

# THE RESILIENCE OF CUSTOMARY LEADERS TRADITIONAL CULTURE *PIKUKUH PITUTUR* IN KAMPONG DUKUH OF GARUT REGENCY

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## Abstrak

Budaya tradisional telah dilaksanakan di Kampung Dukuh, sebuah dusun adat di Desa Ciroyom, Kabupaten Garut, selama 303 tahun, berkat ketahanan pikukuh pitutur para pemimpin adatnya. Masyarakat adat Kampung Dukuh secara konsisten mengikuti *Tilu Pacaduan*, ajaran pemimpin pertamanya, Eyang Syech Jalil. Mama Uluk adalah tokoh masyarakat adat Dukuh ke-14 yang mempraktikkan pikukuh pitutur dalam bentuk pidato, tulisan, dan media. Struktur kepemimpinan di Kampung Dukuh terdiri dari Kuncen dan Lawang. Kuncen adalah pemimpin yang sangat dihormati, ditaati dan dikagumi baik oleh masyarakat adat Dukuh maupun pengunjung yang datang atas nasehatnya. Lawang adalah asisten seorang Kuncen yang tugasnya membantu atau mewakili kuncen dalam hal-hal tertentu. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui lebih dalam tentang kehidupan sosial budaya masyarakat adat, khususnya masyarakat adat Kampung Dukuh. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode deskriptif analitik dan pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan wawasan terkait kepemimpinan masyarakat Sunda dalam masyarakat adat dan berkontribusi bagi kemajuan pemahaman teoritis ilmu sosial dan manajemen kepemimpinan.

Kata Kunci: Ketahanan, Pemimpin, Pikukuh Pitutur, Masyarakat Adat

## Abstract

Traditional culture has been carried out in Kampong Dukuh, a customary hamlet in Ciroyom Village of Garut Regency, for 303 years, owing to the resilience of its customary leaders' *pikukuh pitutur*. Kampong Dukuh customary community has consistently follow *Tilu Pacaduan*, the teachings of its first leader, Eyang Syech Jalil. Mama Uluk is the 14th leader of Dukuh customary community who practices *pikukuh pitutur* in the form of speech, writing and media. The leadership structure in Kampong Dukuh consists of *Kuncen* and *Lawang*. *Kuncen* is a leader highly respected, obeyed and admired by both Dukuh customary community and visitors who came for his advices. *Lawang* is an assistant to a *Kuncen* whose task is to assist or represent *kuncen* on certain matters. This study aims to gain deeper insight on social cultural life of customary communities, especially that of Kampong Dukuh customary community. It uses analytical descriptive method and the data are collected through observation, interviews and documentation. The research outcomes are expected to give insights related to Sundanese leadership in a customary community and contribute to advancement of theoretical understanding of the social science and leadership management.

Keywords: Resilience, Leader, *Pikukuh Pitutur*, Customary Community

**INTRODUCTION**

Kampung Dukuh is located in Ciroyom village, Cikelet sub-district, Garut Regency. Based on interview with Mama Uluk on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2020, before the area was called Dukuh, came a married couple, Nini and Aki Chandra, from Cianjur, waiting for Eyang Syech Abdul Jalil as the one giving direction to anyone who was allowed to settle. When Eyang Syech Abdul Jalil arrived, Nini and Aki Chandra returned home because they had met the person whom they were waiting. Eyang Syech Jalil brought a handful of Mecca soil to be planted and called Dukuh. The word Dukuh means *Padukuhan “Pacalikan”*, a settlement.

Although Kampung Dukuh is situated in a remote area, it is always bustling with visitors who come for various reasons. It has a number of distinctiveness to be studied, concerning its concept of social life in particular. The distance from the roadway in Cikelet sub-district to Kampung Dukuh is about 9 kilometers. The road trip is challenging due to its narrow and rocky roads. Consequently, drivers and riders must ensure that their vehicles are roadworthy and be extra careful while driving in bad weather.

In terms of region, Kampung Dukuh is divided into outer Dukuh and inner Dukuh, but the latter became the customary hamlet. A simple fence



**Fig. 2. Simple bamboo fence marks the boundary between outer Dukuh and inner Dukuh** (Source: Research documentation of Ai Juju Rohaeni and Nia Emilda, 2020)

marking the boundary between the two hamlets shows that both communities live side by side. Many outer Dukuh inhabitants are related to inner Dukuh inhabitants by blood or marriage. Even many of them were former inner Dukuh residents who chose to move to outer Dukuh because their children wanted to get public education and life transformation. They can settle in outer Dukuh and are not bound by the rules applied in inner Dukuh.

The study uses qualitative approach with analytical descriptive method. It analysed the collected data and comprehensively described the findings related to the research problems. V.Wiratma Sujarweni [1, 6] said that “Qualitative method in general can be used in research into social life, history, behavior, functionalization, social activity, etc.” The data were collected through observa-



**Fig. 1. Road to Kampung Dukuh** (Source: Research documentation of Ai Juju Rohaeni and Nia Emilda, 2020)



**Fig. 3. Location of Cebor 40 ceremony** (Source: Research documentation of Ai Juju Rohaeni and Nia Emilda, 2020)

tion, particularly participant observation, in-depth interview, and documentation.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Total land area of Kampong Dukuh is 10 hectares, including 1,5 hectares of settlements and 8.5 hectares of forests and graveyard. The settlement area comprises 43 buildings: 40 houses, a mosque, a madrasa and Quran recitation place, and a structure which was Eyang Syech Abd.Jalil's house, now it becomes a prayer house. Beside the prayer house, there are some *pancuran* (bamboo piping system to supply water from mountain spring). The people use those *pancuran* to perform wudu (ablution) and *Cebor 40* ceremony held every Saturday night after reciting Quran and shalawat.

Resilience according to Indonesian Dictionary [7, 883] means "strength (mental, physical); endurance". Dukuh customary community has adhered strictly to principles and customs taught by Eyang Syech Jalil regardless of the era advancement brought by visitors. The teachings passed from generation to generation were derived from Islam. *Pikukuh* [7, 254] "*papagon, aturan anu matok* or strict rules", and *Pitutur* [7, 545] "*nasehat* or wisdom". The customary leader's resilience to deliver rules and wisdom taught by the ancestors will determine the survival of the customs. *Tilu Pacaduan* is the application of wisdom passed down from the first customary leader, Syech Abd.Jalil, to *Kuncen* Mama Uluk whose real name is Lukmanul Hakim, as mentioned by Thoha [5, 14] that "Leadership is an activity to exert an influence over other people's behaviors, or an art of influencing human behavior either individually or in groups".

*Pikukuh Pitutur* of the leader done consis-

tently shaped the identity of Dukuh customary community that made them different from other customary communities in West Java, as stated by Garna [2, xii] that "The significance of a tradition is that it serves as a cultural heritage giving its patrons identity and a sense of self." The resilience of the customary leader's teachings becoming the life patterns applied in everyday lives of the society is known as the resilience of *Tilu Pacaduan*.

*Pikukuh pitutur* is carried out through: 1). Speech. The customary leader during routine Quran recitation is able to communicate with ease, be a role model of attitude, utterance, and behavior; 2). Writing. The teachings to be practised by the Dukuh customary community from generation to generation in the beginning were delivered in verbal, yet, since the reign of *Kuncen* Mama Bani, her daughter named Bu Wiwi wrote the teachings in Sundanese Arabic letters – into books entitled "*Elmu Dukuh* (The Teachings of Dukuh) and *Riwayat Kampung Dukuh* (History of Kampong Dukuh)". Both books can only be read by *Kuncen*, *Lawang*, and the eldest son prepared to rule in the future; 3). Media of *Kohkol*. *Kohkol* made of bamboo serves as a communication tool for villagers. It is put in the mosque since no electrical equipment is allowed in the hamlet. The beat of *kohkol* marks the prayer time for Dukuh customary community. The teachings *pikukuh pitutur* cover: a). *Apes Lingsem*, tells about simple life, harmony; b). *Tutupan, Titipan, Awisan*, is related to preservation, conservation of settlement and forbidden forest; c). *Ka lalaki ulah lesot gagang Kored, ka Istri ulah lesot ti gagang sapu*, is the wisdom telling that both men and women must work hard. Another wisdom dearly instilled in Dukuh customary community is "*Dukuh padumukn matuh*,



Fig. 4. Simple dwelling houses of Dukuh inhabitants

(Source: Research documentation of Ai Juju Rohaeni and Nia Emilda, 2020)

*katurunan kampung Dukuh, keukeuh pengkuh serta patuh sadaya piwuruk sepuh*". *Pikukuh Pitutur* rich in values and meanings is constantly instilled into its young generation.

As stated by Idrus Ruslan [3,7] that "When human is able to carry out the rule according to the culture of the nation consciously, his real human character will be revealed and he will be willing to preserve and instill it into young generation."

Dukuh Customary Community is led by *Kuncen* Mama Uluk, Lawang Wetan, and Lawang Kulon. Their community respects them and abides by all their advices, rules, and orders. Rahayu as cited in Subhan Agung [1, 9] "Informal leader such as a *kuncen* has a great power in managing the life of a customary community". *Kuncen* is the leader and *Lawang* is the *kuncen*'s assistant who will lead an event if the *kuncen* is absent. *Kuncen* is a role model whose utterance and behavior or *pikukuh pitutur* serve as examples.

*Tilu pacaduan* and traditional ceremonies are manifestation of the customary community's resilience and endurance towards their leader's *Pikukuh pitutur*:

1. *Pacaduan Kampung*, is related to dwelling house. Customs in social life are bound by

prohibitions/*pamali-pamali*, such as the way the house is built, its shape, material and direction, its furniture and equipment that must be made of natural material such as wood and bamboo, and must not use modern tools in their making process; the instruction to use oil lamps or *cempor* for lighting because electricity is forbidden. *Kohkol* functions as a communication medium in the mosque because speaker is not allowed. Customs in daily lives include instructions on people's clothing; prohibition on wearing jewellery, trading activity, raising quadrupeds; instructions on people's behavior; prohibition on stretching legs towards the Qibla, and many other instructions, particularly prohibitions on Eyang Syech Abdul Jalil's grave.

2. *Pacaduan Makom, Visit to Eyang Syech Abdul Jalil* is done every Saturday with some prohibitions applied to both women and men: they must be clean from minor and major hadath; must perform ablution before entering the graveyard; mustn't be civil servant; mustn't wear footwear; must wear undecorated plain clothes; for women in particular, they must wear plain kebaya and sarong with no underwear; for men in particular, they must put on headband, wear plain sarong and shirt. All graves mustn't be cemented over and decorated, etc.
3. *Pacaduan Leuweung* related to prohibitions of the protected forest. Forest as the source for water must be preserved through planting and cleaning. Everyone mustn't take anything from the protected forest, even if it is weed or rotten twig. All of these are planted in its place and become organic fertilizer, with the

exception of ripe fruits to be eaten together by the members of Dukuh customary community, not for sale.

In the teachings of Dukuh customary community, the principles of living a simple life in harmony with the self, others and environment must be maintained and instilled into the next generation. Simple life style, culture of collaboration, helping one another are well sustained. These can be seen from the traditional ceremonies performed in Kampong Dukuh:

1. *Moros* Ceremony. Dukuh Customary Community delivers its crop yield to Village administration before Islamic festivals of Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr.
2. *Manuja* Ceremony. The members of Dukuh Customary Community always work together to send their crop yield to the *Kuncen*. It is because all the visitors after Quran recitation on Friday night and after grave visit on Saturday morning will be served meals.
3. *Ngahaturan Tuang* Ceremony. Women in Dukuh Customary Community work together to prepare meals after Quran recitation and grave visit.

The size of *kuncen*'s house is bigger than other houses because it is used to hold an event of Quran recitation, receive visitors, and prepare *Cebor 40* ceremony held every Friday night. The ceremony is attended by people who want to purify themselves and have special intention, led directly by Dukuh customary leader Mama Uluk.

## CONCLUSION

The Customary Community of Kampong Dukuh in Ciroyom Village, Cikelet Sub-district,

Garut Regency is one out of nine customary hamlet communities in West Java faithful to its leader's *pikukuh pitutur* making it different from other customary communities. The teachings delivered by its leaders were derived from Islam as the religion of its community members and applied to traditional culture in line with its natural environment. The *Pikukuh pitutur* is reflected in *Tilu pacaduan*. The life principles as well as the concepts of simple life style and harmony bring the balance of relations between human and God, human and human, and human and nature as well.

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