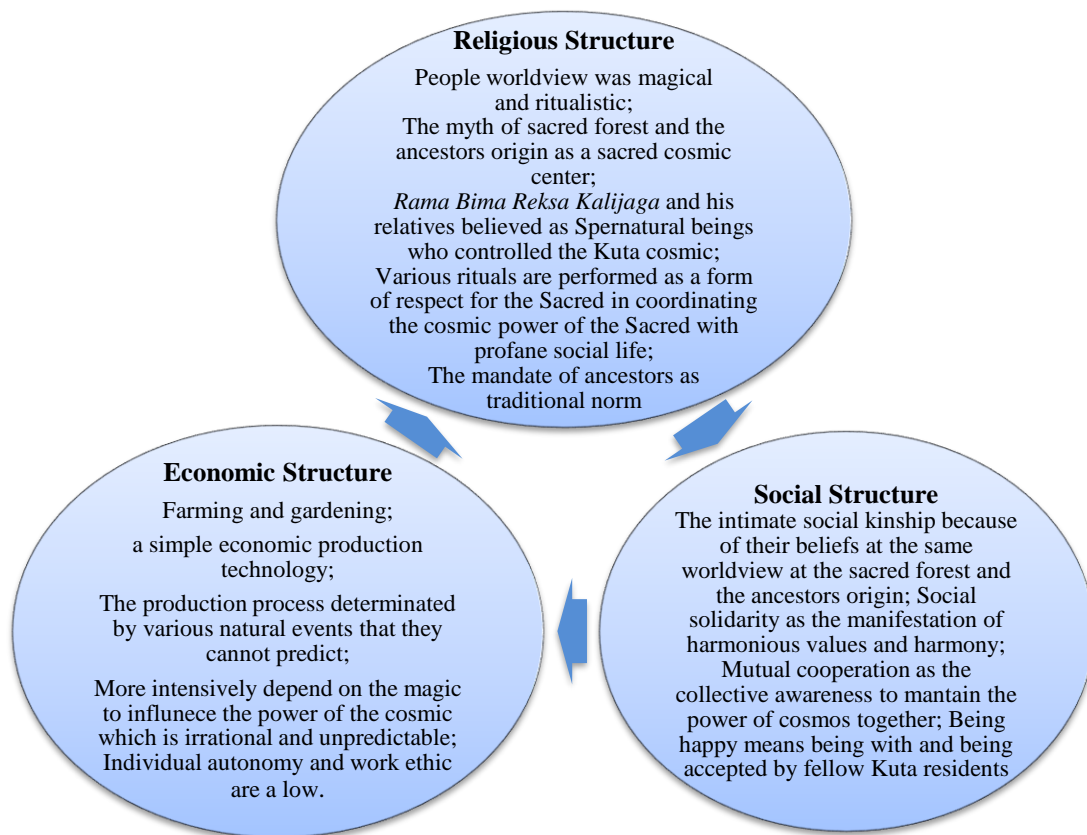


Figure 4: Relationship among economic, social and religious structures

a. Techno-economics: Farming and Gardening Form a Magical Worldview

According to Leslie White, livelihood technology will affect the religious component and social component.³⁸ Agricultural communities depend on agriculture and plantations for their livelihoods. The production structure is sufficient to use simple equipment and the results of its production depend a lot and are determined by the changing seasons and natural events. The agrarian livelihood not only results in a simple social structure but also a religious structure with a magical and mystical belief system. Holy rituals are performed so that the ruler of nature maintains the harmony of nature. Farming communities in rural areas tend to be closer to nature. They are more intensively involved in the production process of various natural events that they cannot calculate and predict. Therefore, they tend to depend on the

magic to influence the power of the cosmos which is irrational and unpredictable.

Likewise, they tend to depend on the magic to influence the cosmic irrational power. In addition to believing that agricultural products are determined by God's destiny, they also believe that there are watchmen and guardians of the natural environment that must be respected and guarded in order not to be angry and cause disasters. Believing in the mandate of ancestors, *pamali* (taboo) and other beliefs originating from the myth of the sacred forest must be carried out by them to survive.

There are several rituals in Kampung Kuta related to agriculture and plantations. *Hajat bumi*, for example, Earth's standard, for example, is usually held between September-November when the rainy season starts which marks the beginning of the growing season. In addition to being grateful for the previous harvest, this ritual is also performed to request

³⁸Syam, Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi, 37.

that the ancestors give blessings and protection to the plants to be sown. There are also rituals that are usually performed every month in *Mulud*. This ritual is performed to give a meal (*nyuguh*) to the spirits of the ancestors and the ruler of *leuweung gede* (sacred forest) as an expression of gratitude to God for the sustenance received and avoided from disaster. Another ritual is *babarit*. This ritual is carried out after natural disasters in the form of lines (earthquakes), long drought or other natural phenomena. There is also the ritual of *ngadegkeun imah* (building a house) intended as a request for protection in the making of a house.

b. Sacred Forest: As a Sacred Cosmic Center

The beliefs of indigenous people are generally associated with various magical stories, legendary heroes and holy myths that coexist with the existence of certain sites. The site keeps magical and mythological stories alive and alive. Those are temples, sacred tombs, sacred forests, and others. In Kampung Kuta, the 40-hectare prohibited forest is also considered a sacred site. The prohibited forest causes various magical stories, sacred myths, beliefs about the mandate of ancestors and *pamali*. Forest prohibition becomes the center of Sacred Trust. It then influenced the views of the Kampung Kuta community in understanding the cosmic world of the socio-economic environment.

Villages in Kuta were built in a hierophany place, Eliade calls to Sacred a place.³⁹ It will be realized if in those places believed to have been "visited" by the Sacred, such as God, saints, powerful kings and ancestral spirits. Kampung Kuta community beliefs about the sacred forest are also based on the story that their residence was once visited by Raja Galuh Ki Ajar Sukaresi and Aki Bumi with various myths. So they believe that the sacred forest has a

hierophany that can bring out the appearance of the Sacred.

Sacred forest also functions as *axis mundi* or main axis, supporting poles, center points. It became the main axis of the sacred arrangement of the cosmos where they lived. A point where was found the connecting stairway between the sacred (subtle) world and the profane world. Kampung Kuta community believes that the earth they live in, besides being controlled by God Almighty, is also controlled by supernatural beings such as *Ambu Rama Bima Raksa Kalijaga*, *Prabu Mangkurat Jaga*, *Sang Mentil Putih* and *Kyai Bima Raksa Nagara* who live around *leuweung gede* (forest of sacred).⁴⁰

Their daily normal lives are referred to as being profane. It exists only for themselves. However, at certain times, the profane can be transformed into the Sacred when people believe in it. The belief in the sacred forest controlled by supernatural beings and the myths that originate from it gives rise to various other sacred beliefs in daily life. For example, belief in the mandate of ancestors that must be carried out in daily life and *pamali* that must be avoided.

The view of the Sacred world is absolute and very important for the continued existence of nature. It will always influence the way of life of Kampung Kuta community. People always leave to the Sacred in determining the time and place that is considered good for them. They will naturally refer to various myths to determine the good day in a grand celebration procession. For example, the determination of *mamata-mimiti* (preliminary), *ngadegkeun* (buliding) and *turun damel* (implementation) events must wait for *Kuncen's* decision or elder who is considered capable of controlling the celebration procession so that it takes place without interference from supernatural beings in their surroundings.

The myth of the sacred forest legend then forms a mindset, functions as a standard of

³⁹Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*, trans. Ali Noer Zaman (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2001), 265–334.

⁴⁰Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

value for what is admired and is a pattern called *archetypes*. This pattern is a guide in acting in the social life of Kampung Kuta community. A variety of ancestral mandates and *pamali* institutionalized as customary rules are the evidence. They also believe in ancestral strongly, especially in the area of *kuta jero* (Inside Kuta). In this area, customary rules are very strong, as seen in the rules of simple house forms and others.⁴¹

In addition, belief in the myth of the sacred forest and the origin of Kampung Kuta is manifested in various rituals. It formed a public awareness of their origins. This also strengthens and reinforces their kinship ties. This further proves that collective awareness and shared solidarity are not only determined by the endogamous marriage factor, but also the myth of the sacred forest. Collective awareness and close kinship are also determined by shared views and beliefs about their origin.

Therefore, the nature of the traditional beliefs of Kampung Kuta saved the potential of local wisdom in the management of natural resources and human resources, and successfully contributed to the conservation of the forests around Kampung Kuta. The potential of local wisdom in a number of indigenous areas of West Java is recognized as being able to contribute positively to the preservation of the ecology and surrounding forest areas.⁴²

c. Cosmic Harmony and Social Solidarity: Awareness of Caring for Nature Together

In the life of a magical and ritualistic community, various changes and new events must be formally incorporated and adjusted into the existing structure of life. The incident must be adjusted to the ritual so that its existence can be accepted. Various events must be arranged and harmonized with the sacred world. It must be coordinated with the cosmic and must be "frozen" through sacred ceremonies before their existence is recognized.⁴³

In Kampung Kuta, life cycle rituals - such as birth, circumcision, and marriage - are formal ceremonies. Before the marriage takes place, a calculation is made to determine whether the couple is suitable or not. Then set a good day according to the day and date of birth, so the wedding ceremony can be in accordance with the time of a good day. The count is done as part of the cosmic and social coordination of an event. It incorporated a new condition into the overall structure. Likewise, there are also common events such as mutual cooperation to collect firewood for celebration purposes. Because the celebration is a formal ritual procession, the collection of firewood, cooking spices, invitation letters, books, stationery and all the equipment needed during the celebration must be coordinated with the cosmic sacred. Here the alms procession (thanksgiving) needs to be carried out first and the pledge is read with the forest watchmen and the ancestors of Kampung Kuta. *Kuncen* or elders are always present in the procession of alms and

⁴¹Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

⁴²Bixia Chen et al., "Agroforestry by Baduy Community in Banten Province, Indonesia," *The Science Bulletin of the Faculty of Agriculture University of the Ryukyus* 57, 2010, 17–30. See also Johan Iskandar and Roy F Ellen, "The Contribution of *Paraserianthes* (*Albizia*) *Falcataria* to Sustainable Swidden Management Practices among the Baduy of West Java," *Human Ecology* 28, no. 1 (2000): 1–17. See also Kazuhiro Harada, "Attitudes of Local People towards Conservation and Gunung Halimun National Park in

West Java, Indonesia," *Journal of Forest Research* 8, no. 4 (2003): 271–82. See also Kosuke Mizuno et al., "Talun-Huma, Swidden Agriculture, and Rural Economy in West Java, Indonesia," *Southeast Asian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 351–81. See also Satoru Okubo et al., "Traditional Perennial Crop-Based Agroforestry in West Java: The Tradeoff between on-Farm Biodiversity and Income," *Agroforestry Systems* 80, no. 1 (September 28, 2010): 17–31, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10457-010-9341-8>.

⁴³Mulder, *Misticism in Java: Ideology in Indonesia*.

coordinating with the cosmic sacred through incense burning media and reading the pledge as shown in figure 5.⁴⁴

*Bismillahirrohmaanirrohim,
assalamu'alaikum
warahmatullohiwabarokatuh, ka Bima
Raksa Kalijaga kalih dulur-dulurna nu
ngageugeuh ieu lembur, nu ngancik di
karamat Kuta Jero, ka Rama Aki Bumi, ka
Ambu, kanu Agung, ka Gusti nu Maha Suci,
ka para Wali, ka para nabi, ka Nabi
Muhammad, ka para sadulur sahabatna
Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad, kangjeng Nabi
Rosul. Simkuring téh badé ngalunturkeun
paniatanana kulawarga ieu kulawarga
bapak... kanggé opat sasihanna orok nu di
kandung. Kalih ti éta, nyuhunkeun aya dina
kabarokahanana, kasalametanana lahir
sareng batin, nyuhunkeun dipareungkeun
rejekina, nyuhunkeun dijauhken balaina,
nyuhunkeun diséhatkeun jasmani rohanina,
khususna kanggé orok nu di kandungan éta.
Nyanggakeun ieu pangbaktina, nya
tuangeunana, leueuteunana, lemareunana,
sesepeun saaya-aya, saeutik nu dibaktikeun,
ageung nu disuhunkeun, nyuhunkeun ka
tinekanan kulawarga bapa.... ieu, mangga
nyanggakeun.*

(Bismillahirrahmaanirohim,
assalamu'alaikum

warahmatullahiwarakatuh, to Bima Raksa Kalijaga and its relatives⁴⁵ who controlled this village, who lived in the holy city of Kuta Dalam, the ancestors Rama Aki Bumi, the mother ancestor, the Supreme God, the Holy God, to the Guardians, the prophets, to the Prophet Muhammad, to the relatives and friends of the Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet, and the Messenger. We want to convey dad's family's intentions ... to a four-month-old baby show. In addition, we ask for its strength, safety in birth and inwardness, to ask for its ease, to seek it out

of harm's way, to seek spiritual and physical health, especially for the baby of her pregnant. Please accept this offering, whether it be food, drinks, and cigarettes as we are able to provide, we hope that this offering is received in the hope that we may succeed in this life. Accept it).



Figure 5. Elders burning incense and reading pledges

Kuta Village community seems to get psychological comfort in a friendly atmosphere that unites all the people. Living in harmony and a prominent atmosphere of kinship is an effort to maintain harmony to avoid conflict. The attitude of opposing togetherness and exposing one's own ego is an attitude that is considered unusual. Must not be arrogant in saying and behaving. Words that show themselves and underestimate other people will certainly offend the person being spoken to. Those are reflected through proverb *Méméh pok kudu geus pok* (Every word that will be uttered must always think about the possible impact) and *Ulah asa aing ugah kidul* (do not feel yourself more than others). A proverb is commonly spoken to remind people not to behave arrogantly.

In customary norms, there is no violence such as hitting, threatening and asking to fight, because this way will not solve the problem but

⁴⁴Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

⁴⁵The meaning of "relatives" in this pledge is the relatives of Kalijaga Bima Raksa namely: Prabu

Mangkurat Jaga, Sang Mentil Putih, and Kyai Bima Raksa Nagara, who are believed to be the rulers and guardians of the sacred forest and protectors of Kampung Kuta.

will cause new problems. All problems that arise due to misunderstanding must be resolved in a good and friendly way. There is an expression of *maenya jeung dulur ribut* (why make noise with siblings). It is a manifestation of the feeling that all people of Kampung Kuta are close relatives. Awareness as a close relative of the origin of the same ancestor is always expressed repeatedly in the form of a pledge read by spiritual leaders, both kuncen and elders in each initiation of the ritual procession.

Being happy means being with and being accepted by fellow Kuta residents. Being happy means being in security. Society is the final judge and benchmarks for the merits of behavior. Self-adjustment and social solidarity are the main manifestations of harmonious values and harmony. The ideal for harmony is contained in the practice of mutual cooperation. They share the burden and give voluntary assistance to those in need. Happy for the people of Kampung Kuta is not abundant wealth, but more important is living in harmony and calm in social groups.

In daily life, there are teachings about the obligation to carry out the mandate of ancestors and stay away. Humans must be faithful in carrying out their obligations in cosmic, social and material life. This teaching does not contain mastery of the material or progress on the material. Humans only have to accept the world as it is and respect the order that includes everything. This formed the attitude of the people of Kampung Kuta not to place much importance on the physical environment.

Magical world views and ritualistic life caused individual autonomy and self-expression in society and active relations with the material world are negative. There are practiced simple life principles such as eating from their own agricultural products, clean clothes though not new and simple houses according to customary provisions. A simple lifestyle will prevent people from greed because they deny the desired habits and implemented by their ancestors, such as Ki Bumi.

Cultural dynamics that alienate this material environment cause community work ethic low. Forms of cooperation, such as mutual cooperation, are carried out in the context of carrying out tasks imposed by tradition, such as mutual cooperation to build houses, funerals, and celebrations. But, if what is done is different from social solidarity, they often fail to organize it properly or work hard in accordance with the work they have to handle. For citizens what is important is not what is done, but the social atmosphere when something is done. Social relations here are more shown through mutual cooperation, harmony, and tight social control.

C. CONCLUSION

Structurally functional, the conclusion is that the religious construction of Kampung Kuta has a close relationship with its economic and social structure. All three affect each other. The economic structure of Kampung Kuta community depends on their livelihoods from farming and gardening which is determined by the changing seasons and natural events. It causes a religious structure with a magical and ritualistic belief system that was influenced by the power of irrational and unpredictable cosmos. They believe the natural surroundings are surrounded by cosmic forces of the Sacred. To coordinate the cosmic power of the Sacred with profane social life, various rituals are performed as a form of respect for the Sacred. In addition, myths and beliefs in common ancestral origins also influence the social life structure of Kampung Kuta community. Kinship system, social solidarity among relatives, social harmony, simple life, calm and harmony are the manifestations of their happiness. All that is manifested in the form of mutual cooperation as a form of mutual awareness in managing and maintaining the balance of the cosmos.

There is an interplay of social, economic and religious structures in Kampung Kuta. If one structure changes, it will affect other structures. If the farming and farming system in the community changes, it will affect changes in the religious construction there. It is related to

its religious construction that serves to meet the economic needs of the community and can strengthen shared solidarity to maintain the continuity of their lives. Therefore, as long as these functions persist, the religious construction of Kampung Kuta will continue well. Change is very dependent on the social and economic reality that will be faced in the future.

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INTERVIEW

Awit (mother of Kuncen, and mother-in law of