Bagoes Wiryomartono

Perspectives on Traditional Settlements and Communities

Home, Form and Culture in Indonesia

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Ewali Gorahua in the Village Bawomataluo South Nias Indonesia

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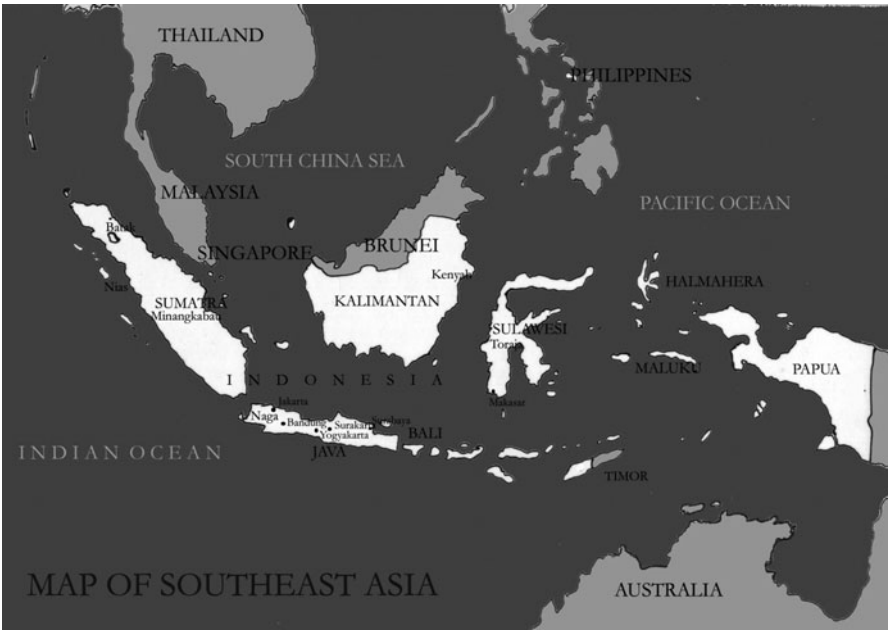
The life-world is the realm of experience in which home, form and culture are animated.

Preface

The book is about the relationship between societies and their culture in the context of traditional settlements in Indonesia. The study is focused on the search for meanings of local concepts that have something to do with human settlement. The aim of the study is to dismantle, unveil, and unmask the concepts concerning home and their sociocultural strategy to keep the sense of community and identity. In this study, dismantling, unveiling, and unfolding of local concepts become the hallmark and the hub of analysis that explores, verifies, and builds relations of ideas and phenomena. Based on these relations, this study attempts to set forth the reality of the local life-world that upholds and sustains their values, norms, and principles for what may they call it as a homeland.

The book is organized into two parts. Part I describes a cross-regional habitation in Indonesia. The part is focused on the search for common properties and shared characteristics of Indonesian habitation, especialy in urban areas. This part is an inquiry of cultural identity of Indonesian arts of living and its values as a nation in Southeast Asia. Part II is the search for unique and specific aspects of traditional settlements in specific regions of Indonesia. Part II is presented with four chapters representing four ethnic regions of Indonesia: Sa'dan Toraja, Bali, Naga, and Minangkabau. Their unique traditions, customs, beliefs, and attitudes transpire to provide diversity in backgrounds and lifestyles though they share something in common to sustain their sense of home in dealing with modernity in terms of changes and developments toward a technologically industrialized society. The research questions are what is the development of settlement in terms of culture and environmental sustainability? How do the communities in Indonesia response to modernity?



Map of Indonesia and Southeast Asia

Acknowledgment

The essay of Naga community and its dwelling tradition is the outcome of several visits to the village between 1981–1982, and 1993–1999. All information concerning Naga is never perfect and valid without the help and assistance of its chief: *Kuncen* Ateng. I owe my gratitude to *Kuncen* Ateng and numerous Naga people for their cooperation in providing me information concerning their inhabitation, building construction and rituals.

The materials of the study on Bali are collected from my field works in 1976, 1978 and 1991 in Denpasar and Ubud area. The data are mostly updated from supervising the works of my former graduate students, Sugihantara and Ida Ayu Oka Saraswati, working on thesis with Balinese world as case study from 1995 to 2002.

The fieldwork for Kenyah essay was made possible by the support of The Ministry for Social Walfare, the Republic of Indonesia in 1991. This support was given to Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia where the author was involved as freelance researcher and contributor. For the data of this paper the author would like to thank to Mr. Iskandar Akbar who was a long time social worker in *Long Merah* in 1989–1990 for his help and knowledge about the *kenyah* culture and tradition. The author specially thanks to to Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati and Prof. Dr. Gunawan Tjahjono from University of Indonesia for their invitation and collaboration during the fieldwork. A deep gratitude is owed by the author to the number of *kenyah* informants: Mr. Pekihing, Mr. Puluk, Mr. Pekilah Apuy, Mr. Pebayaq Gurau, Mr. Surang Birah, Mr. Iban Tange' and Mr. Pagang Imang. The writing for this study is made possible by the support of Fulbright fellowship during my affiliation with Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution Washington D.C. in 1992. In this opportunity, the author is very grateful to Dr. Paul M. Taylor for his kind help, support and friendship. My thanks go to all these institutions.

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The data of fieldwork in Minangkabau land are mostly direct experience of habitation in several villages of Saruaso district, Sulit Air, Bukit Tinggi and Maninjau. I spent three months of traveling and living in Luhak Tana Datar of Minangkabau 1982–1983. Literature studies for Minangkabau were continued at the TH Aachen Germany, at the East West Center in Honolulu Hawaii and Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. The rest of the research is done and written in Indonesia from 1997 to 2000. My thanks for assisting my research with architectural information are due to Mr. Revian Body and Dr. Eko Alvares, both lectures of architecture at University of Bung Hatta, Padang, Indonesia.

The research on dwelling culture of Tana Toraja people was made possible with the grant of the Toyota International Grant for Asia Pacific Research in 1993–1994. I am very grateful to Ms.Yumiko Hiraishi Himemoto of the foundation for her assistance and direction during the grant period. The development of my study on Toraja was done in Smithsonian Institution Washington D.C. with a Fulbright grant for visiting scholar in 1992. I am very grateful to Dr. Paul M. Taylor at the Smithsonian Institution and Fulbright committee in Jakarta for this opportunity. Dr. Taylor helped me to sharpen my research questions and allowed me to use his private bibliographical collection on Indonesian studies, which are very valuable sources for me.

Last but not least, without support and generosity of my family: my wife Nira, my three daughters Arini, Sundari and Rahma, and my parents, my parents in law Bapak and Mamah Kuntoadji, the recasting of my fieldwork notes into this book might have not come about. For this I owe my gratitude.

Contents

List of Abreviations

BaBinSa	Bintara pemBina deSa (military low officer at the village level)
BAPPEDA	BAdan Perencanaan dan PEmbangunan DAerah Regional develoment planning board
BUUD	Badan Usaha Unit Desa Supporting body for village cooperatives
DANDIM	komanDAN DIstrik Militer Commander of military district
DANRES	komanDAN RESort Resort commander
GOLKAR	GOLongan KARya Functional group, main party in Indonesia
INPRES	INstruksi PRESiden Presidential decree
JABOTABEK	JAkarta BOgor TAngerang BEKasi Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi area
KEPPRES	KEPutusan PRESiden Presidential decree
Kodam	Komando daerah militer (regional military commander at provincial capital city)
Korem	Komando resort militer (resort military commander at regent capital town)
Koramil	Komando rayon militer (military operational unit at district town)
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk Identification card
KUD	Koperasi Unit Desa Village cooperative
LKMD	Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa Village community resilience institute
MUSPIDA	MUSyawarah PImpinan DAerah Conference of regional leaders
PELITA	(program) PEmbangunan LIma TAhun Five-year development/plan
PERUMNAS	PEmbangunan peRUMahan NASional National housing corporation
PKK	Pendidikan Keluarga Kesejahteraan Family prosperity education
POLDA	kePOLisian DAerah Regional police
POLRES	kePOLisian RESort Resort police
SATPAM	SATuan PengAManan Guarding unit

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Part I
Dwelling Tradition and Culture

Rumah Gadang Minangkabau, Sumatra Indonesia

Chapter 1
The Setting, Boundary and Origin

Abstract This chapter describes and explores the setting, background and context of habitation in Southeast Asia. The description includes the geography of the region, characteristics of populations and historical setting and development. One important issue of the study is its focus on the discussion about the similarity and diversity that develop a specific spirit of locality. The historical process shows how the people in the region survived, learnt and got the lesson from internal conflicts and disagreements that have led them towards a nation. Exploring the elements and frameworks of nation-building of Indonesia is the main task of this chapter.

Keywords Southeast Asia · Indonesia · Language · Habitation

1.1 Land and People

The inhabitable area of land in the archipelago covers about 1.9 million square km. Roughly 250 million people found their home in 2010 in today's territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Java is the most populated island with more than 70 million of the population, followed by Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and other islands. The archipelago had been populated by people from an ancient migration and colonization. Based on its geological account and fossils, it was found that the island of Java had been inhabited by hominids during the Pleistocene ca. 40,000 years ago. The oldest Javanese remains of *Ngandong, Sambungmacan* and *Ngawi* (Bellwood 1997, pp. 49–50) might have been the oldest trace of *Pithecanthropus erectus* found in the archipelago. Linguistically speaking, the language of the populations of Ancient Sunda is characterized by ergativity and simple consonant systems with a particular manner of stop articulation (Nichols 1997). Nevertheless, due to its inadequate prehistoric archaeological findings, the forms, structures and features of the early settlement are still unclear. The archaeological findings concerning the ancient bronze artefacts of Dong-Son (Heine-Geldern 1930, 1932) confirm that there is a cultural relationship between the archipelago and mainland Southeast Asia. Geldern argued that the structure of vernacular settlement of ancient populations in archipelago reflects their cosmological model (Woodward 2010, pp. 137).

Indeed, the origin of ancient homeland for most of the people in Indonesia was likely inseparable from those who migrated from the region of southern China along the Yangtze valley or Taiwan. Theoretically, they moved downward to other parts of

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Fig. 1.1 The carving stone at Borobudur's first gallery from 856 AD showing house on stilts and outrigger ship

today's Vietnam, Cambodia, Assam and Burma between 3000 and 1000 BC. Based on the similarities of settlement, language, tradition and the technique of domestication, one can divide the category of the Austronesian migrant tribes into two main groups from mainland Southeast Asia. The first group comprises the precolonial ethnic groups such as Badui, Nias, Mentawai, Batak, Toraja, Sumba, Flores, Lombok and Dayak tribes who originally practised swidden rice cultivation.

Through the centuries of contacts with the second group, they possibly learnt how to do wet-rice cultivation. The second group includes the tribes who practise wet-rice cultivation, for instance, the Javanese, the Malay, Bugis, Minangkabau and the Balinese. Besides the first and the second groups, there were presumably other tribes as well and they had already occupied the islands and moved further towards inlands of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Papua.

The earliest groups, before the first and the second ones, possibly migrated from Southeast Asia during a period of settlement that was not based on wet-rice cultivation. Indeed, Batak and Toraja groups have been cultivating wet rice but they had not yet developed a complex agricultural society probably because they did not adopt the Indic statecraft through Hinduism and Buddhism between the first and the fifth century. Besides the seafaring experience, wet-rice cultivation is a potential condition for establishing a complex agricultural society of Aceh, Java and Bali as well as Bugis and Makasar. Nevertheless, Indic and Islamic statecraft seemingly played an important role in the development of a complex agricultural society in terms of the kingdom. The surplus of agricultural economy is its impending capacity for expansion towards a more sociopolitically sophisticated society that enables them to develop urban settlements (Fig. 1.1).

Even though the native populations have probably been there prior to the Bronze Age of Southeast Asia, the archaeological evidences in the archipelago confirm that the origin of homeland of most inhabitants of Indo-Malay archipelago is from mainland Southeast Asia. The living myths, legends and oral traditions reflect the

admiration of seafaring folks with outrigger boat and nautical knowledge. The stone-carved panels of the first gallery of the Borobudur temple show the ancestors with their ancient outrigger boat and their house on constructed stilts.

1.2 Similarity and Diversity

Despite their customary differences, there are the similarities of beliefs, language and race between ethnic groups in the archipelago who inhabit the Greater Sunda Islands. Meanwhile, the populations of the Eastern part of the archipelago show their similarities with the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia and South Pacific islands. Notwithstanding, due to coastal contacts and interactions, the population groups of the Lesser Sunda Islands and Maluku Islands are a unique blend between the Malay and Negrito race; they possibly build new generations through centuries of intermarriage. The predominant Malay race lives mostly in the coastal areas and the western part of the archipelago; meanwhile, the tribal Negrito race resides in its hinterland and the eastern part of Indonesia. The blend of both races can be found everywhere in the region.

Of course, Chinese, Arab and Tamil populations have been absorbed as the populations of the archipelago for centuries. However, the Chinese population is predominant among the other ethnic populations; their migration had been going on from the provinces of Fukien, Kwangtung and other parts of China to various areas of the archipelago since the Tang Dynasty ca. 618–907 AD (Wense 2008, p. 4). They came and dispersed in most coastal parts of Indonesia. The precolonial role of the Chinese group has been unique in history, namely as mediators of trade and exchange between hinterlands and seafaring people from the Middle East, China and India. Despite the differences of custom and tradition, these foreign populations have been mostly integrated as Indonesians in terms of lifestyle and culture. Their presence has not been without racial prejudices, tensions and casualties. Religious affiliations, the state ideology of Pancasila, modern school system and the official language provide, shape, develop and sustain the common ground for their sense of the nation as Indonesians (see also Federspiel in Salim and Azra eds. 2003, p. 198).

Despite the diversity of ethnicity and culture, the people of the archipelago have and share something in common in terms of values and collective memories. Regarding themselves as the descendants of seafaring ancestors, the indigenous people in the Indonesian archipelago share the similar concept of the territorial unit of settlement called *wanua*, an old Malay word originally meaning boat community and the lifeworld. The chief of the settlement and community is *penghulu* or *datuk*, meaning head, upstream, bow and chief. The native settlement and community of *wanua* is an egalitarian village polity. This pre-Hindu habitation unit of *wanua* is a village republic with various names, for instance, *dukuh* in Central and East Java, *banua* in South Nias, *lepo'* in Kenyah, *gampong* in Aceh, *soa* in Halmahera, *paraingu* in Sumba, *pekon* in Lampung, *jero* in Badui and *lembang* in Toraja. Every unit of indigenous settlement mentioned above has its own temple or sacred place, such as

candi in Java, *osali* in South Nias, *kaseba* in Halmahera, *bumi ageung* in Naga West Java, *kabubu* in West Sumba, *meunasah* in Aceh, *tambak kepapang* in Lampung and *rante* in Toraja. The traces of ancestral reminder are figures of outrigger boat and serpent, *naga*, which are delicately expressed in various forms on the houses, coffin, textile motifs and various artworks.

Remarkable is the fact that the icon of the serpent figure, *naga*, which also has water symbolism, is commonly shared by various people in mainland Southeast Asia, Thai, Cambodia and Burma with aquatic cultural traits (Jumsai 1989). Even though *naga* is originally a borrowed word from Sanskrit, its indigenous name is still apparent in South Nias known as *lasara* and *sikholi*. Does the serpent allude to the blend of land, water and sky incorporating outrigger boat? *Naga* in Indonesian art tradition is a prehistoric water figure incorporating the cosmic amalgam of earth, sea and sky. The symbolic association of *naga* figure and a boat or a sea vessel has a sensible ground regarding its construction that is made of an earthy material and is on the sea under the sky.

The serpent symbolism of water is likely to have been in existence before the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. The most vivid evidence of the relationship between the serpent figure and outer ridges of a boat is found in the non-Hindu Buddhist South Nias boat coffin of Sainegeho, the village ruler of Bawömataluo. Hence, *naga* symbolism is likely to have developed within the indigenous culture of Austronesian descendants in Southeast Asia that reminds them of their ancestors as seafaring people. Later on, after the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism, *naga* as a water symbolism had likely been developed together with *garuda* as complementary figures representing cosmic unity: heaven and earth.

The wide use of *naga* in the work of arts, such as *kris*, dagger, weapon, coffin, gong's hanger, bracelet, necklace, chest ornament, water beaker, ear pendant, etc., is likely to have rooted in the *Dongsonian* bronze culture, notably for its elaborate bronze drums, *nekara*, about 2000–1400 BC? We do not have yet the definite answer from archaeological evidences. Although the development of bronze-casting technique and wet-rice cultivation in Ma River plains of Vietnam was likely to have been the origin of bronze culture and agriculture in Indonesian archipelago, some tribes with Dong-Son metal-casting technique such as Mentawai, Nias and Dayak do not show their familiarity with wet-rice cultivation but with wild rice. Nevertheless, an indicating trace of *naga* symbolism in those tribes is apparent (Fig. 1.2).

The wet equatorial region of Indonesia encompasses various typical ecosystems of the coastal mangrove swamps, the limestone forest, the high mountain moss forests and expansive wetlands. The climate of the archipelago is monsoonal with a relatively equal length of wet and dry seasons. Monsoon winds blow in various directions according to the season. Inland temperatures are relatively lower than they are along the coast. During the seasons, the average temperature ranges from 26°C to 32°C. Given that the humidity of the archipelago is generally high during the year, appropriate building design for living involves a construction provided with raised floor for protection against flood and for wind ventilation. Air-through skeletal wooden structure and woven bamboo construction are common solutions in dealing with monsoons and humid tropical seasons.

Fig. 1.2 Boat coffin, *Hasi bawa* (outrigger sea vessel) of Bawömataluo village ruler: Saenigeho, South Nias

Fig. 1.3 *Nekara*, bronze drum of 126 cm diameter and 97 cm height from the Selayar Island, South Sulawesi region. (Courtesy of Pemda Selayar)

Despite local variations of weather, the tropical climate of archipelago can generally be classified into three types: Greater Sunda habitats such as Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Bali; Lesser Sunda habitats such as Lombok, Flores, Sumba, Sumbawa, Sawu and Timor; and Maluku Papua habitats. The first and the second groups show their close relationship with respect to the climate of mainland Asia; the last is apt to that of the Australian continent. A chain of volcanic mountains from Sumatra to Nusa Tenggara and from Maluku to Papua or Irian Jaya reach their peaks at mount of Semeru at 3,800 metres and at Puncak Jayawijaya at 5,030 metres above sea level (Fig. 1.3).

Because of numerous volcanic activities, the lowlands of Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi are bare from the menace of earthquake. Nonetheless, the plains have also been deposited with rich soils from periodic lava. Javanese, Balinese, Sulawesi and Sumatran plains enjoy for centuries its fecundity for wet-rice cultivation. For domestication based on wet-rice cultivation in other islands beyond the Java Sea, such as in Maluku, Biak, Yapen, and Numfor, settlements occupy the plains along the riversides and at river mouths.

Despite the fact that in the prehistoric period, coastal regions and riversides were presumably the favourable area for settlement, the rise of proto-urbanism in those areas did not find any significant evidence until the influence of Indic statecraft came into the archipelago in the early fifth century (see also Drakeley 2005, pp. 15–17).

The Indic statecraft is probably an important factor of this transformation. Regardless of the economy with surplus production from wet-rice cultivation, lack of literacy must have been the most important reason for the development of towns and states before the adoption of Sanskrit culture since the first century.

Agriculture with irrigation techniques and Indic statecraft must have developed inland communities of Java, Bali, Sulawesi and Sumatra that enabled them to transform their organization of settlement from chiefdom to kingdom as well as from village to town. Since the establishment of large settlements intensifies the domestication of land and its resources, agricultural evolution is likely inadequate for developing a town, unless there is a socially organized system of well-trained people within the framework of state polity. How are the permanency and sustainability of such a system possible without taking the laws and orders of sociopolitical life into written organization? Prehistoric Indonesian archipelago did not show us the evidence of the concentration of settlement based on statecraft. This, however, is not to say that before the Sanskrit culture there was no socially organized entity at the level of state institution.

A state organization shows a system with the complex division of role, function and authority that matters for various cases of the decision-making process. Multifarious activities, interests, demands and interactions in a society underlie such a complexity. Architecturally speaking, such complexity is demonstrated by the variety of building types, sizes, forms, layouts, functions and infrastructures in a settlement system. Such traces are to be found in Javanese, Aceh, Bugis and Malay societies. The traces in indigenous Malay society include the concepts concerning hierarchical officials, titles and apparatus, such as *datu* or *ulun*, for king, *panglima*, commander, *hulubalang*, high-rank officer, *temenggung*, special civil officer, *bentara*, king's assistant, *syahbandar*, port authority and custom officer, *penghulu*, chieftain *and tentara*, soldier, which have been known in use prior to the influence of Indic statecraft. The indigenous statecraft is actually derived from the nautical organization. The hierarchical structure of the boat and state is identical as follows: *penghulu /nakhoda*, captain, *datu*, chief, *mualim*, navigator, *mentri*, high-rank officer, *jurubatu*, interior officer, *temenggung*, chief of security, *panglima*, chief of commanders, *jurumudi*, driver, *hulubalang*, chief of division, *tukang*, technician, *bentara*, low-rank officer, *kiwi*, small trader, *saudagar*, merchant, *awak*, citizen and *rakyat*, ordinary people. In the Malay society, the politically organized system at state form is likely derived from their maritime experience. Prior to the Islamic influence in the sixteenth century, such a form is likely to have been deployed in the oldest Malay statecraft of Sriwijaya and Bugis in which its king and kingdom are named as *datu* and *wanua*, instead of *raja* and *negara*. It is arguable that the state bureaucracy based on ship organization is probably one important aspect of settlement system in Southeast Asia. The question is what is the concept of home for seafaring people if it is not the boat itself?

As any other tropical country, Indonesia not only is rich in diversity of species and its habitats but also is endowed as the home of myriads of traditions and cultures with at least 300 major ethnic groups and 400 languages existing in more than 13,000 islands. Contacts and trades with Indians, Arabians and Chinese that enriched

the indigenous culture with literacy, arts and techniques had been a long-standing history of the archipelago dated back to the first century. Populations of the Java, Bali, Sulawesi and Sumatra settled mostly in the plains and wetlands where rice cultivation was practised. In other islands, coasts and riversides became essential locations of early settlement.

Regarding its enormous ecosystemic and cultural diversity, the Indonesian home as a living entity seems hard to imagine without taking its politically organized entity and its sociocultural history into account. The materialization of Indonesia as a culturally unified identity is represented by its diversity of forms, principles and values within the framework of modern Indonesian language and constitution. Ethnolinguistically, it is, however, difficult to draw a clear line for marking the boundary of cultural identity between people in shared islands such as Kalimantan, Papua and Timor. Despite cultural similarities, historical destiny and political geography of Western colonialism have drawn and established the demarcation of dwelling tradition for the communities along the borderline regions mentioned above.

How is the boundary of Indonesian habitation as well as Nusantara's world defined? Is it established by the lingua franca or the national language? As a matter of fact, linguistic demarcation must have been insufficient to figure out the boundary of habitation. Several components likely play an important role in the establishment of national identity based on habitation. Political and educational systems play a significant part in this matter. Indeed, Indonesian-speaking world is not simply demarcated by its language, binding customs and practices of community in an unwritten form; the map of geopolitical habitation of today in Southeast Asia is the outcome of the European colonialism of spices and natural resources since the sixteenth century.

Today, blood ties with the natives are a jurisdictional condition of Indonesian citizenship, rather than by birth. The state of Republic of Indonesia does not practice the origin of this blood ties principle, *jus sanguinis*, the practice dated back to the era of the Dutch colonial rule. Even though the state does not support *jus sanguinis*, the traditional bond between men and their land has been established as an indigenous custom and tradition. The practice is incorporated with the ancient Indonesian idiom of home, *tanah tumpah darah* literally meaning land of spilled blood and place of birth. Accordingly, identification of citizenship, *kewargaan*, must have comprised land and blood as a whole, meaning homeland is not simply the place of birth. Rather, homeland is somewhat remindful of a sense of place for which your ancestors have fought for and given you birth. Accordingly, the sense of homeland lies in the necessity of sustaining the legacy and valuable heritage of the family in the broadest sense of the word.

Since state and country are conceived by the Indonesian tradition as a sacred heirloom, the notion of home as *tanah tumpah darah* lies in the call for being keepers and sustainers of the legacy of what had been given by the ancestors, *leluhur*. Traces of traditional respect to the ancestors or animism are still to be found elsewhere in Indonesia in the practice of esotericism and mysticism. Among Malay, Polynesian people believe that every being has its own spirit and power, *semangat* (Aragon 2000, pp. 165–166). Accordingly, change and transformation made by human beings have its own consequences that affect the constellation of *semangat* among beings in

disturbance. Building a new house and clearing the land for settlement are ritually signified by offering a tribute, sometimes with a sacrifice of a domesticated animal. Here, the sense of place as home is the state of being in unity and solidarity under the ancestral blessing. This experience is impossible without a ritual or a ceremony because *semangat* is considerably collective.

Because Indonesians regard themselves as the keepers and sustainers of the ancestral achievements, ritual and ceremony play an important role in validating their sense of belonging. This is the reason why any initiation or commencement of a social occasion in Indonesia is never out of commission for offering and ceremony, *sembahyang* and *persembahan* in which meeting of minds for *semangat* is signified. The words *sembahyang* and *persembahan* are originally derived from *sembah* meaning worshiping, devotion and respect. Any occasion related to commemoration is signified with a ritual that initiates a new beginning. Beyond all religious affiliations, ritual and ceremony are comprised of *upacara* that is actually a denotation of turning on the world for recovery and revitalization. The address of any wish and devotion is the transcendence of the single reality, namely *hyang* meaning the Lord of all beings.

The Old Javanese word *hyang* pertains to the highest transcendence of Supreme Being or God. Thus, the act of worshiping the Lord of all beings is articulated in the word *sembahyang*. Actually, the act is nothing but a *rite de passage* to open or restore the world. It has originally nothing to do with congregation or communion with liturgical structure. Today, the meaning of *sembahyang* is generally understood as a ritual conduct of worshiping which is applicable in Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Winding up a ceremony with a wishful prayer, *sembahyang,* for Indonesian people is an initial course for the commencement of any action. Regardless of its scale and location, any commencement with social gathering requests a formal articulation of *sembahyang* by addressing thankfulness to the lord of cosmos. Hinduism, Islam and Christianity have enhanced and enriched the indigenous custom of commencement with their own words and formulations concerning the majority of their attendants. All this reminds people of the concept of origin, *asal,* and gratitude, *syukur,* to what has been given that makes them healthy together.

As mentioned above, the call of home, *tanah tumpah darah,* is effectively experienced with ritual and ceremony, *sembahyang*, as the call for gratitude to the ancestors. Recalling and reminding the home as a sacred heirloom for Indonesian polity are a historically binding solidarity and unity. Tributes to the forefathers and ancestors are ritually arranged at the first place within the framework of state ceremonies. The sense of togetherness for Indonesians does not lie simply in the formal identity or jurisdiction, butis culturally rooted in the idea of successors of those who are successfully struggling for the beings of archipelago as a whole as stated in ancient credo of the literate man and poet of Majapahit, Mpu Prapanca, *bhineka tunggal ika* meaning unity in diversity. How can we grasp the concept of unity in diversity without being able to identify its conceptually constituting borderline of dwelling? Indeed, without the projects of communalities and shared values, it is likely impossible to build, develop and sustain Indonesia as a nation. Multiculturalism without some powerful

framework of shared interests and shared institutions is likely impossible to provide a cultural framework for a complex society (Turner 2011, p. 162).

1.3 Language and Habitation

Language is one important thing that enables people to set up the boundary of habitation and its culture. Since socially shared values and practices are constructive for the sense of belongingness, language sets the boundary of habitation in the context of home and the lifeworld. In the archipelago, the Malay language is one of the common platforms of communication and interaction. The use of Malay language by seafaring inhabitants of Riau and Malay Peninsula had been familiar in most of the places in the archipelago through centuries. Then, the adoption of Malay language into *Bahasa* Indonesia in 1928 was a diligently working medium that had effectively constructed a politically integrating infrastructure of Indonesian state and nation since 1945. The year of 1928 was the historical marking time for the concept of Indonesia. It was the time when the young intellectuals from most of the regions and islands in the territory of former Dutch East Indies colony came to terms of a political agreement. They committed and made a sworn statement in Jakarta known as *Soempah Pemoeda*, Youth's Oath, for Indonesian independence movement proclaiming their declaration of unity and identity of Indonesia for language, nation, land and people. Regardless of its origin as an artificially modified language of people in the market, *Bahasa pasar*, *Bahasa Indonesia* grew rapidly in its use and its vocabularies; the language reached its maturity as a lingua franca when most of the populations in the archipelago spoke it. Of course, the Indonesian state used its power to consolidate the nation-building by unveiling *Bahasa Indonesia* as the lingua franca (see also Gungwu in Guan & Suryadianata eds. 2007, p. xiii).

The politics of *Bahasa Indonesia* that works as a formally unifying infrastructure of habitation in Indonesia, of course, has its impact and influence on the way the people of the archipelago live and interact with others. As a member of Austro-Asiatic phylum of languages, Indonesian is tenseless in its description, not sophisticated in its grammar and egalitarian in its communication and frank in its phonetics. Regarding a Malay/Indonesian ancient saying *Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa*, language determining its people and its culture as well, we question how can we draw a picture of Indonesian dwelling from their language?

Probably, there is another culturally unifying system that works well beyond *Bahasa Indonesia*, such as sociopolitical and cultural system. However, all other systems do not likely work well without a solid foundation and platform of *Bahasa*. The spread and use of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the lingua franca is evident in establishing various systems that bring about Indonesian identity as a nation. But it is possibly not the only one that works as a culturally binding system of Indonesia as a group of people and as a nation.

Although *Bahasa Indonesia* as the lingua franca is possibly not in use by most of the people living in the rural areas of the Indonesian archipelago, its usage has

effectively been practised as the formal communication in towns and cities. *Bahasa Indonesia* is a written formality among people in the state bureaucracy, school and public institutions, such as police and military. The existence of *Bahasa Indonesia* builds and develops a trans-regional communication network that works as a historically constituting identity of Indonesian people. Besides *Bahasa Indonesia*, state ritual and national history have been established by the government since 1945, when Sukarno-Hatta proclaimed for allegiance to the Indonesian nation. State ritual has its focus on the celebration of the National Independence Day on August 17.

The independence day is not only conceived as a national holiday, but also as a national feast and social gathering occasion for most Indonesian neighbourhoods and communities in urban and rural areas. August 17 is a sacred and a festive day of the year for many Indonesians. In contrast to Eid and Christmas, August 17 is the day when Indonesia as a nation and people demonstrates formal and social gathering.

The formal public gathering for commemorating Indonesian National Independence takes place at the square of every government institution with a flag-raising ceremony. Indonesian schoolchildren celebrate the Independence Day with flag-raising ceremony at the town square followed by parade, carnival, sports events, dance festivals and various competitions. For people in urban neighbourhoods, August 17 is the time of devotion to their community life. Social gatherings with various activities of sports and funny games are the most important part of making each other known as neighbours.

Another important fact of the sense of oneness that constitutes a nationally unifying structure is the political and historical destiny of people in Indonesian archipelago since the beginning of the century. The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism in the fifth century, the diffusion of Islam in the seventeenth century and the control under the Dutch colonial system from the eighteenth century to 1942 had constituted a historical sense of belonging to people in the present Indonesian archipelago. However, Indonesia as a whole system of state was impossible to sustain its existence without the already underlying institutions and educational, bureaucratic and jurisdictional system handed over from the Dutch colonial rule. Based on such an existing state system and its apparatus, Indonesia as a state was able to set up its own independent statecraft.

Besides their historical destiny after the European colonization, the originally Austronesian-speaking people have considerable traces of indigenous commonality. Wearing three-way-weaved sarong, rice eating, betel-nut chewing, house with raised floor on stilts and mutual help traditions are traces of cultural ties of the archipelago with mainland Southeast Asia and Pacific Islands.

Mutual help within the community called *gotong royong* belong to a long-standing tradition. Such a mutual help is also executed in a periodically rotating labour group for village maintenance and rice-farming works, such as transplanting, harvesting and threshing. Households within a neighbourhood cooperate informally in works and donations for sickness, death, birth and wedding.

Why do some Indonesian people still hold the idea of *kampung halaman* such as *desa adat* that is in the way of sacred place? As mentioned above, home for many Indonesians is simply neither physical nor sociocultural. Rather, it is spiritual and

conceived as a sacred heirloom, *pusaka*. Then, dwelling is seen as the way, manner and fashion according to which we sustain and keep the given legacy spiritually. Respecting traditions, *adat*, is of course not derived from mysticism or esotericism. However, the respect is somewhat held by the place of origin by birth and by ancestors as *pusaka*, sacred heirloom, which confines one's identity. The general notions of home as *tanah air* (land and water) and *tanah tumpah darah*, land of flowing blood, reflect the Indonesian thought of dwelling in spiritual affection with the place.

Syncretism is probably not simply a synthesis of cultural influences. In Indonesian language, syncretism is well known as tolerance, *tenggang rasa* or *keluwesan*, for harmonization or *penyelarasan* which is derived from the word *laras* meaning harmonize, being in order, proper and peaceful blending. The notion of *penyelarasan* is primordially making up powers and influences for harmony.

The drift for harmony is neither a marvellous tolerance nor a fancy religious conformity for the sake of ideological doctrine. Rather, syncretism in Indonesia is a necessary mode of reworking within indigenous tradition. The reason is simply pragmatical, dating back to Indonesian indigenous polytheism before Hinduism and Buddhism came into the archipelago in the fifth century. Accordingly, this necessity becomes a cultural phenomenon that leads Indonesians, and probably Southeast Asian people, towards an acculturation. As a matter of fact, syncretism sustains peace and development in the region for centuries if powers and influences are not exercised with violence and oppression.

In the Indonesian archipelago, such acculturation is probably not in the way of blending of differences for the sake of avoiding conflicts. Rather, it is properly understood as a cultural exigency for a peaceful learning process that enables people to deal with strange and uncanny things and manners. Indonesian people characteristically adopt being open to strangers as tolerance. Such openness is simply by the reason of lack of something to pretend. Encountering new things and strangers by the people in the Indonesian archipelago is conceived as the way of being a proper host. Hosting has a high value in most of the Indonesian regions that is associated with the power of giving and reaching out.

Moreover, the necessity of syncretism lies in the historical fact of its geopolitical circumstances of the archipelago dating back from the first to the fifteenth century between the two cultural influences: China and India. The disposition for syncretism was also possibly a consequence of the fact that indigenous ethnic communities in Indonesia did not have any concept of statecraft and scripture before the Indic influence in the fifth century. Historically, syncretism in Indonesian tradition is by chance of the necessity for cultural survival and coalition in dealing with dominant influences of Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and globally communicating modernity.

The traces of sameness are probably coincident with its diversity. Trade and cohabitation need a communicative groundwork so that the exchange of ideas and things is made peacefully and pleasantly. Since the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, at least among elite and leaders at any level of bureaucracy, religious, social, political and traditional authorities in Indonesia formally speak and read *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The interesting point is not the answer to the question, but the direction of the question, which is towards an explorative explication of dwelling culture in Indonesia? We understand dwelling culture as a system of inhabitation in which the *being* of man is created, established, contained, articulated and comprehended in the form of concepts, principles, conducts, productions, signs and symbols. All these are representations of reality that found the way and direction of how people live and settle down in a region by means of building and communicating.

1.4 Terrain and Location

The richness of building forms and its expressions is apparent from Sabang of Aceh in Sumatra to Merauke of West Papua and from Sangir Talaud of North Sulawesi to Kupang in West Timor. The building forms and their expressions speak for themselves for their artistic characteristics and symbolic values. Each ethnic group in Indonesia has its own way of living as reflected by its unique building expression. The traditional unit of territorial settlement is a village polity. Various expressions of Indonesian dwelling rebound its resources, relations, influences and roots. The resources of Indonesian dwelling are mostly characterized by various tropical characteristics of coastal, lowland and highland ecosystems. The major groupings of cultural domain have been clearly defined by Geertz (1963) as follows:

- *Highland culture* formerly under the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism based on wet-rice cultivation, e.g. Java, Bali, partly Sumatra, such as Batak and Minangkabau, Toraja in South Sulawesi.
- *Coastal culture* with commerce and trade as their main economic activity. A majority of coastal communities are Muslim.
- *Tribal culture* with fishing, hunting and gathering as their main resource. Partly tribal communities are pagan and live in remote regions and islands such as Dayak in Kalimantan, Dani in West Papua, Nias and Mentawai.

Architecturally and geographically speaking, the tribes in Indonesia can be figured out, based on their typical settlement tradition, into four types of habitation. The first type comprises those without domestication, living on tree houses, mostly including hunters and gatherers. Tribal people such as Korowai, Semang, Punan, Kubu and Sakai retreat in secluded areas without showing a socially organized settlement. They can still be found in the jungles of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Papua. The second type comprises the ethnic groups practising swidden rice cultivation, living in a socially organized community, with a self-contained economy but with less capacity for establishing the surplus of domestication. The settlement unit of the second group is socially restricted in its capacity for spatial expansion. In the case of population growth, establishing a new settlement by opening up a new land is a very common solution for this second group.

The third group includes the ethnics with wet-rice cultivation-based communities, which live mostly with the capacity for establishing a regularly shared and rotating

market with other neighbouring villages. They have a sociopolitically established settlement with a possible capacity to organize large population due to the support of domestically surplus economy. The last group contains amalgams of various tribes with a permanent market who live mostly by the support of domestic surplus of agriculture, industries and trades.

Coastal locations and strategic plains at the rivers are the most favourable sites for the fourth group. The existence of a permanent market, literacy and politically established authority are essential factors and characteristics for their settlement. Towns and cities are developed by the fourth group in dealing with commodities and its exchanges from which special services and professions are developed.

Despite many differences in lifestyles and traditions, there are also likely unifying themes that run as a leitmotif of dwelling characteristics in Indonesia. This is, however, by no means a simplification of the socially existing diversity. The search for identity is nothing but a kind of journey on the path of recognizing reality as oneness in differences. This is the search for original and authentic concepts of house and settlement. All this is in the hope that we arrive to understand the lifeworld holistically and the wisdom of building and dwelling. The search for identity in this notion is neither formalistic nor ideological. Rather, the search for bringing back the concept or idea of home leads us back to the source of dwelling and building in Indonesia.

Despite its obvious diversity in a myriad of traditions, customs and habitations, the ethnic groups of Indonesia show us their unique similarities in developing their culture within the concept of syncretism. Syncretism is, of course, not accidental as a culturally working mechanism for a diverse community or a nation akin to Indonesia. It might rightly be said that syncretism is a cultural necessity and maxim of a diverse society for living together in peace and growth.

1.5 Value and Trait

Syncretism, which is actually articulated in Malay and Java, means fine, civilized, culture, humble and courage. The syncretic way in its indigenous manner is expressed in the ancient saying *memelayukan diri* that is to articulate the attitude for being humble, open minded and able to refine, treat and improve everything for its best based on the given. Thus, syncretism possibly works within the framework of acculturation that embraces foreign elements for improving the quality of artefacts, manners and behaviours. Being Malay or being Javanese implies developing a well-mannered behaviour. The basis of this lies deeply in the modest tradition of a learning process that makes staying and sitting possible in various circumstances.

The problem of syncretic attitude and the way of thinking does not lie in its daily life. Rather, the problem lies in its relation to the respect, *kehormatan*, and dignity of human, *keluhuran budi manusia*. Syncretism seems to be meaningless without any sense of purpose to make a home relative to the respect and dignity of a human being. In this regard, the institutions of dwelling in Indonesia are to keep and sustain syncretism or *keluwesan* in the framework of daily living where and when tradition

and modernity come together in various ways and forms from tables to the streets. In the work of arts, syncretism has been exercised in various *candis* that blend together the animistic, Hinduistic and Buddhistic elements into a single work (Rechle 2007, p. 37).

As mentioned earlier, syncretic phenomena are necessarily conceived as the exigency of locality in managing diversity for peacefully living together. How can syncretism work well if we do not dwell properly? Habitation in the Indonesian context is associated with having a place to stay and grow together, *bertempat tinggal dan tumbuh bersama*. This implies that no one is able to dwell without any social occupation and position. What are occupation and position in the Indonesian context? Traditionally, occupation and position are not simply related to job and income, but they are associated with *kedudukan* and *martabat*: These are the conditions of being civilized, *halus budi*, that work within the working institution of society, *masyarakat*, and state, *negara*. Modern economy and bureaucracy bring about the change of what occupation and position are. Under the notions of respect and dignity, syncretism or *keluwesan* does not lose its sense in dealing with new circumstances affected by modernity. Living in modernity is more or less struggling for being able to stay and to come along with the transformation of values and a new way of seeing things from tradition to rationally based mindset.

Do we build because we have to sit? In Indonesia, dwelling is properly understood under the sociocultural notion of sitting: *duduk*, to sit, *kedudukan*, occupation or position, and *penduduk*, -population-, so that building and development are made possible. In this sense, sitting is not simply a gesture or sign of body language—they are also the statement of dwelling. How collective existence as such and as a whole is envisioned to have effects? Scrutinizing what and how such a syncretism works in the Indonesian lifeworld seems to explain the unity in diversity.

Even though in Indonesia we experience various challenges and conflicts of cultural integration with modernity, political instability and sustainable development, the syncretism of multicultural communities within the framework of nation-building prevails until today. In the past, there were at least three factors of syncretism that worked as a powerful mechanism for Indonesian integration since 1945: historical destiny, a newly established national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, and the strongly consolidated leadership of state and government under Sukarno (1945–1966) and Suharto (1967–1998).

The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism in the second century from India established the influence of statecraft and early urbanism in Java, Sumatra, East Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. During the Hindu and Buddhist influence, concentrations of population for ports and centre of village alliance came into being. Trade of spices and wet-rice cultivation became the determinant support of the early urbanism of waterfront vicinities, whereas the centre of village alliance consolidated its power to be a town with agricultural surplus.

Even though the coastal people of the archipelago had been in contact with the Persians, Arabians and the Gujarati people since the first century, the influence of Islam in most coastline vicinities did not take into effect at the state polity before the thirteenth century. Most coastal vicinities of the archipelago were under the control of

Sriwijaya from the seventh to the twelfth century and sustained by Majapahit (1293–1520). The emergence of Islamic kingdoms in Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Ternate and Tidore consolidated its power in the traditional port towns, *kota -kota bandar*.

The development of inland towns during the Islamic influence was remarkably a Javanese case when Sutawijaya founded an Islamic Mataram kingdom in Kotagede in 1557, far from the centres of spice trade such as Demak, Jepara, Tuban and Surabaya. Spice trade had also attracted the Europeans to come to the archipelago in the seventeenth century. The trade with the Portuguese, Spaniards, English and, later on, the Dutch led to the age of European colonialism in Indonesia and generally in Southeast Asia.

Historically, multiethnic dwelling under a unified system of polity had been actually practised since the Dutch Colonial Rule in the middle of the nineteenth century as a policy of transmigration and assimilation. The reason of the policy was simply for managing local resistances and for providing motivated workers for the newly opened lands of cultivation. Radical native republican leaders used to be imprisoned in other remote places or outer islands far away from their native towns. Prince Diponegoro of Central Java was imprisoned in Makasar South Sulawesi, Sukarno was in Bengkulu and Larantuka, Mohammad Hatta in Bandaneira and Tanah Merah of Boven Digul Papua.

Nevertheless, the policy of assimilation of ethics from the Dutch Indies was sustained by the newly established state, the Republic of Indonesia, since 1945. The formation of a multiethnic nation of Indonesia might have not taken place without taking Dutch Indies colonialism from 1800 to 1942. Then, the Indonesian dwelling territory is conceptually a historically established home of former Austronesian migrants who have learnt and grown to be together as a nation. The historical journey was long under various political imperialisms from Malay-Sriwijaya from the fifth to the thirteenth century, Javanese-Singasari Majapahit from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and Dutch Indies from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Based on this historical destiny, the jurisdiction of state boundary had been established with a syncretic concept: Indonesia. Since the Dutch colonial administrative territory in East Indies, now Indonesia, had been internationally established in 1800, the transition of control for its administrative unity became easier than its precolonial states. In other words, the Dutch colonial rule had historically prepared an administrative jurisdiction of the Indonesian state and nation.

Despite its interruption by the Pacific War of 1942–1945, Indonesia as a home concept actually needs to redefine its multiethnic inhabitation within the administrative wholeness of former Dutch Indies-colonized territory. Without such a cultural redefinition, its capacity as the home of diversity is challenged by separatism and monoculturalism. This is the reason why Indonesia is necessarily established as a home, with a newly formalized national language, a new concept of being a nation and a newly consolidated independent state with a republican government system.

Chapter 2
House and Neighbourhood

Abstract This chapter deals with the customs and traditions of living in Indonesia. Unfolding and searching for the traces of history is included in this exploration, especially in reference to the ancient Austronesian culture. The important aspects of the exploration in this chapter include the exposition of manners, forms, styles and fashions, how Indonesian people interact and how their relationship with their built environment is in the context of habitation. In doing so, unique and specific ways of living in Indonesia are unveiled and unfolded as constitutive aspects of their idea and sense of home.

Keywords Austronesian · *Rumah* · *Kampung* · Settlement · House · Home · Urban · Indonesia

2.1 Location, Manner and Fashion of Habitation

What is the relationship between dwelling and sitting? Seemingly, both concepts have nothing to do with each other at first sight. Actually, the quest of sitting is based upon the question of how a home is possible. How can we dwell without having a seat? In Indonesian or Malay-Polynesian-speaking communities, sitting is simply not a human activity denoting stay in common sense, but it is probably an allusive concept for the whole idea of habitation, meaning to be able to live in the lifeworld with respect and dignity. According to the language, sitting is originally dwelling in the sense of having an occupation and a social position.

Etymologically, to sit, in its archaic sense, is to take a dwelling place, that is the act of making place for an occupation. As a matter of fact, taking a place for dwelling is actually building the environment (see also Sharr 2007). In doing so, such a place is ready, accessible, appropriate and convenient for human stay. Although the question seems to be strange in its pragmatic sense, the notions of sitting and dwelling are related to each other in the act of taking a position and location (see also Stenstad 2006, p. 135). To sit and to dwell are likely nothing but to find a place for residing our being on earth. The astuteness of dwelling on the earth is actually constituted by the sense of sitting, namely ready for gathering with others and for being related to an environment. Accordingly, sitting is dwelling in the sense of being able to be in relationship with other beings peacefully and beautifully.

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What is interesting to find out from the relationship between the concepts of sitting and dwelling lies in the idea of stay and settlement; this act is the fact that every effort of making place is to make peace and beauty possible, sustainable and expandable. It is worth noting that the concepts of peace and beauty do not come from the void. Let us take them seriously in the way of dealing with the essential conditions that make it possible for us to stay. The necessity for sitting is presumably related closely to identifying the boundary of possibilities that lead people to be able to stay. Why do people need to stay? Does stay mean live in the sense of being in engagement with the present, the right now and right here? The word for 'stay' in Indonesian language is *tinggal* with twofold meanings: reside and left behind. The other word for stay is *duduk* meaning literally to sit, sitting and seat. What do stay and sitting have in common?

Since the nature of stay is a joyful engagement with place and others, its possibility is provided by a territorially occupied space as the built environment. Stay and sitting are human activities that enable us to gather, to speak, to listen and to read with respect and dignity. Both activities are undeniably the modes of being engaged with the present. We never fully attain a joyful stay without being integrated and engaged socially and economically with community life. The question of sitting is not simply the quest for finding a place of stay but also a learning process and engagement with places and others for a sustainable relationship that brings about the feeling of a joyful stay.

Among Indo-Malay-speaking populations, sitting, *duduk*, has a special indication and designation concerning permanent stay in the present. The question of sitting is to identify the occupation and profession that is related to where the status of residency is indirectly the subject of inquiry. Why is then sitting not name and origin? The question of where to sit is possibly based on the thought that the existence of man is always in the context of his role and function in the community and society. The question concerning where to sit is to emphasize the priority and interest in what you do for the lifeworld, instead of who you are actually as a historical being. Thus, the question of where you sit is properly understood as an inquiry into our relation and position to the lifeworld right now. This is not simply a question concerning occupation. Rather, the question is to address one's degree of respect based on an engagement with public service and state-related involvement.

In Indonesia, dwelling is idiomatically expressed with the sign of position—*duduk*—and the respective occupation—*kedudukan*. Among Indonesian people, there is a common practice of knowing each other by asking his or her respective occupation, instead of their names. Usually, it is considered impolite to ask their names. Traditionally, it is uncommon for Indonesian people to introduce themselves by saying their own names. In the modern society of Indonesia, one's own name is seldom introduced without any formally given instruction to do so. Only in a limited circle, e.g. modern educated people, are they familiar with addressing themselves by their own names and professions during their first encounter.

Commonly, a well-known person in a neighbourhood usually introduces a newcomerto the other inhabitants during a routine gathering of the neighbourhood. An indirect question concerning the occupation of a newcomer in the neighbourhood

is considered the first most important information by most of the inhabitants. Government officers of high rank and people with high education degrees are the most respected people in the neighbourhood.

The sign of position at any formal gathering is shown by the seat position, which reflects one's social status and rank. It might be associated with a hierarchical system of the socially constructed reality of Indonesian daily life. In most cases, an Indonesian asks the name of somebody if he or she wants to give an order or an instruction. The name is mostly called with the first name. Only in certain ethnic groups, like among the *Batak*s, one calls another's name with his or her family name.

Besides the inquiry on occupation, there is another indirect question inquiring the person in conversation. The origin by birthplace, ethnic group and cultural roots becomes a very frequent question concerning the self-identity of the person. After the question of origin comes the question on kinship and the number of siblings. The occupation and profession of every member of the family and kindred seem much more important than their names. All these questions bring to light the circumstances of a person in the context of kinship. An Indonesian who is unable to identify himself or herself with a kinship or its well-known member might be seen as a lost person.

Among the Javanese and possibly other ethnic groups as well, a highly attained social status shown by a rank of state bureaucratic position or wealth is an important reference to one's self-identity. Sometimes, we never know a person's social status, but we are familiar in Indonesia with identifying a person by his or her kindred relation to other people who have a highly respected background.

The question of origin—*asli*— by birthplace, growing up and ethnic group gives people a clue to self-identity based on his or her personal existing roots. Is it possible to identify the self without any historical roots? Furthermore, the question of *asli* leads us to identify his or her social background, whether of urban or rural origin. The dialect and accent of language are usually an obvious clue of their ethnic origin and birthplace. Then, the questions asked of the person at the first encounter stop at this question. It is generally accepted that any further questions concerning personal identity might be seen as improper manners. Uniquely, most Indonesians avoid directly mentioning the name of their partners in a conversation. We have to find out who the conversation partner is after our encounter without directly asking his or her name.

Positioning in a social constellation is probably a search for identity where one finds himself or herself within a system of social role and function. The question of sitting in the Indonesian context reflects the necessity for the projection of one's identity shown by his or her relations with the others. In any occasion and social gathering, a religious or spiritual leader—*ustadz* or *kiayi*—is commonly in charge of opening the meeting with a ritual prayer—*do'a*. Among the Muslim community, the prayer is mostly made up of citing the Koran's verses in their original form. *Ustadz* or *kiayi* is a highly respected person in the neighbourhood or region. A famous spiritual or religious leader always has a strong influence concerning morality and value systems in social life.

Besides sitting and seat, the sense of dwelling is articulated with the concept *tempat tinggal*. Literally, *tempat tinggal* is the place of living. However, the word

tinggal has a dual meaning. *Tinggal* means leave, go away, left behind for and stay. The concept of *tempat tinggal* is to designate the place where one was born and that which will be his or her place of death all at once. One speaks of *tempat tinggal* when there is a question concerning the most familiar and preferable place of permanent residence. It is supposed to be the way to express one's abode.

2.2 Traces of Austronesians

Nationwide across the Southeast Asian communities, there is a similar cultural tradition when a guest visits. There used to be long-standing rituals between the host and the guest in the house, though some of them have gradually disappeared from daily life. One important tradition is the betel nut-chewing ritual as the introductory offering of guest friendship and hospitality.

Betel nut chewing is a unique habit in the Austronesian- speaking region besides tattooing and tooth filing (Bellwood 1978, p. 135). This practice among ethnic groups in Southeast Asia is notably embedded with dwelling. Why is that so? Do the people in Southeast Asia conceive such a ceremony as a sign of acceptance? The practice of *makan sirih*—betel nut chewing—is never done without the context of settlement. Among Indonesian people, betel nut chewing is the practice of married adults. Traditionally, men and women treat the betel nut chewing as daily entertainment in the way modern people take delight in candies and sweets.

This friendship and hospitality in Indonesia is well known as *ramah tamah*. The existence of a house is made possible by its possible reception of a visit by their neighbour. Then, the guests for most Indonesian houses have their own place and honour in the sense of being highly respected visitors. Beyond such hospitality, we actually do not know what the host has in mind. The ritual of *ramah tamah* is conducted in the form of offering drinks, food or cigarette. All offerings must have to do with a reception of the others from the public domain to the domestic lifeworld.

Traditionally, to express their thankfulness for the visit, the host is obliged to offer the *sekapur sirih*, the betel nut-chewing ceremony, as a sign of hospitality. The betel nut-chewing ceremony is traditionally understood as an overture of conversation. The encounter of the host and guest in Indonesian homes designates a social necessity of knowing each other. The visit among people is traditionally not restricted by kinship, beliefs and business. The obvious necessity of visits in many Islamic communities in Indonesia is the framework of *silaturahmi*. This is an Islamic concept adopted by the Indonesians for mutual respect and visits among neighbours.

The idea of *silaturahmi* pertains to human relationships based on social nature for always being able to communicate and know each other. Sometimes, the practice of *silaturahmi* is understood as knowing each other's business. Principally, the message of *silaturahmi* is to found a mutual respect and trust in each other. In doing so, the ritual of *sekapur sirih* is a way of experiencing a sense of togetherness. Chewing the *sirih* leaves with chalk, *kapur*, tobacco and *gambir* is nothing but to experience various tastes from bitter to luscious, and from hot/spicy to delicious.

Sekapur sirih is an introductory ritual of the visit before the host and the guest enter a conversation. The ritual takes place in the area called *ruang tamu*, a guest room. Here, every visitor of the house is formally received and treated with full respect. Offering the guests of the house a drink is commonly conceived as a common conduct signifying a sense of reception. Usually, the host must never ask their guest what they would like to be offered. It is improper to refuse an offering without tasting it. In any case, offering something is perceived as giving the gift of the house to their guest with a highly respectful intention.

The guest room is the place where all special items of the house are conspicuously on display. The room is commonly located in the front of the house. Though the ritual of *sekapur sirih* today has already disappeared, its spatial trace of sacredness is still maintained by most Indonesians. Drinks and food have substituted the betel nut chewing. The guest room in many Indonesian households becomes the most reserved area. The architecturally decorative accessories represent the personality, cultural values and interests of its owner. This is the room where one can find the best self-image and identity of the host.

The *ruang tamu*—guest room—plays a very important role in the representation of Indonesian formality and hospitality. The way they build and decorate the room reflects their ideals and beliefs. The position of the guest room in the house plan shows its priority to receive the outsiders with the ambience of formality. Sometimes, a wall to define a public realm inside the house separates the room. This phenomenon is characteristically the manner in which the Indonesians treat the outsiders politely, but the real matter is to isolate them in a cage of hospitality. The friends of the house are never seated in the guest room. They will be allowed to come directly into the living area, *ruang keluarga*. It is interesting to observe the fact that there is, at any economic condition of the household, a common attitude for providing the highly respected room for their guests. Does the guest room play the role of the house altar? In many cases of urban houses, the existence of the guest room is evident. The separation of the house territory into two existential areas, the public and the private, does not reveal a clear and obvious segregation.

The guest room in modern Indonesian homes is the platform and display of the symbolically materialized achievement of the host. The trend of the achievement shows various directions looking for an affirmation and identity. The character and the personal taste of the owner are obviously expressed. Then, the items in the guest room speak for themselves as to who the owner is. Here, one can also read who has more authority in the taste and feeling of architectural expression in the house, the husband or the wife.

Moreover, the guest room can be seen as the altar of the house in a moderate sense. Most guest rooms remain ineffective in accommodating the daily activities of the house; its emptiness, cleanness and neatness keep the sacredness of the guest room. Although the guest room does not function in daily life, its availability is a ritual necessity in the context of the idea of a house. In this case, a house with no guest room is an odd case. The house is either masculine or feminine in its spatial character and layout depending on who keeps and runs the household. Though the breadwinner is traditionally male, the wife mostly keeps the household. In the case

of the wife being more dominant than the husband, the last word for any decision is in the hands of the lady. In the Indonesian urban context, such a gender issue does not reveal its outrageous conflict. Every household has its unique way of maintaining the relationship between man and woman, as well as between parents and children.

2.3 Community and Habitation

A socially alienated family in a neighbourhood is usually isolated from mutual help in the case of crises such as fire, house intrusion by thief or robbery, death and other calamities. Being involved in any neighbourhood occasion must be perceived as a respectful and open attitude. The significance of *bersih desa* lies in mutual help in the neighbourhood, which is an expression of the solidarity of the daily extended family. Being friendly—*ramah*—to one's neighbours leads one to the condition of social acceptance. Such friendliness must be shown in the form of social engagement and solidarity with voluntary participation for common interest. As a certain degree of respect, such friendliness is highly valued as the readiness for fusion into a locally oriented context of community. Without such openness, it is hard to grasp the underlying structure of mutual help among neighbours.

Mutual help among neighbours called *gotong royong* is an ancient tradition that still exists. Even though there are modern and commercial services for traditional events such as weddings and death ceremonies, the sense of *gotong royong* is incorporated as the act of solidarity and empathy for being part of the whole. The spiritual structure of *gotong royong* is grounded in the necessity of being integrated, that is being a part of the community in terms of the *rukun tetangga* or *rukun warga* as a great family. In doing so, one feels at home socially. Based on the feeling of being at home, one is due to keep his or her living environment together with his or her neighbours from any disorder and confusion. They voluntarily organise a defence mechanism for their neighbourhood known as *sistem keamanan lingkungan* or its abbreviation *siskamling*. Such a mechanism is a spontaneous activity in dealing with a dangerous situation for the security and safety of their neighbourhood.

Arisan is another form of social life in the neighbourhood. It is a kind of a periodic cash disbursement of rotating credit association (Guiness in Hill ed. 1994, p. 291). The women in the neighbourhood usually participate in this social activity. They do their term of the *arisan* on a weekday and in an always-changing place. The winner of *arisan* drawn is usually determined as the site of the term. In its principle, the *arisan* is nothing but a social mechanism of saving and a gathering by collecting one's own money in a certain period of time from 6 to 12 months.

Every month, a member of the *arisan* group is due to deliver a certain amount of money. The collected money should be the subject of rotation among the members after being drawn. The winner of every term in a period should have a certain amount of money in accordance with the number of *arisan* participants. Then, in the next term of the *arisan* cycle of drawing money, the previous winner has to pay her contribution until the end of the period of the gathering. Besides the social gathering, chatting and

gossiping are also a part of the *arisan*. In contrast to the *bersih desa*, membership and participation in the *arisan* is voluntary. A healthy neighbourhood must make the *arisan* a pedigreed social gathering in which the amount of money for the lucky draw is not significant.

Among the Muslim community, there is a customary gathering on a weekday or a weekend day for reciting the Koran—*mengaji Al Qur'an*. Wednesday is generally accepted as the day of such a gathering. They call the occasion *reboan*; *Rabu* means Wednesday. A mosque or a *mushola* becomes the place of such a gathering. A *kiayi* or *guru ngaji* leads the gathering—*pengajian*— with his knowledge for interpreting the Koran's verses and the *Hadist*. A mosque in the neighbourhood is not only the prayer hall but also the centre of Islamic teaching and social interaction.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, groups reciting the Koran have been developing in numbers and streams as a social movement that is in response to the aptly accepted secularism among urban communities. In many urban places, such a group might become the centre of possibly reviving Islamic teaching. *Pengajian* or the activity of reciting the Koran in its daily practice not only works at a neighbourhood scale but presumably also at a large scale consisting of people from different neighbourhoods.

The Koran-reciting group, in its widest sense, not only functions as a religious entity of a neighbourhood but also as a reliable supporting peer of social activity. The group must voluntarily take part in any social event such as deaths, births, weddings and other gatherings of thanking God when one wants to make a pilgrimage to Mecca for his or her *Haji*. The Koran-reading group in a neighbourhood functions well on any occasion of thanking God known as *syukuran* or *slametan*. Reading the verse of *Al-Jassin* of the Koran together is the central event led by the *ustadz* for days commemorating a death. Among Javanese Muslims, such a day commemorating death is celebrated with a communal feast called *slametan* (see also Geertz 1973, p. 147). The ritual feast of *slametan* is held after the 3rd, 7th, 40th, 100th and the 1,000th day of the funeral.

Another social gathering in the neighbourhood is *karang taruna*— youth centre— that involves young people, especially teenagers. The *karang taruna* does not have any formally established activity but it is a spontaneous gathering for recreation and sport. Usually, the activities of *karang taruna* come into being during the weeks before August 17th, when Indonesian people celebrate their National Independence Day. Young activists in every neighbourhood are active in the organization of events with various sports and competitive games such as a badminton or volleyball tournament among sub-neighbourhoods—*rukun tetangga*—or individual competition for chess, table tennis, marathon, cooking, etc. *Karang taruna* is a voluntary supporting resource for any social event and occasion in mostly established neighbourhoods. Sometimes, deaths and wedding days in a neighbourhood are conducted well with the support of *karang taruna*.

Social gatherings among the inhabitants of an Indonesian neighbourhood are mostly not institutionalized, though there are activities related to the collection of an enormous amount of money. An economic activity in a neighbourhood is mostly a private business in the form of a *warung* or kiosk. The local government

usually leads the initiative for organizing several *warungs* into an integrated complex nearby, a *pasar*. The more organized structure for retails and public services than *warung* mostly falls under the concept of *rumah toko* or shop-house. The structure of *ruko*, the abbreviation of *rumah toko*, is mostly a two- or three-storey building with compartments and direct access from the street or parking lot.

A single retail unit or *warung* is simply a small shop or restaurant that is architecturally integrated with the house form. Shops in a neighbourhood with a relatively homogeneous profession are usually members of a cooperation. Among shoemakers, batik painters and wood carvers, there is commonly special cooperation where the products are managed to control their quality and price. Such an economic organization mostly has government assistance.

2.4 Homeland and Custom

The home in Indonesia is understood as *kampung halaman*, literally meaning neighbourhood with a yard. The idea of home in the colloquial way is grounded in one's involvement with one's neighbourhood and place. *Kampung halaman* is the metaphor of birthplace or fatherland where one has a relationship with one's own community and land. It is actually the way to articulate the homeland. What is important for the idea of home is the social network known as *Kekerabatan*, the kinship. Home is not entirely a geopolitical definition but a socially accepted position. *Kekerabatan* is the socially bounded relationship among people in their familiarity. Every *kampung halaman* as a homeland has its own customary laws and unspoken proprieties, which are comprised in the notion of *kebiasaan*. The highest authority of such customary laws is known as *adat istiadat*, that is in several regions of Indonesia the most authoritative source of all laws, such as in the Minangkabau and Papua regions for land tenure and acquisition.

The Indonesian *kampung* is not a simple village in terms of geography. *Kampung* is more a settlement with social cohesion and corporation. This is not to say that living in a *kampung* is free of disputes and conflict among its population. Kampung might rightly be described as a socially constructed settlement with a special nearness of extended family. The population of *kampung* in urban Indonesia varies from 100 to 5,000 inhabitants. A small-scale *kampung* does not have effective resources for social and collaborative activities. The average *kampung* has approximately 1,000–2,000 people with a population density from 90 to 200 people per hectare.

As mentioned earlier, a *kampung* is an extended family. It is also an extension of the home in the social context. Every *kampung* has its own social units or groups that sustain social cohesion and collaboration. The housewives let them voluntarily join the *arisan*, a game of money collection by rotation of the winner. Men and boys become voluntary guards of their *ronda kampung*. As mentioned earlier, boys and girls are members of the village youth group known as *karang taruna*. In the youth informal association of *karang taruna*, boys and girls are active in community activities, such as spontaneous art performance, vocal group, eventual bazaar, etc.

2.5 House and Home

Ethnic-wide, the house in Indonesia is called *rumah*. The origin of the word *rumah* dates back to the Austronesian *umah*, *humah*, *uma*. The idea of *rumah* pertains to the roof over the head or shelter. The other words for house are *papan*, *hunian*, *wisma*, *griya* and *graha*. *Rumah* designates the idea of providing a protective structure in the sense of territory. The idea of *rumah* comes from its origin *uma*, *omah*, *humah*, the sign of captivity and domain, though its connotation never speaks of conquering nature. Instead, the word *rumah* gives people the idea of habitation and familiarity.

Rumah in the Indonesian cultural context is always associated with the representation of an institutionally married couple. Its hearth, *tungku*, or kitchen, *dapur*, gives the sign of *rumah*. Without any hearth, there is no homestead. *Rumah* makes the meeting of an institutionally married couple possible that becomes simultaneously the origin of the hearth. *Rumah* is also the place to tame everything from its rudeness—*kekasaran*. Then, the word *rumahan* is to signify the state of being tamed. The condition of *rumah* is designated with certain norms and codes of behaviour. In contrast to *rumah* is *jalan*, a public area or outdoors; *jalan* is the place where rules and orders are not the primary concern. Everything in the house has always to do with human comportment. In the Indonesian context, the spatial division of the house is based on two kinds of rooms, which are the front and back of the house. Though the use of the wall or partition is often more complex than that dualistic category, the division of rooms is apparent in the way they perceive the front as the daily served area while the back is the daily supporting domain. Is the front domain a productive category and the back a reproductive one? As a matter of fact, the daily servicing domain is always associated with *orang belakang* or the servants of the house.

The layout of the house plan is typically developed from two domains, which are antagonistic and complementary. The front domain has its centre in the guest room, whereas the hearth or kitchen becomes the core of the back domain. Any other room is developed in accordance with the family's necessity and capacity. The complexity of room arrangement in Indonesian houses today still shows its organizing system based on the front–back spatial category. The modern house is aptly dominated by the front domain. Nevertheless, the back domain of the house reveals significantly the various functions adjacent to the front category. The bathroom, pantry and kitchen are representations of such functions. In a traditional setting, the rooms of the back domain are located as a complement to the main building.

The significance of *rumah* is developed from the ability of humankind to learn their life socially. In doing so, the new circumstances are managed and identified as a part of his or her newly built environment. Thus, to erect a *rumah* is not merely to construct the shelter or building but also to establish relationships between people and their environment. The further characteristic of this idea is articulated in the concept of *rumah-tangga* in which the involvement of people and their social life in their built environment is institutionalized.

Tangga means stair or step. Its idiomatic significance is to articulate the social rank and status of a newly married couple who are traditionally able to enter into a social life with neighbours. In old Javanese, *tangga* literally means people living

close to our house. *Tangga* also means side-by-side houses. *Tangga* are to address the people whom we know well from daily life personally. They live and surround us as neighbours, lending an open hand for voluntary support in the case of crises: childbirth, marriage, funeral and promotion. *Tangga* are the people who one could rely on their readiness to help and to live in friendly cohabitation. Accordingly, only those who are ready to engage in social life properly have *tangga*. *Tangga* cognates with *tetangga*, meaning neighbour, community and environment in the broadest sense. The substantive of *rumah-tangga* establishes the oneness of the house and neighbourhood. *Tangga* here is in the sense of *tetangga*. Thus, the structure of an Indonesian home is founded on the phenomena of continuously establishing relationships between people and their environment as a community.

The relationships between people and environment are essential in the sense of *rumah-tangga*, because its significance brings about a socially established institution. The trace to understand this idea is given by the word *papan*. *Papan* is associated with *mapan*, being established, and *kemapanan*, establishment. *Rumah-tangga* is the foundation of social establishment. Without that, it is difficult to get social acknowledgement and support from the community with whom one lives.

Rumah-tangga as a concept of living is not absolutely determined by the physical structure of *rumah*. Rather, its essential structure stands on the ground of social institution. *Rumah tinggal* is not only a building where a family lives but also a predicate of being settled down in the social sense. It is morally unacceptable that a *rumah tinggal* is without any social engagement in the community where she or he lives. *Rumah tinggal* is a residential house with a social bonding. A group of *rumah tinggal* is a territorially and socially organized settlement as a community unit called *rukun tetangga*. Literally, *rukun* means at peace, and *tetangga* is neighbour or somebody living next door. Thus, the sense of *rukun tetangga* lies in its closely associated familiarity of neighbours based on friendliness and cooperation. Mutual help among neighbours is traditionally kept and sustained by them with routine social activities such as *bersih desa* (village cleaning and maintenance), *arisan* (a periodically gathering occasion with a roulette game of money) and *pengajian* (a Koran-reciting group).

Routine social activities are the mechanism to keep the members of a neighbourhood always in touch with and to know each other well. *Bersih desa* is usually organized by the neighbourhood leader in order to maintain clean drainage, roads and public spaces. This activity is also to manage sewage, solid waste and security in the neighbourhood that are in order. *Bersih desa* takes place on holidays or on certain days during epidemics or flood, or in anticipation of the celebration of the National Independence Day or other local anniversary days. *Bersih desa* is also a social mechanism to collect voluntary contributions of goods and money that enables them to conduct the activities.

Although participation in the *bersih desa* is voluntary, its consequences are socially compulsory. The absence of one in such a participation should be well remembered by their neighbours. It is never followed with any social sanction but a silently conspired action of isolation from mutual help. One who never takes a part in such a social activity is considered a socially alienated person. The consequences are often present as indirect counteractions from the entire neighbourhood.

Chapter 3
Organization of Settlement

Abstract This chapter deals with the customs and traditions of living in Indonesia. Unfolding and searching for the traces of history belongs to this exploration, especially in reference to the ancient Austronesian culture. The important points explored in this chapter include the exposition of manners, forms, styles and fashions, how Indonesian people interact and how their relationship with their built environment is in the context of habitation. In doing so, unique and specific ways of living in Indonesia are unveiled and unfolded as constitutive aspects of their idea and sense of home.

Keywords Austronesian · *Rumah* · *Kampung* · Settlement · House · Home · Urban · Indonesia

3.1 Neighbourhood Settlement

Every *kampung* has its own local norms and codes. All these have been formulated and agreed upon by *kampung* representatives whose social status is respected. People in their neighbourhood unit elect *kampung* representatives. Each neighbourhood called *rukun tetangga* has at least two representatives, namely *ketua rukun tetangga*—head of the neighbourhood unit—and his/her deputy. Each *rukun tetangga* has at least 12 households. The maximum number of households in every *rukun tetangga* should not be more than 50 households. This neighbourhood unit was established during the Japanese Occupation in 1941–1945 of the former Dutch colonial regions in Southeast Asia. During that period, the neighbourhood unit was an effective territorially defended system against any possible infiltration by the Japanese territorial control.

People in every neighbourhood unit were required to report to the head of *rukun tetangga* if any foreigner or guest staying overnight is visiting their homes. Today, such a code still works well as the *kampung* tradition. The territory of *rukun tetangga* is not always confined by its geography but mostly confined by its administrative consideration. The head of *rukun tetangga* is elected voluntarily by the members concerned. He or she is usually an informal leader with a respectable occupation or strong leadership. Every neighbourhood has its own rules and orders in the election of the head of *rukun tetangga*. It might be rightly understood that a *rukun tetangga*

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is a small republican community. In some cases, the head of *rukun tetangga*—*ketua RT*—is a lifelong position. However, after the reformation of 1998, most of the neighbourhood leaders are publicly elected. Among more established housing complexes with homogeneous social rank, the head of *rukun tetangga* is elected with a 2–5-year period of rotation. All of this is because it is a voluntary job. Most professionals and business people do not want to spend too much time on their community service.

The task of the head of *rukun tetangga* is mostly to keep his or her neighbourhood in peace. Love affairs among neighbours, drug use by teenagers and disputes are mostly social problems, which are handled daily by the head of *rukun tetangga*. His or her job is informally to play the role of the father of the neighbourhood. Violence and law enforcement are two important subjects that are indispensably to be avoided by the head of *rukun tetangga*. He or she has to know his or her neighbourhood well at the level of the individual. Personal problems are the most apparent subjects for resolution by the *ketua rukun tetangga*. The head must use his or her persuasive influence in dealing with social problems in the neighbourhood.

Three to five *rukun tetangga* as units of community constitute a great neighbourhood called *rukun warga*. This is appropriately formulated as what constitutes a neighbourhood. *Rukun warga* has on average a population of 1,000–2,500 people or 150–250 households. Its social significance is not as intensive as its *rukun tetangga* because the head of *rukun warga* does not know his or her members personally. The role of the head of *rukun warga* is an administrative position rather than a social function. The *rukun warga* plays an important role in making sure the neighbourhood is properly administered. The district officer should not issue an identity card of citizenship, if one does not have any letter of recommendation from the *rukun tetangga* and *rukun warga*. Thus, the citizen identity card is subject to legal approval from the head of *rukun tetangga*; without his or her endorsement and permission, the government office formally does not have a reason to issue any documents related to citizenship. Although the role and status of the head is not politically established by law, regarding its support from the community, *rukun warga* becomes the mediator between the government officer at the district level and the people.

Like the head of the neighbouring households, the head of *rukun warga* is a voluntary position. He or she is voluntarily elected by the representatives of *rukun tetangga* or directly by the people in his or her area. These elections are conducted by means of a democratic procedure. The position is commonly for a 2–5-year period. The position is neither political nor bureaucratic; rather, it is a social position based on a consensus of the community. The head of *rukun warga* takes care of the security and peace in his or her community. Peace, *rukun,* has its significant message for the role and function of the head of *rukun warga* and that of *rukun tetangga*.

What is important for community life lies in the sense of *rukun.* There is nothing worthwhile for communal life without *kerukunan*—peacefulness—among neighbours and members of the community. The life and the death of the community or neighbourhood lie in the existence of *kerukunan,* from the word *rukun*. The socially united entity of neighbourhood is formulated in the concepts of *rukun tetangga,* whereas a community is confined as a system of settlement in the sense of *rukun*

warga. *Rukun* means literally the state of being harmonious and being compatible. The state of being *rukun* is achieved by tolerance—*tenggang rasa*—with a continuous process of social interaction based on mutual respect—*saling hormat-menghormati*. In the urban context, the concept of *rukun* signifies the necessity for the lack of overt tension or conflict within a neighbourhood or a community (Guiness 1989). The crisis on *rukun* is mostly raised from the exigency of the mutual respect and help among neighbours and communities. The essential structure of the *rukun* institution lies in the existence of a long-standing tradition of *gotong royong*.

The sense of *gotong royong* is constituted by a collective awareness of mutual help (see also Bowen 1986, p. 556). The public and community interest must be considered a priority over any individual and personal claim. The spirit of mutual help comes from the necessity of keeping and establishing a sense of harmonious unity in a neighbourhood or in a community system. The significance of unity for village life is fostered by the condition of dwelling socially. Home for most Indonesians is not merely a question of having a legally established shelter.

Desa is an administrative and political institution of dwelling that is at the *kampung* level where three to ten *rukun wargas* are legally administered. *Desa* is a formal name for a *kampung* community. As a politically established institution of dwelling, the existence of *desa* is grounded in the strength of its population. The average strength of population for a *desa* is in the range between 2,000 and 10,000 people. The head of a *desa—kepala desa*—is traditionally elected from the informal leaders of its territory. Though its election was democratic, the position of *kepala desa* during the New Order era (1967–1998) was not able to be independent politically. *Desa* is a sociopolitical unit of settlement that is strategic for any political and ideological interest and influence.

The existence of *desa* as a political institution lies in its locally established tradition. Every village has its own locally sustained customs, which are traditionally autonomous. *Desa* had received its own autonomy in the conduct of customary laws—*adat*—since the Dutch colonial rule and the Indonesian government under Sukarno. The New Order administration under Suharto took over the control of daily village authority under the Village Law in 1979. Since that time, Indonesian villages had been amalgamated and dissolved as territorially established units, which were politically controlled by the central authority in Jakarta.

The end of the New Order in 1998 was a turning point of reinventing the potency of locally dispersed culture and tradition through the enactment of Local Autonomy Laws No. 22 and No. 25 2001, *Otonomi Daerah*. Accordingly, some authorities of the central government are distributed to the local government in order to develop a locally oriented priority and opportunity of development for culture and welfare. The policies on natural conservation, education, defence and foreign affairs are under the control of the central government in Jakarta. The enactment of *Otonomi Daerah* must be the way to recover any locally elaborated social institution with its own tradition and custom. *Desa* as a social institution in suburban areas should be the subject of reformation structurally and politically. In the urban context, *desa* seems to be similar in its organization and authority.

3.2 District Settlement

An urban *desa* organization called *kelurahan* is a modern political institution under the coordination of district administration, *kecamatan*. *Kelurahan* is adopted from Javanese term for the *kampung*'s head—*lurah*—whose members are publicly elected from the informal leaders of the communities in its territory. *Kelurahan* is a formal office with its administrative apparatus that offers the public services of population registration, issuing personal and family identity cards, distributing social funds and managing welfare and documenting the geographical data in its territory. During the New Order government, *kelurahan* was a strategic unit of society for any publicly promoted programmes of national development. In supporting the programmes, various associations were established, such as a family welfare association, *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK),* village advisory council, *lembaga kekerabatan dan musyawarah desa (LKMD),* village cooperation unit, *KUD,* village small business unit, *BUUD,* and a military advisor for village security and defence, *babinsa*. The establishment was a political will with a single vision towards a modern Indonesian society based on the unified state ideology of *pancasila*.

Socially, *desa* or *kelurahan* in today's Indonesian urban context is more or less formal in contrast to its rural similar organization. The *kelurahan* founded in 1981 is nothing but a government institution of the village community. *Lurah* or the village head in the urban context is today a state or local government officer. His or her staff and assistants do not work voluntarily. The local government, with a salary-based commitment, employs all of them. However, his or her position is traditionally that of a community leader, *lurah* or village head, which today is an extension of the modern bureaucratic institution of the Indonesian state. Prior to the time of the New Order, the head of a village was an independent political person.

The family welfare association, *PKK,* was established in every village or *kelurahan* in 1981. The *lurah*'s wife commonly led the association. The members of the association were mostly housewives from the communities within the *kelurahan*'s territory. The task of the association was to promote the development programmes within the framework of family welfare, birth control, environmental health, modern education and mother and child health care. The government set up an integrated service station—*pos pelayanan terpadu* or *posyandu*—in every *kelurahan* for social health care, social security and development information. Nevertheless, the *posyandu* still exists today without obviously promoting information on modernization and development.

Despite its social existence having a deeply rooted relationship with the traditional concept of community, *kelurahan* in its practice does not comply with the traditional institution of *desa*. Instead, *kelurahan* is a modern political institution of an urban community within the lines of modern bureaucratic administration. Traditionally, every village always had an advisory board of elders and religious leaders who sat in the meeting hall called *balai desa* together with the village head. The advisory board in the urban modern context has been adopted as *LKMD*. The board was traditionally a forum or a village council, which discussed any village affairs towards a single

decision and opinion on any subject matter concerning the public interest. Striving towards a unity of mind called *musyawarah* is the main task of the village council (see also Guiness in Hill 1994, p 280). All of this comes from the necessity for *rukun* as the fundamental structure of community.

During the New Order, the village advisory board was equipped with a military advisor with a rank of sergeant called *babinsa* or *Bintara Pembina Desa*. The concept of *babinsa* was most likely a politically supervising apparatus of the New Order that took village sociopolitical life under control. The post of advisor was instituted in the village administration in 1981. The sociopolitical function of *babinsa* was gradually withdrawn from community life in 1998. Nonetheless, the role of the *babinsa* as a military officer who is responsible for the security and social stability of his or her district remains unchanged.

The instalment and exigency of *babinsa* were inseparable from the New Order doctrine on development based on national stability and sociopolitical integration for a district community. He had to report regularly on the village affairs to his higher officer, the district military commander—*Kodim*—sitting in the district town. The existence of a military advisor in the New Order and the function of a Dutch officer in 1900–1940 were more or less similar.

Traditionally, a village is confined not only by its physical territory but also by its sociological domain where people are able to rely on their neighbour for a homestead. Despite its territorially identifying place, *kampung* is another word for home in the sociological sense. In the urban context, *kampung* manifests in its informally defined territory. Most *kampung* dwellers are those who live in off-street neighbourhoods. Economically, *kampung* people live as petty entrepreneurs, waged workers, public servants, lower rank government officials, circular working migrants and casual job seekers. The public utilities and infrastructure of these neighbourhoods are mostly in poor condition. Most of the *kampung* people do not live in their own land and their own house. State-owned lands in urban areas are mostly occupied by off-streetsiders, *orang kampung*.

Despite its poor environment, the *kampung* dwellers in Indonesia are probably the socially dominating sustainers of the Indonesian urban reality. Gradually, their environment as squatter housing is improved with various development programmes launched by the government. The *Kampung* Improvement Program in the 1970s was one of such environment betterment schemes that provided *kampung* settlements with healthier sanitation and water supply. An urban *kampung* has its own ecosystem that is based on an informally sustaining economy. They mostly do not pay taxes either to the state or to the local authority. It is also one of the reasons why urban *kampung* has not been touched by formal development programmes of the state.

An urban *kampung* does not have an orderly organizing building system. Its housing form shows an irregular and impermanent structure. Narrow pathways run irregularly with meandering forms that do not enable us to optimize an efficient utility network and drainage system. Poor sanitary facilities belong to the most crucial condition of healthy environment. Nevertheless, the condition does not always bring urban *kampung*s into a socially deteriorating situation. As traditional villages in rural areas, urban *kampung*s sustain their existence based on the spirit of *rukun*. Thus, any

kampung dweller shares collectively the necessity for *rukun* and *kerukunan*. They develop their own norms and social codes in dealing with a highly populated density of living space. Tolerance, commonality and mutual help become necessary for living in an urban *kampung* territory.

Regarding its diversity in religious beliefs, ethnicity, origins, customs and traditions, an urban *kampung* is an Indonesian laboratory of its state's motto: *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). In contrast to its street-side neighbourhoods, an urban *kampung* does not follow the building codes and planning regulations from the town or city local authority. Law enforcement on urban *kampung*s must lead to social upheavals and resentment. Since the Dutch colonial rule in the nineteenth century, an urban *kampung* had been perceived as an autonomous neighbourhood with its own customary laws or *adat*.

Buildings and their infrastructure do not follow any system and procedure of safety and security. Fire burnt is the most dangerous threat to the existence of urban *kampung,* besides floods and epidemics. In many cases, fire burnt had been used as a reasonable condition to improve the environment quality of urban *kampung*s. Some investors used to offer a land acquisition to the local authority or the formal owners with a special programme of resettlement for the former *kampung* dwellers. Such a programme was often used by the town or city planning authority as an investment opportunity that enabled them to restructure and redevelop the town or city areas with new building blocks. In many cases, the resettlement of former *kampung* dwellers was made in line with introducing them to walk-up apartment living.

Can urban *kampung*s survive in the future? A densely populated dwelling in an urban context does not always make a harmonious social life easy and manageable. Conflicts and social tensions among neighbouring communities are mostly caused by economic interests. Public spaces near the urban *kampung* are often the areas of social conflicts such as *tawuran* because of the competition of its territorially controlled authority or other insignificant causes. Illegally controlling the authority of the urban public space is usually under a certain group of people in the urban *kampung* neighbourhood called *preman*. Parking a lot and using public space for petty entrepreneurs, called *kakilima,* are often subject for illegally putting off retribution.

The local authority always tries officially to dismiss the existence of illegal retribution but it is often without success. The reason is that the local authority is not able to control the public spaces adjacent to the *kampung* all the time. Colloquially, persons who take illegal retribution are known as *preman*. Their exercise of collecting illegal retribution is well known as *premanisme.* It is essentially a newly modified version of despotism. The despotism works as an invisible controlling power of territory. The practice of such despotism is based on an informal economy in urban public spaces. On the field, every piece of public space of the town or city such as parking areas and street-side vendors—*kakilima*—is mostly under the security control of a man or gang of men called *preman*. Periodically, the *preman* takes cash benefit from the parking fee of street vendors and every parked car. Where are the police officers? Everyone in Indonesia knows full well that behind every practice of the *preman* stands somebody in the military or police in terms of *beking*.

Besides its traditional origin in despotism, the apparent cause of *premanisme* is nothing but the excess of high unemployment rate and poverty among the *kampung* dwellers. The *preman*s are mostly those who by formal education are economically marginalised with lower trained skills for any profession but that of a security guard or debt collector. *Preman*s are possibly an outcome of *kampung* social illness if not a consequence of economic dichotomy in the town or city economy. The economy of urban *kampung* is grounded in the web of small businesses and their service in petty commercials. Wheel boxes and kiosks selling food, newspaper, clothes and cigarettes on the sidewalk are mostly operated by the *kampung* dwellers. *Preman*s are those who collect a fee from such petty and small businesses and livelihoods including public transport operators.

Though the liveability in an urban *kampung* is deeply rooted in traditional village life, its sustainability is not visible without any gradual change and transformation of attitude towards modernity. All this is made possible by formal education for the younger generation of urban *kampung* dwellers. Education is probably one important and strategic approach for *kampung* improvement, besides other approaches concerning the betterment of the ecological and environmental condition. Nevertheless, the stay of many students from other regions and towns in urban *kampung*s brings about a social dynamism for a gradually improved infrastructure and housing. Such a case can be found in the cities of Medan, Padang, Palembang, Jakarta, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Surabaya and Makasar, where well-known universities are located.

The existence of urban *kampung* brings about an intimate social life in the urban streets. Petty-cash businesses occupy the public space in response to the demand of common people for foods and goods. The street life offers foods and goods at a lesser expense because they are free from taxation. Besides its affordability, the sustainability of petty-cash businesses is supported by the necessity for urban dwellers to go out in the evening.

3.3 Urban Settlement

In today's globally unified system of communication technology, Indonesia's urban life is challenged to adopt universal principles and norms. As mentioned earlier in Chap. 2, the most significant traditional institution of *kota* is its *pekan* or *pasar*. *Pekan* is the name of their traditional market that means literally a weekly event or a place of gathering. Traditionally, *pekan* or *pasar* takes place only once a week. Today, the role and the function of *pasar* or *pekan* in Indonesia's big cities have been replaced by the modern shopping mall.

The daily urban life of Indonesian towns and cities happens mostly in their *pekan*. Originally, the word *pekan* or *peken, mapeken* in the Old Javanese language, means to gather, meeting informally, come together, call for being together. The establishment of *pekan* denotes the existence of township in the sense of *negara*. It does not take place without the founding of its political centre. Incipiently, a *pekan* is a permanent

Fig. 3.1 Urban *kampung* in the town of Bandung, 1992

institution of town that occurs as a periodical event once a week. Today, *pekan* or *pasar* is in service every day. This is the consequence of the increase in population. District towns with few inhabitants or a population of less than 50,000 people usually have the market day once a week. The Indonesian word *pekan* means literally a week or 7 days. The day when a *pekan* happens is known as *hari pekan.* It is the day when the market becomes a place of attraction of culture and tradition besides its main activity for trade and commerce. In Java, *pekan* or *pasar* is named after one of the names of the days in a 5-day week in accordance with a lunar calendar, *Legi–Pon–Pahing–Kliwon–Wage* as already mentioned earlier.

Does the idea of town have anything to do with the concept of territorially established authority? Indonesian towns, which were previously under the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, show their relationship with the concept of the state, called *negara*. The allusion of town is *negara,* which is shown by its authority as the state ritual centre. A town as *negara* is designated by its supposedly ritual centre. The centre in its symbolic sense is the seat of local authority. District town or *kota kecamatan* has its centre at the seat of *camat*. The seat of *bupati,* regency, or *walikota,* major, is the capital for regent town, *kota kabupaten,* or municipality, *kota*.

Town in the sense of *negara* is a centre without any stringently spatial boundary. Rather, the boundary of *negara* is a transcendental definition of authority in terms of *wibawa*. The question of boundary in this sense is the question of political and spiritual influence that is shown by participation in the state rituals. Such a political and spiritual influence called *kewibawaan* is a necessity for sustainable programmatic development. Weak leadership and relatively unstable authority lead the *negara* into becoming a gradually powerless centre. This means that the *negara* leads towards chaos, poverty and fall. It is a sign of the terrestrial power in the lifeworld being progressively transformed to another centre.

The New Order administration was fully aware on the subject matter of how to deal with towns and cities in the sense of *negara*. They set up the institution called *muspida* as the abbreviation of the board of local authorities and leaders, which consists of the local bureaucratic head, military commander, police head officer, head of lower house of representatives and religious leaders. The lowest board of state bureaucracy is under a *lurah* (the head of village administration), who is always accompanied by an advisory board called *dewan kelurahan*. The mission of every advisory board is the same in the sustenance of order and development. They maintained and sustained the strong and stable authority with military backup installed at every level of the state bureaucratic system from *desa , kecamatan, kabupaten/kota* to *provinsi*. Accordingly, the installation of military officers in the state bureaucracy was nothing but to keep *negara* in its stability for keeping and sustaining order and prosperity. Authority over the town is daily held by a major, *walikota,* or a regent, *bupati*.

Although every level of state bureaucracy from the regency and province to the central government has a house of representatives, the concentration of power in the executive party is always dominant. Public control of any government policy during the New Order was always perceived as a contra-development opinion, which was associated with chaos and rage. Control of national security and stability became the priority of any act and programme of development under Suharto. Then, the role and function of military officers were necessarily adjusted to meet sociopolitical issues and affairs. The former military doctrine of dual function—*dwifungsi*—was established and maintained to make sure that the development was under control. The doctrine was gradually cancelled in 1999 after the New Order administration had been resolved by a reformation movement. Today, in democratic Indonesia since the fall of Suharto's regime, the presence of the military and state police is still unchanged. The chain of military command from *Kodam, Korem, Kodim, Koramil* to *Babinsa* still exists today. The reason to maintain the military presence from urban centres to rural areas is the same: keeping the Indonesian territory safe and secure from disintegration, terrorism and opposition.

3.4 Habitation Under the Dutch Colonial Rule

Under the Dutch colonial rule, the Indonesian reality of the home came to its formative political and geographical concreteness. Despite the glory of the past Sriwijaya kingdom from the ninth to twelfth century and the Majapahit emperor's rule from

the thirteenth to sixteenth century, the geographically and politically unified shelter of more than 300 ethnic groups had been actually established under the Dutch East Indies colony. Nonetheless, the formative periods of the establishment of East Indies colonial country was interrupted by the British Interregnum in 1811–1816. Still, the newly established colonial rule faced financial difficulties for its household to run its administration until 1830. In dealing with the economy, the Dutch rule changed their economic policy to a more liberal policy that enabled them to attract private sectors in Europe for investment in the East Indies. The cultivation of tea, rubber, coffee, tobacco, sugar cane and chocolate was mostly an attractive investment besides the trade of spices, silk and gold. Because of the fertile soil, Java and partly Sumatra were the main locations of the investment in cultivation. In the map of the colonial archipelago, Java seems to be the most important realm. For the Dutch Indies, beyond Java were the outer territories.

Compared with the former Dutch *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), trade monopoly in the East Indies archipelago, the Dutch colonial rule had gone further for interference in the local political affairs and its domestic economy. The Dutch rule was not only to control the trade and security of the commodities but also to exercise authority by using and maintaining the local and traditional ruling class. The secret success for the Dutch rule to govern a large number of small states was to dominate the water communication and cutting off any possible cooperation among native kingdoms. Following the suggestion of the Indonesian expert in *Adatsrechts,* van Vollenhofen from Leiden University, the myriad of customary laws and traditional codes remained in their indigenous shape and practice without any change. The Dutch rule only took control of its outcome. Instead of integrating such diversity under a single law system, the Dutch rule put into practice locally bounded customs and traditions known as *adat* for the natives beyond European jurisdiction.

The formal laws and regulations under the Dutch system were only restricted for the European immigrants, either by origin or by birth. A policy of racial segregation was not only practised by the Dutch colonial rule for Europeans and the natives. The Chinese people were treated differently from the natives. In the matter of laws for the Chinese, the Dutch released their authority to their own chiefs in their community. A racially segregated population and habitation in the East Indies was the most apparent aspect of dwelling in the Dutch colonial era that was according to European, Asian-Chinese and native groups. In educational opportunities, racial segregation became the tool for maintaining European hegemony over other Asian and indigenous populations. For the natives, only the children of the local ruling class were allowed to attend the school.

In response to the increasing number of European immigrants in Java and Sumatra, Dutch schools had been established in most of the East Indies towns since 1818. The schools prepared a new generation to sustain the bureaucracy of the Dutch rule with further training in the Dutch University of Leiden. For the native ruler's children, the Dutch colonial rule opened grade 1 and 2 elementary schools in Javanese towns in 1848. Although a traditional boarding school for Islamic clerks, *pesantren,* had been established in the rural area of Java in the seventeenth century, schools were considered a new modern institution in traditional Javanese towns.

The opening of formal schools for the native elite was considerably an underlying structure of modernity, literacy. Although access to literature and news was limited, literacy had brought about the development of skills in bureaucracy among the natives. New jobs such as clerks, native judges, native polices, native teachers, locomotive drivers and native nurses were open for those who were native and literate. However, higher administrative jobs were still reserved for the descendants of Europeans. The full elementary and secondary schools were opened for the natives with instruction in the Dutch language in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Dutch rule established the same school for the Chinese in 1908.

Being aware of the VOC's weakness of reckless financial administration and territorial control over Java until the end of the eighteenth century, the Dutch government tried to consolidate the power under the administration of Daendels (1808–1811). Under his centralized authority, native states in Central Java, Banten and Cirebon were harshly trimmed. His memorable achievement in Java was building a communication road, Groote Postweg, from West Java Anyer to East Java Banyuwangi using forced labour. The Dutch regime's control over the East Indies was interrupted by the British Interregnum under Lieutenant-Governor Raffles (1811–1816). Besides his administration abolishing rice contingents and forced labour in Java, as a person he marked a historical potency of Java following his passion for arts and culture. Raffles drew international attention to several monumental buildings and a variety of fauna and flora in Java and Sumatra through his two-volume books on the history of Java. In dealing with authority, Raffles sustained the former Dutch Indies policy under Daendels, being even stricter with the abolishment of native states' power.

The Dutch East Indies government had been running under difficult fiscal conditions from 1820 to 1830 due to prevailing over the native resistances of Padri in West Sumatra and Prince Diponegoro in Central Java. In dealing with restoring authority and healing the fiscal conditions of the Dutch Indies, the crown approved the execution of van den Bosch's plan of a forced culture system (Fasseur 1992). Besides attracting private sectors for plantations, the Dutch colonial rule had instigated forced labour and compulsory cultivation, *Kulturstellsel,* in Java from 1830 to 1860 to improve its financial condition. Compulsory cultivation and forced labour in Java were, of course, painful and intricate for the native peasants because it did not bring them any returns but poverty, because their land and labour for rice cultivation were reduced by a significant proportion to work for crops under *Kulturstellsel*. In doing so, the colonial rule secured their commodities for export to the European market. In its political practice, the Dutch regime took advantage of the Javanese ruling class to execute the cultivation. *Kulturstellsel* was probably the darkest side of colonialism in the history of Java and other islands. The culture system was gradually abolished by 1877. During that year, the Dutch regime released their centralized control for producing resources to private enterprises progressively. Then, the opening of fields for plantations had been sustained with private enterprises in affiliation with native landlords.

Despite the impacts of the practice of forced labour and compulsory cultivation in Java being poverty and famine, the Dutch parliament did not have anything to say to stop the *Kulturstellsel* until 1870. The movement to acknowledge the sweat and pain

of Javanese people came very slowly towards reform until the publication of E.D. Dekker's *Max Havelaar*. Literacy for Javanese children was included in policies, in response to criticisms concerning the exploitation of the Javanese land and people. Since literacy was introduced among the Javanese people in 1864, communication and interaction among the natives were made possible by the newspapers and local magazines which were published in various languages, such as Dutch, Malay, Javanese and Chinese. Educational opportunities for the natives brought about a lifeworld without ethnic borders.

The solidarity and brotherhood of the natives from various ethnic groups came into being, while the natives had an opportunity for pursuing their professional training in higher educational institutions. The reason was the fact that the drastic development in East Indies during the twentieth century could not be handled in number and with the locally customized qualification by those who graduated from the motherland's universities. On the other hand, the increasing Eurasian populations in the archipelago demanded jobs with appropriate skills and knowledge. In dealing with these East Indies conditions and situation, the Dutch finally established higher education: for medicine in Surabaya in 1913, for engineering in Bandung, for law in Batavia in 1920 and for agriculture in Bogor in 1940.

The Ethical Policy in the 1920s brought about a transregional interaction among natives through higher education either in the East Indies or in the Netherlands. Even though the opportunity for higher education was restricted only to the native elite, the nationalism in East Indies inevitably came into being. The Dutch colonial rule gave the way for the native children against their parents who came mostly from the families of native rulers and Dutch loyalists.

Despite its malicious colonialism, the Dutch Indies rule had geopolitically brought the diversity of lands and people under a unified home concept. The presence of the Dutch in the archipelago had prepared traditional towns for modernity. Javanese towns had been developed by the Dutch rule with Western institutions. The presence of the Dutch institutions represented the colonial interest in weakening traditional authority. An obvious example of this is the instalment of a military stronghold and prison nearby most traditional towns. The most vivid show of colonial power came into play in the capital towns Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The Dutch Fort Vredeburg and Dutch residency palace are located right in front of Yogyakarta's *kraton* that dwindle into the 5-km axial boulevard of the palace towards the obelisk, *tugu*.

The same attempt at hegemony, with different architectural juxtaposition, was deployed in the Javanese capital town of Surakarta. Here, the Dutch installed their stronghold, Fort Vastenburg, close to the *kraton*. Countrywide, during the Dutch rule since 1905, the towns in the archipelago had been developed based on the Javanese concept with *alun-alun* at its centre. Even though the Dutch sustained the presence of the seat of traditional rulers—*bupati, datuk, daeng,* sultan or *sunan*—with their mosque at the square, their colonial institutions for the military stronghold and detention centre stood more dominant. In addition to the presence of the colonial rule, the Dutch had installed their regional representatives, *residen.* Each resident, as assistant to the Governor General in Batavia, had three or five regencies, *kabupaten,* under his supervision. Then, in the colonial period, some urban vicinities had been

predicated on *kota karesidenan,* the seat of Dutch residence; *kota kabupaten,* the seat of the native regent; and *kota kawedanan,* the seat of the local chieftain. The predicate of towns were embellished in accordance with the administration status of colonial rule.

In governmental colonial polity, the Dutch officials must have supervised the local rulers from village or *onderafdeeling,* district or *afdeeling* and regency to kingdom. The lowest colonial officer working at the village administration level was *controleur* with its seat in the district town, *kota kawedanaan*. In precolonial Java, *kota kawedanaan* was the smallest traditional urban institution where a weekly permanent market took place. Above the territorial administration of the district was the *kabupaten.* The *asisten residen* held their office in the regent town. The office of *asisten residen* was nearby the seat of the native regent, *bupati*. The seat of the Dutch *residen* was usually in the biggest towns of the regency in the region.

Urban settlements in Java and Sumatra were significantly developed and established in the beginning of the twentieth century; that was in concert with the increasing number of European settlers attracted by the cultivation of coffee, tea, rubber, tobacco, sugar and chocolate. Bandung, Malang and Medan were well known as exemplary colonial towns of the *Oost Indies* benefitting from the surrounding large plantation fields. The above-mentioned towns had been instituted with fine buildings including railway stations, post offices, military headquarters, social clubs, cinemas and recreational parks.

Bandung must have been planned as the capital of Dutch East Indies. Most of the strategic institutions had been deployed in this town before the Pacific War in 1942. Military headquarters, the governor general office and central offices for post and telegraphs, power lines, and transportation had already been established in this so-called *Parijs van Java* in 1930. Nevertheless, Batavia, Surabaya and Medan remained dominant for trade and export–import activities from the Far East to Europe. These three towns might have been well known as metropolitan vicinities of the archipelago in the 1930s.

For centuries before the European travellers came to the archipelago, the Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi coasts must have been occupied with multiethnic settlements of Malay, Buginese and Maduranese people who were well-known sailors. They were also the first to have contact with Gujaratis, Persians and Arabians and learnt Islamic teaching from those merchants. Later on, during the Dutch Indies rule, they were migrant workers for most ports in the archipelago. Enclaves and quarters for the Bugis, Ambonese, Malay, Minang, Maduranese and Chinese must have been developed in Batavia and Surabaya for a specific contribution to colonial urbanism. Besides for their main job as mostly port workers and civil work labourers, they were well known during the colonial era for their special skills. The Maduranese people were known for their iron-metal works, Bugis-Makassar for inter-island trade, Ambonese for militia services, Minang for small restaurants, Chinese for retail, and Javanese for being clerks and lower state officers. The traces of such multiethnic settlements were well articulated in the toponymic articulations such as *Kebalen,* the Balinese quarter, *Pecinan,* the Chinese quarter, *kampung Malayu, kampung Bugis Makasar* and *Kauman,* the Arabian and Muslim quarter, *kampung Jawa,* etc.

Politically, the migration of people from Java to the outer territories in the Dutch colonial period was not intended to distribute the population of Java to the outer islands but to supply labour forces. Deli in North Sumatra has been a flourishing tobacco producer since 1863. Javanese labour forces were sent to the Nienhuys' company in Deli Serdang, after they could not invite Chinese and Indian workers from the British Malay Peninsula. The Dutch colonial rule in the early twentieth century also used to send Javanese workers to Suriname of the Dutch Guinea in South America for working in plantations and seaports.

The cultivation of sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, rubber and quinacrine had brought about a significant change in the Javanese landscape. The opening of plantation fields in the hinterlands of Java must have developed the construction of infrastructure for export stimulation. Railways and roads became the artery of Dutch Indies commodities leaving for Rotterdam, Hamburg and Bremen. The period between 1890 and 1937 must have been the best time of colonial urbanness in the Dutch Indies. More and more new European residential compounds were developed in the towns where plantations existed. Social clubs and entertainment centres came into being at the beginning of the twentieth century in Batavia, Bandung, Malang, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Makasar and even in traditional towns like Cirebon, Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

Javanese towns in the hinterland were directly connected with railroads in the early twentieth century to Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya. Generally, well-laid infrastructure in Java had led the Dutch Indies to an economy with surplus production from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1937. Large European settlements with modern infrastructure of electric power lines, telephones, centralized gas lines and drinking water were established in Bandung, Malang and Batavia between 1920 and 1942; meanwhile, the natives lived in their *kampung*s with poor water supply and unhealthy sanitation. The geography of colonial Indonesian towns had divided the urban scene into three principle quarters: European, Asian and Native.

Architecturally, the colonial towns in Java had been developed with a more European building style. Neoclassical and late Baroque architecture had become the brand style for official, financial and commercial buildings. Newly industrialized and modern architecture had found its new land for residential areas, hotels and trading agencies. The Dutch Indies must have been the new land for Dutch architects. It was the time when more women came to the colonial East Indies and transformed the lifestyle of Europeans. Before the turn of the century, most Europeans who wanted to live and work for the government and private enterprises in Java and other outer islands were under the requirement of not being married. European men in the Dutch colonies were encouraged to take native concubines, *nyai,* until the Dutch government changed the requirement in 1905. Some companies followed to adjust the requirement in the period between 1905 and 1926.

Furthermore, colonial urbanism in Indonesia was socially characterized with racially segregated settlements according to three categories: the European subdivision, the Asian (Chinese and Indian) quarter and the native settlement called *kampung*. The exigency of multiethnic dwelling for urbanism was mostly by racial policy and practical reason related to public service, trade and labour

work. The European subdivision occupied mostly the prime location of the land such as the Cipaganti–Dago region in North Bandung, Candi in Semarang and Gondangdia-Menteng in Batavia. The settlement was well laid according to the health environmental standard with a well-planned structure and permanent buildings based on plastered brick-laying wall construction. The Indian and Chinese communities lived in the two-storey shop-houses near the traditional market. Indian merchants were well known in the garment business, whereas the Chinese traded gold, silk, household appliances, foods and goods.

Once a week, the traditional market has its market day. It is a time when the market becomes the most important place for native merchants and customers. On the market day in most Javanese small towns, various folk entertainments and gambling are to be found. The market for a small Indonesian town is the actual centre of urban activities. Sociocultural gathering in its authentic actuality takes place in the traditional market. In Surakarta and Yogyakarta, there are at least five markets with its centre at Pasar Gede, great market. Five markets remind people of the five names of the days in the Javanese calendar: *Wage, Pon, Kliwon, Pahing* and *Legi*. The recall brings them into the sense of wholeness of the Javanese lifeworld outside of spatiotemporal categories and locations.

The early modern formation of urbanism and town buildings came into being at the end of the forced cultivation in 1870. Criticism of the practice of cultivation in the motherland brought the Ethical Policy for the Dutch East Indian colony into action at the beginning of the 1900s. Opportunity for modern education was provided to children of the native elite and traditional ruling class. The Dutch colonial rule learnt from the Java War (1825–1830), Padri resistance in West Sumatra (1827–1837) and Acehnese opposition (1878–1905) to give more respect to the native people and their unique oral traditions and customs as formulated in *adat Istiadat,* which was for minimizing possible frictions and resentments against formal laws and orders implemented by the colonial rule. Although modern municipalities began in Java from the early twentieth century—that was after the release of the Decentralization Laws in 1903—the native people's settlements called *kampung* were neglected in the town development programme until the end of 1913. It was a follow-up of Tillema's report concerning the insensitivity of European architects in the East Indies in dealing with tropical climate and the native settlements. H.F. Tillema, a pharmacist from Semarang, warned the Dutch colonial regime on the poor hygienic condition of the native settlements in the East Indies in his report '*Van wonen en bewonen, van bouwen, huis en erf',* published in the International Housing Congress in Schveningen 1913. The municipality of Batavia launched the *kampung verbeteering* at the end of 1913 for *Tamansari*. The epidemic was possibly a wake-up call for more concern for the native settlements, which did not have healthy sanitation and drainage.

The modern state bureaucracy occupied with ethnically mixed officials, transmigration programme, and modern educational system have been working as a transregional system of nationally integrating structure. Modernity based on a rationalistic system and mechanism seems to have been working well for the Indonesian republican state in managing the diversity of local interests, languages, customs, codes and mores since the end of the Pacific War. The integration of Indonesia as a

nation is inconceivable without modernity. The question is to what extent such an integration is sustainable in developing the quality of life based on respect, dignity of man and care for others as a whole.

The unity in diversity, *bhineka tunggal ika,* is not simply the vision of the Indonesian state; rather, this is the necessity and condition for multiethnic populations. Plausibly, the necessity is for the lifeworld consisting of diverse communities. The problem for the country lies in the reality that such an integration is not made from the domination and control of a despotic ruling system. For several decades in the past, the integration of the Indonesian republican state depended on the strong personal leadership of Sukarno (1945–1965) and Suharto (1966–1998).

After the fall of Suharto from power in 1998, the Indonesian state and country as a home has been struggling for its own integration based on democratic principles. Besides political integration, sustainable development for maintaining the basic standard of healthy living becomes the challenging priority for any ruling political group. Being able to settle down as well as dwell in the country where rules and orders still need to be established becomes not only technical and economical matters but also a crucial situation that needs a culturally merging mechanism. Syncretism, *ajaran keluwesan,* is apparently a peaceful choice for managing potential conflicts of inflectional diversity that enables Indonesian people to dwell as a community.

The question is whether syncretism as a cultural strategy will work well to fix the home system of Indonesia. Syncretic phenomena manifest in various forms and events of culture. Building form is an obvious sample of such syncretism. The syncretic form is not only to work out the inflectional varieties of ideas and values but also to integrate its being into Indonesian habitation. Is syncretism also possible for the sustainability of Indonesian development? As a matter of fact, ecological dwelling in the globally exposed modernity is without a national language boundary.

The local features and resources of Indonesia are uniquely characterized with equatorial archipelago region and historical experience under the former Dutch colonial rule since the nineteenth century. The uniqueness and abundance of traditional and indigenous buildings and dwellings are mostly characterized by the application of carpentry, organic materials and mutual help organization of building construction. Only few wooden buildings have survived for more than a century through the climate, termites, insects, rats, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. Besides the tropical environment, the cultural artefacts of the archipelago suffered from its stable established political system at a state level that took care of a sustainable cultural development for the entire region of more than 13 islands.

Carpentry as the basic building construction had been enhanced with metal techniques and tools during the Dong Son cultural influence from around the seventh to third century BC. Expressive building forms based on carpentry are to be seen in several ethnic groups of Nias, Batak, Toraja and Minangkabau. In Java, such as in Kudus, Jepara and Rembang, and Bali, carpentry and wood carving had been elaborated mostly for decorative walls, details of structural joints, statues and furniture.

Masonry as a building construction technique had been introduced to Indonesia by the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the Indian civilization to Java, Sumatra and East Kalimantan circa the fifth century. Well-developed brick and stone

Fig. 3.2 A mosque in Sumatra Barat with a syncretic roof form depicting inflectional images from Minangkabau, Java and the Middle East

works can be found in the Prambanan and Borobudur temples. Apparently, only monumental buildings were made of stones and bricks. The use of masonry with plaster for various buildings was developed since the contact and trade exchanges with Europeans in the sixteenth century took place. During the Dutch rule in 1800–1942, masonry or bricklaying with plasterwork and carpentry became the important techniques of building construction that shaped and gave the image of colonial architecture in Indonesia. Dutch architects since the beginning of the twentieth century had attempted to incorporate the native resources with carpentry and a tropical-friendly design. Three important Dutch master builders for such a tropical and traditional incorporation into modern buildings were Maclaine Pont, Thomas H. Karsten and Wolf Schumacher. Only Karsten did the planning work for several Indonesian towns by paying respect to the local condition.

The development of modern settlements and city life included the establishment of urban municipalities in 1905 onwards. In Java, the centres of modern city life were developed and established with the classic Javanese *negara* model of Singasari from the thirteenth century and Majapahit from the fourteenth century in which the ruler's seat and the great mosque stand surrounding the square of *alun-alun*. Although the actual centre of Indonesian urbanity is located in the market called *pasar* or *pekan,* the seat of the ruler—*bupati, walikota* and *gubernur*—remains important as a spiritual centre.

During the Pacific War in 1942–1945, building and dwelling in Indonesia did not have any significant development and transformation but the introduction to the concept of territorially self-controlled neighbourhood units known as *Tonari Gumi* took place in 1944. The units have been well adapted as neighbouring household

Fig. 3.3 West Aula of Institut Teknologi Bandung, built by the architect Maclaine Pont in 1920

Fig. 3.4 A Dutch colonial modern Art-Deco building. Cirebon City Hall, *Stadhuis* of the Cirebon region, West from 1927, built by the architect J.J. Jiskoot

unit, *rukun tetangga,* and neighbourhood unit, *rukun warga*. The territorial unit of settlement works socially as a defensive neighbourhood that is effective for promoting solidarity, mutual help, tolerance and national policies and concerns among its members.

Part II
Community and Vernacular Settlement

Kete' Kesu Settlement, Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

Chapter 4
The Rituals of the Smoke: Power, Ethnicity, and Architecture in Tana Toraja, Indonesia

Abstract What are the meanings and functions of rituals, customs, and traditions for ethnic identity? To what extent does architecture play its part in the formation of identity through collective memory? Why are rituals and architecture so important for an ethnic group? This chapter is an attempt to deal with the above questions and chooses the Sa'dan Toraja society in Sulawesi, Indonesia as a case study. Although changes and transformations due to modernity are unavoidable, the chapter argues that as long as a society is not displaced from their homeland, they are by nature able to keep their cultural identity; local customs, traditions, and rituals are essential structures and mechanisms that establish, maintain, and sustain the sense of home. The raw material of this study was taken from author's ethnographic and architectural fieldwork in the Rante Pao district of Tana Toraja in 1990 and 2005.

Keywords Ethnicity · Architecture · Sa'dan Toraja · Identity · Home · Ritual · Tradition

4.1 Tana Toraja: The Land of Highlanders

Since precolonial times the population of the Sa'dan Toraja ethnic group, which numbers less than 400,000, has lived and sustained their unique culture and tradition in a remote highland of not more than 2,000 square km in Sulawesi. In the predominantly Islamic nation of Indonesia, the land and people of Sa'dan Toraja have been the subject of the prejudice that they were identical with culturally backward people, headhunters, and those who practise black magic (Adam 2006, p. 2). Even so, their grand funeral feast is a spectacular event that attracts the respect of wide audiences, regardless of race, faith, and origin. Indeed, the question of cultural identity for Sa'dan Toraja people has been the Holy Grail if it excludes the death cult. This study is an attempt to dismantle and unfold the relationship between the death rituals and cultural identity in the context of power, ethnicity, and architecture.

Even though the relationship between death rituals and ethnic identity has attracted the attention of many scholars (Bell 2009; Kreinath 2007; Fleck 2000, pp. 238–239; Lightstone and Bird 1995), various cases are necessary to explore theoretical

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positions; the question of 'what is ritual' remains open for further interpretation. The problem of ethnic identity is likely more than just building familiarity and a relationship with something. Thus, rituals are more than just doing regular and habitual conducts on certain occasions. Rather, regarding its collectively shared values, this chapter argues that rituals are the acts of building boundaries and patterns of commitment and membership; they have a deeper meaning that builds and endures the sense of habitation and community. To some extent, ritual is a resourceful act that transmutes the powers wherein we dwell (Brown 1994, p. 106).

Toraja land, society, and culture have been studied by numerous scholars since the beginning of the twentieth century (Vroklage 1936; Veen 1965; Koubi 1975; Nooy-Palm 1976; Waterson 1976; Domenig 1980; Kobong 1980; Grubauer 1985; Volkman 1985; Nooy Palm et al. 1988; Waterson 2000, pp. 177–188; Adam 2006). The significant contribution of their studies, analysis, and descriptions to the knowledge on Toraja ethnicity and culture is great and challenging for further studies.

Waterson (2000) explores the relationship between people and the built environment in terms of life historical sign. Accordingly, the sense of home in the Toraja context is the totality of the lifeworld comprising physical and spiritual components of the house. How such relationship materializes and what practices are exercised to build a collective memory, are the questions that remain yet unexplored in Waterson's work. This study investigates the idea and context of the grand feasts in their relation to the sense of home. Furthermore, this study argues that cultural identity is the essential structure and mechanism of the sense of home so that an ethnic group is able to contribute to the global society with specific cultural leverage. Based on this proposition, this study is an attempt to explore the relationship between ethnicity and architecture that works in the Sa'dan Toraja community in Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Situated in the highlands of northern South Sulawesi province, Tana Toraja is today administratively a *kabupaten*—regency—with the seat of its administration in the vicinity of Makale. Nevertheless, the vicinity of Rantepao remains important from the cultural point-of-view. Both vicinities had been established in the beginning of the seventeenth century as the permanent weekly market—*pasa'*—for Toraja water buffaloes and pigs. The arrival of Christian missionaries and the Dutch in both vicinities had developed their administrative control that had gradually established both as towns with multiethnic communities: Chinese, Javanese, Bugis, and Toraja. Nevertheless, the north and south share their values and mores with respect to rice cultivation. Ritual feasts of smoke ascending—*rambu tuka'*—and smoke descending—*rambu solo'*—are related to the planting and harvest of rice.

In daily life, the homeland of the Sa'dan Toraja people is perfect in the sense that they are able to live with self-contained domestication based on wet-rice cultivation. Albeit the origin of wet-rice cultivation—*sawah*—along the plains and valleys of Sa'dan River is still unclear, its possible relation to Javanese and Bugis influence is apparent from linguistic terms. Rice cultivation in Java and Sumatra was probably already introduced in the seventh century BC (see also Schefold et al. 1991, p. 157).

4.2 Precolonial Death Cult

Although Toraja culture and tradition have been well known in anthropological circles since the beginning of the twentieth century (Van der Veen 1965; Nooy-Palm 1979; Tandilingtin 1974), their effort and scholarship in dealing with modernity have needed further exploration. In their native language, the Toraja people call their home *tondok lepongan bulan tana matarik allo*, meaning that the homeland is perfect like a circle of the full moon, and its community life is perfect like the shining sun. Unity, *masa*, and harmony, *elle*, within the dialectic ideas—up and down, black and white, east and west, earth and sky, etc.—are perceived as a perfect form of a circle and unwavering function of the moon and sunlight. Regardless of the weather, night and day in Tana Toraja are perfect because of the persistence of the moon and sun within the harmonious system of the universe. According to the native beliefs, unity and harmony in Toraja culture are constituted with the integrity of patrimonial society that is based on the complementary and dualistic system of the landlords and the commoners.

For the Toraja people, the blessing of their ancestors—*nene'* or *tomatua*—is not simply the lucky thing or the nostalgic glory of the past, but it is actually the benevolent power of memory and life based on gratitude that brings about their 'being' as a community perfect as the circle of life. In this regard, 'being' for them is a spiritually encompassing smoke up and down, the ancestral blessing is its link to the unknown. Since smoke, called *rambu*, for the Toraja is the icon of spiritual power, living is perpetual circulation of the smoke, *rambu*; it is like the course of sunrise and sunset. It is ritually driven with feasts of sacrificial water buffaloes at its peak. Death and marriage are traditionally associated with the momentum of up, *tuka'*, and down, *solo'*, of the smoke, *rambu* (Bigalge 2006, pp. 9–10). Nevertheless, the stability of the patrimonial polity is in favour of the ruling class, *tomakaka* and *tana bassi*.

Like any other Austronesian descendants in the Southeast Asian archipelago, the Toraja people chew betel nut, *bolu*, weave *ikat*, respect their elders, build their house on stilts, cultivate rice, and domesticate animals. Solidarity and mutual help, *saroan* or *akkha*, belong to longstanding traditions of agriculture, establishing settlements, and offering ritual feasts. Oral traditions of lyrics and poems,*pasomba tedong*, and customary laws, *aluk*, play a very important role in sustaining customs, values, and mores that constitute Toraja cultural identity (Sande and van der Veen 1986, p. 3). Although the *naga* symbolism is not revealed vividly in Toraja ornaments, arts, and architecture, its myth is alive in association with the power of water under the earth's surface. A natural spring well is perceived by the Toraja people as the power of gods, *deata*, in the form of a giant snake (Fig. 4.1).

The precolonial Toraja community was sociologically constituted by two castes: *tomakaka* or *tana bulaan/bassi* (noble people) and *tana karurung/kua-kua* (commoner). However, its sociopolitical life remained egalitarian. The mutual interdependency between the landowners and the commoners/workers functioned in agricultural production on a harvest share basis. The agreement on share was based on tradition for generations. Any dispute was discussed and settled in the spirit of mutuality and fairness. The sense of unity and harmony becomes the most important guidance for

Fig. 4.1 Coffins—*sarigan*—with boat form traces in Kete' Kesu

settling any argument or conflict. For some serious cases, such deliberations take place in the traditional council, *kombongan ada'*. The strong leadership of noblemen is, however, always in demand that keeps and sustains their unity as a community.

Besides the two predominant groups mentioned above, noblemen and commoners, in the past, there were also slaves, *kaunan*, living in the Toraja community as helpers and workers for rice cultivation. Head-huntings, *peului*, and wars among villages were the most important cause of such precolonial slavery. The practice of head-hunting was associated with the ritual of *ma'bharata* of *rambu solo*' in which a human sacrifice was offered as the climax of the mortuary ritual (Fig. 4.2).

Aluk Todolo is the source of values and meanings that guides the journey of smoke to *puya* (Nooy-Palm 1986, p. 320; Koubi 1982, p. 274). Since smoke—*rambu*—is never available without fire, its symbolic notion as spiritual power is never without the origin of 'being', *Pong Matua*. Does then 'being' as well as 'living' in the Toraja belief system resemble smoke? Smoke in the Toraja belief system stands for any being. Smoke as the allusion to existential power is concrete and present within various forms and performances of the lifeworld. Praising the incoming and outgoing power of being with ritual feasts reflects the belief in the eternal return of the same.

The very idea of *aluk todolo* (principles of ancient people) lies in its principles for rituals and ceremonies with sacrificial pigs and water buffaloes. That thee animal sacrifices are actually distributed to all people in the neighbourhood reflects their concern for solidarity and prosperity for all. *Aluk todolo* gives people the guidance in sharing for abundance and festivity instead of a solemn worshipping conduct. The way of worship according to *aluk todolo* is neither formal nor liturgical. There are two kinds of ritual feasts associated with *aluk todolo*: *rambu tuka'* and *rambu solo'*.

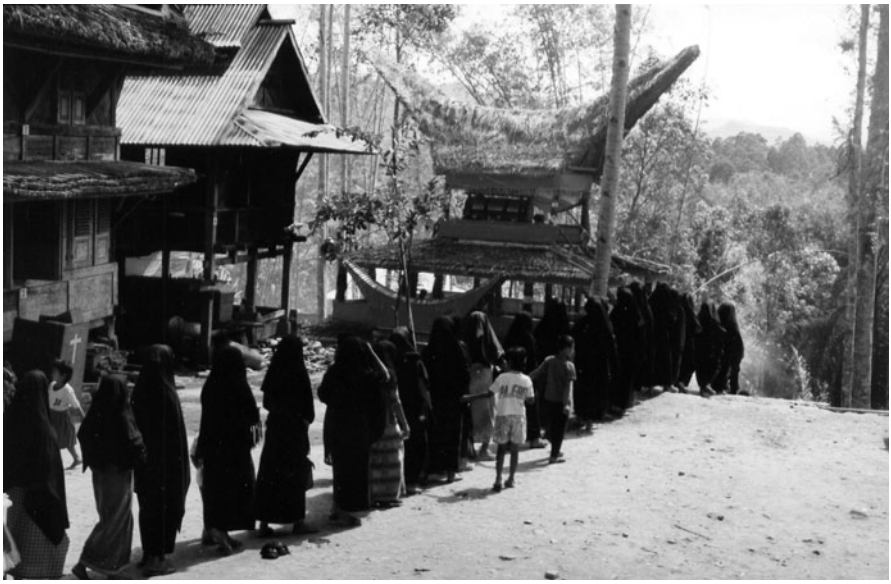

Fig. 4.2 Condolence—*ma'tongkon*—in Sesean District

The first is executed for demonstrating thankfulness to the universe and for wishing well-being of the lifeworld as well as community living. The focus of the feasts for *rambu tuka'* is actually to worship the highest transcendence, *puang matua*, and other gods, *deata*, that are theologically pantheistic. Accordingly, human beings in their essence as smoke are always in oneness with their universe.

The purpose of *aluk* and *pemali* is to lead people towards *rangga inaa*, meaning to achieve culture and wisdom. However, it is also possible to translate *rangga inaa* as a cultivated and well-mannered condition. In addition, the Toraja tradition values mutual respect, *sikasiri' datu*, hospitality, and soft-spoken language, *kada dibulu banning*. Moreover, *inna* or culture for the Toraja people is demonstrated by broadness of knowledge and wisdom. The person who has achieved the highest level of *inaa* is called *tominaa*, meaning the wise man. The traditional priest, *tominaa*, is not only a traditional poet who is able to recite the lyrics of *posemba tedong*, but also the wise person who is also an expert on tradition, a thinker, a spiritual leader, and an icon of the Toraja culture. The disappearance of a number of *tominaa* since the conversion of most Toraja people to Christianity is considered as the loss of the key-holders of their culture and tradition. Although the role and function of *tominaa* have been taken over by Christian priests, their genuine position in sustaining the wisdom of tradition remains an open question.

The other rituals are well associated with the funeral feast with its central purpose being to release the dead for a spiritual journey to *puya* or heaven. The first ritual takes place in the east side of the clan's house, *tongkonan*, when the sun rises, while the second is delivered at the west side in the afternoon. Ritually, *aluk todolo* is delivered by the native priest called *tominaa* by chanting lyrics of *pasomba tedong*.

Fig. 4.3 Ma'badong led by *tominaa*

Mortuary is for the Toraja people a festive occasion despite black, yellow, and red being the dominant colours. The more higher the social status of the dead, the more number of sacrificial pigs and water buffaloes are necessarily offered.

While *aluk* provides the Toraja people the principles of making up with others, thankfulness, and solidarity, *pemali*, gives them the morally governing principles in keeping the relationship between men and their environment in mutuality based on respect. The principles of *aluk todolo* are likewise the *dharma* in the teaching of the Hindus that leads people to avoid violence and to promote peace and solidarity. Although *aluk todolo* is never practised with a congregation, its rituals and ceremonies, which are imbued with the bloodshed of sacrificial animals, female dance, and male choir, *ma'badong*, which draw the attention of all people into oneness (Volkman 1985, p. 183). The dramatic and spectacular attraction of slaughtering water buffaloes during the mortuary feast is resolved with the solemnity of the female dance and the toughness of the male choir.

Aluk and *pemali* work hand in hand at any traditional occasion, giving the Toraja people the boundary of their lifeworld with the kinship house as its centre of occasion. Although today some moral principles of *aluk* and *pemali* have been conceptually adopted, modified, redefined, and adjusted into Christianity, their primary messages concerning respect to beings as a whole have not faded away. This is the reason why the rituals and ceremonies of *aluk todolo* survive today in a somewhat festive and spectacular manner. The gathering of people for the *rambu tuka'* or *aluk rampe malallo'* feasts such as *merok* and *ma'bua* are not only for the festive rituals and ceremonies, but also for foot wrestling, *sisemba*, and gambling with bull- and cockfighting and dice and cards (Wilcox 1989, p. 230) (Fig. 4.3).

The trace of ancestral seafaring remains undoubted in architecture and words. Various myths and legends confirm the value of seafaring handed down by their ancestors in various artistic expressions and the belief of life after death as sailing in the ocean of smoke towards the land of immortality, *puya*. The heaven where all transcendences reside is, in the Toraja belief system, always intact with the lifeworld where they live. Hence, *tondok* as the place where their lifeworld exists is also the place where mortals, immortals, sky, and earth gather with the support of rice cultivation and domestication of pigs and water buffaloes. The ancestors, gods, and the Supreme Being are never out there, but present in their living world, *tondok*. Ritual feasts of smoke ascending and descending are nothing but the collective validating and demonstrating actions of their unity, *mase*, and harmony, *elle* and *melo*.

Culturally, there are three traditional regions in Tana Toraja, which are counties: *padang di ambe*' in East Tana Toraja, *padang di puangi* in Central Tana Toraja, and *padang di madikai* in West Tana Toraja. These three regions are divided according to their traditional kinship and landownership. Their indigenous territories of customs are actually the outcome of interpretation and elaboration of one source of customary principles, *aluk todolo*. Each region has its own customary council, *kombongan ada'* (Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah-Indonesia 1984, p. 49). Interestingly, the three cultural regions merge and overlap with each other in two vicinities: Makale and Rantepao. Both centres play an important role in Toraja tradition and culture; they are the markets of Toraja commodities of power: water buffalo, pig, and chicken. The three regions, East, Central, and West, have their specific autonomy for customary laws; their dwelling and building traditions remain similar with respect to either their form or their construction process. The differences lie mostly in the procedure and method of conducting rituals and ceremonies related to the feasts of smoke ascending and smoke descending.

Under the authority of three traditional regions, they have established the confederates of villages which are named after their ancestral boat group, *lembang*. However, *lembang* is not actually a politically organized entity, but is rather a socio-culturally binding forum of kinship settlements. The primary function of the forum is to establish a traditional authority for the practice and control of customary laws for ritual feasts. Traditionally, precolonial *tondoks* were established on highlands. The ancient settlements were related to each other within the principle of high–low confederacy. The oldest settlement was upstream while the youngest occupied the downstream position. The precolonial confederation of *tondoks* was unified with the circle of ritual feasts of *ma'bua* (Hillier and Rooksby 2005, p. 89; Waterson 1990, p. 89).

Since the ritual feast in Tana Toraja is the lifeworld and reality itself, its procedure and constituent principles need to be seriously managed that bring about fair distribution of wealth and welfare. *Lembang* is actually the umbrella of the Toraja dwelling tradition that brings their people into a spiritually binding system of *aluk todolo*. Accordingly, dwelling on the earth is perceived as the preparatory work for sailing towards the realm of immortality, *puya*. The more festive, *marua'*, is the crowd in participating for meat distribution, the greater is the power of the soul of dead, *bambo*, in capturing the wind, *dipoya angina*, for sailing to the land of the ancestors.

The metaphor of the sailing is architecturally demonstrated by the composition of roofs of the *tongkonan* and *alang*.

The mortuary feast is the event when the institution of *saroan* needs its validation by calling its members for contribution and distribution of meat. *Saroan* literally means wage and share. As an institution, *saroan* is established to demonstrate the distribution of power in the form of meat to its members (Bigalke 2005, p. 284). Membership of the *saroan* is traditionally genealogical and hereditary and has been associated with agricultural work for planting and harvesting rice.

As a socioeconomic institution of dwelling, *saroan* is led by an elder or a group of elders called *ambe' saroan*, meaning literally father. Traditionally, a powerful landlord sits at the *ambe'* position. However, young, powerful, and intelligent males can claim the position. The task and duty of the *ambe' saroan* is to record and to regulate meat distribution and reception for ritual feasts. The heads of *saroan* know well the households and their credits or debts in their group. The collectively memorized concept of community of *saroan* lies in the share of and contribution to the cost of the feasts.

The meaning of *saroan* as an economic institution comes into play when the ritual feasts take place. The host of the feast call his or her *tongkonan* members for contributions of buffaloes, pigs, chickens, and rice. The host kinship is due to the distribution of meats to their *saroan*. The guests of the feast are actually the members of the host's *saroan* who will demand their right for claiming meat of the feast. Honour, pride, prestige, and revenge become an important part of the feast that reflects the Toraja power play in a concrete manner. The highlight of the feast is the event of meat distribution; it is the significant moment for feast stakeholders because their pride and standing will be loudly announced with notice of records for contribution and debt. In doing so, the honour and pride of feast stakeholders are made publicly known in a quantitative manner. Conflicts and disputes are part of the event because meat is the sign of power and personal pride as well. Debts and credits of meat will come repeatedly in accompanying ritual feasts. Thus, *saroan* is not simply an economic system of mutual help for agricultural work. Rather, it is a proper economic institution that demonstrates the Toraja power play with meat as its concrete measure.

As mentioned earlier, for Toraja people living is a preparatory work for sailing to heaven. Although the relationship between the dwelling house and boat form remains tentative, traces of the relation of being as well as living to the idea of sailing are apparent in the works of architecture and arts. The allusion to a sailing boat is architecturally manifest in various forms of kinship house, *tongkonan*, rice barn, *alang*, and coffin, *sarigan* or *erong*. The sweeping roof form of the *tongkonan* and the *alang* resembles the bull horn and sail, respectively. Although the outrigger construction of sailboat is not revealed obviously, its trace on the roof edge beam is still recognizable.

The unit of settlement of the tondok is traditionally constituted by several kinship houses, *tongkonan*, several rice barns, *alang*, field for sacrificial ritual, *rante*, and several houses, *banua*. Architecturally speaking, the *tondok* is recognizable with its traditional buildings standing in a group emulating ancestral sailing units of the

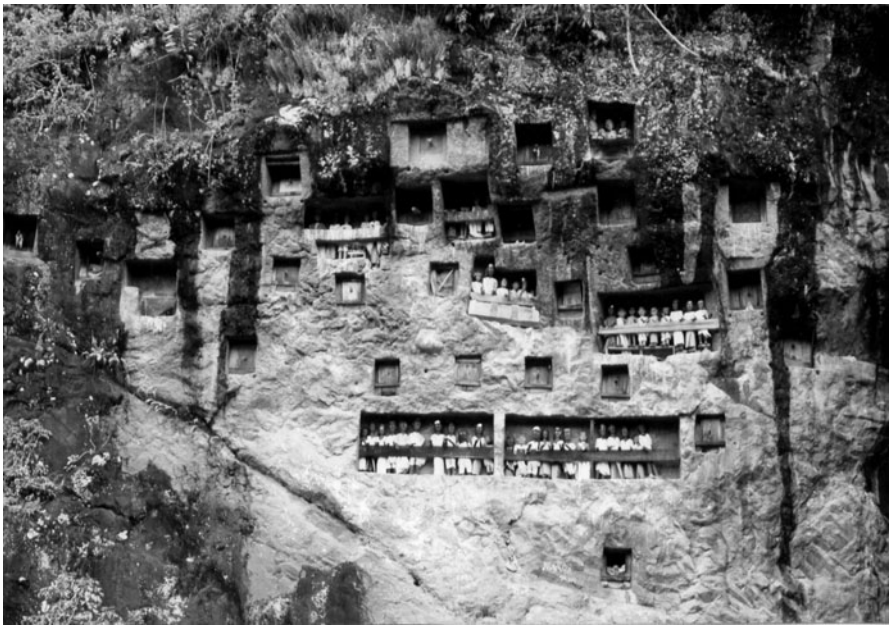

Fig. 4.4 Cliff grave, *liang*, with effigies of the dead, *tau-tau*, in Marante

arroan. Every *tondok* has its own traditional council that keeps and sustains the customary laws, *aluk* and *pemali*, in their communities. The role and function of *kombongan ada'* in every *tondok* are also to establish order and justice. Violating customary laws, *adat*, is a subject of deliberations of the community council. Any violation against *adat* has to be paid off with a fine in the form of chickens, pigs, and water buffaloes. In contrast to *saroan*, *tondok* is not an economically organized entity, but it is daily and territorially organized settlement with bamboo surrounding its territory, so called *kombongan*. The word *kombongan* means literally gathering, melting, meeting that grows towards oneness. *Tondok* is actually the outcome of *kombongan* in which the communion of kinship lies.

Originally, the head of the *tondok* is *pangulu* or chieftain who is also the head of a kinship. He is actually also the chief of warriors who is responsible for the safety and security of the settlement unit. Today, the title of *pengulu* is used to address the traditional priest, *tominaa*. The head of the *tondok* is addressed by the title *pong* or *puang* attached with the name of his *tongkonan*; the head of a kinship is usually the powerful man who is designated with the number of buffaloes, pigs, and the area of rice fields. Any *tondok* has its own name after its kinship house's name. Thus, the identity of people is given by their association with and membership of their kinship which is designated with their *tongkonan*, but not with their *tondok*. Referring one's name with a certain *tongkonan* gives a clue about the person within the traditional power play (Fig. 4.4).

Although the Old Malay title of ancestral chieftain *datu*' has disappeared today, its existence in the myths of origin is evident. The title is usually employed to address and to respect the ancestor of beings, such as *datu' lauku*, human ancestor, and *datu' riako*, ancestor of iron. Leadership among Toraja people is usually held by landlords who control land for rice cultivation and have a number of water buffaloes and pigs. The more powerful a landlord is, the more granaries, *alang*, he has in his *tondok*. Nevertheless, every *tondok* must have at least one *tongkonan* that shows its establishment as a respective settlement. Without a kinship house there is no *tondok*, meaning there is no seat for the dead. In other words, the relationship between a *tondok* and *tongkonan* is not simply institutional. Rather, the relationship lies in the spiritual significance that the kinship house enables them as members of a *tondok* for further sailing to the land of the ancestors.

Besides practising the socially regulating system based on *aluk* and *pemali*, the Toraja dwelling tradition is guided with self-control based more on pride and honour. In dealing with others, Toraja people hold pride and honour in the sense of *siri'*, meaning literally shame, pride, and honour. Toraja and Bugis people seem to share the same meaning of *siri'* that brings about the values of manhood into power play among men (Chambert-Loir and Reid 2002, p. 71). In such power play, they necessarily identify themselves with wealth, education, overseas experience, and genealogical ties with successful persons in regional and national bureaucracy and business.

In daily habitation, *siri'* drives people to achieve their respective position in their kinship and their *saroan* by working hard for accumulating wealth. There are three kinds of wealth valued by the Toraja people: *lolo tatanan*, plants such as rice, bamboo, coffee, and tobacco; *lolo patuan*, domesticated animals including buffalo, pig, and chicken; and *lolo tau*, children. Every noble household is supposed to have its own rice field, coffee plantation, buffaloes, pigs, and chicken in their *tondok*. Commoners usually are people who work for landlords in various agricultural activities and businesses. For most commoners, cultivating coffee for noble families is the most popular way to earn cash. Bamboo as the main material resource for Toraja cultural feasts is becoming more and more endangered with the expansion of land for coffee plantations. It seems to be a dilemma for the Toraja tradition if the need for cash for their *siri*' impacts the decreasing number of bamboo as a building material that supports their feasts architecturally.

The main entry to a *tondok* is commonly at the east side. The east side is also the area where the ritual feast of smoke ascending takes place. The feast of smoke descending is executed at the west side of the *tondok*. In the west side, we usually also find the other entry to the *tondok* leading to the *liang* or grave cliffs. The *tondok* as the place of hosting ritual feasts is always facilitated with an open area called *kalaparan* meaning, place for offerings. The centre of the *kalaparan* is the *rante* or the place to slaughter sacrificial animals, buffaloes and pigs. Stone monuments, *batu simbuang*, of the megalith tradition in some places mark the area of a *rante*; the number and its size show the pride and honour of the *tondok* and its *tongkonans*. The stones in Kete' Kesu were erected as the part of their feast of *mero'* and those in Lolai, Tikala, and Sesean were dedicated to the feast of *ma'bua*. Both feasts *mero'*

and *ma'bua* have the same purpose with different names and traditions of *rambu tuka'*.

Moreover, the open area of the *kalaparan* plays an important role of providing a site for temporary accommodation, *latang*, for guests and members of kinship for participating in the ritual feasts. Ritual feasts are the events when all domains of a *tondok* demonstrate their role and function within the Toraja tradition. During the occasion of ritual feasts, the *kalaparan* is used as the arena of buffalo-fighting, cockfighting, and male kick fighting. In the precolonial Toraja tradition, ritual feasts of smoke ascending were said to be the occasion of popular feasts with drink and trance. Magic play, gambling, and betting were an important part of the feast. It was also commonly believed that after the smoke-ascending feasts, mostly people sank into deep debt and poverty. Regardless of its spiritual association with *aluk todolo*, the abolishment of the feasts of *mero*' and *ma'bua* seem more constructive for Toraja social life as we experience today. At least their traditional values on pride and honour based on wealth do not bring them to jeopardy with gambling and betting.

Sociopolitically, peace and security of the *tondok* are achieved through confederative bonds with other *tondoks*. The confederation of settlements, *tepona tondoks*, is basically a traditionally binding forum that has also a socioeconomic purpose; it organizes collaborative works and mutual aid for rice cultivation and for recovery from natural disasters. As mentioned earlier, for socioeconomic works several *tondok* may be affiliated with certain *saroan*. Mutual helps are actually rotating works among the members of confederate *tondoks*; its institution is called *saroan*. In some cases, irrigation for rice cultivation and schedule for planting and harvesting may be coordinated by the *saroan* institution.

Moreover, the importance of the confederation is to set up a regular market, *pasa'*, every 6 days for water buffaloes, pigs, and other livestock. Their way of organizing a settlement based on *tondok* and *lembang* seem to have not led the Toraja to concentrate their political power beyond the politics of meat in the ritual feasts. Honour and prestige demonstrated with their competitive wealth in possessing water buffaloes seem to have not been established with neither political sovereignty over land and its resources and nor with domination of its populations. How can Toraja culture manage the greed for sovereignty? Indeed, the central collective life for the Toraja people is likely not to establish a seat for permanent ritual feasts. Rather, the Toraja tradition is to establish a rotation of places for executing ritual feasts based on the nature of life with special attention to the mortuary. Consequently, the concentration of ritual feasts at a certain location may uproot the relationship between the dead and their kinship origin which is architecturally represented by the presence of his/her *tongkonan*.

House in the Toraja language is denoted by *banua*, meaning literally the lifeworld, home, and place for family to live. The idea of *banua* is a common house which is customarily associated with the place where rice is cooked. There is never a house without a hearth that enables people to cook food, namely rice. Sharing cooked rice is indistinguishable from social relations. Having a home is practically the same as having a place for serving food. The key point for this condition is that every *banua*

has always the hearth called *dapo'*. Since for the Toraja people smoke is the allusion to the power of life, the hearth plays an important role in the existence of the *banua*.

Traditionally, the spatial division in a Toraja building is based on three levels. The ground level is for livestock, and the second and the third are for human beings and ancestors, *nene'*, and gods, *deata*, respectively. The three spatial categories are established in the building construction system of the *banua* as the house of living beings from water buffaloes, human beings, to ancestral spirits and gods. Pigs, chickens, and water buffaloes are treated as well as humans are.

As in any other animistic belief system, the Toraja people believe in coexistence with other beings; they are perceived indiscriminately as the members of communion in the perfect lifeworld; they pay respect to others regardless of their form as either the visible or the invisible. Pigs, *bai*, are the female being as well as female power, whereas buffalo, *tedong*, and chicken are associated with male power and spirits, *deata*. This is the reason why on the roof plane of a traditional house, images of chickens are carved, designating the place where the spirits live in the house.

Every being has its smoke that is the object of respect; for Toraja people, smoke is identical with the soul, power, and spirit of presence. The power in a person is signified by their wealth in terms of how many and how much land, house, domesticated animals, money, and gold they own. The richer and higher he/she is, the more he/she has to pay for his/her funeral feast. The life and death of a person have their own cost to be paid. Domesticated animals, gold, money, and goods are believed to be the fuel of the engine of the funeral feast. All this is for the sake of the pride and glory of the funeral feast. It is the reason why in daily life, pigs and water buffaloes are treated well with good food, fresh vegetables, and fresh grass. Regularly domesticated animals will leave indulgence.

Albeit head-hunting in the precolonial Toraja tradition must have been exercised, its role and function in the feasts were restricted only for the commencement of building construction. The in 1906 already abolished head-hunting was associated with the feast of *ma'bua*. The practice of head-hunting was used to articulate the dramatic establishment of the *tongkonan* as the origin and centre of kinship. Today, offering a communal meal is still practised to signify the first laying foundation and the column of *ariri posi* as the axis mundi of the house.

The most important building in a *tondok* is the *banua tongkonan*, meaning the house for sitting or the seat of kinship. The *tongkonan* is actually not a house for daily living. Rather, it is actually the symbolic seat of kinship where its members have their right to be seated after death in their transition from their *tondok* to *puya* (the land of their ancestors). The deceased *tongkonan*'s members will have their seat position with their fine clothes and jewellery before leaving the house through a floor hole. For the mortuary ceremony, the deceased will be laid into a trunk called *erong* for receiving condolences from members of kinship, guests, neighbours, and *saroan*. The construction of the *erong* recalls the ancestral canoe for capturing wind in their sailing to *puya*. For this reason, the *erong* is put at the platform where wind blows. The colours of red, yellow, black, and white dominate the platform and its *erong*. Commonly, the effigy and curvedly sweeping form of Tongkonan's roof are installed

for the cradle of *erong*. All buildings related to the mortuary are located at the west side of the *tongkonan*.

In a *tondok*, several *tongkonans* stand with their monumental pillars decorated with buffalo's horns. The number of sacrificial buffaloes slaughtered in every ritual feast are displayed in a demonstrative manner in front of each *tongkonan*. Buffalo's horn is perceived as the sign of wealth as well as the power of giving and sharing. The most decorated house in every *tondok* is known as *tongkonan layuk*, meaning the most important seat. The main *tongkonan* is traditionally established by the most powerful man in the kinship. Its construction in the precolonial Toraja was necessarily accompanied by sending hit men for head-hunting. Human skulls must have been hung in the precolonial *tongkonan layuk* to signify its first laying of the stone foundation. The collection of buffalo's horns would have increased with the number of feasts offered by the kinship since its first series of feast of *mero'* or *ma'bua*.

The importance of the series of feasts of *mero'* or *ma'bua* lies in the Toraja belief that the execution of the *rambu tuka'* is to consolidate wealth for the establishment of heirloom. By consolidating wealth with sacrificial pigs, the newly erected *tongkonan* becomes ready to breed kinship from generation to generation. Conceptually, the *tongkonan* is identified with *tumbang*, the lady of the powerful man in the kinship, that is, in pregnancy, *keba'tang*, during its first consecration within the framework of the serial feasts of *ma'bua*. Although the period of pregnancy for a *tongkonan* varies from one indigenous territory to another, its basic idea is similar to giving some time to all members of a kinship to consolidate their wealth and to establish their heirloomness (Fig. 4.5).

According to Toraja tradition and beliefs, the dead is considered a sick person, *to masaki ulluna*, or a human being in warfare. The deceased is bathed and dressed in his or her finest clothes, complete with jewellery. He or she has to be taken care of with regard to seating in the house before being buried with a mortuary feast. It takes several days, weeks, or months to enter into the funeral feast. While waiting for the feast, the deceased is preserved in the back part, *sumbung*, of the *tongkonan* house. If the funeral feast day is successfully set with collective agreement among leaders of the kinship and elders in the community, the preparation of the occasion is arranged by the kinship and its *saroan*. The *latang*, temporary pavilions for feast guests, *erong*, coffin, *bale kayan*, meat platform, and *lakkian*, platform for the coffin, are erected surrounding the *rante*, ritual field for sacrificial animals. Then, drumbeats and gongs are to be heard in the early morning of the day of the ritual feast that send audible messages to neighbouring communities about the ritual occasion.

4.3 Modernity in Tana Toraja

Under the Dutch colonial system, Tana Toraja was the target of the Christian missionary. The Dutch Indies and the missionary worked hand in hand to block the spread of Islamic influence by the Bugis kingdoms: Bone, Gowa, and Luwu. Bugis

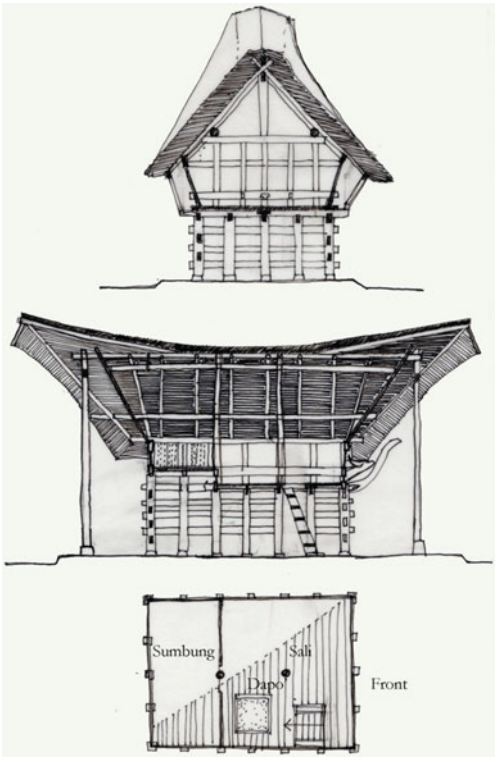

Fig. 4.5 Typical plan and sections of *tongkonan*

merchants were traditionally the intermediaries for Toraja commodities. In return, silk, beads, gold, silver, iron, and Chinese ceramics were traded by the Toraja people with rice, *pare*; coffee, *kaa*; pepper, *mrica*; tobacco, *kaluang*; rattan; dammar; resin; and labour, *kaunan*, that played an important role as valuable things in their rituals and ceremonies. Although today Christianity has been widely adopted and accepted as the formal religious affiliation, the native belief of ancestral spirits, *aluk todolo*, is never forgotten; its customary principles for ritual and ceremony concerning the life cycle and community living are still alive.

Sa'dan Toraja as a cultural boundary remained outside political intervention from Bone and Luwu until the middle of the seventeenth century. Under the reign of Arung Palakka, the Islamic Bone kingdom had exercised their power over Toraja villages in the districts of Makale, Sangalla, and Mengkedek. The Bugis' control over Southern Tana Toraja (1683–1690) had led to a spirit of ethnic awakening to consolidate the intervillage confederation in the name of *tondok lemponga bulan tanamatarik allo* as mentioned earlier. The confederate villages came together to establish the concept of settlement defence as boat called *lembang* (Kis-Jovak 1988, p. 20), while its northern communities in Rindingallo, Sesean, and Saluputi remained untouched by the Bone invasion. These northern communities sustained their village republican life until the Dutch came to control them in 1906. In dealing with self-defence against the Bugis intruders since the seventeenth century, units of settlement in the southern

region had been architecturally constructed with surrounding thorny bamboo walls for their safety and security from any possible intrusion. During the Dutch colonial rule, more and more people were instructed to move to lowlands where they used to grow rice. In doing so, the Dutch authority was able to control them effectively and to educate their children without difficulty.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Toraja came to the attention of the Dutch rule as a political geography; the interest was initiated with the Luwu Assistant Resident, Breedveldt Boer, in 1905 when he invited Indische Kerk to work in Tana Toraja (Schrauwers 1972, p. 172). The main purpose of the invitation was the Dutch concern on the spread of Islamic influence of Bugis in the regional trade of Luwu bay where most Toraja commodities found their way to international trade. Islam was threatening the hegemony of Dutch rule, because of its teaching based on the brotherhood and equality of humankind. For the Toraja ruling class, Islam was a latent danger to their traditional status and privilege. The Dutch and the ruling class had something in common to maintain their status quo. However, the upheaval of Toraja people came into being when the Dutch tried to control the ruling class by making them paying tribute and tax to the colonial authority.

Although the resistance from the native leaders, Pong Tiku, Pong Masangka and Pong Maramba, against the Dutch rule came into being in Rantepao and Makale, the military superiority of the colonial authority was able to defeat native rebels within few months. Then, all Toraja communities were under the supervision of the Dutch *controleur* who mobilized their leaders and elders to learn Christianity from the Dutch missionaries. Needless to say, the traditional trades with Chinese and Bugis merchants for certain commodities were under supervision and taxation of the Dutch rule.

Literacy among the young Toraja generation was introduced in Makale in 1908 and sustained within the Ethical Policy programme in Rantepao. Most children of native noblemen were given access to literacy in the hope that they would work for the Dutch colonial regime. The work of the Christian missionaries of Indische Kerk was sustained by an independent Gereformeerdee Zendingsbond (GZB) in 1913 under the leadership of priests and scholars Adriani and Kruyt (Steenbrink 2003, p. 278). The independent missionaries established a Christian school in Rantepao during the first year of their mission.

Both priests were well known as ethnolinguists who had learned Toraja language and taught the people modern medicine and carpentry and made them literate. Their approach to introduce modernity was persuasive and fully empathic by using the terms and concepts in the local language, native beliefs, and tradition. Christianity was taught in the way to lead them into the open lifeworld through literacy. Gradually, many Toraja were attracted to learn Christianity based on trust for the priests, Adriani and Kruyt. During the period of their work in Tana Toraja, Rantepao had been established as one of the independent churches in Sulawesi. Of course, conservatism in the Toraja tradition was against the work of the independent church.

However, the presence of the GZB church did not lead them towards an open conflict, especially in the matter of ritual feasts of smoke ascending. The Toraja people under the influence of the church did not practice voluntary head-hunting,

slave trade, gambling, and drinking *balok*, palm wine. On the other hand, the Dutch colonial rule did exercise their power to abolish slave trade and head-hunting, but they were not successful in leading the Toraja people to Christian values and morality. Cultural resistance to convert *aluk todolo* with Christianity seems to uproot their home concept, which has been established within indigenous rituals and feasts. The murder of Indische Kerk's priest van de Loosdrecht in 1917 was a warning to the missionary to not to interfere with indigenous beliefs and tradition. Indeed, the follow-up of the missionary work of GZB was under the leadership of Adriani and Kruyt; their work was successful because of their respect for indigenous beliefs and cosmology as well as to their native language. Because of the shortage of funds, modernity under GZB church's programme was restricted only to literacy and modern education for the children of Toraja aristocrat class in the region of Rantepao; the first open elementary school had been established. Albeit equality and anti-discrimination were important parts of the Christianity, the daily colonialism of the Dutch rule did not give them the sense of social justice. The native people were treated differently from the Europeans and other Asian populations.

The Christian missionaries sustained their work in Tana Toraja until the beginning of the Pacific War in 1942. Since then, modernity has been understood by the Toraja people as an experience of being integrated in the modern bureaucracy. All this is within the framework of approach and system of rationality through education and administrative decision-making. The impact of rationalism under the Dutch colonial rule was the first encounter with a politically centralized authority. It was the time when Toraja communities (*tondok*) did not enjoy their indigenous independence as a village republic.

Surprisingly, the acceptance of Christianity by the majority of the Toraja people occurred during the period of 1953–1965, when the Permesta separatist rebellion in South Sulawesi spread out into the highlands. Regarding themselves a minority on the island, most Toraja people felt in danger and needed protection from the church. Most Toraja people have become Christian since those years. It is apparent that they sustained customs and traditions while adopting Christianity.

Three years before the end of the Pacific War in 1945, the Christian missionary works stopped. All Europeans were brought into a prisoner-of-war camp in Makassar. The churches, however, did not stop their service under the leadership of native priests. Although economically most Toraja people suffered under the circumstances of war, traditional feasts and rituals continued to sustain solidarity and kinship among them. The Japanese learnt well from their predecessors, the Dutch, not to interfere with the local affairs and religious matters of the native people (Hollan and Wellenkamp 1993, p. 151). In order to attain sympathy from the native people, the Japanese priest Miahira was sent to the highlands in 1943–1945, working hand in hand with a native priest to sustain the Church services.

Modern development in Tana Toraja began at least 10 years after the end of the Pacific War. More public elementary and some secondary schools were established in Rantepao and Makale. Infrastructure for communication and transportation had been developed that led to Tana Toraja being a regency administration in 1957 in the socioeconomic network of South Sulawesi province. Tana Toraja as a tourist

destination attracted massive international attention under the 5-year plan of development under the New Order 1970–1998. Agricultural production was gradually improved within the New Order development programme, especially rice and export commodities such as coffee and cotton. The programmatic development since 1970 had led Tana Toraja to the surplus of rice cultivation in Toraja that enabled them to perform ritual feasts with more and more festivity and vibrancy.

The amalgam of Christianity and *aluk todolo* comes into being peacefully and synergically, enriching rituals and ceremonies; Christian signs and symbols are now part of Toraja decorations and arts. The need for the Toraja people to perform a ritual mortuary feast becomes more apparent as a homecoming event where and when gathering of kinship members takes place. All this is for the sake of validating the relationship and solidarity among them that provides them with the sense of home in the land of their origin.

Since Rantepao and Makale are considerably small towns, they do not have higher educational institutions. Some young people of Toraja pursue their higher education and training in the urbanized vicinities of South Sulawesi such as Pare-pare, Poso, and Makassar. Few of them go to Javanese cities to pursue their higher educations. The mobility of the Toraja people is actually made possible with the fact that their region has been economically and politically integrated within the territory of Republic of Indonesia. Trade, government, tourism, and education bring about a Toraja lifeworld open for migration and interaction with other cultures. Some young Toraja graduates live and work in various regions of Indonesia. In return, other Indonesians work in Tana Toraja to do business in tourism and agricultural commodities such as coffee and marquise.

Today, Tana Toraja is one of the most important Indonesian international tourist destinations. Adam's study (2006) on Toraja finds that the tourism in the region has transformed the meaning of arts from having a socioculturally symbolic to an economically pragmatic purpose; *tongkonans* and effigies have become ethnic icons and referential identity of Toraja land, culture, and society. Artistic works in Toraja society have become more accessible for most people, regardless of their traditional caste. Even though the postcolonial Christian missionary work has undoubtedly transformed the dualistic division of Toraja society with their congregations and communions in the church, modernity and tourism enable commoners to change their socioeconomic situation in an active manner.

Indeed, modernity under the development programme of the New Order had put Toraja land on the national map and on the schedule of tourist destinations. The time between August and September is the peak time for visits; most communities in Tana Toraja perform their mortuary feast. Airstrips, travel agencies, hotels, and homestay accommodation had been set up and developed in Rantepao and the Makale area since the 1970s. Besides its spectacular traditional mortuary feast, the Toraja landscape, indigenous architecture, crafts, and its rural inhabitation have unique attractiveness for those who appreciate authenticity of the past. Indigenous architecture is always in demand for establishing local identity in various buildings. *Tongkonan* and *alang* have become the source of architectural icon of Toraja culture. Most public buildings

and tourist-related facilities attempt to adopt traditional forms of *tongkonan* and *alang* in their pursuit of locally binding identity.

Although modernity in Tana Toraja has led people to learn to be familiar with modern building materials, modern construction, industrial utensils, and furniture, the sense of home remains in question until they get a chance to perform the ancient rituals of smoke. Indeed, Christianity and the Dutch rule did not quite encourage such performance. The anthropological approach of the Dutch scholars such as van der Veen, Adriani, and Kruyt was not free from colonial interest; the Toraja people were an important bastion of the Dutch against the Islamic influence from the Bugis and Luwu. Modern development under the New Order (1970–1998) brought about the opportunity for the Toraja people to reveal themselves as a cultural subnation of Indonesia with well-preserved rituals of the traditional funeral feasts. Since those periods, negotiations with the Church took place, especially in accommodating the need for tourism as a national commodity. From the viewpoint of the national interest of Indonesia, Toraja land and culture is always important in terms of agricultural and cultural commodity. In this respect, the rituals of smoke are an important event of Toraja heritage that fits with the national interest. The feasts need agricultural productivity for their pride and glory, whilst tourism needs the events for spectacular attractions. Beyond this economic mutualism, the Toraja people find their way to gather as a unique kinship that maintains, develops, and sustains their ethnic identity.

Despite the form and matter of culture having mostly changed, the spiritual tradition of respecting their ancestors is ritually maintained and sustained. All this seems likely in terms of syncretism. Negotiations between the church and traditional leaders on ancient tradition and customs have been going on with mutual respect. Of course, the role of the local government is significant in this matter. The common ground for their conformity lies in the fact that their common enemy is poverty. Pragmatism becomes the important guidance of their negotiations in dealing with poverty.

Architecturally speaking, pragmatism becomes the common language of their building style and settlement layout. The common people of Toraja adopt the Bugis house as their home. Lifestyle based on traditional domestication had been changed when the Toraja encountered Bugis culture and tradition in the sixteenth century. The Toraja house called *banua barung-barung* has a flexible layout and structure compared with the *tongkonan* house. The adoption of *banua to bugis* for their home is possibly also a sign of liberation from the traditional patrimonial system. The Toraja common people are mostly landless and traditionally not eligible to build expensive traditional houses. For the aristocratic class, the development of a modern house is reasonable because of their urban lifestyle that includes providing space for a car, healthy sanitation, and electricity in the design and its layout. Privacy, home entertainment, comfort, convenience, safety, and security are considerable factors of modern living today in Rantepao and Makale. These factors are traditionally strange and likely not familiar with Toraja collectivism based on sharing. Although education, cultural interaction, and communication via television, Internet, and the press have gradually established individual awareness among Toraja elites that brings about changes in their traditional lifestyle, the ritual funeral feast remains the spiritual call to their original values inherited from their ancestors.

Still, the pragmatism of modernity is widely accepted in social relation that has transformed the meaning and value of the *tongkonan*. The traditional house, *tongkonan*, today is no longer the sign of pride and glory of the aristocrat class. Modern tourism has gradually changed its traditional tie with aristocracy and becomes a commodity of touristic destination. Some *tongkonans* are built, carved, and decorated to accentuate Toraja ethnic identity.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

The spirit of Toraja culture and tradition is metaphorically depicted with the cycle of smoke, *rambu*. There are phases of smoke ascending and descending. Each period has its own mission and function in signifying the being of mankind that life goes on after death and only the realms are different. Although the feasts of *merok* as well as *rambu tuka'* for smoke ascending have been forbidden after the adoption of Christianity, the funeral feasts of *rambu solo'* are still alive and sustained. The feasts with offering water buffaloes' sacrifice are the call for being together as a community. It is also the call to the Toraja for going back home to their origin. Despite its possible commercialization of culture, tourism is positive for Toraja culture because it enables the Toraja to rediscover and revitalize their ancient tradition of the course of the smoke. In doing so, the ritual events are not only useful for keeping their cultural identity that gives them the sense of home.

Chapter 5
Dwelling as *Dharma*: A Hindu–Balinese Experience of Building and Living in Modernity

Abstract Albeit Balinese culture and tradition have been well known worldwide, the question concerning the relationship between the Hindu Dharma and the Balinese dwelling tradition remains less explored. What is dwelling in Hindu–Balinese culture? How do they deal with modernity? This chapter argues that Balinese culture and its dwelling tradition are *dharma* in action. In order to understand this connection, this chapter examines, unfolds, and dismantles the relationship between local concepts and the phenomena of dwelling and building. The material of the study was taken from the author's fieldwork in the island of Bali in 1976, 1991, 2000, 2005, and 2010.

Keywords Hindu–Balinese · *Dharma* · Dwelling · Building · Modernity

5.1 Dwelling as Dharma

Bali, with its Balinese settlement, tradition, culture, and landscape, for several centuries, has been probably one of the most globally renowned touristic destinations. Confronting modernity since the twentieth century, Bali could have experienced not only severe interactions, but also memorable appreciation from various prominent scholars and literate persons from all over the globe. Having been relatively isolated from Islamic influence and European traders until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the acculturation of indigenous tradition and Sanskrit culture must have taken place towards its ripeness. However, Bali owes its cultural maturity and readiness to its ancestral Malay-Polynesian tradition of hospitality that enables them to filter and synthesize foreign influences within their socioreligious framework of Hindu Dharma.

Beyond its exoticism, the recently living Hindu culture and tradition on the island might be a potential test case, where there is something to be learnt from dwelling in the globally exposed circumstances. As anywhere on the globe, modernity, in its connotative notion of Westernization, comes into play in the daily life of Balinese lifeworld that leads towards materialistic consumerism and hedonism. It is worth wondering how Balinese people and culture are able to deal with modernity. For several centuries, Bali has been well known as the case where cultural syncretism takes its course in history. Bali is also the place where dwelling takes its task and

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role to be the host of any possible guest with various values and preferences without prejudice. Besides its root in the Malay-Polynesian hospitality, the open-minded attitude of Hindu–Balinese people might have been deployed from the teaching of *dharma.*

Today, Bali is probably one place in the globe that is an ever-changing site of never-ending conflicts and confrontations between materialism and spiritualism, secularism and asceticism, and wants and necessities. Nevertheless, Bali is still the land where a possible collaboration of various ways of life from the West and the East has a chance to grow. Bali is probably an appropriate case for such a cultural acculturation. In addition, Bali has the most likely potential to disclose itself towards a newly emerging dwelling culture because of its long-standing tradition in dealing with others in the sense of what, in the Balinese context, has been known as *tat twam asi*. Accordingly, others never stand outside the Balinese lifeworld, *bhawana*. Embracing others as the fellows of being in the lifeworld might have led Balinese tradition and culture to a learnable track towards beings as a whole. Hence, the paradigm of 'us versus them' would have not had fertile ground in Balinese culture.

As any globally exposed place to international tourism, Bali has become the site of a crucial case of dwelling, because dwelling is conditioned by a secure relationship between human beings and their environment. How can people find the sense of stay in a place where the incessant influx of various influences through media, personal contacts, exchanges, and educations takes place? Despite its dreadful influence of drug abuse and sexual disease, tourism not only brings about economic advantage and investment for the island but also conveys and disseminates technologically elaborated modernity into Balinese lifeworld that affects the need for translations, interpretations, and integrations into Balinese language and manner. The problem of modernity here seems to have dealt with the art and way of domesticating every source from its rudeness, *kasar,* towards its culture, *alus*.

Since Hindu ritual life in the island of Gods is inseparable from Balinese daily life, its existence is always open for necessary adaptation. Building and dwelling traditions in Bali are never out of the question of change. New building materials, new construction techniques, modern home appliances, and global communication networks are necessarily managed in the making of house in Bali and elsewhere. A most unique Balinese way of life in dealing with modernity and globally exposed communication lies in its way of life known as *dharma*. Although Balinese *dharma* is principally untranslatable into the English language (Digest 1972, p. 222), there are some resemblances of the concept, which are apparent in the daily habitation. All this is because *dharma* is not simply the Balinese realm of value; rather, *dharma* is the reality of Balinese lifeworld.

As many Hindus around the globe do, Balinese people hold *dharma* as their way of life. In Balinese language, *dharma* literally means truth, responsibility, kindness, gift, order, principle, sacred soil, shrine, and father. Hence, for the Balinese, *dharma* is the source of any actuality of living. Since *dharma* is the source of actuality of the Balinese lifeworld, its existence is properly transindividual, trans-sectarian, and transcendental. Thus, *dharma,* in this sense, is omnipresent, integrative, and cohesive.

The practice of *dharma* enables Balinese people to overcome the division of social strata, which is based on the caste system (Geertz 1981, pp. 125–126). The actuality of *dharma* in daily habitation is a uniquely socially organized mechanism for a dwelling institution that enables Balinese people to find themselves in one lifeworld with others. The facts are that dynamic peace and splendour beauty are inseparable from the festive and spectacular performances of the daily Balinese lifeworld. How does such a mechanism work?

As a matter of fact, the Balinese believe in Hindu *dharma* and practise its teaching as an integrated part of their culture. Since they have practised *dharma* for generations that has led them to a certain cultural ability of conflict management, this chapter argues that *dharma* in Balinese society has achieved its ripeness as living philosophy and habitation. From this position on, any transformation and adjustment are seen by the Balinese as *dharma* towards *moksa*— detachment and liberation from bodily bounded affection. Correspondingly, being in the lifeworld for Balinese people seems to go with the flow of epoch—*yuga*—without sinking into the darkness of the age, of course, with the guidance of *dharma* by means of *artha*—wealth—for surpassing *kama* towards *moksa*. It is probably the reason why modernity has not brought about a self-identity crisis.

5.2 Desa–Kala–Patra: Place–Time–Context

The habitation of the Balinese, according to *dharma,* has to comply with the principle of *desa–kala–patra* (compare Eiseman and Eiseman 1985, p. 96; Lueras and Loyd 1987, p. 179) that settlement is to manage the setting of place, *desa,* temporality, *kala,* and circumstances, patterns, or context, *patra,* towards well-being, *rahajeng*. The sense of *desa–kala–patra* lies in the readiness for the right now that is being able to change and adjust in dealing with any change.

The Balinese sense of the right 'now' comprises time as a whole in terms of *atita–nagata–watamana,* by which past, present, and future are conceived within a series of moments. In this sense, Balinese building and dwelling are necessary and are always ready for change, transformation, and development. Such changes are understood in the framework of *desa–kala–patra*. Uniquely, the framework is never conceived as a principally established system. Rather, re-reading and listening to every case and area of concern with care and without prejudice are subject to its implementation.

Interestingly, the materially composed form in the cosmos is identified in a way that there is no reason to see others outside the self. All these elements of the cosmos are set together in the various forms and embodiments of *panca mahabuta*. On the earth, *panca mahabuta* manifests in the works of art, which in Balinese beliefs contain the spiritual power, *taksu* (Marsella and White 1982, p. 262). The power brings about the five elements: *apah,* water, *teja,* light, *akhasa,* space, *bayu,* air/wind, and *pertiwi,* earth, to come into play towards a self-established composition.

What is different among beings is one's *taksu,* a creative energy. This is not simply spirit, ash, and power of the thing or being. Rather, *taksu* is a genuine property and potentiality for creating and making the things or beings. The creative energy in the sense of *taksu* might have been associated with mysticism. Nevertheless, *taksu* seems to be the content of human work that is experienced as a possessed striving for the emotive vitality of being.

The purpose of creation is of course in line with *dharma* that leads *taksu* to recognize the gathering of *panca mahabhuta* in revealing its bestowal, *asli, sujati*. Despite its process imbued with mysticism and trance, *kerauhan,* it might properly be said that *taksu* could have liberated the artists from their self-consciousness and egocentricity. In so doing, the creative process could have led the Balinese artists towards free explorative and elaborative sighting without prejudice and preconception.

Moreover, *taksu,* in Balinese culture, is a spiritual power that works towards the experience of the sublime. A well-distinguished work, *karya,* is conceived with an inherently convincing *taksu*. In many cases, *taksu* is closely related to enchantment or mysticism. Any work of composition is conceived by the Balinese people to contain the *taksu* so that we experience its expressiveness, its uplifting effect, its pleasurable experience, and its vitality. The phenomenon of *taksu* reveals as magic power, which is imbued into the artist's experience during the performance and the making of the work.

Moreover, what is important for the Balinese is never to hold everything without looking back at its circumstances of *desa–kala–patra*. In other words, *desa–kala–patra* is the syncretic way of *dharma* in dealing with the daily existence.

Sensibility to what is going on is a preconditional principle of *desa–kala–patra.* Then, any action and determination for building and dwelling are subject to circumspective thought. Since right or wrong has nothing to do with absolute values, being aware is more helpful for making any decision and determination of living. Being unaware of what happens means, for the Balinese people, being stubborn. The Balinese people call such a man as *wong linglung*. Being vigilant and sensible to any kind of situation is the essential aspect of the *desa–kala–patra* principle. All this is for the sustenance of being towards dynamic peace—*shanti*—and splendour beauty—*langa, kalangengan*.

What is habitation or domestication in the framework of *desa–kala–patra*? Habitation or domestication in the Balinese context is not simply comprised of the concept of familiarity, *biasa;* rather, habitation is always conceived as the way and necessity for adjustment in the sense of *cara*. All problems and cases have their own respective characteristics so that their nature is to be handled in a specific way, *cara*. The practice of *cara* is closely related to the flexibility and tolerance in dealing with any situation. Based on *cara,* every site or location is necessarily respected according to its bestowal and its actual circumstances. However, nothing is rigid and inflexible in the lifeworld, *bhuwana*. Everything in terms of *cara* is subject to be manageable and able towards a locally self-regulating system.

Conflicts and confrontations for the Balinese are a never-ending play in the course of life, *urip, hurip* with the guidance of *dharma*. To dwell in the Balinese tradition of *desa–kala–patra* is not to engage their *dharma* with locality with tolerance, *pengurip*.

The Balinese believe in the so-called *pengurip,* which is to denote the sparing and tolerance for any action and decision (Eisenman and Eisenman 1990, p. 116). To dwell is to make a decision for living in a circumstantial locality with sparing and tolerance for others as well as for the unknown. *Pengurip* is the way to let the thing be, always open to any possibility. *Desa–kala–patra* as a principle of building and dwelling is supposedly to avoid any prejudgment against others. In terms of *pengurip, desa–kala–patra* provides people with a flexible structure and instrument in dealing with the unknown or others without fear. The practice of *desa–kala–patra* is *cara*. There is never a home in existence without *cara*. Hence, *cara* brings about any unknown other into the light of being 'in-between', which, in the Balinese tradition, is known as *tengah-tengah*.

The sense of *tengah-tengah* lies in the awareness of being free that prevents one from any possible extreme position. Supposedly, the importance of being 'in-between' lies in the capacity of being able to be open-minded that enables one to listen to others. All this is taught by the Balinese tradition in the name of *dharma*. Being able to listen to others is conditioned with patience and respect. Both conditions are comprised in the notion of *dharma*.

Being 'in-between', *tengah-tengah,* is to be in the search of a dynamic and emotive balance between the dualism. The Balinese understand the antagonistic nature as *rwa bhineda* (Lansing 2006, p. 162). Accordingly, being in between is to incorporate the vitality of life. Thus, the principle of *rwa bhineda* does not speak of right or wrong, but it depicts the principle of the vitality of being represented by basically never-ending conflicts of interests of dualistic gender, *purusha*—male—and *pradana*—female—as depicted from the never-ending fight–play between *Rangda* and *Barong* to *Calon Arang*. In short, the idea of living 'in-between' exists as the important aspect of the Balinese lifeworld. In the traditional layout of village and house, the sense of *tengah-tengah* is given with the establishment of *pura puseh* and *natar*. In many ways, striving for the balance of dynamic antagonism inspires the Balinese sense of aesthetics in various works of art from sculpture, architecture, and dance.

Habitation for Balinese is made possible with local wisdom and manner called *lokacara* (Davidson and Henley 2007, p. 184). Accordingly, any aspect, attribute, property, modality, structure, and character of *loka* are subjects to be respected with wholehearted offering. *Loka* means literally proper and proprietary place. In its broadest sense, *loka* is the area with its own specific characteristics. Traditional Balinese beliefs ask people to pay homage to any being in its *loka* because everything has its own place and power. Hence, anything and any being in the context of *loka* are considerably significant and useful for a deliberately involving totality.

The word *loka* might rightly be understood as a definitive place of dwelling where the relationship between human beings and their cosmic environment comes into being. In other words, *loka* is not simply a site, but it is also the place of gathering in which human beings, gods, earth–metal–wood–water–and sky–universe and heaven–come together to make an event. Moreover, *loka* in the Balinese tradition is the site of dwelling that is never in the space of infinity, but inside a boundary.

The boundary of *loka* is established with the notion of culture, which is formulated with the concept of *krama*. Literally, *krama* means manner, way to behave, highly respected sensibility, and membership. The boundary of dwelling is in *loka*, which is metaphysically constituted by *tatwa,* thought, *susila,* principles of behaviour, and *uphacara,* procedure. In daily life, *krama* is the boundary in action. All important orders and etiquette for village assembly and social activities in terms of *krama* are written in the *banjar* constitution, which is known as *awig-awig*. Thus, habitation in a traditional Balinese village is based on a locally established constitution with literate documentation on *lontar* leaves. Under the notion of *krama,* Balinese villagers living in *banjar* are due to participate in the village life in which village temple rituals and ceremonies become their primordially social events for validating their relationship with others in their territorially bounded membership. *Krama,* in the broadest sense, is to articulate membership in the village based on their manner (Geertz 1981, p. 74).

The happenings of habitation are in *loka* in which the interplay between the opposite positions takes place. *Loka* in the sense of *desa–kala–patra* is always the site where the things, *barang-barang,* and gatherings, *kumpul-kumpul,* come into being. Thus, *loka* is the architecturally gathering place where dualistic cosmic powers, properties, and loci exist in cohabitation. The dualistic principle called *ruwa bhineda* is an essential aspect of the daily-existing totality, *jagad*. The totality is always spiritual in its conceptual formulation of *krama* that is to define the boundary of home with dignity and decency.

The totality of place, people, and life of the lifeworld called *bhuwana* consists of five natural elements, *bhuta,* which provide people with the possible condition of life. Everything between earth and sky is formed and formulated as the composition of these five elements. *Bhuta* literally means basic element with powerful substance. All resources in the cosmos contain the five essential elements: air, water, light, space, and soil, which are known as *panca mahabuta*. The task of habitation is to bring all beings in terms of *bebutan* into a harmonious totality within the man-made boundary.

The border of habitation is not simply physical matter as shown by the rectangular enclosing wall, called *penyengker* for house and *kuta* for town. Rather, the border of habitation, in its broadest sense, is a socially ordering system of behaviour, *tata krama*. In Balinese aphorism, we listen: *Negara mawa tata, desa mawa cara*—state used to have order, but village has its own way. The boundary of dwelling is established with a constitution called *awig-awig*. Any sociopolitical institution of dwelling, such as *banjar* or *desa,* has its own *awig-awig, which* is traditionally written on *lontar* leaf. Based on such a constitution, *banjar* is originally an independent institution. The chief of this settlement institution, *kelihan banjar,* is democratically elected from elders of *banjar* with an average term of 5 years.

The formal institution of *banjar* is *desa*. In this constellation, a village has two types of leaderships, which are formal and traditional. The formal leader is called *kelihan dinas,* whereas the traditional chief is known as *kelihan adat*. In many cases, conflicts and disharmony between both leaders are evident. Since the fall of New Order in 1998, the political situation has been leading to bring both leaders into mutual respect. In *banjar,* Balinese villagers are also members of some associations,

such as *subak,* dance group, *gamelan* group, discussion group, *karang teruna,* youth association, etc. Architecturally, the sign of *banjar* is incorporated with the structure of *bale kulkul*. This structure is constructed in a similar way to the Balinese shrine, *pamerajan*. The form of *bale kulkul* is designed for a monumental edifice. The presence of *bale kulkul* is to designate a sociopolitically established settlement.

The habitation of the lifeworld is developed with the dictum of unity in harmony, which is only accessible within the framework of *desa–kala–patra*. The goal of Balinese dwelling is towards *sareh*. This concept means literally peace, rest, quiet, self-containment, and integrity. This sense of *sareh* refers to the characteristic phenomena of repose at home, which are genuinely conducive for recollection, *eling*. The state of mind of *eling* is always conditioned by the place where one finds his/her own place of self-disclosure, *sareh*. Hence, the state of being *eling* is the condition of mind in its freedom. Resoluteness and self-reliance are made possible with the state of *eling*. The concept of *eling* is difficult to translate into other languages because of its relation to long-life training of practising *dharma*. Accordingly, the concept belongs to the faculty of mind for being aware without self-importance in dealing with the lifeworld. Habitation based on *eling* leads man towards the necessity for respecting others that establishes the awareness of beings as a whole in terms of *tat twam asi*.

The appropriate site of dwelling is the area where one can have free space for self-identification. The site known as *pakarangan* is not simply a free area; rather, it is made free by the community, *banjar,* to those who are eligible for community/village membership*, krama banjar*. *Pakarangan* is from the word *karang,* meaning ordinary and simple place.

The reality of the lifeworld is always transcendental manifold of *bhuwana* in various identifiable manifestations, which are its relations to beings as a whole and perfection always prior to its essential oneness, *tat twam asi*. Any case in the lifeworld is perceived to be an independent case from moral values because every event and matter has its own lesson within the framework of *desa–kala–patra.* The only principle working at any case has its own way towards harmony. Thus, the phenomena of the lifeworld are necessarily understood in a continuous process in the search for harmonious unity of all antagonistic properties, powers, and positions.

5.3 Linggih: Sitting and Dwelling

The happening of the lifeworld where humankind exists is called *Jagad*. The lifeworld exists only in the built environment which is based on the architecturally ordering system called *Asta Kosala Kosali*. Being in the lifeworld, *jagad,* means dwelling with a certain social position based on his or her category of profession in terms of *catur warna*—four colours. The *catur warna* gives us the notion of caste in its subtlety (Howe 2001, p. 90). Here, a social status of person is identified by a certain name pertaining to their caste: *brahmana, ksatria, waisya,* and *sudra*. It has been suggested that caste or *warna* for the Balinese seems likely subtly predicating

social status. We never experience the most vivid demonstration of *warna* without witnessing state rituals and ceremonies. Linguistically speaking, the social reserve of *warna* has been softened by the use of Indonesian egalitarian language as *lingua franca*. Modern institutions, such as school, government office, and public services, have brought the social aloofness of *warna* into increasing insignificance.

As mentioned above, the boundary of *jagad* never exists without any socially confined manner, *krama*. Based on their understanding of *krama* in the context of a household—*greha*—or a community—*banjar,* the type and dimension of their house would have been determined. Nevertheless, it is not to say that there are no other choices for pursuing an urban lifestyle in the village. The transformations of Balinese society towards a multicultural community become more complicated when the business of home-stay tourism has flourished in most of regions of the island. The presence of non-Balinese inhabitants could not have unsettled the sense of Balinese home. The sense actually lies in the engagement in the village or urban ritual events. Accordingly, foreigners and other Indonesian inhabitants would have been well accepted as Balinese people and spectators as long as they pay respect to the village temple rituals and ceremonies.

In urban contexts where the seats of traditional state are state rituals, and ceremonies become occasions to validate the relationship between state and its citizens. Alun-alun Puputan Badung, for example, is the place where the traditional validation of relationship between the state of Badung and Denpasar citizens takes place through the performance of *ogoh-ogoh* and *ngaben*. The sense of Balinese home today has been established with the institution of the ritual day of silence, *nyepi,* in the regional and national calendar. The formal state representative, *gubernur,* on behalf of the traditional state of Badung and all Bali, would have been the initiator and conductor of such a ritual of silence—*nyepi*. All Balinese people must have participated in such a ritual. The centre of the ritual takes place in Denpasar's *cathu muka* where the state of Badung has established its seat. Badung was well known as the historical site of *puputan* war, resisting the Dutch colonialism in 1906. In its *alun-alun,* the king, his wives, and other royal family members killed themselves against any domination under the Dutch rule.

In village scale, the sense of home is experienced through the village temple rituals and ceremonies, *odalan*. The rituals and ceremonies are not simply celebrations and festive occasions; rather, these events are the reality of home as well as the lifeworld in its dramatic presence. Since *krama* is basically an engagement and commitment with its validation through active participation in the village rituals and ceremonies, the sense of home for Balinese people lies simply in the location of their seat. Rather, the sense of home is established within the framework of events for gathering, that repetitively validate their socially corresponding seat in the *warna* within the *jagad* of *banjar*.

Linggih literally means to sit, seat, and take a place for being settled down. The sense of *linggih* lies in its idiomatic meaning that sitting is always associated with a social rank and position. The question of *linggih* is not simply for having the right of house or settlement; rather, it is deliberately a question concerning the self-orientation in the cosmological constellation and social life, respectively. Regarding

its relationship with locality, *linggih* is used to make a social map of dwelling place. However, being unable to sit properly in community is being homeless in the sense of social life.

Palinggihan in terms of building is a designation for landmark or altar of highly respected persons or gods. The notion of *palinggihan* is also applied to designate the original mark of place in the lifeworld, *jagad*. To dwell is to make a seat in the social life according to self-knowing awareness that enables one to fit into *loka cara* and *tata krama*. It is the Balinese way of dwelling that is necessary to identify one's self to the socially integrated totality as one. The self is always the authentic home in the sense of *jero*. In its subtle word, the self is understood as *dalem*. Both, *dalem* and *jero* are synonymous. Originally, *dalem* is a Javanese loan word meaning the self and home as well.

Linggih as the act of dwelling in the Balinese context is not to claim a right position. It is rightly understood as the necessity for being able to learn one's self in the macrocosmic realm. The necessity for identity is not simply by virtue of self-reflection. Fairly, *linggih* is the way to forget one's self that enables him or her to come into a totally involving system of community. To sit, *linggih*, is always to come into assembly properly according to *tata krama*. The necessity for knowing the other's seat is based on the necessary condition of recognizing the way to behave. According to *tata krama*, the given social rank and status of caste are immediately known from the name. Notwithstanding, the Balinese social relations do not work on the hierarchical caste basis. The signification of *linggih* lies in its introductory access to others that enables one to behave according to social rank, status, occupation, and title (Rubenstein 2000, p. 118). The question on the seat is a standard request for place, rank, position, and status identification. The knowledge of *linggih* gives us the relation of person to his/her social and ritual centre.

The necessity for *linggih* is an entry to social and ritual life, which is initiated with the constitution of household. One is never considered to be able to sit, *linggih,* without being a parent. Without a socially confirmed seat in terms of *linggih,* it is impossible for a Balinese man to participate in the rituals. *Linggih* discloses one towards the possibility of *dharma* in the community. This is because *linggih* is a conditional integration into social and ritual life of community, *banjar,* and hydraulic association of *subak*.

Participation in the rituals is an existential involvement that constitutes the structure of the Balinese home lifeworld, *jagad*. Since for the Balinese, being in the lifeworld is nothing but *dharma,* all events in the world are perceived as the executions of works, *makarya,* that lead to the state of being liberated from any suffering—*samsara*. *Dharma* is not simply a conduct on dutiful fate. The sense of *makarya* lies in its intention that is in the search for *dharma* by means of *tatwa*. Being in the lifeworld founded on the necessity for *dharma* that has a goal of attaining this state of being free and being liberated from suffering and mortality. The liberation is well known as *moksa*. According to *dharma,* life is a search for liberation from any pain and sickness. Building is inseparable from *makarya* that is nothing but the search for authentic being, *urip sujati*. Thus, *makarya* is to make one free from any pollution in mind and action because of greed. *Makarya* is made possible

by the establishment of dwelling. The sense of dwelling on the earth is to found the way towards the liberation from fear and pain, *moksa*. Building a place of dwelling is nothing but *makarya,* that is to be close with the possibility of *moksa*.

Moreover, the allusion of sitting is emphasized in the Balinese way of thinking of respect and honour. The shrine at every house is articulated with the word *pelinggih* meaning something that enables man to sit or to have a seat. *Pelinggih* is a reminder for Balinese people of not being selfish according to the teaching of *tat twam asi*. Thus, the tribute to the seat of gods and ancestors, *pelinggih,* is nothing mysterious, but simply an expression of respect to the unknown. All beings in the category of the unknown deserve their tribute and dignity. Offering foods and flowers for paying homage at the shrines, *pelinggih,* is nothing but the actuality of thankfulness and respect to them.

Since dwelling is impossible without any spatially binding stake, the altar acts as the end of the most highly valued place. The centre of the house for the Balinese tradition is not a living room, but it is a sanctuary place where shrines are present. Rituals and ceremonies, *upachara,* are necessary for the shrines, *pelinggih,* that integrate respect, dignity, and solemnity into a whole concept of *dharma*. Accordingly, man as a dweller is someone who is able to sit among other seats within a cosmologically integrated part of wholeness, *bhuwana*. It is the reason why the altar of Balinese houses is called *pelinggih*. There is no Balinese house without shrines. The incomplete shelter in Balinese tradition is called *dunungan,* due to the social status of the owner.

5.4 Mawangun: Setting Up, Constructing, and Developing

Any change made by human being in the nature is considered as *makarya,* which is to establish the lifeworld, *bhuwana*. Building is another act of *makarya* that needs to comply with the three conducts: *tatwa, susila,* and *uphacara*—thought, ethics, and ritual. This doctrine leads a human being into being an integrated person who is authentic in his/her habitation because of honesty. Thus, an integrated person for Balinese tradition is someone who is able to harmonize thought, principle, and action into a whole system of work and service.

To build, the three conducts mentioned above are necessarily taken into consideration that is to deploy any possible bad luck and natural disaster. All disasters are conceived as the consequences of human ignorance and arrogance that come from disrespect. Since every being is subject to respect because it contains creative power, *taksu,* there is a necessity to pay homage to any being in terms of offering or sacrifice. The three procedures are seen as requirements for the transformation of humanly ordered system into the site. Transformation means to change the already-existing ecosystem towards equilibrium. The Balinese people understand this process as *masalin*. The sense of *masalin* is not simply translating or delivering. Rather, the necessity for *masalin* rests in its relation to the fact that any being has his/her own contextual syncretism and solution in terms of *desa–kala–patra*.

Every being in the form of thought, matter, and event has his/her own way of dwelling in the Balinese lifeworld. The trade-off of such transformation is a necessary thought in the harmonious wholeness of thought, principle, and action. Offering in terms of *yadnya* is somewhat related to this trade-off that is actually the articulation of recognition for what is transformed in the framework of *dharma*. It means that, to build is not only understood as a pragmatic necessity but also to set the site of truth in the work of building. All this is accessible by means of recollection—*tatwa*— regarding others with hospitality—*susila*— and conduct or action as paying homage—*uphacara*.

To build in the Balinese context is to open the cases of the total experience of involvement within the manifold of boundary: from house, village, town, region, globe, and universe. Hence, *mawangun* is to establish the self in its manifold boundary of identity from *bhuwana alit* to *bhuawana agung,* from house to universe, respectively. As mentioned earlier, the self in Balinese thought is always related to the concept of *linggih* that is to make one's social rank and status clear. Accordingly, to build is to let the self-identification of a person into the community of *banjar* and *negara*.

To build is to make something concrete. To build in Balinese language is *mawangun,* which has its root in the word *wangun,* which means to bring something into the light with its orderly formed thing. *Wangun* also means structure, upright, stand up, form, and figure. In the broadest sense, *mawangun* is something which has to do with opening the nature towards the truth of being, *tatwa*. The relationship between *mawangun* and *tatwa* is made possible by the underlying principles of life, *dharma*. Moreover, *mawangun* refers to self-identification known by means of a socially established boundary.

Since every transitory state of being is subject to ceremonial performance, *upakhara, mawangun* is a process of a newly established boundary with several transitions. The first ceremonial performance is given to the intention of the house erection. Though it does not always mean a large gathering of people, *uphakhara* has always two conducts: a homage-paying ritual, *sembah,* and offering, *bebanten*. The rituals that accompanied the building process of a house are various in their scale and complicated in their procedure and equipment. All these are necessarily regarded as a process of reflection in the way of self-identification process.

The importance of building is the act to bring *dharma* into the light. *Dharma* leads people to build towards the light of being with others in harmonious relation. It is to recognize the necessity for harmonious relation of human being to his/her environment. It is the identity between the self, *jero* as *bhuwana alit,* and the total cosmos, *jaba* as *bhuwana agung*. To build*, mawangun,* is to make the given site free that enables us to locate all beings and things according to the intentionally designated lifeworld.

Moreover, *tatwa* is neither reasoning nor analyzing. It is, however, not simply the act of recollection; rather, *tatwa* is thinking in the way of self-disclosure towards a manifold of identity. This relation is based on the principle of *tat twam asi,* which deals with a reciprocal impact between human system and the nature. This is not simply identifying others as us in causal correlation; rather, the doctrine of

tat twam asi must have been understood as the way to liberate us from prejudgment that enables us to project ourselves into the totality of the lifeworld. Then, any action and decision are considered to be not only reflective of but also advancing our understanding of the lifeworld in its wholeness. Consequently, to build means also to think that any change in the nature is to make up with the natural powers, *bebutan* towards harmony (Hoeve 1960, p. 48). Any unthinkable action and decision might lead us towards disaster.

Under the notion of *dharma,* the Balinese way of thinking is simply to redefine their relationship to others in the context of beings as a whole. Since every being is conceived by Balinese people as possessing goodness, *satwam,* dynamics, *rajas,* and inertia, *tamas,* every action and decision would have not been formulated within the framework of right or wrong. Rather, the lifeworld as a totality of beings is undeniably an existing system of harmony. Human dwelling is the way to settle down the relations of human being to others—places, things, living beings, and cosmic powers—in a productive manner. Hence, harmony is never thought in the sense of rest in peace. Rather, it is always conceived in the context of living, in which conflicts and contradiction within *rwa-bhineda*—dualistic antagonism—and principle are necessary.

To think in the sense of *tatwa* is the recognition of natural laws and powers. The other traditional procedure of building is to set the social orders in the work. To set the orders in terms of *susila* means to bring about the built environment in accordance with the social realm, which founds a social peace and integration into the social life. Thus, to build in the sense of *susila* is the way to understand the orderly system of the lifeworld in the social context. The building process is accessible after the two procedures, *tatwa* and *susila,* have been understood. The third procedure deals with technical process with a religious dimension in which the sense of time is experienced in a formal sequence of actions.

The spiritual content of the building process is carefully designated by rituals following the stages of construction, from first laying the foundation stone to roof covering. Since all rituals are dedicated to incorporating a sense of respect to all beings for their contribution in the making of the thing, Balinese buildings must have established an ecologically built environment, because the purpose of *upakhara* is to bring everything in harmonious vitality, *rahajeng*. The involvement among people, domains, and events is commenced by the rituals of building process. The formality of *upakhara* designates the sense of being in coexistence with the invisible others—*bebutan*—in the spirit of peace and respect. Being in the lifeworld—*jagad*—is always in a coexistence with the natural powers—*bebutan*. These powers are concrete and seen as a complementary component of being and thing in context of the lifeworld. Offering foods or sacrifices for the natural powers is nothing but the recognition of the fact that being for a human being is always the being with others.

The idea of God is never abstract and out of experiencing the *jagad*. At the formal level, gods manifest in the power of life and vitality at every being in the form and action. The manifestation of gods is in existence when the thinking of the nature, *tatwa,* the understanding of social orders, *susila,* and formal spiritual actions, *uphacara,* take place all together at once. *Tatwa–susila–uphacara* belongs to the integration of human being as a perfect open being. A cultural man in Balinese understanding is one who is able to manage his/her self respectfully.

5.5 Kaja–Kelod: The Sense of Orientation and Direction

Dwelling is impossible without understanding the orientation of being on the earth under the sky. The Balinese system of orientation in space is based on the state of being between the dualism of natural positions: mountain–ocean, upstream–downstream—*ulu–temben,* in an actual sense. Mount Agung as natural standout is an important direction for orientation in the island. There are some exceptions for local conditions, which are not possible to orient to the mountain: A local solution is made to indicate the high–low principle.

The place of human dwelling is embedded in the meeting area of the dualistic positions. The spatial orientation in the environment is based on the high–low directions. This high–low axis is known as the directions of *kaja* and *kelod*. This axis is called also the line of *lenuan–tebenan,* which pertains to the positions of upstream and downstream. The direction of *kaja* is mountain ward that shows the orientation to the dominant or standout natural landmark or landscape, for example, Mount Agung. The orientation to horizon or low position—downstream or the ocean—is related to *kelod*. Of course, high–low orientation becomes important in the island of Bali. It is not simply by the fact of its geographical nature; rather, such an orientation principle acts as a useful guidance for making layout of buildings on site.

The place of human dwelling is erected on the axis of *kaja–kelod* that deals with the idea of centre on the line. The orientation of the place of dwelling as a centre is developed from the centre area called *nawa sangah,* which is situated on the axis of *kaja–kelod* (Helmi and Walker 1996, p. 32). The centre area provides other directions in a cardinal system on the high–low axis. The centre point is void called *natah* which deals with the idea of a fixed position of dwelling. The high position, *Kaja,* is associated with the place of origin and life where the deity *Wisnu* is. The low position is the place for dissolution and the dead; the place is identified with the deity of *Brahma*. The centre is the place of the deity *Shiwa* as the representation of the lord of temporal and natural realm. The perpendicular axis to the high–low axis is the axis of *kauh–kangin*. The direction on *kauh* is on the left side of the high–low axis, whereas the direction on *kangin* is on the right side. Moreover, the points of orientation system in the *nawa sangah*—ninefold—are signified with the deities, certain colours, and mythological figures.

In the village, the centre area of *nawa sangah* is indicated by an openness at which a ritual and social gathering can occur. The village planning is developed from this centre area. The idea of centre of a village is usually indicated by the temples of village, *pura desa* and *bale agung,* market, meeting hall—*bale banjar*—and an open area marked by the banyan tree.

The crossroads pattern called *caturmuka* is commonly developed in mountainous villages and urban areas. The linear pattern on the axis of *kaja–kelod* belonged to the old pattern, which can be found in the village of Tenganan and Bugbug. The linear pattern of village orientation shows a clear division of land use that is in accordance with the areas of: *utama,* primary, *madia,* middle, and *nista,* profane.

The area of *utama* in a village land is the place for *pura puseh* where the position of upstream or mountain ward is. The sense of *utama* lies in its natural landmark that

enables us to draw the line of orientation towards upstream and downstream. Thus, strategic and scenic position is appropriately the place of the temple of origin. The God *Wisnu,* ancestors, and village founders are worshiped at *pura puseh,* whereas the area of *madya* and *nista* are the places for the temple of village *pura desa* and the temple of the dead*, pura dalem*. *Pura desa* is dedicated to God *Brahma*.

The God *Siva* is paid his homage at the temple of the dead, *pura dalem*. The cosmic power of creativity, *taksu,* is believed to come out from this temple. The unity of these three temples is called *khayangan tiga*. By having these three temples, a community called *banjar* exists as a centre of social and religious life. The three temples can be seen as architecturally constituting structures, which lay down the framework for the development of a communal settlement.

The relation of three temples mentioned above to a *banjar* is not simply functional. The significance of *Tri Hita Karana* lies in its institutionally constituting component of *banjar* (Yamashita and Eades 2003, p. 84). Without having such three basic temples, the *banjar* does not exist. Temples for Balinese people are not simply places for religious life, but these are also cosmologically establishing structures of settlement. In dealing with the idea of dwelling on the earth, temples are an image of their abode in the upper world, *khayangan*.

In the Balinese cosmological idea, to dwell on the earth is to befriend the natural powers, *bebutan*. To dwell means also to transfer the heavenly powers called *purusha*—spiritual or male power—and *pradana*—corporeal or female power—into the actuality of form. The benevolent power called *qwantara* exists in the reality of the world if the heavenly powers and the natural powers meet together. The human dwelling is designated by the existence of the world in dynamic process in peace, *shanti,* and prosperity, *jagadhita*. The ideas of *shanti* and *jagadhita* are associated with human duty in the context of being-in-the-lifeworld. Thus, *dharma* pertains to a never-ending 'struggle' in order to set up the beautiful lifeworld and to attain the status of spiritual liberation. In the traditional way of life, dwelling is a part of the four constituent senses of life, *purusha artha*.

The *dharma* of dwelling provides the possible condition for fulfilling other senses of life for dignity and decency. This condition is a prerequisite to the marital status by which the idea of *umah*—household—as a social centre comes into the light of being in the public lifeworld. This status is not understood only in the context of social life. Rather, it is associated also with the cosmological view that dwelling deals with the idea of gathering between the antagonistic powers of: *sukla*—male, wanderer, and fighter—and *swanita*—female, receiver, and nurse. A household is a cosmic idea of centre which founds the way to the spiritual life towards the liberation from any pain.

The marital phase is called *grehasta,* which designates the end phase of learning process of tradition and culture. The marital phase is related to the being in the lifeworld for the accumulation of wealth, *artha,* and for experiencing the pleasure of life, *kama*. The sense of dwelling in terms of *dharma* lies in the signification of temporal life as a learning process to enter the spiritual life, *samnyasa*. Living in the context of *dharma* is to achieve the possible condition of *moksa*. Accordingly, human beings find their way to the truth, which is experienced as the liberation of being

Fig. 5.1 The Balinese classification of space–deity–domain

from mundane need and attachment. The presence of shrine, *kemulan* or *pamerajan,* in the house as well as in the village temple seems to remind Balinese people of their spiritual abode (Fig. 5.1).

5.6 Home: Jero, Pakarangan, Umah, Greha, Dalem, and Puri

The traditional house of Bali is also called *jero*—inner boundary, privacy—or *greha*—noble residency. The house as *jero* is architecturally understood as the total area inside the quadratic walled enclosure, *penyengker* (Patra 1985, p. 28). Then, inside the surrounding wall is already considered being in the house. Furthermore, the wall is perceived as an inner territory of household. This is to articulate a protective boundary from the demonic influences and powers—*bebutan*. The wall, *penyengker,* represents establishment of the territory of human being in a spatially defined area of insideness contrasted to the openness of the nature. This architecturally defined boundary provides Balinese people with an architecturally marking boundary. In doing so, the border between the household lifeworld, *njero,* and the public world, *njaba,* comes into being. The physical entity of *penyengker* founds actually a safe and secure territory in relation to the unknown out there.

The spatially defined territory called *jero* is characterized by three elements called *Tri Hita Karana,* three causes of prosperity. The elements of spatial occupation are:

parahyangan, sacred place, *palemahan*, domain for human dwelling, and *pawongan* or inhabitants (Stiftel et al. 2006, p. 150; Davidson and Henly 2007, p. 175). All these three constitutive elements of settlement interact with each other as a home system. In other words, the three elements constitute the reality of the house lifeworld. *Palemahan* is a human place inside the house walls. This is the place for human buildings called 'Bale' for different purposes: sleeping place, kitchen, granary, and working place. The inside boundary of the house is believed to be inhabited by the benevolent spirits called *taksu* whose place is at the primary area, *utama-parahyangan*.

The house inhabitants called *pawongan* are understood as a married couple, which is able to establish a household with children. *Pawongan* and benevolent powers live together in the liveable boundary. However, they have to leave a centre area unbuilt. The centre area is called *natar,* which is marked with a tree or a column called *pangijeng*—waiter, guard.

The area of inner boundary and inside the walls is divided into three spatial grids that are in accordance with the structure of sacred–neutral–profane domains as described in *lontar* (Geertz and Geertz; Geertz 1978, p. 49). The buildings in the boundary are erected at a certain domain in the system of *mandala* in which the hierarchy of places is juxtaposed in a sequence from profane to sacred level. The entry called angkul–angkul is located at the most profane area, referring to the ocean or to downstream. The second area is the kitchen area that includes hearth, *paon,* granary, *jineng,* and stall/pigben, *kandang*. The third is the living area, *semanggen,* which is also used for the reception of guests and for eating. There are some buildings associated with the *semanggen*. The fourth area is the place for sleeping called *uma meten* or *sekutus*. In contrast to *semanggen, uma meten* is provided with fixed walls as enclosure. All these buildings stand on piles with architecturally raised floors off the earth. The fifth area is usually for an altar called *pamarajan* or *sanggah kemulan*.

The shrines at the altar area are erected in various heights in figuring the Mount Mahameru or the Mount Mandara as a symbol of the highest place of spiritual liberation, *moksa*. In the noble houses, one can find a complete composition of household shrines consisting of *padmasana*, for the highest spiritual power, *kemulan,* for gods, *menjangan seluang,* for ancestors, and *tugu,* for other benevolent spirits. The family offers a ritual gift consisting of flowers and foods here regularly. Besides the shrines, an open building called *piasan* is usually also erected here for meditation. This area is prohibited to any domesticated animal.

The members of the family eat in the kitchen area and not before offering a ritual gift for the invisible powers, *bebutan* and *taksu*. According to *dharma,* this gift is perceived as the sign of self-control in avoiding greed, *lobha*. As a matter of fact, there is no special place for having one's meal in the house, but *semanggen,* which is only used as a 'dining room' if the house receives visitors.

Semanggen is the place where the meeting between the insiders and the outsiders takes place. The building is situated at the centre area, which is constructed without enclosure. The openness of this building is associated with the literal meaning of *semanggen,* which means to stay by sitting and meeting. It is the place where the senses of talk and meeting are brought into the light of being an 'event'. The idea of dwelling in the boundary of *palemahan* is characterized by a meeting with outsiders

at a centre domain, *semanggen,* where their stay is demonstrated by the dignity of communication and of sitting.

Paon, kitchen, *uma meten,* parent's room, *pangijeng,* column, and *semanggen,* guest room, are grouped into *madia mandala* which is understood as 'the support of the house', *tegak rumah*. The *mandala* is used as the cosmological image of the place of the lifeworld. *Paon* is the female domain in daily life. Its function for preparing meal is analogously related to the reproductive capacity of mother. The word *paon* stems from the old Javanese word—*pawa*. The word designates the place of dissolution and the beginning as well. Accordingly, *paon* is the place of origin where something arises and sustains.

Natah is the centre area, which remains open. This open character provides a spatial orientation in the boundary. This orientation is marked by a column of waiter. Literally, *natah* means arrival and stop. The belief that this place is guarded by a local spirit is a designation to give respect to the openness, which keeps space for air circulation. *Natah* can be considered as 'patio' which is able to keep warm air on a cool night. This belief gives a cosmological order to keep the *natah* in its openness. In this way, the earth is kept in its natural property, though its surface and area are ordered in human condition. Moreover, the openness of the centre area is emptiness with a focal column that can be associated with 'the axis mundi' of the boundary. The idea of dwelling as spatially embedding on the earth is articulated in the word *natah*.

Lawang or entry is situated on the low position, *nista mandala*. This position is at the transitory place between outside, *jaba,* and inside, *jero*. The outside is associated with 'danger' because of the natural demonic powers, *bebutan*. The gate is designed in order to avoid a direct visual contact from outside to inside. There are various forms of *lawang,* which provide their positions in dealing with the 'downstream' direction, *kelod,* or *tebenan*. At the entry, a ritual gift is usually offered by the family in order to befriend the natural spirits which are associated with *weton,* birth, *metatah,* initiation for girls, *nganten,* marriage, and *seda,* death.

The building construction of the house begins from the sacred place, *mandala utama,* and moves to the centre place, *mandala madia,* then to the profane place, *mandala nista,* and ends in the construction of the gate, *lawang*. Thus, the building process of the traditional house is in the sequence of ritual hierarchy from the place of spiritual life to the place of mundane one. The process designates the primacy of domain for spiritual life.

The building process of a traditional house is led by a master builder called *undagi*. His job is not merely practical in terms of carpentry and masonry, but he also plays the role of a priest in the building process. An *undagi* conducts rituals for any process of opening up natural elements on the earth, so that the place concerned is accessible and appropriate for human dwelling. Traditionally, the work of *undagi* is guided by *hasta kosala kosali* in which the principles and procedure of building construction are written on the *lontar* leaves. What is important in the *hasta kosala kosali* is its principles for measurement and proportion, which are customized to the owner's body. However, most aspects of building process are subject to the approval from the master builder, *undagi* (Wijaya 2002, p. 25). Nowadays, the populations of *undagi*

have decreased in number and qualification that led Balinese architecture to a crisis of local spirit. This spiritual task is gradually diminishing in modernity due to the practice of modern building permits.

5.7 Balinese Built Environment and Modernity

Is human dwelling accessible without a social integration, which is maintained and secured by societal institution and association? In the tradition, a household is not only bound in the social life of the *banjar* concerned. The head of household could be a member of a societal association called *dadia* or peasant organization called *subak,* which are not in the *banjar* where the family lives. However, participation in different communities and associations belongs to the dwelling tradition in Bali. It means that the idea of homeland in terms of *jumah* is not understood in a socially closed community dwelling in a certain territory on the earth.

The relation of a household to its territorial community, *banjar,* exists as the extension of its house boundary at historical, spiritual, and societal levels. This relation is possible without dwelling in the territory of the community concerned. One household could dwell anywhere outside the territory of its *banjar*. Thus, the commitment of household to its community is more at a spiritual level than at an administrative one.

The embedment of the home lifeworld in the place is founded by the commitment in the religious community of *khayangan tiga* and sustained with further commitments by peasant association and other social professional associations. The homeless category is indicated by the loss of commitment in a religious community, *khayangan tiga*. As mentioned earlier, *pura puseh, pura desa,* and *pura dalem* are three temples that constitute a settlement institution of *banjar*.

The first temple is *pura puseh* signifying the foundation of the settlement with its distinct direction to the dominant mountain in the location. *Pura desa* is established to define the centre of village settlement. In many cases, *caturmuka* is developed at the location of *pura desa* as the basic condition of village development or urbanization. In its elaborated form, the crossroad becomes important for the development of village or urban centre. At the *pempatan agung,* we find the typical land use as the following: At the crossroad, *pempatan agung,* there is a possibility to locate public buildings, spaces and facilities in accordance with its spatial values system of *caturpatha*. This principle literally means four leading ways associated with the god Brahma at its centre called *nitipatha*. The centre of crossroad, *caturpatha* or *cathuspatha,* is the void called *pralina*. This void is essentially the space of origin of any place for settlement or the realm of beings in the sense of *loka—swah–bwah–bhur/upper–middle–under*. Annually, based on lunar calendar, the Balinese send a special offering called *bhutayadnya* to the *nithipatha* to commence the great silence day, *Hari Raya Nyepi*. The day is the celebration of *Saka* New Year (Fig. 5.2).

The day is the time when all Balinese people recover their lifeworld and earth. The recovery is articulated in the sense of *memarisuda bumi* that is to restore order

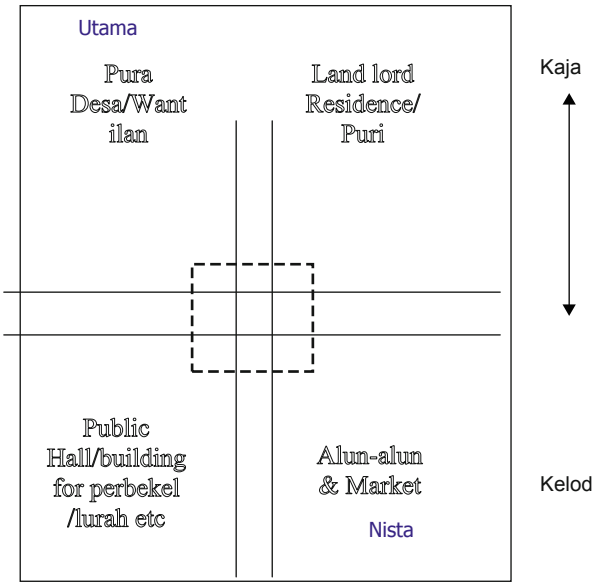

Fig. 5.2 Spatial structure of cross roads; *pempatan agung* Badung, Denpasar. (Courtesy of Sugihantara)

and harmony of relationships among beings based on compassion. On the day of *Nyepi,* which is literary silence or being in silence, all Balinese people remain silent and do nothing in order to lead them to coming into recollection. This is actually the act of detachment and break-up from anything routine. The destination of all efforts for recollection is visually directed to the centre of *caturpatha*.

The importance of the crossroad of *caturpatha* lies in its potential public space for gathering and point of destination. Its strategic position provides possible urban development in the region. The development of urbanity in Bali is traditionally from the centre of crossroad. The buildings around the crossroad have to stand with a setback that provides an empty space called *karang tuang*. Spatially, the most primary position, *utama,* is devoted to the central temple, *pura dalem,* whereas the most profane area, *nista,* is for *alun-alun*.

Living in *banjar* is to be a part of village *dharma* rituals, such as *odalan*. Participating in such rituals is considered dutiful by any villager. The feast of *odalan* is one of other important village rituals in which all villagers are to celebrate the anniversary of their temples in accordance with the Balinese lunar calendar. The feast of *odalan* takes place at the village centre where *pura desa* is located. In front of *pura desa,* villagers prepare the feast with foods and colourful flags, banners, and traditional clothes. The village temple, *pura desa,* is not simply a shrine or sacred place for religious activities; rather, its presence, for the villagers, becomes the reality of a worldly centre. The existence of community, *banjar,* is indicated in daily life with the reality of gatherings in the meeting hall, *bale banjar,* and in the village temple, *pura desa*. The relationship between the hall and the temples is essential to the events when the gatherings of cosmic beings take place.

The articulation and establishment of settlement are actually denoted with the establishment of temple of origin, *pura puseh*. This building is not simply a village monument or memorial stake; rather, the sense of *pura puseh* lies in its denotation of seat for ancestors and cosmic powers that enable people to do the land clearing for their settlement. Although most houses are made of impermanent materials, such as wood and bamboo, the building materials of temples are mostly made of *paras*—sedimentary stone—and *pura puseh* holds its capacity as permanent building. The only permanent structure of the Balinese house is its surrounding wall.

Since traditional layout has a fixed system of juxtaposition, adjustment and adaptation of modern uses are an interesting part of new architecture in Bali. This includes accommodating parking space for cars and shops within the house layout. Since any change and alternation of Balinese culture have their own consequences for the wholeness of the lifeworld, there is always the way for reorganization. Then, *upachara*—ritual and ceremony—and *banten*—offering—come into play for making up the relationship of all beings. How does a garage have its place in the Balinese house? Most modern uses are usually in the *nista* domain.

The Balinese way to identify new needs and activities is guided with their spatial categories of *utama-madya-nista,* vertically *triangga*—head–body–foot—and horizontally *trimandala*—sacred–temperate–profane. Embedding such categories in a new location is necessarily adjusted to the mountain–sea orientation—*kaja–kelod*—of the site. The need for a study, living, and bedrooms might have been identified to the room of *madya* consisting of three domains: *meten gopelen, bale dangin,* and *bale dauh*.

What is important to note is that the three domains have to be arranged surrounding an open space, *natah,* as its inner court. *Meten gopelen* is actually the master bedroom which, in the Balinese tradition, is dedicated to married couples. *Bale dauh* in the modern sense is identical to bedrooms, whereas *bale dangin* is regarded as meditative room or den. Designing a new home based on Balinese traditional building principles might have not overlooked the importance of house shrines. Beside its special location, *pamerajan* or *kemulan*— house shrines—are necessarily thought to be the soul of the house. Consequently, its presence must have been laid at the best place from which tranquillity and serenity find its haven.

The problem of modernity in building expression has come into public discussion in Bali since the 1970s. Regarding its traditionally elaborated architecture, Bali is attractive for its possibly synthesizing capacity in dealing with modernity. This capacity lies not only in its building expression but also in its conceptual framework for syncretic development. In urban related matter, Balinese as well as Javanese culture have already developed their indigenous urbanism derived from Indic statecraft.

Modern institutions might have been incorporated with the traditional institutions of centre at *caturpatha*. In Denpasar, the deployment of the idea of centre has not been executed in the historic site. Due to the limitation of space in inner city, the new government and civic complex has been established in Renon, outskirt of Denpasar in 1974. Of course, the development of new facilities needs to be less problematic in the empty land. However, not being able to establish the spatial framework for urban development seems to have been impossible for Bali. The reason is quite simple that

culturally, Bali has had already the spatial principle of *trimandala* and *caturpatha*. It must have been economic and political forces working in the land-use planning and its implementation.

Nevertheless, based on Balinese spatial principle, the deployment of modern institutions could have been adjusted into the already-existing institutions, *pura, puri, peken,* and *palemahan* or *alun-alun.* All cultural institutions, such as museum, art centre, theatre, school, and other public buildings have been comprised under the notion of *pura*. Public housing, apartment, hotel, villa, and other residential compound fall into the category of *puri,* whereas all commercial and business activities have comprised in the concept of *peken*. Utilities and public open space in the Balinese context have been perceived as *palemahan*. Generally, new Balinese architecture has been provided by local authority with a traditional system for preserving their heritage, without falling into romanticism. Moreover, they believe that form, *rupa,* would have not been properly expressed without its proper content, *sujati*.

5.8 Concluding Remarks

Dwelling in Balinese culture and tradition is inseparable from their living Hindu philosophy. Dwelling is *dharma* in a way of developing and sustaining the lifeworld with respect to others. *Dharma* is by no means a moral plea, but a necessity for a sustainable way of being. The relationship between building and dwelling is always signified with ritual of offering, which is not simply a courteous signification of thankfulness, but also an acknowledgement of respect to the transcendence of being beyond perceivable reality. In doing so, any transformation on earth is to bring about everything in balance. Dwelling is living as well as working and playing within the boundary of reality, where the interplay of role and function of every being is maintained, developed and sustained. All this is based on the awareness of cause and effect with a responsible and grateful mind set.

Chapter 6
Of Naga Community: Modest Resistance Against Conveniences of Modernity in West Java

Abstract Located in the interior of West Java, Naga people as an ethnic group survive to sustain their indigenous tradition and cultural identity even in modernity. Like the Amish sects in North America, this community culturally resists adopting materialistic conveniences of modernity and upholds their modest and sustainable lifestyle. However, Hinduism and Islam are well adopted, integrated and harmonized together with their animism that sustains their tradition and identity as a community. This chapter is a phenomenological investigation into the lifeworld of this community. The purpose is to find out a cultural strategy that works to keep them together as a unique community. The leading question is: What is a home for the Naga community? Data collection was conducted with field works in 1981, 1983, 1990, 1996 and 2005. The focus of the investigation is to unfold and divulge the relationship between local concepts and their phenomena related to building and living traditions.

Keywords Naga · West Java · Tradition · Modernity · Syncretism

6.1 Lembur: Homeland

Besides their origin, why they call themselves as Naga is also unclear. Is it just a name? (See also Christomy 2008, p. 25) Literally, Naga means a serpent, mythical beast, dragon or a fire-breathing lizard. Naga as a sign and symbol has broadly been well known in Southeast Asian mythology, arts and textiles as well as Indian iconography (Maxwell 2003, p. 198). Although, its origin is still unclear, the sign and symbol of the Naga have mostly been associated with the power and blessing of water and the under earth. The naming of the settlement and community, respectively, does not have any other reason but its symbolic notion, which is associated with a sacred origin of their ancestor. The Naga community believes that they are the descendants of the indigenous Sundanese ethnic group.

Although, the origin of the community of Naga is still obscure, they believe that their ancestors were the people of wong agung—great man—from the ancient Hindu kingdom of Galuh. As narrated in their mythology and legends, the ancestral leader of Naga was mbah Singaparna or eyang Galunggung. Singaparna is a district town located 21 km from the settlement on the road to Tasikmalaya, whereas Galunggung is the name of a volcanic mountain located 24 km within the southwestern Naga

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settlement. Archeologically, the town is believed to be the site of one of the sixteenth-century capitals of the Hindu–Buddhist Kingdom of Galuh (see also Florida 2000, p. 62).

Unlike the animist, Baduy communities living in the western region of West Java, are self-sufficient and well known for their self-isolation from modernity, the Hindu–Islamic Naga community shows that they are relatively open to modernity but sceptical in many ways. They resist adopting modern conveniences such as car, furniture, electricity, machine, modern building materials and other industrial products. They allowed their children going to school after the 1970s. In general, the Naga people keep their customary habitation to themselves and for themselves. However, the contacts and interactions between the Naga people and their surrounding villages occur for trades and hospitalities. Today, the Naga children go to school as any other boy or girl in the region. Some of them pursue their higher education in certain big cities of West Java.

Although, there is a lack of archaeological and historical evidence for their origin until today, there is a strong linguistic indication that their mythology and language belong to the Sundanese culture under the influence of Hindu and Buddhist Galuh Galunggung kingdom. The existence of the kingdom is confirmed with the geger hanjuang inscription, written in Pallava script at the village of Linggarwangi, Leuwisari Tasikmalaya dating back from 1111 A.D. (PYayasan Pembangunan 2005, p. 301).

The collapse of Galunggung and then Pakuan Padjadjaran kingdoms in the late fifteenth century was the end of the Hindu reign in West Java. It was the beginning of Islamic influence spreading out from three Islamic strongholds, namely Banten, Jayakarta and Cirebon, into the West Java hinterland. Nevertheless, it is not clear yet whether the Islamization had directly caused the disappearance of the Hindu Padjadjaran kingdom or not. Internal conflicts among the potential successors of King Prabu Siliwangi (1482–1521) were probably the most obvious case (Waluyo 2004, p. 21; Noah Weintraub 1991, p. 9). However, according to the oral tradition of the Naga community, the origin of its ancestors was from Sembah Dalem Singaparna who was the successor of Prabu Rajadipuntang of the Galunggung VII kingdom. Singaparna founded a small Hindu kingdom, negara with his name, under the protection of negara Padjadjaran under Prabu Surawisesa (1535–1543). Now, Singaparna is a district town in the regency of Tasikmalaya.

The Naga people believe that they are the descendants and followers of the Hindu kingdom of Singaparna, who strongly resisted Islam. For several decades, the Naga community had been peacefully living together with their neighbouring Islamic villages. The actual espousal of Islam by the Naga community was in the 1950s. It was at the time when the Islamic rebellious movement in the region was in active struggle against the Indonesian government for their independent Islamic state known as Negara Darul Islam (see also Kahin 1999, p. 175). The Naga settlement was burnt down by the Islamic fanatics in 1956. A year after the Islamic rebellion was dissolved, the Naga community rebuilt the village to its earlier glory. Having been always under the pressure of Islamic rebellious movements, most Naga people gradually adopted Islam and assimilated its teaching within their ancient tradition.

The Naga community remarkably integrated their ancient Hindu-animism rituals and ceremonies within Islamic events, such as Ied Fitr, Ied Adha and Ramadan fasting, as well as Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebration and Islamic New Year. The way they accept Islamic teaching is unique and is properly understood under the notion of syncretism between Islam and indigenous Naga beliefs. Such a syncretism becomes an apparent process as demonstrated in the rituals of prayer and value systems of the Naga lifeworld.

Naga in Sundanese language is a mythical figure depicting a monstrous but protective dragon. Whether Naga is a cosmic ideation of settlement or water symbolism remains an open question (see also Sumet Jumsai 1989, p. 16–44). In the Sundanese culture, Naga is not perceived as a mythical amphibious and flying monster, but as a monstrous figure from the under earth with a unified cosmic power of life that keeps the lifeworld breathing sustainably in order. The animal is believed to be the spiritual guard and keeper of settlement beneficence.

Legendarily, the existence of Naga for the settlement as a spiritual keeper and guard of commencement of special gatherings is known as hajat sasih. The feast calls villagers for a regular care of the Naga settlement. The respect to Naga is demonstrated with the figures of a Naga couple, which are finely carved on the crown of the gamelan gong stand, public building's gate and some important accessories for powerful men and women (Fig. 6.1).

6.2 Peanempatan: The Site and Settlement

The settlement of Naga community is located in the Priangan highlands between the West Java highland towns: Garut and Tasikmalaya. Being not relatively isolated from modern civilization, the Naga settlement never lost their contact with their neighbouring communities. As a peasant community, the Naga people produce rice, vegetables, planted crops and cloves and reared husbandry animals for their daily consumption. The rest of the agricultural production is sold to the market in Tasikmalaya and Garut. They have a special relationship with natural forest—leuweung larangan— literally meaning a restricted forest. No one is allowed to enter the forest without permission from the kuncen. It is considered taboo—pemali— to exploit the forest. For them, forest is like the territory where there is no cultivation and settlement.

Having a beneficial soil condition, wet-rice cultivation plays a significant role in the land of the Naga people. The land of Naga covers at least 5,000 ha area surrounding their settlement. Administratively, the Naga settlement is part of the village of Neglasari in the district of Saluwu within the Tasikmalaya Regency. The Naga community occupies a terrain of 11.2 ha area at the river Ciwulan. Situated on the road between the towns of Garut and Tasikmalaya, the Naga compound has an economic advantage for their agricultural products and crafts. In this respect, the location of this traditionally unique settlement is neither economically exclusive from modern market, nor formally isolated from development.

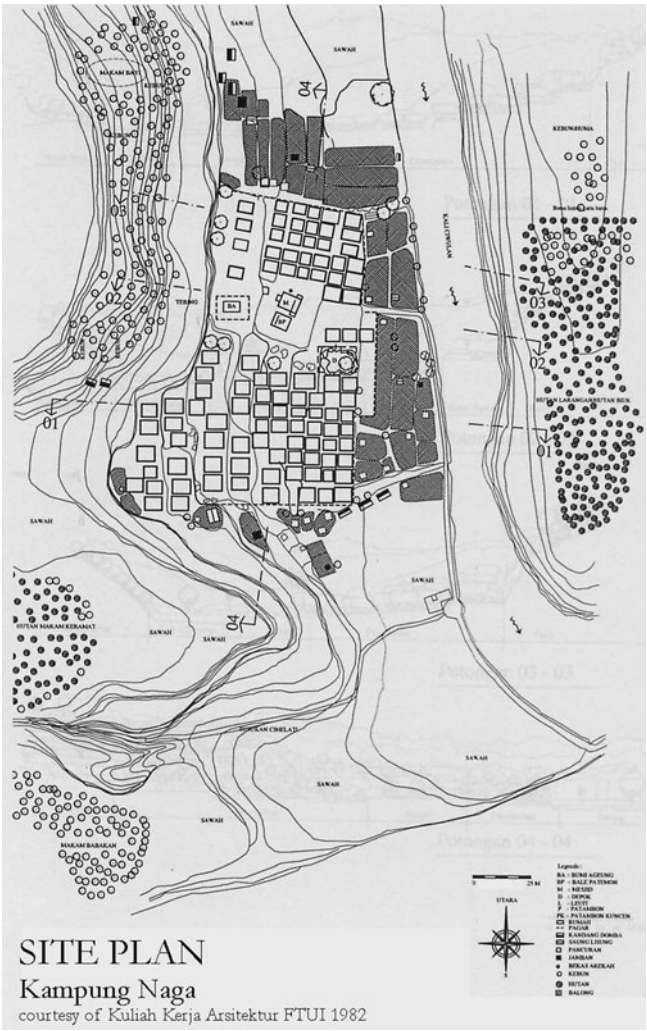

Fig. 6.1 Layout of the Naga settlement. (Courtesy Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering University of Indonesia)

The people of kampung Naga live in 110 houses. Each house represents a single household, umpi. Architecturally, the Naga settlement is a distinct traditional community, which lies in a gridiron-like formation with an adaptively terraced site of work. The settlement is characterized with similar and rhythmic simple gable roof form, with black sago palm fibre materials. It shows a harmonious expression within the gridiron-like framework. The layout of the houses is designed to adjust to the topography of the site.

Hence, the site layout demonstrates a highly optimized plot for a compact neighbourhood where the orientation and juxtaposition of the houses are in accordance with the sun's movement. The river Ciwulan running from south to north has become the framework of settlement orientation; in this way, how do the Naga people manage the storm drainage and terrain? The layout of the houses in the settlement pertains to treating the landscape in its natural character based on the water conservation of terraced wet-rice field expertise.

Socioculturally, the Naga community is phenomenal because of its building tradition and customs that indicate a syncretism of Islam, Hinduism and native belief. Today, the Naga community might be considered as an example of traditional society in West Java with a special outlook dealing with modernity. They practise Islam but still respect and pay homage to their own native beliefs. The indigenous rituals are still practised today to pay homage to the places where the sources of life and strong characteristics are demonstrated. Such places are water wells, river cavities and banyan trees.

The setting of Naga settlement comprises land, houses, villagers, its neighbouring settlements and its natural landscape. The settlement setting is called as lembur. The Naga people use lembur in the sense of habitually established relationship between man and nature, between man and village, between man and neighbours and between man and locally customized language. The relationship between people and their lembur is made possible not only by origin and habitation but also by their acceptance in the village way of life, cara Naga. Naga people are trained to behave with respect as taught to them by their parents and elders handed down from karuhun, ancestors.

All the inhabitants of Naga are called under the notion of sanaga, meaning being unified as a great family of Naga descendants. The idea of sanaga refers to the concept of solidarity and unity in ritual life. The idea is to address people with the same ancestors and origin from the Naga settlement. Regarding their identity as Naga descendants, they have rituals and periodic gatherings that take place in the Naga settlement. It is the time when the elders narrate ancient stories—pedaran—of their ancestors.

Based on their inhabitation, we find some traces of Naga people having preserved a mighty tradition of ancient Hindu Javanese and Austronesian pantheistic animism. Ancestral spirits are highly regarded as the source of blessing and well-being, whereas fertility and prosperity associated with rice cultivation are conceived under the mercy of Devi Sri— wife of the Lord Visnu. Similar to many other Austronesian descendants, betel-nut-chewing ceremony, a self-sustaining economy based on village polity and wet-rice field irrigation are long-standing traditions in the Naga neighbourhood.

As mentioned above, the Naga community practises their rituals at certain times related to the lunar Islamic calendar. Since the Hinduistic almanac is also a lunar-based calendar, there is no indication of conflict with the Naga tradition. The rituals gather the people of Naga to take care of the sacred graves of their forefathers, the village and the river Ciwulan. It is the time when the cosmic relationship between the hill and the river are ritually conducted in the name of sanaga. The word 'sanaga' is to address all descendants of Naga living on the earth to come together for being

involved and possessed in the breath and beat of the Naga. The concept comes into being in the ritual feast and ceremony of hajat sasih (feast of the month) in relation to the great days of Islam. The days are: the 28th day of muharram, the 12th day of maulud, the 18th day of jumadil akhir, the 14th day of ruwah, the 1st day of syawal, and the 10th day of rayagung. All these days are significantly identified with the celebration of Islamic events.

Hajat Ssasih is the most important ritual among other village events. The event is celebrated as the rebirth of the village lifeworld. Hajat sasih is generally a village slametan when the necessity for recovery and unity calls for a totally involving action in terms of community. Although hajat sasih must have been established within their Hindu and pantheistic beliefs, its practise and adjustment are peacefully blended into the occasions of Islamic calendar. Probably, the synchronization of ritual occasions is done with a simple reason that both indigenous Sundanese Naga and Islamic calendar have the same basis of following the movement of the moon. In blending with Islam, the most important ritual of the Naga community takes place on the day when Muslims celebrate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad called mauludan. Although the celebration of mauludan is never prescribed by the Islamic teaching, the Naga people perform the communal feast within the Islamic traditional celebration for Prophet Muhammad's birthday.

In the Naga community, Islam is practised in a syncretic manner. Islamic teachings and conducts among the Naga people have been adjusted and synchronized with their ancient tradition. On any occasion, the rituals that respect their ancestors remain important. However, Islamic events play an important role in the occasions of gathering. They offer the Friday prayer in mosques on a voluntary basis for being together. Being peaceful with others is more important than judging and prejudice. Since all beings have their own spiritual powers—eusi— respect to the visible as well as to the invisible is taught by the Naga people from their childhood. The ritual life of Naga is surrounded by mysticism, which is associated with respect towards natural spirits called leled samak and benevolent spirits of ancestors called karuhun. The mystic image of Naga is associated with the figure of serpent, which is always exhaling fire of life from its mouth. According to the local belief, the river Ciwulan is perceived as a complementary system of the settlement of Naga. Both the settlement and the river are in cohabitation as man and wife.

The place of the lifeworld of Naga is between the sacred grave of Embah Singaparna and the river Ciwulan. The grave is located on the west at the high position, whereas the river is on the east at the low position. The settlement of Naga is erected with an adjustment to solar monsoon circulation. Accordingly, the north and south sides become the correct facing side for an entrance to the house that enjoys the shade of the day from roof overhangs. The layout of building gable roofs is juxtaposed along the west–east axis, whereas the opening of the front door and front terrace faces either the southern or northern direction. All these arrangements are structured in a linear orderly formation that is likely a topographically optimizing site of work.

The graveyard is perceived as the referential border of the village boundary on the west, which is believed by the Naga people to be a representation of the karuhun

or ancestor as spiritual guards of the earth. The river Ciwulan is believed to be the place towards which the rhythm and stream of life flow into its sustainable necessity. The place of human stay is located as a go-between from the place of origin and the place of the dead. The place of the lifeworld is also the central area of rice fields where the goddess Sri lives and takes care of the fertility and sustainability of land and water.

Devi Sri is a benevolent mother of earth. She is the wife of the Lord Visnu. Both are considered as the guardians of life. The god Visnu and the goddess Sri stand to maintain the orderly village lifeworld in its prosperity and beauty. All this is subject to human thankfulness in the form of hajat sasih rituals. The village ritual avoids any infiltration of bad luck and diseases, which are caused by the bad spirits called jurig. The demonic spirits, jurig, live at any place of leuweung larangan where a human being cannot dwell or work. Places with natural power or mysterious sphere are believed to be the locations of jurig. Another spirit who lives at the edge between the river and the dry land is lulun sanak. Besides bad spirits, there are respective spirits in the category of ancestors, karuhun. The ancestors are called by the surname of mbah or eyang, grandfather. The word mbah is derived from sembah meaning to worship or to adore.

The lifeworld, dunya, in the Naga community is never understood as a universal idea of all things or beings on earth. Instead, the lifeworld exists in its microcosmic sense as bumi, and as sanaga in its macrocosmic wholeness. Bumi and sanaga exist in its totality as a socially constructed reality based upon habitation, kabiasaan. The actual wholeness of the Naga people is demonstrated by the village thanksgiving feast of hajat sasih. An important way to understand the Naga lifeworld is to participate oneself in the traditional ritual of hajat sasih. It is the event when the Naga lifeworld comes into play with the here and now. The call for hajat sasih is the necessity for being together for the sake of gemah ripah, abundant welfare, repeh-rapih, peace and order, rahayu, health and beauty and raharja, prosperity. The words are apparently associated with something to address what we understand under the totality of the lifeworld.

Homestead in the Naga community is called bumi, which also means the human place on the earth and in the house. The idea of the lifeworld is understood in the context of the place where a household exists in a fixed place on the earth. The land in a general sense is not designated with the word bumi but with the word lemah cai, land and water.

The public lifeworld is addressed with the word sanaga referring to the openness of the village for gathering. It is the call for the Naga lifeworld as a totality of beings on the earth in peace and prosperity. Dwelling is designated with the concept of the home lifeworld, bumi. It is nothing without relation to the openness, buwana; , which in its old Sundanese origin means the lifeworld. Sanaga is being together in buwana. The world of the Naga community is actually the happening of beings as a whole where their ancestral spirits and villagers come together as one. This event is the time for gathering of Naga descendants in their homeland. The ritual leads the people of Naga to devote their life and pray for peace, aman, blessing, barokah and prosperous state of being, gemah ripah, on earth (Fig. 6.2).

Fig. 6.2 Bumi Ageung Kampung Naga

6.3 Linggih Sanaga: Community Domain

In daily life, a house in West Java is ordinarily called imah, but in a polite and subtle level of communication, the home place is designated with the word bumi. The sense of bumi lies in its transcendental signification of a house as the being of a family and a household, umpi. The relation between a family home, bumi, to its village realm, sanaga, is not restricted by physical boundary, but by a socially established domain of sanaga kindred.

People outside the village of Naga can be identified as Naga descendants as long as they still involve or participate in the hajat sasih ritual. All possibilities can occur in a Naga settlement, but sanaga as a socially established boundary will never transform itself into other existence without any change in the village assembly, patemon. The social boundary of Naga is indicated in the word sanaga.

The hamlet outside the Naga village is never conceived as a kampung but as dusun. The same thing is addressed for a house. For the Naga people, bumi is only the house in the territory of kampung Naga. The house outside the Naga village is called rompok, literally meaning household or belonging. The notion of rompok is generally applied for a social institution of family house beyond the traditional compound. Bumi is a highly respected rompok within the boundary of kampung. The literal meaning of rompok is a group of people, relatives, kinship and crowd. Going to rorompok means getting into a crowd or back to the place where they belong.

At the centre of the Naga settlement, three buildings stand: bumi ageung, the great house, bale patemon, meeting hall, and masjid, mosque; bumi ageung is the village

museum and house for ancestors, where all highly valued things such as the ancestral accessories, weapons and clothes find their place. The museum is only open for the ritual purpose of hajat sasih. Bumi ageung is not only a museum for the Naga people but also the representative house for the ancestors. The things called pusaka, which are preserved inside the bumi ageung, are subject to maintenance and ritual purpose of villagers.

Nevertheless, bumi ageung is not accessible for any villager. Only the sister of kuncen, Naga chief, can keep the house clean and in a good condition. The maintenance of the things in the house is directly associated with the ritual of the village feast, hajat sasih. Weapons and accessories made of metal are ritually cleaned with water full of flowers. During the village ritual, the house might rightly be perceived as the shrine of the community. The distinct character of the building is apparently shown by its position at the centre of the settlement. Its building construction is obviously not different from the ordinary house form. The only obvious designation of the house is given by its rooftop edge detail. Characteristically, the construction of the rooftop edge looks like a buffalo horn.

The second important building in kampung Naga is bale patemon or the meeting hall. The sense of bale patemon lies in its openness for sitting together of a village assembly. The hall is actually constructed for the meeting of 30 people who sit on the floor in a cross-legged position on the pandanus mat. The assembly in the hall takes place on a ritual basis in the framework of sanaga. The call for the assembly, patemon, is an invitation to sit in the sense of sila. It is the event when the relationship between sitting and social order comes into being.

The assembly is directed and conducted by the village head, kuncen. He is responsible to the assembly not only for village resoluteness concerning the problems and issues but also for sustaining the orderly recovering system of unity and harmony, kalayeutan, in daily social life. The goal of any village assembly is to sustain kalayeutan sanaga. The village head, kuncen, is the guard in the sense of mundane and spiritual totality of sanaga. In the use of the terms kuncen, it is remarkably interesting to note that the word is used to address the guard of any spiritual and holy place such as a graveyard or a shrine.

Besides two village buildings, bale patemon and bumi ageung, the Naga settlement has a mosque, masjid. The mosque is constructed with a typical house form with a similar expression as bale patemon. This is the centre of daily ritual and conduct of the Naga people who are mostly practising Islam in their own way of faith. The daily activity in the mosque is well integrated with the place where people come to pray in a congregation on a regular basis five times a day. Though there is no direct instruction from the village head, men always come to the mosque as a daily ritual. The visit to the mosque is socially dutiful before coming to their house from the rice fields. Showing up to the public at the masjid is a part of an informal ritual that is a gesture of presence and being ready to listen to village affairs. The mosque is the first place of stop for every man who has been away from the settlement and comes back again. Arrival and departure from the village are related with the presence at the mosque. At night, the hall of the mosque provides a place for village boys and young men.

The concept of dwelling among Naga populations and Sundanese people shares the same idea of linggih as a highly respected place and position of dwelling. The word linggih means seat, sitting, position and residence. In daily life, the word linggih mostly cannot be spoken. The daily word for sitting is diuk or calik. Originally, the word linggih is from Old Javanese language. The broadest meaning of the word comprises the words mapalinggih for an inhabitant and palinggihan for a respected position. Among Naga, linggih is the refinement of the daily used word diuk meaning take place for stay, sitting and position. Dwelling for the Naga people is to establish a settlement between downstream, hilir, and upstream, hulu.

The implementation of the concept is to optimize the terrain of lebak as the settlement. Lebak is the word for valley with some peaks and watersheds. The lebak, is the location where the Naga community lives, whereas its peaks are for the water well and the tomb of their founding fathers and ancestors. At the lowland, the Naga people establish their settlement and ponds near the riverbank of Ciwulan. Though it sounds speculative, the Naga people share the idea that the settlement layout is akin to the embodiment of the seat of a mythical dragon between the highland and lowland position.

The idea of linggih in the Naga community is to confirm its social position and privilege based on the traditionally conceived fellowship called sanaga. People living in the Naga settlement have their own palinggihan or a representative seat in the assembly, patemon, and the meeting hall, bale. The concept of linggih has its locality in the actuality of paetemon or meeting. Patemon is from the word temon meaning to encounter, to meet and to come along. Patemon is the way in which the Naga people exercise their togetherness in the sense of getting together for making a decision and resolution as well, rempug. The meeting in the hall is always intended to come into a single goal called rempugan. The goal of the assembly is nothing but a harmonious agreement and self-determination. Hence, the idea of being together as sinaga, oneness of Naga descendants, comes into being in the actuality of rempugan. The sense of rempugan lies in the state of being united in harmony. Any effort or approach is pursued by the chief of the community to reach a consensus. Unity and harmony becomes the most important thing of the community. They believe in the necessity for unity and harmony as the basic condition of a healthy and prosperous community. Any disagreement or discordance is the sign of disease and malady.

The representatives of a household and the elders of the community come together for a talk and make an agreement in dealing with any problem and area of concern. The participation in the meeting towards a rempugan confirms the seat of any household representative in the village. Patemon as the actual sense of meeting designates a place of resolution and fulfilment of the call for togetherness. The call itself is a socially committed obligation of self-submission known as pasrah into the identity of the Naga community.

Tradition itself among the Naga people is never understood simply as a socially fixed custom. Rather, tradition is conceived in the concept of cara kokolot, meaning the way and manner of their ancestors. Accordingly, highly respected values and manners are developed with respect to what have been done in the past. The acceptance of the cara kokolot in daily life is exercised and elaborated within the actuality

of patemon. Cara kokolot is a set of principles of traditional rules of conduct with its boundary in the sense of larangan or taboo. Cara kokolot is always subject to being recalled and being re-actualized by the village elders in the meeting of patemon. Although cara kokolot does not handle any contemporary problem, social affair and conflict with a direct social sanction, its effectiveness as a socially self-regulating system within the Naga community is apparent. The principles lead people to recognize the boundary of behaviours accepted within the Naga community.

Being unable to take part in village meetings and ritual gatherings is socially unacceptable. Participation in any village meeting and rituals becomes the socially confining mechanism of one's integration and identity with other villagers. In the concept of sanaga, there is a spiritually binding system of oneness for the Naga community dwelling that is sustained with the village ritual of thanksgiving, hajat sasih. The prefix of sanaga designates the importance of the sense to be one in a harmonious unity.

Regarding its social sense, the identification of sanaga does not narrowly confine a clan. The sense of sanaga lies in its ties with the fellowship of community dwelling with syncretic tradition of Islam, Hinduism and indigenous West Javanese beliefs. Thus, Naga is not merely in terms of kinship, but it confines the socially behaving boundary in practising the ancestral wisdom and manners handed down orally from cara kokolot as mentioned earlier. Such a practice for the Naga community is nothing but to reproduce, to sustain than to elaborate its culture in dealing with the actually working influences in other communities.

Dwelling for the Naga people is always in the context of sanaga. To dwell in the Naga community is articulated in the notion of sumarah, meaning to submit oneself to the village in the spiritual oneness of community. The ground of this submission remains, however, unanswerable if we do not put the fear of the Naga people into question. Being able to exercise the indigenous beliefs and customs for the Naga people is necessary to handle any possible conflict and contradiction within a syncretistically compromising framework of resoluteness.

The fear of the Naga people is the state of being excluded from the closeness to their origin, as the descendants and the followers of karuhun Naga (the respective ancestor). Sanaga is always the goal of dwelling within the socially restricted boundary of the Naga people. Its consequences are to maintain their institutions that enable them to sustain their social identity as a Naga community on the Naga land. Till date, the institutions of Naga settlement exist and work well within the framework of patemon.

The necessity for linggih or dwelling is the exigency of being able to handle any conflict towards a harmonious unity and resoluteness. Hence, linggih finds its weight in the way of self-capacity for being able to cope with the lifeworld in its perfect oneness called sanaga. Here, the outside and the inside become unnecessary antinomy because it just prolongs the separation of the self from its origin. Linggih precedes the conditional state of being able to be reflective in thinking and handling. The Naga people believe that linggih or properly dwelling leads one towards kalungguhan or the respective place of subtlety and fine awakening. Kalungguhan comes from the word lungguh, meaning a subtle, polite, gentle, fine and soft-spoken language.

Sitting in the patemon is actually being in a cross-legged seated position in a circular formation. Squatting here is formulated from the word padasila or sila. The important notion of sila lies in its relation to susila, which means a decent conduct with respect to others and being well behaved. Sila literally means a principle of sitting in a cross-legged position when invited for a ritual meal, hajat. Sitting in the sila position is to take a seat in a circular formation.

The formation is made for a round discussion where all persons are treated in the same way in the talk. The kuncen is the moderator and keynote speaker who is expected to be wise and polite in any circumstance. The community of Naga consists of 96 households. A household, umpi, is designated by a single house, bumi umpi. The traditional head of the Naga settlement is a kuncen—literally key—whose position is hereditary and only for a male inhabitant. A kuncen is assisted by three persons: amil, tua kampung and patunggon. Amil is an expert on Islamic laws and customs. Tua kampung is an expert on customary laws and traditions in the Naga community. Both positions are male occupations. Patunggon is a female occupation, which is occupied by the sister of the community head, kuncen. It is also a hereditary position. Her duty is that of an attendant of the settlement shrine and museum, bumi ageung. The role of a kuncen or a pakuncen is that of a guardian of a spirit place. He is an intermediary between the community and the supernatural. In the Naga community, he is at the centre of ritual life and ceremony.

The community is provided with a meeting council, patemon adat, which consists of 12–20 elders, kokolot kampung. The deliberation takes place in bale patemon, the meeting hall. The kuncen holds any meeting in the meeting hall, while the tua kampung organizes the meeting and helps the head of the community with information. The three traditional positions, amil, tua kampung and patunggon, are represented in three buildings, masjid, bale patemon and bumi ageung, whereas the representation of the kuncen is related to the grave of the founding father, Embah Singaparna. The meeting hall and the mosque are traditionally male domains, whereas the sacred house is a female domain. The yard surrounding the sacred house in daily life is a closed territory protected by a bamboo fence. All sacred places in the Naga territory are closed domains for daily human activities. These places are usually protected with vegetation or a bamboo fence.

The settlement of Naga is located on the axial position between the grave of the forefather, leuweung karamat, and the river Ciwulan. All houses are juxtaposed in a linear row formation adjusting to the thoughtfully terraced topography. On the eastern and the northern areas of the settlement, there are ponds for toilets and breeding fishes. In doing so, the practice of wet-rice water management prevents their settlement from flood and erosion. Thus, run-off water from the settlement and its surrounding is retained within the ponds, balong, before finding its way into the river. River for Naga people is not only a natural stream but also a public space for most women and children in the village. Washing of clothes takes place at the banks of the river Ciwulan. In the first month of the Islamic almanac, the river is symbolic of the end of ritual and ceremony of hajat sasih, literally meaning month feast.

The western part of the Naga land is mostly wild and maintained as the sacred area called leuweung karamat. In contrast to the outskirts of the settlement on the western side, which remains in its natural character, the southern areas are utilized

for the cultivation of coconut trees and domestication of animals for the purpose of animal husbandry. Coconut trees are protective elements for the settlements from winds blowing in the south–north direction during the monsoon and dry seasons. The shelters for husking rice are erected at the borderline areas on the North, South and East. Although physical borders are not built in the form of a fence, ponds and trees stand as transitory areas between the settlements and the rice fields.

The access to the settlement can be gained from three points, the East, the North and the South. These three access points are connected with each other with paths as marginal connectors. The important path connects the hill of satria where the sacred grave of Embah Singaparna is located, and the riverbank of Ciwulan. Satria is the notion of a noble knight who is able to keep the lifeworld in order. The path connecting the river Ciwulan and the hill of satria is known as the passage of Naga ritual. The people of the Naga community call this path as jalan tapak Naga, the path of dragon's footprint. The ritual path is on the southern marginal area. The path is used for procession during the feast of hajat sasih.

The central area of the settlement, pakarangan ageung, is located at the west–east axis, where the mosque and the meeting hall stand. The centre is an open place without any pavement and covering material. The surface of the centre is constructed with a meandering terraced form consisting of two different levels because of the topographical conditions of the hilly site. The lower area is for multifarious public activities. The rice grains that are not yet husked are dried in the open place of the settlement centre. The Naga people do so after the harvest times. The central area is the place where the ritual of hajat sasih is executed every year. The feast takes place in front of the mosque. The central area does not have a formal geometrical form. It is likely a free space of some traditional houses that provide villagers with a place for gathering in front of the mosque and the meeting hall.

The sloping terrain of settlements is managed with terrasering. The critical areas are supported by retaining walls made of river stones. Thus, the contour lines of the site provide a terraced scene of building composition in harmony with the terraces of wet-rice field surrounding the settlement. The character of surfaces in the settlement domain is clean from wild vegetation and grasses. The drainage and cleanness of all the yards in the settlement area are maintained by all members of the community on a periodic basis. The maintenance is a voluntary cooperative work known here as bersih kampung or ngaruat lembur (taking care of homeland), which is coordinated by the kuncen and his assistant, tua kampung. The cooperative work is executed some days before the great days of Islam. Bersih kampung is an activity of all villagers to keep the village clean and free from any bad spirit (Fig. 6.3).

6.4 Bumi Naga: The Family Domain

The number of houses in the site of Naga cannot be extended. A new household is to build a house outside the traditional site if they do not have any inheritance from their parents. A traditional house, bumi umpi—the lifeworld of household—is traditionally inherited by the first son after being married. The inheritance of a

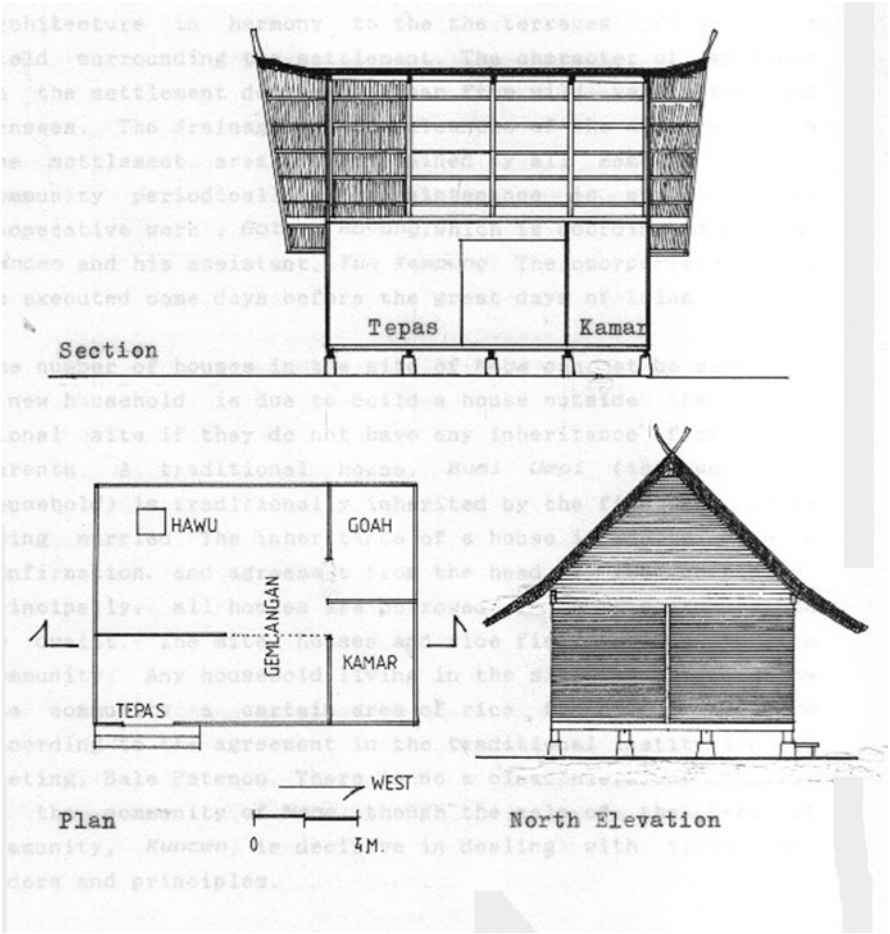

Fig. 6.3 Typical house plan, section and elevation

house should have a confirmation and agreement from the head of the community. Principally, all houses are borrowed from the community to dwell. The site, houses and rice fields belong to the community. Any household living in the site is borrowed by the community a certain area of rice field and a house according to the agreement in the traditional institution of meeting, bale patemon. There is no clear hierarchy of power in the community of Naga, though the role of the head of the community, kuncen, is decisive in dealing with traditional orders and principles.

Eight to nine households are grouped today in a unit of neighbourhood called rukun tetangga. The unit is based on a territorial unit of houses, which in the site has an open place, pakarangan para umpi. This open space is a public place for drying up unhusked rice and for other purposes. There are three kinds of houses in the site of Naga, which are differentiated by their areas. The form, construction and building material of all houses are similarly made of organic materials.

Any Naga family house has a floor plan consisting of 3×4 modular units of goah. The notion of goah is a room or empty place for valuable things. A modular room, goah, has three different ground plans of: $1.50 \times 1.50\,m^2$, $1.80 \times 1.80\,m^2$ and $2.10 \times 2.10\,m^2$. The measure of house ground plan indicates the rank and status of the household head in the meeting hall. Nevertheless, the layout of the Naga compound is developed with a regular and firm ordering system of juxtaposition.

The houses are arranged in a row with the roof ridge running from west to east direction. The spacing between the rows of houses is used for front access path and rear pathway. Having such spacing, drainage dikes running from the west to east are fully integrated with the paths. In the case of rainy and dry seasons, the spaces between the house rows are very useful as corridors under shelter. Each building has a face-to-face juxtaposition with the main door on the south or north. The uniformity of the house form is apparent so that the compound shows a composition of rhythmic forms and homogeneous materials. Interestingly, open spaces are provided in a group of houses that break the monotonous rows of the form. Such open spaces are actually necessary and useful for drying area of paddy rice seeds after the harvest time. Moreover, the open areas provide the neighbourhood with play area for children in the afternoon.

It is remarkable that the high level of the site is not used for the location of the kuncen's house. His house is the largest house ($3.20 \times 3.20\,m^2$) in the Naga compound. Notwithstanding that, its position does not demonstrate any special treatment among other houses in the central area. As was mentioned earlier, the idea of centre in the site is represented by the bumi ageung, which is located on the central axis of the settlement and is higher than the mosque and the meeting hall.

A Naga house is a simple gable roof form with a rectangular ground plan of $3 \times 4\,m^2$. The house construction is a rectangle-based framework made of timbers. The enclosure of the house is made of bilik, woven split bamboo skirts. The joints of the house construction are mostly fitted with notch, pin, peg and dowel. The principle of joints is a hinge construction, which is able to handle lateral forces and torsion within a statically self-maintaining framework system. Such a system is well known for its capability in maintaining the sum of possible forces at zero at any joint. Earthquake and volcanic eruption are the most dangerous cases for house construction in the highland of Parahyangan, where Naga settlement is located. Having survived several earthquake disasters gives people a confidence on the lightness of the construction of the house. Though its roof covering is made of heavy material such as sago palm's fibres, ijuk, the stability of the house structure is well constructed with firm but nonrigid joints.

Any traditional house is constructed with a raised floor off the ground. The floor structure reminds us of most of the other Indonesian traditional houses. The house stands on 4×5 piles, which rest on the river stone foundations. The floor of the house is 35–40 cm high from the ground that provides free space for ventilation below. Most of the spaces under the floor remain empty. Some houses use the space under the floor as a stall for chickens. The space under the floor, kolong, is conceived by the Naga people as the breathing space for the serpent, which dwells in the underworld. Accordingly, keeping the space open is to maintain the earth in its peacefully bearing capacity.

Fig. 6.4 Lorong, space between houses where a drainage dike runs along the west–east direction

The main building materials are timber and woven split bamboo panels. Bamboo is also an important structural material for the roof and floor system. The roof covering is made of Ijuk—sago palm's fibers—with a horn-form rooftop detail which is similar to the houses in the Southeast Asian continent. The building construction is a simple frame system covered by the wall panels made of bilik— woven split and thin bamboo skirt. The building is a light construction, which has been able to survive several earthquakes in the region. In its ordinary house form, there is no opening on the wall for windows. The house has only one door to the outside. Today, some houses are renovated by attaching modern building elements and materials. The change of facade seems to be a strong exertion among Naga houses. However, the traditional authority of community leader, kuncen, gives these possibilities in order to maintain the trend of migration from the traditional settlement (Fig. 6.4).

Goah is a spare and always uninhabited room in the house, where husked rice and food materials are stored. Nobody can enter the goah other than the mother or her daughters. The room, goah, is identified with the mother of the house, who is the caretaker of the origin, resources and growth. It belongs to the female domain. Goah in its void characteristic is conceived as the centre of the house. This room is associated with the altar for the goddess Sri who is believed to be the power of the household lifeworld. This room is accessed from the hearth, hawu, which is located behind or in the living room, gemblangan. Ordinarily, the living room and the hearth are not divided by a wall. The gemblangan is principally to comprise a hawu and a goah under its spatial totality of form under the same roof system.

Hawu in Old Sundanese means spirit, ash, hearth and ancestral reputation. This is the place where the traces of origin and end are signified with the sameness in the form of ash. The sense of the word hawu always reminds us of the end of life leading towards the state of being in sameness. The life itself is conceived in the power of fire called agni in Old Sundanese or seuneu. A building without hawu will not be considered as a house because the availability of the hearth is conditioned with the existence of a married couple. The hearth and the storage room are highly respected places where the woman of the house has her daily domain. Although the father is the chief of the family in village life, his reputation and character in the village meeting, patemon, are determined by his attitude and respect towards his wife and children.

In the house, there is only a sleeping room for the parent of the girls. All members of the family sleep in the living room called gemblangan. The word gemblangan literally means perfect, complete and in totality. The sense of total inhabitability of the house is spatially embodied with the existence of gemblangan. Naga people conceive the house and family as a totality in the sense of bumi. Hence, gemblangan is the substance of bumi that discloses the potentiality of a family coming into the totality of lifeworld as a habitually domesticated system.

The sleeping room, kamar, is used only for the parents if the house does not have any girl. Kamar is adopted from the Indonesian notion for room. The room is an extension of the newly adopted concept of a private room. However, the use of the room is not for the parents. The boys of the house usually sleep together with the other boys of the village in the mosque. Commonly, the girls of the house sleep in the kamar. In most common cases, the room is used to be the place of a newly married couple in matrilocal tradition, before the new household is independent in another house.

The male domain comes into the light if the house is visited by outsiders. The front living room is the place for the reception. They traditionally sit on the floor by squatting. There is no other orderly formation, which shows a strict line between the insiders and the outsiders. The female elements never take part in active conversations. The household head represents the family in encountering outsiders. A visit transforms female domination into male domination in the house.

The community of Naga does not live in isolation from its surrounding neighbours, who are familiar with modern goods, appliances and equipment. The use of modern things and appliances is necessarily within the framework of village agreement as discussed in the patemon. The word patemon means meeting, gathering and getting close together. The sense of patemon lies in the necessity for consensus towards unity and harmony. The achievement of consensus is idiomatically expressed and articulated with the concept of sanaga. The concept is to underscore the necessity of being solid as a community. Only because of this, the Naga community is able to exist, develop and sustain their well-being. Disunity and disagreement do not bring about the form of Naga in a perfect and concrete condition. Although the formal rules and regulations concerning the lifestyle are not available in a written form, the Naga people do not jeopardize the concept of consensus in terms of sanaga. Putting sanaga into jeopardy is doing something that affects others in the sanaga context of trouble. Things and behaviours belonging to sanaga settlement are identified with the fitness to the measure and propriety of the submissive self in their habitation (Fig. 6.5).

Fig. 6.5 Core area of kampung Naga; bale patemon, masjid and lapang

The context of sanaga is customarily the place where an individual must surrender and accept the communal agreement with the socially guiding principles towards a peaceful togetherness. The call for such togetherness is recognized by the Naga people with the concept of rumasa—being aware This is the concept that is reflective in the way of sensibility towards self-awareness of respect towards others with care. The goal of rumasa is nothing but kalayeutan, unity and harmony. The concept of kalayeutan is coined from the word layeut meaning agreement, sustainable, accord and unity in harmony. Hence, the existence of sanaga lies in the sense of its kalayeutan.

6.5 Modernity in Naga Community

In the Naga community, modernity has been experienced as somewhat challenging to the authority of kuncen and kokolot elders. The leadership with an open-minded kuncen plays a very important role in dealing with modernity in the form of educational, economic, technological and industrial system. Peaceful deliberation for any case of modernity takes place in their village assembly. The deliberation encounters any problem and possibility of making up decision and determination for the Naga people from the case of allowing children to go for modern education to the use of

glass for their windows and doors. In any level and scope of determination, there is an attempt to see modernity in the context of harmony with their tradition. There is no indication of arduous resistance to deal with modernity as long as their identity as sanaga is not jeopardized.

Regarding its identity as Naga community, the form and structure of the house are supposed to be kept in its original type. The use of modern building materials is deliberately considered in accordance with respect to tradition that does not change its contribution to the whole picture of their settlement. Migration to other villages surrounding the original settlement is encouraged that enables people to build their house according to their choices and possibilities. Within the original territory of the Naga settlement, the change of physical house form and its volume means that its owner has to challenge the authority of its village chief and elders.

As mentioned earlier, the house of heirs called bumi ageung is the connecting place from the settlement to the sacred environment. The house enacts as the mediator between the living and the dead realm. The restriction of building has been made to protect the sacred area in its natural sustainability. In contrast to the restricted forest, the sacred domain is subject to maintenance. People are allowed to keep the sacred domain clean and its drainage functioning well.

The principle of building regulation in the Naga community is to mainly use organic materials such as grass, palm leaf, bamboo and timber. Other modern materials such as metal and glass are considered optional. An ordinary design of the house form is conceived to be the one that can be traditionally handed down to its heir. Their notion for this is articulated with the Islamic concept of amanah, morally imperative message. Accordingly, house, village and its tradition are their heirloom, pusaka, that is subject to be preserved and conserved based on their necessity for identity as a sanaga. Respect to tradition and being open to modernity come into the play of development. Compromise and tolerance in the use of modern materials are subject to the head of the community's approval. However, it is acceptable to implement new material and technique in very limited portion as long as it is done without neglecting and abandoning their pusaka. To what extent can Naga people survive to preserve their tradition? It is a question of leadership of its elders and its necessity of being sanaga.

Modernity in the village brings about new needs for room such as shops, workshop, power and water installation. Since the tradition did not have such a room or facility in its original form, Kuncen and elders tried to accommodate such need with care and thoughtfulness. Advices and recommendations are given to those who have any plan and problem concerning modern influence for their daily life.

In dealing with the conservation of nature, the Naga people preserve their environment under three categories of land use: leuweung larangan, restricted environment, leuweung karamat, sacred environment and lembur, built environment. Modern influence for land utilization is only to take place in the realm of lembur. Accordingly, there is no permission given by the kokolot, elders, to exploit the forest as leuweung larangan, which is traditionally believed as the place of unknown powers, dedemit.

Nevertheless, the government of the Republic of Indonesia has finally announced the leuweung larangan of about 20,000 ha under the National Forest Conservation

in 1997. Within the area of Lembur, there is leuweung karamat situated at the peak area above the settlement. This sacred area is devoted to honour their ancestors. In recent years, some parts of the natural forest, lLeuweung lLarangan, have been transformed into tea plantation field for several reasons. One of them is to help the Naga people for being able to live on other commodities, beyond their self-contained rice production. Although such a transformation of land use would never make the elders of the Naga community happy, tea and coffee plantation gives more chance to average villagers to cope with the modern economy.

The local government of Tasikmalaya in 2000 installed a brick construction shop within the framework of a tourist programme. Then, the Naga settlement becomes a tourist commodity for those who are interested in exoticism of ecotourism and cultural tourism. In dealing with such government programmes, the Naga people pass its aspiration and resistance in silence. According to their tradition, no permanent building is allowed to be built on the ground of Naga land. The kuncen and the elders only send their smile when being asked on the subject concerning the instalment of a shop. Fear of being homeless for the Naga people is not simply by the reason of changes in their built environment. The fear lies deeply in the fact that their successful tradition is in question because of the decreasing number of its successors.

In dealing with any change of attitude and behaviour of young people, most parents do not want to exercise violence. Young Naga people, who are mostly under the influence of modern education and urbanized lifeworld, do not stay any longer in their village. They go to towns for getting jobs as labour forces in the textile industry or in urban services. For those who do not have any choice to move out from the settlements stay and function in the Naga community. The most valuable reason for young people to stay in the traditional village is to take care of their parents and the sustenance of their farm.

Preserving the Naga tradition for the young generation seems to be a stay in isolation as an exclusive community with its own culture. Thus, the question of identity comes into play with the members of the community who are already exposed to choices and opportunities because of living in a modern society. The annual ritual of hajat sasih reminds and invites Naga descendants coming to their traditional village for gathering.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

In the global world of modernity, there is no place to hide and to isolate from materialism and information. The Naga community as a unique lifeworld has to deal with modernity to keep their tradition and culture. In so doing, they find their niche that is called home. Despite the changes and transformations occurring to their circumstances, the Naga community maintains and sustains their identity as a sociocultural entity, with unique customs and traditions. Nevertheless, the rituals and ceremonies likely uphold their identity and home. Rituals and ceremonies guard and steward the Naga people together as a community. Ritual gatherings remind the Naga people of their origin and kinship as a big family.

The necessity for a beautiful home in terms of community overcomes the differences of religious doctrines. They unify the best and most suitable for keeping them together. All this has been working in the Naga community appropriately, with wishful selection and pragmatic implementation. The lesson learnt from the Naga experience is to underscore the significance of dwelling as a learning in which everything new is culturally adopted and synchronized with their resources. In doing so, culture is a dynamic process that cultivates influences and resources that enable people to keep their environment as a whole system of home. Rituals are nothing but the social mechanisms to redefine, replenish and re-establish the lifeworld as a home system.

Chapter 7
Ninik Mamak: Motherhood, Hegemony and Home in West Sumatra, Indonesia

Abstract In Minangkabau, there is no better concept for describing hegemony, motherhood and home than *ninik mamak*. For centuries, this notion has defined and sustained the ethnic identity of Minangkabau as a land and a people. The adoption of Islam has been changing the constellation of power play and transforming social order in relation to *ninik mamak*. However, presumably, modernity that gives a third way and an option enables the Minangkabau culture to prevail over the politics of identities and differences based on gender. The question is to what extent the matrilineal dominance of this ethnic group is able to build a coalition of culture with Islam and modernity. The aim of this study is to investigate cultural options and transformations within the Minangkabau lifeworld that restructure and reorganize their domains and arts of living, after Islam and modernity have come into play within the matrilineal lifeworld of the Minangkabau. The material of this chapter is taken from author's fieldwork in the district of Saruaso and Tanah Datar region and the Bukit Tinggi area of West Sumatra in 1982 and 2001.

Keywords Islam · Gender · Hegemony · Minangkabau · Tradition · Home · Place · Modernity

7.1 Ninik Mamak and Islam

The interactions between Islam, gender and place have attracted the attention of geographers (Bowlby 1998; Dweyer 1999; Fallah et al. 2005; Aitchison et al. 2007). Outwardly, in the Islamic traditional lifeworlds, masculinity is likely synonymous with social order, production and political and economic control. On the other hand, femininity is presumably associated with care, reproduction and domestic education. Accordingly, Muslim women as wives are institutionally subordinate to their husbands and they are likely passive political agents. However, recent in-depth studies show us something different. The studies also challenge the assumption that Muslim women are the victims of Islamic doctrine. The studies conclude that there is a cultural capacity and possibility of women's negotiations for identity, power and agency (Saliba et al. 2002, 2005).

In the Southeast Asian and Indonesian contexts, gender, politics and Islam are not only contentious issues on identities and differences but also challenging themes

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with various cases as have been observed and explored by many scholars (Stivens and Sen 1998; Robinson 2009 and O'Shaughnessy 2009). Remarkably, recent feminist debates in this region and in the archipelago concern realizing the fact that the absence of gender and women in political discourses is not because of the lack of participations and engagements of women in the political practice, but it is obviously due to the contextual political culture. Accordingly, the marginalization of the role of women in Indonesia is inescapable from the subtly repressive culture with regard to women. The culture morally expects a woman to be a role model, as a highly respected mother—*ibu*. Indonesian women are morally obliged to stay in their biological nature—*kodrat*—and nurture their children. In many cases, only women qualified as *ibu* are likely acceptable in public life as leaders. In Javanese mythology, the goddess Sri represents female care for nurturing children, the goddess Durga for her curse and wrath and the goddess Uma for her unconditional care and support. Apart from the Javanese, Malay and Acehnese women, women seem hardly acceptable in leading positions. Originally, this cultural barrier is not because of Islam, but it is deeply rooted in the pre-Hindu, Buddhist, Austronesian culture that politics and power are the lifeworld of men.

7.2 Ninik Mamak in the Indonesian Context

Even though Minangkabau, Java and Aceh are culturally matrilocal, and by population predominantly Muslim, the people are egalitarian with regard to gender relation and issue. They are familiar with female leaders such as Tribuwana Tunggadewi, Suhita, RA Kartini, Megawati Sukarnoputri, Pocut Baren, Cut Nyak Dien, Teungku Fakinah and Cut Meitia. Hitherto, it is not the case in Minangkabau. Indeed, by tradition, Minangkabau, Aceh and Javanese groups share something in common that allows and enables strong, powerful and talented women to control economic and military resources.

Since gender is about the identity and difference in sexual categories, the politics of gender is likely to construct a socially imagined role and function of power. The fundamentalist faction of Islam and the military groups are likely the strong opponents of the gender-egalitarian culture of Indonesia. Ideologically, most Indonesian women are not, by law and tradition, required to change their given name with their husband's names. If one's name is the sign and social acknowledgement of person, women in Indonesia should have been persons since their birth. Addressing a woman as *ibu* and a man as *bapak*—father—is a sign of respect and dignity. However, there is no equal and respectful address for men and women with a gender-neutral connotation. To address a person as *ibu* or *bapak* is to demonstrate their formality, respect and dignitary status of power to their superior persons and formal colleagues. The politics of gender relation in the Indonesian context is persistent, though with nebulous politeness and courtesy.

The other aspect of gender relation is associated with subordination. In addressing their subordinates or familiar colleagues, a person with an *ibu* or *bapak* status will use the word *saudara*—brother—for men or *saudari*—sister—for women prior to their names. In the Indonesian context, addressing a person is acknowledging the

power relation between them. The politics of gender remains hidden from the national agenda because of its feudalistic roots. Although an egalitarian relationship between men and women does exist in the contemporary and daily life of Indonesia, it does not mean that an *ibu* enjoys the equal respect as a *bapak*. In this regard, the politics of gender has come into a delicate state of hegemony from sexual struggle to moral contest. To be qualified for a leadership position, a woman has to prove herself publicly as a respectful mother with children successful in their society. Unlike men, women need to go the extra mile with regard to moral issues to be in a leading position. Instead of focusing on the rights of women as persons, the feminist debate in this country is more on counterattacks against irresponsible fatherhood and of their burden on family and marriage.

Studies on gender, Islam and space in Indonesia have shown us that the main issues are more focused on identity, polygamy and consumerism of modernity rather than equal rights, political oppression and violence against women (Van Wichelen 2007, p. 97). Nevertheless, the inequality of sexual division of labour in households was an important issue in a 1964 seminar by Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Wieringa 2002, p. 263)—a Communist organization of the women's movement—which is ignored or paid less attention by today's Indonesian feminists.

Indeed, Islam fundamentalist and military groups in Indonesia play their historic role in shaping the masculine political culture. However, Indonesian women as observed by Robinson (2009)—since the struggle for independence, during the authoritarian New Order regime and post-Suharto reformation era—have always been in an active political role and significantly engaged in shaping and developing contemporary Indonesia as a nation. All this is made possible not only because of Indonesian egalitarian gender which is dominated by Javanese and Minangkabau elites, but also because of the fact that Indonesian women are more sensitive and responsive in dealing with social and political issues than their counterparts, especially after the fall of the Suharto regime.

Culturally, the ancient myth of being a good mother and responsible homemaker, *ibu*, but rather it comprises nation and state as a big family. As mothers, women do care much more for the future of their children than men and are against violence and the abuse of power. Even though modernity and democracy give hope and a way for women in Indonesia for their right, sharing household chores and nurturing children with their husbands is still out of question.

Since politics is inconceivable without any interest in controlling resources, there must be traditional mechanisms in maintaining hegemony. The research question is, what cultural thought is behind the politics of gender? How are social transformations possible for advocating the rights of women? Is modernity the agent of change for the politics of gender? In this context, is modernity face to face with Islam in a kind of clash of civilizations? These questions lead this study to take Minangkabau as a case study.

Analysing the pattern of domains in public space is inseparable from the politics of gender that works within the society as political culture. The relation of political culture to women and gender is intangible without the phenomena of occupying domains and claiming territories. Is Indonesia part of this Islamic lifeworld? Even

though the majority of Indonesian population is Muslim, bilateral citizenship and equality of political rights have been part of the Indonesian development. However, it does not mean that there is no marginalization of women in the political discourse from the domestic sphere to the public realm.

Hitherto, in the Era of Reformation, the state of politics of gender in Indonesia remains unchanged in that it puts women in their sexual identity as a wife and mother. Under the notion of *adat ketimuran*—eastern custom and culture—women are morally obliged to fulfil their *kodrat*—biological nature—to be a good homemaker and well-nurturing mother (see also Robinson 2008, p. 10). Remarkably, however, the culture never says that the father is an equally important partner to do so and to be a good father. Men—whoever they are—are always qualified to be in politics. Even though in the day-to-day, Islam in Indonesia is not strict in holding back women from political activities and economic controls, the Indonesian tradition does so in terms of moral obligation. Nevertheless, the mainstream of Indonesian society does not fully agree with Islamic fundamentalists on gender relations. However, they do share something in common by putting women under control, based on their biological nature.

The absence of gender in the Indonesian political discourse is seemingly inescapable from this tradition in that only the male actors are normatively accepted (see also O'Shaughnessy 2009, p. 6). In other words, the political culture in Indonesia has subtly marginalized and excluded women by making them stay at the cornerstone of domesticity. Institutionally, the establishment of *Dharma Wanita* as the state officers' wives organization confirms and validates the fact that the politics of gender supports women as supportive and complementary spouses for their husbands' careers in the state bureaucracy (Suryakusuma 1996, pp. 92–119). A devoted woman is always behind any successful male state officer. However, the reverse is not always the case. Of course, options are open to women for being professionals or political activists on their own, but they are never free from public judgment on their traditional role and function.

In rural areas, the politics of gender was set up duringSuharto's New Order regime and is still in function today; this promotes and underscores the role and function of women as a mother and housewife through the state family programmes. One important task and duty of *Dharma Wanita* is to run and sustain state-funded programmes for women and children. One of the programmes is *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or *PKK*—Family Welfare Programme. Even though it is now on a voluntary basis,the promotion for their husbands includes, informally, the scores made by the wives. In rural areas, the programme is to educate women on family planning, nutrition, household management, health care, literacy, etc.

7.3 Ninik Mamak in Minangkabau Culture and Tradition

Despite many scholars (Graves 1981; Kathiritambhy-Wells 1985; van Reeneen 1996; Blackwood 2000; Sanday and Choudhury 2004) having presented their studies on Minangkabau culture and tradition, they leavethe concept of *ninik mamak* hidden.

Ninik mamak as a concept is central in Minangkabau culture and tradition. It is more than just the highest authority in relation to gender, property and home. *Ninik mamak* is the mother of all customs and traditions and the highest agency of female power. In its local language, *ninik mamak* is the upholder of customs and traditions such that Minangkabau people are human inasmuch as they know, practise and value their culture. Every culture has its own preference for and source of their systems of category and classification. It is true that the Minangkabau case has always disturbed universal assumptions on women's place in the lifeworld (Blackwood 2000, p. 9). The source of difficulty on the matter lies in the fact that Islam and modernity have transformed the Minangkabau culture. The female dominance has been always subject to case-by-case basis. It also depends on the personality and individual character of the eldest female and other male elders of *kaum* and *suku*.

In Minangkabau, the phenomena of place—*darek*—and abroad—*rantau*—are not simply dualistic and antagonistic but also complementary and coexist in sustaining what Minangkabau is. Exploring the ideology of matrilineal culture in the use and claim of space is the focus of this study. This study also investigates how the matrilineal culture and tradition interact and assimilate with other ideologies, such as Islam and modernity, in sustaining the home of the Minangkabau people.

The land in Minangkabau is culturally not simply an asset for productive economy. Rather, it is traditionally the holy ground of their ancestral home concept—*kampung halaman*—from which their cultural identity is set up, maintained and sustained. Minangkabau land has been the most important asset of matrilineal inheritance in terms of the power of women in the context of socioeconomic asset and domestic realm (see also Sanday and Choudhury 2004, p. 236). The land is a conceptual entity and is described as *ranah* meaning the lifeworld or realm of people. Land is, by gender, feminine pertaining to mother—*mamak*—motherhood and child caring. Traditionally, the use of the land for productive and settlement purposes is under the arrangement and consensus of the clan council—*ninik mamak*. However, land is traditionally not for sale. In many cases, land is a subject of donation of the clan for public utilities and municipal goods based on the agreement of the locally associated customary council. According to their matrilineal tradition of inheritance, land is a permanent asset of culture of the mother's side, which is not subject to any kind of transaction or exchange.

The traditional clan house—*rumah gadang*—and ancestral land—*tanah pusako*—are not a transferable commodity. It is hereditary, through blood relation on the mother's side. All such assets and properties are under the control of the female clan. In dealing with business, men from the mother's side are in charge on behalf of their mother and sisters to manage and cultivate the land. However, they have no right to transfer the land without the consent of their mother or sisters. In addition, they work for their sisters on a contract basis.

Then, where is the playground of the menfolk? The space for a man is abroad and out there, beyond home. The hegemony of a woman on the realm of dwelling creates a migratory demand. It is not only culturally necessary but also metaphysically imperative, that is, in order to counter the dominance of women in domestic issues. Indeed, men from the mother's side or wife's side execute most customs and

traditions. Here, the menfolk work on behalf of their mother or sisters. This reminds us of the role and function of honeybee workers in their colony. Of course, the human system is more sophisticated. The males from the mother's and sister's side are the messengers, communicators, mediators, negotiators, workers and representatives of the matrilineal clan and family. The notion of *ninik mamak* is not only a kinship concept but also a political idea that binds all men from the mother's and sisters' side, and granduncle, uncles and brothers, as a customary authority for dealing with inheritance, custody and asset. In short, in the traditional sense, male agents are at the service of the clan and family without having the right of control on economic resources of the clan's assets and properties.

Agriculture economy has always been the most important asset of the Minangkabau clan and families. The land for rice fields and plantation is mostly a hereditary asset. Brothers or uncles of the wife's clan take charge to manage such assets that include cultivation and production share with other people. They hire workers on a contract or share basis. Still, farming and cultivating land do not liberate men from their customary destiny as workers. Public service, merchandising and trading are more challenging for their female domestic dominance. Hence, it is not surprising to understand why many Minangkabau men go to work in public service and businesses.

7.4 Gender and Migration

Migration—*merantau*—opens up the outlying land for the young Minangkabau men to seek their fortune. Are Minangkabau men sick and tired of being guests in their traditional lifeworld? Alternatively, the culture does not recognize women as household heads (Clark 2003, p. 53). The male heads have to work hard for their family and never have any access to use their wives' properties and assets. The urge to move out is present. Pursuing their life abroad—*rantau*—is a viable option to prove their worth, by attaining wealth and prestige. The pursuit is, of course, a peaceful way of taking refuge from the sense of male unworthiness and internal village politics for wealth and power.

Since most Minangkabau people today are Muslim, the matrilineal tradition of inheritance must have been in a unique intercourse with the Islamic patriarchal practice. The process of such intercourse has been experiencing as moving out from traditional house as traditional realm of matrilineal culture. As a matter of fact, the cultural conflicts and dialogues between Islam and tradition come into play when it comes to matters such as marriage, death and inheritance. According to tradition, man is subject to exchange; on the other hand, Islamic teaching holds on the reverse, the woman is subject to exchange.

Customarily speaking, a bachelor is the commodity of the clan—*suku*. A successful man in education, wealth and business or public service is a high-value commodity in many rural areas. Their names and reputations are subject matters of village gossip and chat. Clans and families with girls approach such bachelors with specially trained mediators and negotiators. In their strictly conservative tradition, a male and female relationship is neither likely a personal nor a seemingly private

matter. It is the business of the clans and families of both the sides. Marriage tradition in Minangkabau is not simply to set up a family and to build a family house; rather, it is about a marriage of two clans and building big families. Clans and families of both the sides share the wedding feast fairly. Later on, parents share mutual responsibility of their children. They may work together and even share the usufruct rights to one's rice field (Davis 2007, p. 74).

7.5 Gender and Place

The *darek* is geographically the inner highlands of West Sumatra. Literally, *darek* means the terrestrial and the land of origin. In opposition to the *darek* is the *rantau*, the distant frontier lands. The sense of *darek* signifies the dwelling land where the traditional settlements are located. *Darek* mostly has fertile volcanic soil for wet-rice cultivation. Settlements and rice fields belong to the realm of the homeland called *ranah minang*. All these areas are female territory. The only male territory is somewhere out there, far from the place of origin.

The *darek* is the place of origin because of its function as the source of tradition and customarily laws, *adat*. *Darek* is the realm of a home with sustainable support of the rain forests and mountains. The lands without the *adat* are not the inhabitable place, such as *teratak*,hamlet, *lading*, field, *sawah*, rice field and *ngarai*, valley. Distance from home for the Minangkabau people is not only a geographical definition but also an ontological one that makes them off the realm of *kampuang*. The land of origin is not only because of its social and historical ties but also because of the existence of *rantau*. We would not know the sense of *kampuang* without taking the sense of *rantau* into our consideration.

Kampuang and *rantau* are opposite concepts that bind us into the whole lifeworld of Minangkabau. The coexistence between them—home and abroad—is likely the female and male category of the realm. Gender is simply identified not by its agency but by its action in exercising dominance and authority concerning domestic assets and wealth. At home, men work for their family in terms of accumulating domestic capital for their wife or earning their family asset for their wife and children. The female identity of *kampuang* is to signify not only the notion of reproductive power but also the identity of home as the place of building, cultivating, nurturing and growing, instead of that of pursuing, achieving or attaining something. *Kampuang* is home or the place where the origin is.

On the opposite side of the home is *rantau*, which is a hunting ground for men's fortune. *Kampuang* is literally village, the homestead of people where they find their place of coming back. The Minangkabau people call the land beyond their homeland as the *rantau* area that is metaphysically the infinite boundary of possibilities that men ought to pursue and prove their competence as fighters and entrepreneurs. Indeed, the consequence of *merantau*—migration—is the shortage of labourers in the agricultural sector. More and more young people prefer to go abroad for their future career and fortune instead of staying home as peasants. Indeed, this situation is not good for the domestic economy, with regard to shortage of labour.

Nonetheless, the term *rantau* is not delimited by its geographical setting. It is conceptually demarcated by the matrilineal binding with the three cultural centres mentioned earlier. Thus, the original Minangkabau cultural lifeworld is not defined by the Minangkabau language. The coastal region of West Sumatra does not belong to the Minangkabau traditional realm. The coastal region is the *rantau* though its people speak the same language as the Minangkabau people in the highlands.

The region of settlement of Minangkabau people is mostly located in the hinterland of West Sumatra. Though geographically the traditional settlements are not concentrated in the form of a town, there is the hint of a traditional grouping system. One important characteristic of the traditional settlement is the existence of a social system based on customary laws called *adat*. The establishment of a settlement evolves over time in dealing with the founding of a community. The first stage of dwelling is the opening of the field for temporary houses. This first and ordinary settlement is called *teratak*. *Teratak* is another word for quarter and hamlet. People living in the *teratak* do not have any protection of social orders and customary laws.

The origin of the settlement region is called *luhak*. The origin of settlement in the land of Minangkabau—*ranah minang*—is known in three regions, *luhak nan tigo*, which are situated mostly in highlands. *Luhak*is actually the region of homeland where traditional settlement institutions are established with traditional laws and more. Although *luhak* is not institutionally established as a state, it is actually a socially organized entity in maintaining, reformulating and sustaining the practice of customary laws in their region.

Three *luhak*s, Agam, Tanah Datar and Limapuluh Koto, have established their own customary laws. All traditional principles and customs in Minangkabau land are derived from these three homeland regions. From the regions of origin, the settlement institutions are developed from *rumah gadang , teratak/koto, payung/kampuang* and *nagari* and then spread out to other places from the highlands to coastal areas. The highland site of settlement institutions is called *darek*, which is mostly affiliated with each other based on lineage ties and customary convention, *adat*. Although most *darek* are situated geographically at the highland areas with their peaks on the mountains Merapi, Singgalang and Sago, their actual sense of the dwelling concept lies in their genealogically binding origin.

In the realm of *luhak*, any settlement is subject to fulfil its integration into a *nagari* as a respected institution. The extension of *luhak* is likewise water and river; from upstream—*hulu*—to downstream—*hilir*. *Luhak* is like the mother settlement which has its seat at the upstream region, while its children live in the scattered coastal regions. Traditionally, each *luhak* has its own *rantau*. *Luhak Agam* is provided with *Rantau Agam*, likewise *Luhak Limapuluh Kota* with *Rantau Limapuluh Kota* and *Luhak Tanah Datar* with *Rantau Tanah Datar*, respectively.

However, the relationship between *luhak* and *rantau* is mutually beneficial in terms of cultural and economic production. Culturally, the importance of *luhak* lies in its capacity as the mother of tradition from which all Minangkabau people draw their cultural identity. From an economic point of view, *rantau* areas are the resources and frontier lands where the children of Minangkabau are able to explore and share their knowledge and skills with others on behalf of their mother. Without the concept

of *rantau*, *luhak* as the concept of mother is idle and does not have its potentially reproductive and nurturing sense. Conversely, *rantau* without *luhak* is like an orphan. Then, the relationship between *rantau* and *luhak* is mutually helpful and strengthens the matrilineal bond between homeland and abroad, regardless of the distance and location.

As mentioned earlier, the organization of habitation in Minangkabau is traditionally managed by an independent village republic called *nagari*. As a social institution of dwelling, *nagari* has its local government consisting of leaders of a kinship, priests of a religious group and elders of the community. The three components of *nagari* are perceived as equally important actors in votes and rights. They sit together as a council—*karapatan adat*—in the village hall called *balai gadang*. It is actually a male house. Women are not allowed to enter this house. As a settlement institution, *nagari* has its traditionally established polity with *penghulu* at its leading position.

In his political position, the *penghulu* is assisted by four leaders called *manti* who are experts in a certain field such as agriculture, trade, law and religious affairs. For its territorial integrity, *nagari* is provided with a *hulubalang*, who is also under the control of *penghulu*, responsible for safety and security. The special deputy of *penghulu* is *bendahara*, a treasurer who is in charge of traditional heirlooms and assets. Politically, *nagari* is a well-equipped system to run village state affairs.

Although Hindu–Javanese statecraft has been established in the Minangkabau lands since the reign of Prince Adityawarman in the fourteenth century, the *nagari* has not been developed as a politically centralized entity with a concentric layout of settlement. Architecturally speaking, *nagari* is neither a town nor a neighbourhood. Rather, *nagari* is a sociopolitically organized polity system to manage the living clans—*suku*—and their resources—rice field, plantation, water well, gold, flora and fauna—under customary laws.

As a sociopolitically organized entity, *nagari* is constituted with seven essential institutions of *teratak dusun*, settlement: *balai-musajik*, hall, mosque, public utilities, *labuah tapian*, place for exchange and trade, *sawah lading*, rice field and plantation, *galanggang-pamedanan*, open space and place for public gathering, *banda buatan*, industry and crafts, *kabau , jawi , tabek*, *taman-taman*, water buffalo, husbandry and garden. From this classification of places, we are able to figure out the Minangkabau lifeworld and their valuable resources and productions.

Being accustomed to an egalitarian culture, the layout of the *nagari* consists of institutions that are able to adjust in any site or location. The layout of *nagari* is free for adjustment on any topographical location. Regarding its concept, *nagari* is seemingly similar with a Javanese early *nagari*. However, in reality, it is quite different in concept and practice. Indeed, the existence of a state like Pariangan Kingdom is evidence (Drakard 1999, p. 86), but *nagari* as an urban settlement concept remains unclear. So far, precolonial settlements in the Minangkabau land left us with few and inadequate evidences for urbanity.

The seat of *nagari* as a political institution is the great hall—*balai gadang*. Accordingly, it is actually a male house and meeting place of leaders and elders. The meetings are symbolically represented by three components of the Minangkabau society: *ninik mamak*, kinship, *alim ulama*, religious group, and *cerdiak pandai*, elders.

The collaboration of the three is traditionally imperative towards a consensus—*mufakat*. The representatives have to work hard to work out their differences to achieve an agreement, *saiyo sakato*. This goal is actually the precondition for going into deliberations.

Living in the Minangkabau land is never out of commission for *mufakat* which is collectively established by the three societal components mentioned above. The collectively established consensus—*mufakat*—is considerably taken into account before going further into action and decision. The role and function of *karapatan adat*—village assembly—is to domesticate everything foreign and strange and harmoniously relate it to their tradition. Accordingly, there must be 'no stone unturned' in *nagari* without having already been through their *mufakat*. That achieving *mufakat* must have been a long process of deliberations and negotiations.

Teratak is actually not a politically established settlement but a hamlet or a lineage group of several houses. Nevertheless, the importance of *teratak* lies in its relation to the rice field as a matrilineal asset. Thus, *teratak*is a representative presence of the clan's or kinship's territory. Every lineage group or clan—*suku*—has its affiliation with a *teratak*. Customarily, *nagari* is constituted by at least four *teratak*. The traditional sociopolitical institution under *nagari* is *kampuang*. It is likely a territorially established organization of neighbourhoods led by *tuo kampuang* or *pangka tuo kampuang*. Overlapping membership must have been experienced between *teratak* and *kampuang*. In relation to gender, most of the Minangkabau cultivated land is traditionally female domains or under the clans' territory. Male territory occupies the interfaces between clans' domains that include forests, watershed areas and wastelands. Concessions are usually given by clans to grant the lands for public purposes such as for meeting halls and public utilities.

Meanwhile, as a sociopolitical system, *nagari* is instituted by several territorial units of settlement—*kampuang*. Under the New Order administration in 1979, *nagari* as a sociopolitically organized entity has been adjusted to adopt the Javanese model of village polity—*desa*. Nevertheless, considering its traditional core of competence in customary laws, *nagari* still exists in the form of a traditional council—*karapatan adat*—in guarding the values and assets within the concept of *harto pusako* (Fig. 7.1).

The institutions of dwelling must have been developed during the adoption of Islam between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mosque—*surau*—and Islamic boarding schools—*madrasah*—were instituted within the traditional *nagari* that became one important part of the establishment of Islamic clerics in the Minangkabau society. Minangkabau is the land where Islamic teachings based on patriarchal tradition encounters Minangkabau matriarchal culture to set up their culture of living.

Conflicts and disagreements between Islam and *adat* on the principle of inheritance always become critical issues for the Minangkabau people. Local wisdom based on locally established consensus is always the case. It is to settle down the final decision for issues on inheritance and property. This way is actually made possible within the guidance of *adat nan teradatkan*, meaning tradition based on locally adjusted convention. This possible adjustment of tradition reflects, of course, the flexibility of the Minangkabau culture to bring everything coming from outside its boundary into a discourse towards a concurrence—*saiyo sakato*.

Fig. 7.1 *Balai adat* in Batusangkar established under the Koto Piliang's disciple of customary laws

Islam in the Minangkabau land has led its people to counter the domination of matrilineal culture. Islam challenges the hegemony of landlords—*ninik mamak*—over the commoners as well. Since the very foundation of Islamic teaching lies in its values for the universal dignity of humankind, its discourse with traditional principles enhances its egalitarian root: *duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggi*—equality while sitting and standing. However, what is not subject to change for the Minangkabau culture and tradition is its principle to respect elders and be hospitable.

Socially, the contribution of Islam to the Minangkabau culture is the establishment of the balance of power between the clans with their *adat* and the religious leaders with their Islamic teaching. Clan elders and religious leaders play an important role in the negotiations and deliberations of issues and matters, which are related to land inheritance and property, marriage and political leadership. Between the two, one group stands to enact as a mediator and go-between; members of this group are usually those who are formally educated or highly respected persons in the community. The three components of the Minangkabau community traditionally work together in guarding the Minangkabau cultural and ethnic identity. They work together in the spirit of compromise—*mufakat*.

7.6 Rumah Gadang: the Ancestral House

A house in *ranah minang* is traditionally associated with a clan seat. Originally, a household is metaphorically depicted as *sabuah parui* of a boat or vessel. This concept recalls the idea of dwelling as sailing on the ancestral boat. The evolution

Fig. 7.2 Museum Adityawarman in Padang transformed from *Rumah Gadang*

of the house form indicates the traces of sailing as a metaphor, shown with an expressive roof form and jutting edges. Moreover, the name of the family head is *penghulu* literally meaning person at the upstream or boat captain (Fig. 7.2).

Physically, the centre of the clan's seat is *rumah gadang* literally meaning the great house. Regarding the unique form of its roof, the clan's house is commonly known also as *rumah bagonjong* meaning house with a jutting buffalo horn roof. The house stands with a raised floor and is constructed with an expressive roof form. In many cases, the dimension and fineness of its architecture depend on the power of its clan. The most elaborate house has at least three hacks of roof with its extending roof ridge stretching to the sky. Architecturally speaking, the main body of *rumah gadang* looks like the body of a ship with a symmetrical form for its stern and bow.

Situated mostly in a site with a garden, the clan's house stands tall as a solitary structure. The ancestral house represents the seat of the lineage group. It is also the centre of authority for traditional heirloom of land and other valuable assets. From this house, the clan leaders sit together and make decisions concerning the use and proportion of heirlooms. For the Minangkabau people, the clan's house is not only a living place but also the source of rules and orders. The establishment of the clan's house is to institute the authority of tradition for distributing welfare of lineage descents—*paruik*—based on hereditary assets of land and other productive properties. Even though all meetings and deliberations involve only men, the chief executive of the whole group is the eldest woman of the lineage who lives in the house. The summary and results of the deliberations are subject to her knowledge and approval. However, with regard to female dominance, it is never the same in every house. It depends contextually on the eldest woman as a person. In most cases, passive

female agents are common for clan and kinship politics on inheritance and customs. Nevertheless, if it is about the unity, pride and glory of *kaum* and *suku*, she could be an aggressively overprotective mother. It is, however, an open question whether the eldest woman is 'the queen bee' of the honeybee colony of the Minangkabau clan and kinship. And is this matrilineal culture a symbolic representation of clan and kinship of the honeybee colony?

The ancestral house is commonly surrounded by other houses. To approach the house, we follow the path on the earth that leads us to the entrance of the clan's house which is mostly on the south side or in the direction of the access road or path. In front of the house stand rice barns, *rangkiang*, with archetype similar to its main building. At the entrance door, a ceramic barrel full of water is provided for washing hands and feet before stepping up the ladder into the house foyer. From this stair, one is received in the central hall of the house where the guests are asked to sit on a platform.

The central hall—*bandua tongah*—is actually a multipurpose hall. It is the meeting place of the lineage leaders as well as the throne of a newly married couple. From this centre, the house plan is symmetrically distributed on the west–east direction that consists of row apartments. A continuous hallway connects all compartments together that functions as a communal living room. An apartment is usually occupied by a household, elderly women or girls. Hierarchically, the apartment in the central area is dedicated to elderly women, whereas young girls occupy the rooms at the edges of the house. They live together as an extended family but with separate hearths. Nevertheless, teenage boys are not supposed to live in the house during the day. They join their fathers who stay in the meeting hall or mosque.

Nonetheless, the ancestral house as the ritual centre of the clan and kinship is provided with the main kitchen area—*anjuang*—and main hall—*bandua tongah*. They are located closely together. Even though the kitchen is constructed in a separate building, it is an integrated part of the house plan. The main kitchen is not used for daily life. It supports the main hall with its common hall—*pangkalan*—especially for a wedding ceremony and clan meetings. The existence of the main hall and the most elderly woman is irreplaceable, and incorporates the idea of the house as a space of spiritually animated power of ancestors. The hall is perceived as the womb of *suku* and *kaum* that carries and holds them together as one (Fig. 7.3 and 7.4).

As mentioned earlier, the house floor plan is spatially divided into two main domains: open plan—*bandua tapi*—and room or apartment—*biliak*. This is the female domain. The open plan is designed for daily common activity: weaving, living and eating. The kitchen—*dapur*—is located at the backside of every apartment. While women sleep in their apartments, men and boys sleep in the open hallway of the house. In many cases, men usually sleep together in meeting halls or mosques.

Indeed, parents and newly married couples have the right to sleep in the apartments of the house. The stern and bow parts of the house are dedicated to girls and unmarried women of the house. In several cases, the stern and bow parts are constructed with a raised floor higher than its main ground floor. Regarding its floor design, the clan's house today is the evolution of a longhouse form. The trace of such a design is yet to be found in the Sulit Air district where a large *rumah gadang* stands with 64

Fig. 7.3 *Rangkiang* in Batusangkar

Fig. 7.4 Interior of *rumah gadang*

apartments. The transformation from a longhouse form to a shorter one has been growing in number since the adoption of Islam circa the eighteenth century. Since then, most men have been moving out from ancestral houses and establishing their own houses.

Although the chief of the ancestral house is actually the oldest woman—*mamak tungganai* —-living there, the daily acting house lord is her brothers or her sons. In case she has neither brother nor son, a male relative from her side will be in charge as the house lord. Symbolically, the importance of a mother is incorporated with the main pillar of the house called *tiang tuo*—ancient and original pillar. This pillar

is traditionally the first structure erected for the house. Erecting the pillar means the beginning as well as connecting the earth and sky and establishing a centre as a sign of stay and living. Indeed, it is also the symbol of fertility, territorial claim and sustainability. The pillar institutes the clan's domain of dwelling. The communal meal—*kenduri*—and animal sacrifice—*kurban*—are offered by the family or clan to justify the establishment.

In order to confirm the territory in the site where the *rumah gadang* stands, they usually also build several houses for lineage group members known as *saparuik*—those from the same grandmother or ancestor. *Saparuik* is a compound of houses with a *rumah gadang* at its centre. The relationship between a *rumah gadang* and ordinary houses—*rumah*—is the gender identity of the female domain. It symbolizes the kin of female to female within a kinship and clan.

In dealing with public spaces, men and boys have their place in *surau*—mosque—and *balai adat*—village meeting hall. For most cases, *surau* is also the place where men and boys find their sleeping place. The origin of *surau* dates back to pre-Islamic influence. It has always been the male house. The transformation of *surau* from the male house to a mosque is understandable because Islam comes from the male-dominant culture of the Middle East. Using *surau* as a mosque or musholla is likely a logical adoption with similar function. Regarding the origin of *surau* as male, this house has been the centre of village affairs and politics. Islam instilled the house with literate tradition for Islamic teaching and tenet practice. Territorially, *surau* is the exteriority of the dwelling domain—*rumah gadang*. Occasionally, women are present in the mosque during the month of Ramadhan and for celebrating great days of Islam.

The transfer of knowledge and experience among men and young people as well has been happening in *surau* for generations. The function of *surau* in Minangkabau communities is not simply as a prayer hall. Symbolically, it is also the house for the meeting of minds in the village. Debates and discourses on the synthesis of Islam and indigenous tradition take place in this place. They meet together here during prayer time and discuss village affairs afterwards. In addition, *surau* is also the place where visitors and merchants have a place to stay overnight. Unlike other public places, *surau* and *balai*, are probably the absolute male domain in the village. It is considerably the bastion of Islam in the village.

Rumah gadang as the centre of rituals reveals its reality when ceremonial and ritual occasions (*baralek*) take place. One important ritual and ceremonial occasion in *rumah gadang* is *manduduakan urang*; it is not simply a communal feast in the house for the preparation of a wedding ceremony, because every person has his/her own seat at the right and proper position in the house ground plan. The occasion of *manduduakan urang* (to establish and confirm the seat of persons) is actually the act to validate the state and dignity of sitting as well as dwelling in the Minangkabau society. People here are supposed to know and be aware of their seat in their traditional community. Here, the seating spot is a sign of power and dignity.

During the ritual and ceremony of *mandudukkan urang*, the components of traditional authority come into play in the Minangkabau lifeworld. On the floor, the respective representatives have their seat in the main room facing the entrance door,

the host and lord of the house—*mamak tungganai*—sit at the right side of the house and the guests are requested to have their seats at the left side.

Architecturally, Minangkabau buildings must have been established from the amalgam of various influences, especially indigenous, Hindu–Buddhist, Islam and modernity. Despite modernity, the form, spatial layout, construction and building expression of *rumah gadang* remain hardly unchanged. The Minangkabau people hold *rumah gadang* as one of their heirlooms, *pusako*, that is not subject to change and transformation without renewing their traditional consensus, *mufakat*. Deeply rooted in their tradition is actually the reality that *rumah gadang* is the mother of their customary laws and culture. Conserving *rumah gadang* is seemingly to maintain their cultural identity. Even though the homeland is their mother, Minangkabau people are by nature able to adopt other lands as their home. As an old saying goes—*dimano bumi dipijak disitu langit dijunjung*—uphold the values and laws wherever you live.

The consequences of modernity on the culture of building and dwelling are apparently demonstrated with the change of the layout of house and the elaboration of institutions that fit into urban lifestyle. The contemporary division of rooms is arranged with a functional approach. Even though the central room of the traditional house does not exist as an empty space, its traditional function comes into being as the living room when a wedding ceremony takes place. Remarkably, the central room will be instantly set up for this ritual purpose. The floor plan of the traditional house puts the central room—*bandua tongah*—as the highly respected area. It symbolizes the seed and sustenance of the kinship and clan.

A change in the house layout and design is mostly in response to the change in the way of life: from traditional clan communality to modern nuclear family system. Although modernity changes the form and layout of the house, its main function remains the same as the place for maintaining customs and traditions and their extended family. In other words, the house is always open for all the members of the clan—*saparuik*—for growing together. The main reason is the fact that a Minangkabau man is not only a father for his own children but also the parental guardian for his nephews and nieces—*kemanakan*—from his sister's side. He and the other brothers and uncles play a decisive role in the marriage agreement and the price of dowry of their nephews and nieces.

For Minangkabau women, the modern house is an extension of their ancestral house in terms of spiritual meaning. The identity of the house with their female domain is still strong because of their supremacy in domesticity. However, the modern house for Minangkabau men is likely an ambivalent self-actualization of their merit and pride. On the one hand, it is the proof of their fatherhood and being a successful husband. Since they struggle to overcome female dominance in dealing with the control over assets and properties, it is a kind of proof of their masculine pride for being independent of their wives' hereditary assets and properties. On the other hand, the house should be open especially for their mother's and sisters' side families. Minangkabau men have to play a role and function as traditional agents to take care of their mother's and sisters' family members. In addition, they are traditionally inescapable from representing their mother's and sisters' clan and kinship for everything related to inheritance, passages of lifeand customary laws.

Consequently, the modern house is designed with an iconic traditional form. Even though it is directly not intended to replace the role and function of the ancestral house, it shows a struggle for claiming a new hegemony that it is a new bilateral domain where man and wife have equal dominion in the house. Modernity allows and gives opportunity to women to work and find jobs beyond domesticity. Then, the modern house, today,for the Minangkabau family is a kind of a new land of interplay for the egalitarian domain. Indeed, negotiations and collaborations are part of this interplay. In doing so, the house is able to accommodate traditions and customs with adjustments and modifications here and there. In hosting the traditional rituals and ceremonies, the domain of the house becomes clearly identical with the ancestral house. The living room will be the main hall for traditional occasions such as a wedding ceremony. On such an occasion, the father will ask the brothers of his wife to represent his family. During the traditional rituals and ceremonies, the father of the house steps back from his fatherhood and allows his brothers-in-law to take care of all the customary requirements.

The wedding occasion is actually the most reminiscent event to reinvent their traditional values and kinship. During the occasion, oral wisdoms and ancient songs of *tambo* are delivered as an integrated part of the ceremony. The traditional elders, religious clerics and literate people play an important role in validating the necessity for unity through the gatherings of Minangkabau families for preparation of the wedding ceremony. The focus of the ritual gatherings is to represent their ancient call as three pillars of society—*tigo tungku sajarangan*. They sit together to share their wisdoms and experiences with the members of the related clans. In the modern house, the father is present but absent in an active role and function in representing his daughter.

Regardless of its geographical site as well as far and away from their original homeland, traditional preparation and execution of a wedding ceremony is not only the happy celebration, but also actually the occasion for redefining and for self-determining their ethnic identity as Minangkabau descendants. The spatial structure of the ancestral house will be recalled to arrange seat positions of their guests and hosts. In addition to that, traditional icons are manifest in various costumes and decorations. All this reflects that the matrilineal culture is not simply a claim of hegemony but the way to diminish the dominance of masculinity and make them realize that women are able to do the same things as men.

Today, *rumah gadang* is the heirloom of the clan and kinship. It is mostly abandoned because most men are progressively moving out from the matrilocal system. Islam and modernity give more opportunity to the Minangkabau men to establish their own pride for their family. On the other hand, it gives women an opportunity for self-awareness beyond their gender, based on education, sensibility and intelligence. This kind of opportunity enables both of them to have their own voice in their own family. Moreover, modernity for the Minangkabau culture is a resolution of dichotomy of spatial gender between *rumah gadang* and *surau*. The modern house brings about the family together with a viable option for extended family members. Even though the modern house is in favour of Minangkabau men, retaining and maintaining *rumah gadang* as the centre of origin are still in need, especially for

ethnic identity. It is not simply for symbolic purposes but also for reference of what the relationship between homeland and clan is. Maintaining the traditional house gives meaning to what migration—*merantau*—is all about. Otherwise, *merantau* is meaningless and nothing but an escape from despair and destitution.

The influence of Islam in Minangkabau might have set up the role and function of men in their sociopolitical life. However, conflicts and contradictions within the Minangkabau lifeworld are never without solution based on their tradition of tolerance—*tenggang rasa*—and being in a collectively established consensus—*mufakat*. First of all, the influence of Islam is accommodated in the council for cultural affairs—*karapatan adat*—within the framework of the three pillars of unity—*tigo tungku sajarangan*. Thus, the role and function of *alim ulama* are put up in equal weight and position with two other pillars: literate people, *cerdiak cendekia* and traditional elders, *ninik mamak*.

In the context of modernity, these three sociocultural pillars are likely political parties with their clear affiliation with religious doctrine, traditional principles and modern development. As for Minangkabau, the universe is the guru of life—*alam takambang jadi guru*—change and transformation are never out of commission for discourse and deliberate acculturation. Consequently, the lifeworld as their home is actually the living system for incessantly developing a discourse towards a collectively established consensus. In doing so, the Minangkabau home is never trapped into a narrowed mind neither towards a traditional frame of fundamentalism nor towards an individually uprooted existentialism. Rather, the Minangkabau way to deal with modernity is a discursive play to bring everything appropriately according to its identity with the nature—*alam*.

The cultural process of acculturation goes on the path of traditional framework of discourse in terms of *karapatan adat* in which the exigency to settle differences and conflicts becomes the first priority. Notwithstanding, any deliberation for a collectively establishing consensus needs to be aware of what has been achieved with previous culture as their heirloom—*pusako*. From the gift of tradition as the foundation of their culture, the Minangkabau community might have seen modernity as a challenge for elaborating and developing their culture beyond matrilineal tradition.

Even though in today's Minangkabau lifeworld female hegemony seemingly does exist as traditional stakeholders, they are actually traditionally more or less active players. They are politically, economically and culturally represented by uncles and brothers. In this sense, the Minangkabau culture likely treats women as queens as a formality but in reality they stay backward. It might be unsurprising if the Minangkabau women were in absentia in the nationalist movement against the Dutch colonialism. The emergence of the Minangkabau women in the Indonesian political arena is apparently not because of their matrilineal hegemony but because of the inner social transformations and open interactions with Islam and modernity.

As a matter of fact, female matrilineal hegemony in the Minangkabau tradition and culture does not encourage women to play an active role in the public domain. Instead, the Minangkabau tradition puts women symbolically high, secure and powerful but culturally unable and idle to execute their own voice. They are traditionally trapped between the domestic queen image and devoted mother figure. Nonetheless, they are

morally urged to accept their traditional lifeworld in terms of reproducing, caring and nurturing, but not in the sense of producing, executing and pursuing. So what is female hegemony in this sense?

7.7 Concluding Remarks

Gender and hegemony play an important role in the Minangkabau culture. Accordingly, the predominant matrilineal tradition has been positioning the male group at the position of executers. The female counterpart is the stakeholder of cultural and economic assets whilst the male is their worker. Is *Merantau* or migration likely the logical consequence of female dominance in domesticity? However, it is not simply an economic but also a metaphysical need to balance the inequality of power, with outer resources.

Matrilineal culture drives men to build their merit, pride and standing in their community with wealth and property beyond traditional assets. The shift and transformation of traditional hegemony inside domestic politics come into being with the influence of Islam and modernity. The contribution of Islam and modernity in the Minangkabau society is not to diminish matrilineal culture but to negotiate their dominance and domesticity. The politics of gender still works today in the Minangkabau lifeworld with female hegemony in their traditional home and male authority in Islamic practice. However, there are secular leaders who have a chance to stand in between. Secular and nominal Islamic leaders are usually represented by well-educated persons or state officers or public servants. The political domain of the Minangkabau culture today has to share their sphere with three domains: tradition, Islam and modernity.

Moreover, in Minangkabau, Islam, gender, matrilineal hegemony and place and their interactions are rooted in their struggle to define and sustain what ethnic identity is. The adoption of Islam has been changing the constellation of power play and transforming social order in terms of the politics of gender relation. Despite differences, Islam, modernity and tradition have something in common in Minangkabau, namely the struggle for the identity of local culture as home.

Chapter 8
Home, Village and the Lifeworld: Banua Niha, South Nias

Abstract The island is probably one of the precious sites that sustains megalithic tradition in the archipelago. The feasts for monumental stone erection were mostly over, due to the cost and rare traditional building materials. Even though community life and solidarity are still in function, sustaining megalithic tradition as it was is impossible today. The liberation of social status through formal education and the adoption of Christianity bring about changes and adjustments in the Nias society.

Keywords South Nias · Community · Tradition · House · Village

8.1 The Land and People

The island of Nias is one of the many geographically isolated Indonesian isles in the Indian Ocean. Its remoteness from the traditional line of international trade of Malacca Strait does not make the island of Nias a terra incognita, since the eighth-century reports from Chinese, Arabian and Persian merchants confirmed the existence of its megalithic tradition. However, Nias as well as Batu and Mentawai islands have been in a negligent territory of Indonesian economic development for several centuries before the Pacific War in 1942. The most important reason for this negligence is the fact that the islands of Western Sumatra have not yet found their potential resources that attract investment.

Demographically, the island covers ca. 4,800 sq.km with a population of at least 500,000. The topography of the island is formed by folded plateau consisting of schists and limestones. Although, there is no trace of volcanic activity, Nias is geologically in the region of earthquake with its potential epicentre in the Indian Ocean. Geologically, the island of Nias is constituted from deformed tertiary rocks consisting of siltstone, sandstone and pebble conglomerate and slope sediments. Regarding its geological condition and feature, Nias is located in a tectonic position where the trench moves from the southwest region to Bukit Barisan highlands in Sumatra. Being located in such a position, the southern part of the island has the advantage of the melange that provides basalt and sandstone for megalithic monuments. Such basal rocks are important material for megalithic monuments of South Nias. In the northern part of Nias, such monuments are erected not from basalt but from coral reefs.

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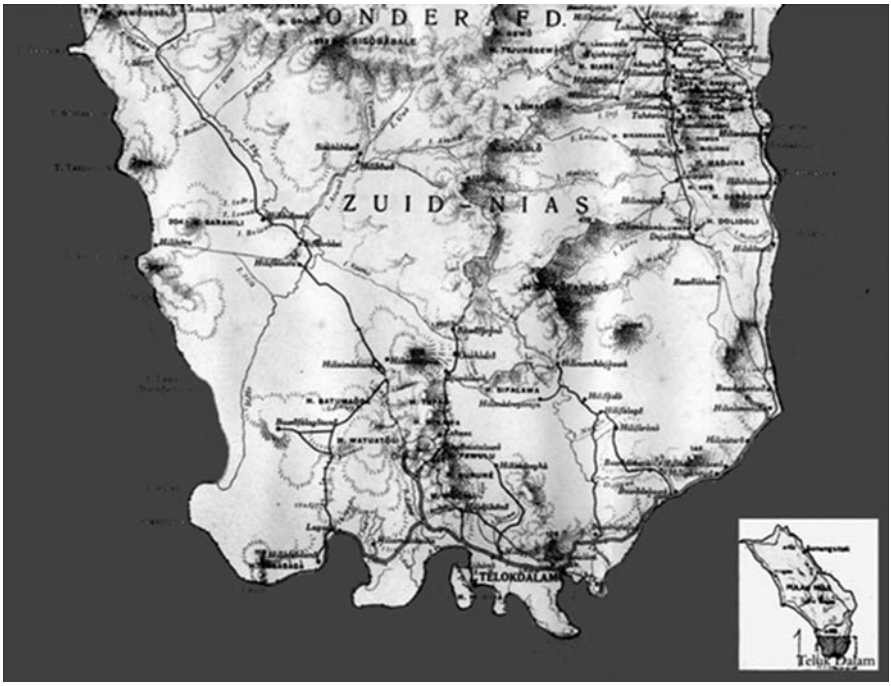

Fig. 8.1 Map of South Nias. (After Schröder 1917)

The native name of the island is *tanö niha*, the land of people. According to local narrations, Nias is a short name for Niha Asi which means people from the ocean. Settlements in the island are mostly dominated by the traditional enclaves of village community known as *banua.* Teluk Dalam is the only district port town in the south region. Among other enclaves, Bawömataluo is one of the largest in the south. The village is located in the highland of South Nias at 400 m above the sea level. The small road connecting the village and the port of Teluk Dalam remains mostly in poor condition, dealing with rainy seasons between September and April. Living in the villages in South Nias is actually a self-contained economy based on pig husbandry and rice cultivation.

As many other outer islands beyond Java and Sumatra, Nias was well known as a unique indigenous site of wooden dwelling houses with megalithic monuments through the encyclopaedic and monumental work of Schröder on Nias published by Brill of Leiden in 1917. Since then, Nias is less isolated from the lifeworld of learning. Today, South Nias villages as settlement institutions remain the same as described in Schröder's Nias. Changes and transformations happen slowly in the island. Even though the infrastructure is less developed for international tourism, adventure-seeking visits are one of the potential factors for the island economy. The remoteness of the island until a half century ago was, however, never a hurdle for the European Christian missionary, led by L.E. Denninger who worked in the

island since 1865. After several decades of missionary work, most of the villagers had massively converted from indigenous beliefs to Christianity in 1946. Today, the majority of Nias people belong also to the *banua niha kriso*, the lifeworld of the Christian people.

While the Christian missionaries worked in the hinterland of the island, the Dutch colonial rule sent their officers to local ports for supervising the trade of local commodities to Sumatra. During the Dutch colonial rule in Nias between 1865 and 1942, slave trade from Teluk Dalam to the port of Teluk Bayur Padang in West Sumatra was part of the economy of South Nias villages for carrying out their feasts of merit. Slave trade had been a longstanding commodity for South Nias ruling groups that was bartered for gold and silk with Chinese merchants since the fifteenth century. War among South Nias villages was the way to capture the slaves as important commodity for their village wealth. In giving people more time for living, village alliances, *ori*, were established among kindred of village rulers. The alliances worked effectively for sustaining peace in the region. Besides wars between village alliances, bloodshed and capturing strangers as slaves were traditionally done as an integral part of the feasts of merit. Head-hunting, *fabinu,* was one of the most important rituals for establishing the seat of a person in the village ruling position for either the erection of house or the feast of communal meal and offering pig sacrifice, *bakhölo*. Since slave, *sawuyu*, was village commodity, the abolishment of the trade by the Dutch rule in 1904 resulted in the decline of the feasts of merit in South Nias villages.

Before the Christian missionary came to Nias, the native cosmology and beliefs called *perbekhu* might have been the source of their dwelling. The indigenous belief of South Nias is principally based upon the respect to cosmic powers and ancestors. The experience with natural disasters and abundances became a part of the South Nias tradition. According to the beliefs, any being conceived on the earth has a certain spirit and power is comprised in the concept of *bekhu*. Any being in the lifeworld is perceived as an embodiment of the cosmic powers of the earth and the sky. Respect to the supportiveness of earth, spaciousness of sky and the plentifulness of ocean is predominant for understanding the South Nias beliefs and religious system. It is to say that being in general is insinuated by the powers of ocean, earth and sky.

According to their myth, the origin of being and its cosmic lords are to be conceived as the reconciliations of cosmic powers. The origin of being, as told in the myth, is that at the beginning, there was nothing, then the sacred mother of *Inada Samihara Luo* came into being from the dark. Her presence created chaos and movement. The chaos became a single formation of movement, and then there was silence that created the ocean. The sacred mother threw dirt from her body into the ocean. The dirt grew from a peanut-like form to the island of Nias. After the island completely became the earth, the sacred mother took a stone and then broke it into pieces at the beach. From the pieces a woman came out, Inada *Simadulo Hosi*, the mother of the primordial lifeworld tree. The sacred mother gave the gift of pregnancy to the woman. After having given birth to twins, a boy and a girl, the mother sent the twins to different directions of the river *ewali*. The boy was put downstream of the river, whereas the girl was upstream. The boy was instructed by the women to follow the river upstream to meet the girl. The flowers of *Sosoma Tua Mbanua,* literally meaning the conductor of the lifeworld, falling down into the river are the sign of

Fig. 8.2 Village gathering for exercising oneness during the public election campaign in 1981

the boy tracing his path to the girl upstream. The meeting point at the upstream is the place where and when the Nias settlement takes place.

The native belief of South Nias perceives the lifeworld, *banua,* as community, vicinity, lightning, abode sky and village as a whole system. The existence of *banua is* constituted from two basic components of the upperworld, *langi,* and the underworld, *tanö*, and taken care by the water, *as.* The deity *Lowalangi* is conceived as the source of all orders, beauties, glories and authorities. His brother, the deity of *Laturadano,* is the carrier and the destructor of everything on the earth. Antagonistic interplay of cosmic powers is believed by the South Nias people to be the forces working for the place of man. The reconciliation of cosmic powers manifests in the existence of the lifeworld in daily life. Daily inhabitation is guarded and sustained by the goddess *Nazariya Banua*. Crises such as epidemics, natural disasters and other accidences by fire or war are conceived as the indication of the imbalance of cosmic powers that needs recovery by offering ritual sacrifices and village feast, *fa'ora*.

According to the native beliefs, the sky or upper realm comprises several layers of heaven. At the uppermost layer sits the lord *Lawalangi*, whereas at its lower layers dwell the ancestors according to their lifeworld social rank and status. The cosmic model of heaven in layers is reflected in the structure of the roof of the house. Higher rank persons and ruling class get the opportunity to build their house with higher roof and larger floor plan. Higher social status and rank in the village community are attained, nevertheless, by offering a series of feasts of merit that cost more pig sacrifice, *bakhölö*, gold in possession, *ana'a,* and respective house, *omo*.

Besides the cosmic powers, South Nias people believe in the existence of spiritual powers, either demonic or benevolent spirits. The benevolent and guardian spirits of

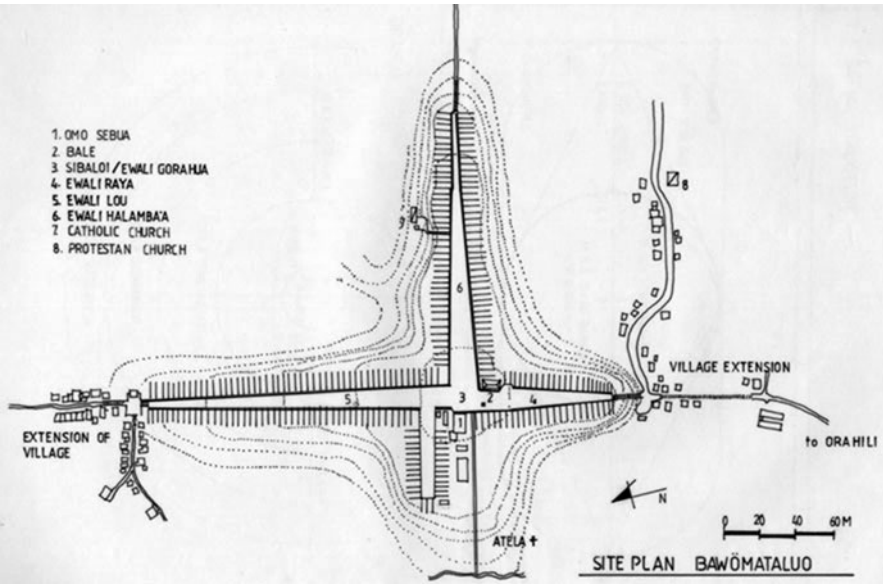

Fig. 8.3 The village of Bawömataluo: site plan

the village come from the ancestors, *nenek*. The spirits of ancestor sit at the altars in the traditional houses and at the seat of the stone monuments. Living in the *banua* is not only to have a seat in the community but also to place the ancestor with his/her respective seat represented by the idols, *adu*. The presence of ancestors in the village is represented with the stone monuments, *daro-daro*. Without any monument in its village and altar or shrine in its houses, settlement does not have any sense of completion. In other words, such a settlement will never be a *banua*, but a *halama*, meaning literally hamlet.

Furthermore, village, vicinity, community and the lifeworld in oneness are the manifestations of gathering, reconciliation and cooperation of cosmic lords mediated by his sister, *Nazariya Mbanua.* Their images, *adu*, are conceived as the guard of the house protecting the family from any demonic power coming from outside the village. It is to say that human place, *banua,* is the built environment guarded and blessed by benevolence of ancestors. Thankfulness for such benevolence is ritually expressed with pig sacrifice and village feast. In the past, people in South Nias used to restore and recall the village order and oneness periodically to remind their thankfulness to their ancestors. Today, such a ritual feast, in Bawömataluo called *mamadaya harimao*, is never done due to the change in beliefs and lack of pecuniary resources.

The identification of the village, *banua,* with the goddess *Nazariya Mbanua*, reminds people of their benevolence and care for language and home. In other regions of Nias, *Silewe* is believed to be the likely *Nazariya Mbanua* for South Nias culture. Still, the identification of the goddess with home place is apparent for all people in the island of Nias. In South Nias, *Silewe* is the goddess of marriage and children.

However, Nias people have something in common concerning the role of function of feminine deity for their settlement, *banua and* culture, *bowo.* Accordingly, culture in South Nias tradition is conceived as the system of works and behaviours based on order, *sökhi,* and elegance, *bana*. Establishing settlement is, in South Nias tradition, founding and sustaining the lifeworld in harmony, *banua sisökhi.* This sense of purpose leads people towards the oneness, *fahasara dödö*.

Morally, the most important dignity of man in South Nias culture is being human articulated in the concept *sökhi mbowo* literally meaning being cultured and cultivated in a traditional manner. This is nothing but fully integrating oneself in the community, *banua*, as a whole system of beings and the lifeworld. Consequently, any effort and ability are necessarily directed towards the unity of minds, *fahasara dodo*. In doing so, man, *niha,* finds his home. The question arises when the village as the lifeworld is challenged by modernity to open its border, which has been established by tradition and indigenous belief system.

8.2 Living in the Village *Banua*

Before the twentieth century, the villages in South Nias used to be politically independent. Today, villages are under the district administration of Teluk Dalam. However, villages in South Nias are still bound in a genealogical binding. Culturally, the binding was intended to develop cooperation and concession for tradition, land cultivation and trade with foreign merchants. For many decades, the alliance played an important role also in their regular meetings for the reformulation, evaluation and uniformity of customary laws. The villages in an alliance called *ö̲ri* meet together after a 7, 10 or 14-year period in the chief village.

Socially, the village, *banua,* in South Nias is constituted by two principal groups: the ruling group, *si ulu,* and the commoner, *sato.* The elite group of the commoner comprises elders, *si ila*, who are experts in tradition and village affairs. The union of the two groups, *si ulu* and *si ila,* constitutes the village assembly, *orahua*, which is essential for the village and settlement existence. The village assembly is the seat of elders and rulers for maintaining and sustaining the village's unity of ideas and determinations. The assembly is also a court of justice and a forum for exchange and meeting of minds. In the village of Bawömataluo, the court takes place in the meeting hall, *bale,* while the village meeting takes place at the village centre, *ewali gorahua*. The membership of village assembly is traditionally inherited and is based on the achievements complying with the feasts of merit, *owasa*. Hence, the member of the village assembly must be the head of household who is able to contribute to the village's wealth and pride. Earlier, building a traditional house in the territory of *banua* was the basic requirement for membership in the assembly.

Today, the feasts of merit in the village have been transformed into other forms of achievement related to wealth and education. Members of the assembly are requested to know and learn by doing the customary laws and mores, *hada*. The customary laws and mores are learnt by attending and following the village meetings. A married

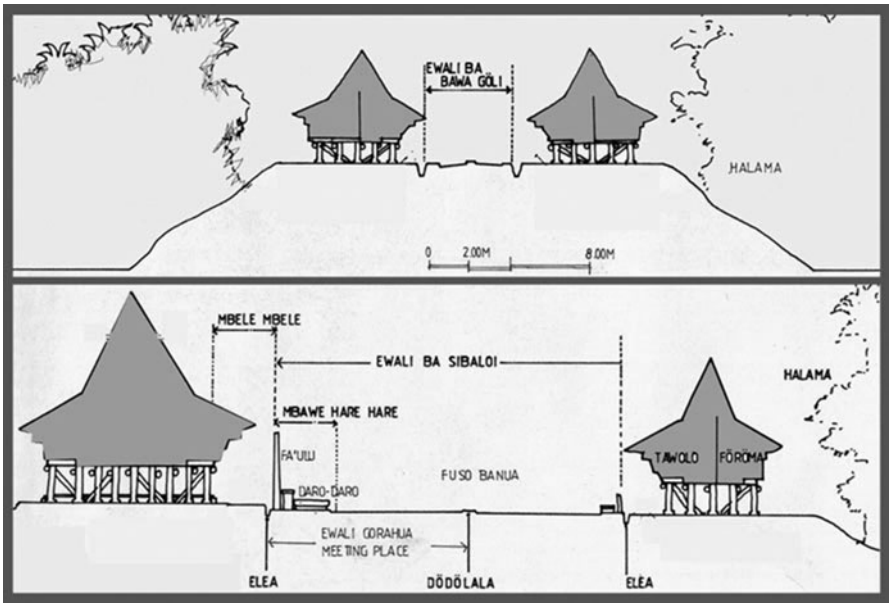

Fig. 8.4 Village sections at the border area (*above*) and at the central area (*below*)

status and being male are the important requirements for village membership, as well as owning a house in the community. Furthermore, the right to talk in the assembly is subject to approval of the village chief, *si ulu barö banua*. Requesting to speak out in the assembly for a new member is an acknowledgement of his full membership in the assembly. In the past, one had to offer the series of feasts of merit to attain village assembly status. At every occasion of the feast, one had to offer pig sacrifice for the villagers. Today, such an offering has been downgraded for financial reasons. Nevertheless, offering pig sacrifice in a limited number is still sustained as a part of the village ritual.

The uniqueness of the assembly is characterized by a ritual shout between the deliberate talks, which is pronounced by a certain person called *sanema gorahua,* the pronouncer of the assembly. The continuation of the talk is always rhythmically broken with a ritual shout, 'eeeeeeeeeeeee', that enables the speaker to take a breath and control his voice and content of his message. As a matter of fact, talking in the village assembly is not simply a formal discussion for exchanges of ideas and sharing opinions, but it is also a ritual for shaping mutual understanding towards oneness and harmony. The meeting is characterized by negotiations and intensive deliberations before coming to a single conclusion. The village chief's leadership is always in demand for attaining a fairly compromised solution and decision. Rivalry among rulers, *si ulu,* for village leadership is a part of the daily village polity. However, the role of elders is also decisive in the support and in the maintenance of village unity by reminding the assembly of its primordial mission as the keeper of the lifeworld in oneness.

Although, the village chief is a traditionally inherited position among the ruling group, the actual person for the position is subject to public election among villagers. The nomination of the chief is executed by the village assembly. The candidates are elected among men of ruling group with specific qualification of leadership and expertise in the village customary laws. Formal education of the candidate also plays an important role that makes the village administration and book keeping much easier. Since the 1980s, the village administration has been integrated into the district administration so that the government development programmes can reach people effectively. Health, education and development aids for village infrastructure and social welfare are controlled and audited by the local government of the Nias regency.

Literacy in South Nias has a long history. The Christian missionary had introduced people, especially children, to literacy since the beginning of the twentieth century that enabled people to read the Bible and to understand the Christian messages in most powerful villages, such as Bawömataluo and Hilisimetanö. Young elders in the village are mostly literate with a 6-year elementary school education. Besides some elementary schools, the South Nias district today has a junior high school located in the district town of Teluk Dalam. Besides the financial reason, young villagers in South Nias mostly give up pursuing further education due to the distance from their home and poor transportation.

The traditional village in South Nias is mostly a compact and dense settlement located on the highlands. Hills became the most important sites for the South Nias settlement. It is also the reason why most of the village names in the region are given with *hilli* or *bawö* meaning hill and mountain. For sure, the hilly site is favourable for the wet tropical climate like Nias. Being situated at the peaks of the land is much better for comfort and healthy environment. With regard to dealing with windy monsoons, village settlements are usually surrounded and protected by coconut trees. The layout of the village is mostly linear adjusting the form of the hill, which is predominantly formed by geologically folded formation. The peak of the hill or mountain becomes the potential central area of the settlement. From the peak of the hill, village streets called *ewali* are drawn to the lower parts of the hill. In doing so, linear open spaces are created spatially.

The form of *ewali* actually becomes wider at its centre and narrower at its peripheries. Houses are juxtaposed along the street sidewalk, *mbawe hare-hare*, on which the stone monuments menhir, *daro-daro,* and dolmen, *faulu,* are erected. Dead end, line and T-form for village pattern are commonly found in South Nias. The problem with the form of South Nias village lies geographically in its limited space for further expansion. Consequently, hamlets alongside the pathway to the main village are unavoidable to be built as the expansion of the settlement. Such an expansion is usually followed by the search for a new land that enables them to establish a new village. Since establishing a new community is necessary to constitute the village assembly, the erection of a new settlement needs a serious preparation comprising support from the main village. The most important thing for a new settlement is to institute the core of village assembly consisting of at least one powerful ruler and several elders. By having such an institution, the birth of a new community is possibly realized.

Fig. 8.5 Main village gate of Bawömataluo

The village settlement in South Nias is mostly constructed with row houses with a similar basic form. The houses stand on the piles with simple gable roof form. The closer we move into the centre of the village, the bigger the house we see. In Bawömataluo, the centre of the village is signified by the chief's house, *omo sebua,* and the village meeting place, *ewali gorahua*. Still, at the central area, we can find the meeting hall, *bale,* where village assembly takes place for the court session. It used to be in other villages that village meetings for court and community affairs did not take place in different places. Today, a village meeting hall is found in every village. The hall was actually provided for every village in South Nias in 1972, with the development aid from the Government of Jakarta. It was the government's hope that such a meeting hall could help people realize the concrete contribution of the development programme for the people in the villages. Nevertheless, the development aid for meeting hall construction did not realize that traditional village meetings were open public occasions in open air during the bright days of the afternoon. In the event of rain, the meetings take place in the chief's house. Thus, there traditionally is no exigency for meeting in the hall for public affairs under a roof. The impact of the construction of meeting hall to the village scene is visually unfit. The new hall is basically located at the central area of the village that blocks the open view of the street, *ewali*.

Regarding its location at the hilly site, village settlement is usually backed up with its surrounding area for water well and backyard. Public baths and toilets, *hele,* are usually constructed at the foot of the hill and surrounded by a wall of plants. Male and female baths are located at different places. Public water wells are secured and protected by a stone wall structure for preventing children from accidents. The villagers bring water in bamboo pipes for their daily stock at home.

The gate of village settlement, *bawagoeli,* becomes an important part of village establishment. Mostly, elaborated village gates are decorated with stone carves of animal and plant motifs. Impressive stone steps can be seen in the village of Bawömataluo. A visit to the village by climbing up its stone stairs shows the way of how the landscape of South Nias is actually appreciated by its people. In Bawömataluo, the main gate is in the direction of sunrise, *luo*, whereas the second is in the direction of sunset, *raya.*

The other gate leads us to the public baths in the wood backyard, *halama*. Village gates are not only the checkpoints of village domain but also the place where cultural behaviour, *bawa*, is necessarily practised. Passing the village gate needs a polite gesture of saying hello, *yahohu*. Within the village domain, human being is conceived as *niha* meaning more or less being civilized. On the contrary, beyond the village closure is the area of *ndrawa* meaning people without culture or barbaric. During the night, gates are guarded by village men in shifts based on voluntary service arranged by the village chief in regular monthly meetings. During the day, guarding village public space, *ewali*, is entrusted to old men and is done by staying in the meeting hall, *bale*.

The central area of the village is not only the place where people meet each other while leaving for work to the field but also the temporary market place where buying and selling of pork and fish take place. Once a week, a government medical team visits the village and uses the meeting hall for their medical services. The mission of medical team is not only to provide a general service of public health but also to help people being aware of birth control and healthy environment for living.

Among the traditions still alive in the village are war dances and jumping stone. In the past, such traditions were performed in the framework of the feasts of merit. Jumping stone is a male tradition demonstrating eligibility for joining village warrior groups: *gana* and *nafulu*. The war dance, *fatele,* is today the village tourist attraction reminding people about the cosmological powers in interplay. Formations and movements in the dance are to signify the origin, process and development of the life–lifeworld from chaos, dualistic interplay, unity and harmony. Besides performing arts, erecting stone monuments in the South Nias village is still a tradition that exists, especially to commemorate the dead. Although, feasts of merit have not been performed any longer since the Pacific War, erecting the stone monuments is still a tradition that is alive.

The stone for the dead, *daro-daro,* is considered to be a commemorative tombstone for ruling groups and most powerful elders. Besides crops of plantation, pigs are an important commodity for the village wealth today that enables ruling groups to have financial resources for their traditional prosperity. Village chief and his wife, by tradition, erect their stones expressing their thankfulness to their people and village.

Fig. 8.6 Traditional houses with jump stone in foreground in the village of Hilisimetanö

8.3 The House: Omo

The traditional house, *omo hada,* customary household, is a family house. Its artistic work represents the most elaborate building of South Nias. Technically, the house form is developed with fine carpentry. Why is the house called *omo?* The literal meaning of *omo* is actually debt or obligation. Thus, *omo hada* articulates a debt or obligation of man due to be paid to tradition; *hada* meaning the given from the past generation. The exigency of building a family house for South Nias people is traditionally not simply for the need of a living place; rather, building in this regard is to pay back a hereditary debt in the framework of tradition. Is building the house to remind people the primordial origin of being human, *niha*? Traditionally, a man is expected to build a family house before being able to sit in the village assembly. Building a family house is the most important thing in the feasts of merit that enables him to participate in the village polity. Since, village for South Nias people is the lifeworld, being able to involve oneself in the village affairs is actually living as a human perfectly.

Omo hada is a building on stilts; its structure stands on 4 by 5 points of columns in a grid modular system of 4 columns and 5–11 rows. The basic module between points of pile varies from 80 to 1.80 m. Based on this rectangular plan, the ground floor is erected at the height between 1.20 and 1.50 m from earth. Besides its vertical columns, *ehomo*, the piles system is also enhanced with the oblique supports, *driwa,* that make the house substructure stable and expressive. The space under the house, however, remains mostly empty.

Fig. 8.7 Stone monuments in the village of Bawömataluo

The sidewalls of the house are structurally bearing elements for the roof structure. The cylindrical columns, *ehomo* and *driwa,* do not continue to the roof structure and stop at the floor structure. The main body of the house looks like a ship while docking on the piles system. The expression of the house as a docking boat is enhanced with its expressively extended floor beams, *sikhöli,* at both sides. The enforcement of the walls until the base roof construction is made by rectangular columns. The stability of the walls as bearing structure is achieved with its floor structure at the base and its cylindrical beams crossing the room at its ceiling level.

The boat-form superstructure is constructed for the living area which is accessed from a shared stair at the left or right side of the house. Each stair is shared with the neighbouring house. From the entrance hall, *edhuo,* we come into the forward-facing room, *tawolo*, through a door. The entrance hall is an open platform, which is visually connecting the public open space, *ewali,* and the backyard, *halambaa.* In few cases, the view is blocked by the extended structure of the house claiming space for storage. The front room is constructed with platforms creating different levels of floor and seat place.

The first platform is called *batö;* it is constructed at the height of a feet from the floor, *akhebatö*. Regarding its width and length, the first raised area is able to function as the sleep area for six to eight persons. The structure of *batö* is not only a sleep area made of wooden planks but also a storage area consisting of wide wooden beams which can be installed and opened whenever needed. The second platform is called *farakhina,* meaning respective seat bank. The seat is a fixed structure which is integrated with the facade and equipped with a wall-to-wall opening, *bawaduhasa,* made of horizontal jars, *jara-jara,* that enable an outside view while sitting inside

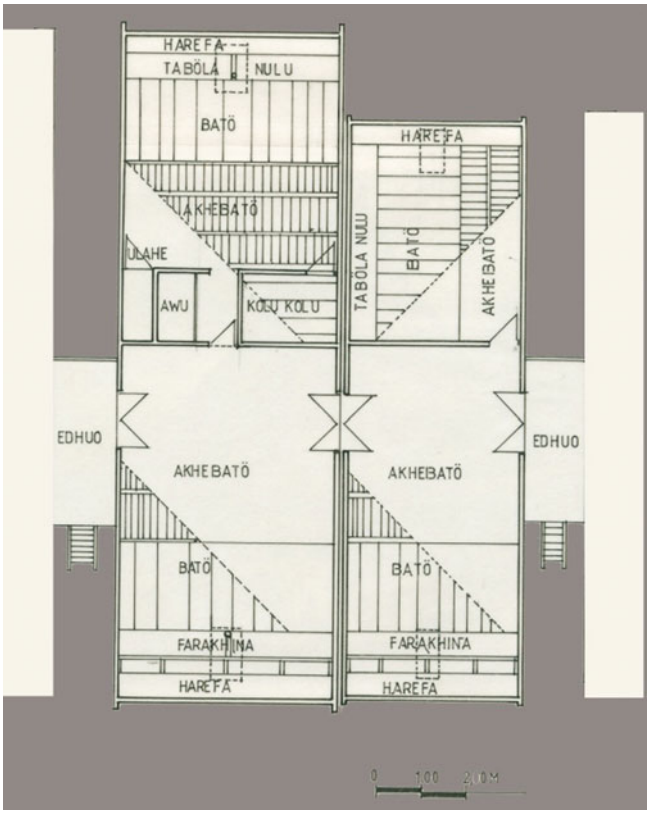

Fig. 8.8 Floor plans of *omo hada* in the village of Bawömataluo

the room. Besides the transparency of the jars, the front room is also provided with roof opening, *lawa-lawa,* for daylight. The opening is installed at the central line of the room above the sleep platform, *batö*. Opening the *lawa-lawa* is made possible by a stick support holding its frame.

The front room in daily life is a living room. Children are free to visit other houses and play in the front room. The front room becomes more formal when the house is being visited. Visitors are pleased to have a seat at the *farakhina*, of course, with their shoes taken off at the entrance hall. Sitting on the bank of *farakhina* is side-by-side meeting with the house owner at the centre of the house. In the houses of ruling group, the central line of the room is signified with a vertical column, *kholo-kholo,* standing from the sleep platform dividing the front domain into left and right sides. The host always sits at the inner side of the house, whereas the guests sit in the direction of the house door.

The word *farakhina* pertains to the dignity of sitting. To reach the bank is to go up from the ground floor to the place where the public lifeworld is perceivable. The level of the seat bank deals with the idea that to settle also means to go to upper place where the centre is located. The sitting on *farakhina* is related to the possible

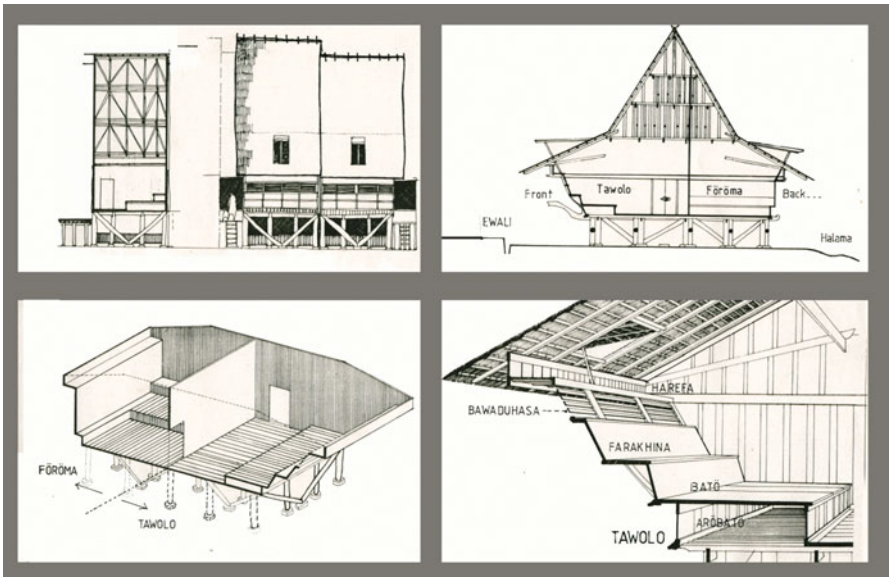

Fig. 8.9 Schematic illustrations of section, elevation and form of omo hada

condition for a discourse. Eating never takes place on the seat bank, *farakhina,* but it takes place on the sleep platform, *batö*. Is then the bank the seat of articulation of the relationship of the respectable seat and possible discourse? Sitting on or at the edge of the platform of *batö* is done while eating. However, a ritual betel-chewing ceremony takes place on the bank where guests and the host come close in a behaviourally dignified manner, *fawato*.

In daily habitation, the front room is the living area for all the family members. Only the father of the house has his habitual seat on the bank of *farakhina.* The other family members sit on the sleep bank, *batö,* by folding their legs. In case of informal visits to the house, visitors are seated on the edge of the sleep bank. Keeping the front room clean and neat is a part of their house tradition. Although, installing and using furniture in the house are not part of the South Nias tradition, some houses are equipped with sofa, desk and chairs copying urban lifestyle as seen on television.

The daily meal takes place in the back room. The back room, *föroma,* is actually a dining room of the family. Going into the back room is only by invitation of the house owner. The privacy of the family is confined to this back room where the mother of the house cooks for daily meals. The back room is principally constructed in a way similar to the front one for its floor and sleep platform. The only difference lies in the opening at the back wall. Most of the back wall of an ordinary house does not have an opening. In few cases, a small window is provided for fresh air circulation. The only opening for daylight in the back room is provided by the roof opening, *lawa-lawa.* This opening helps the smoke from the hearth of the house find its way out.

In the evening, parents sleep in the back room. In case the house has girls, all females sleep in the back room and male family members in the front. The more powerful the house owner is, the larger the house plan he traditionally can build. Ruling group and elders have a central room for their kitchen and parent's room, *kholu-kholu*. The most elaborate house found is the chief's house, *omo sebua,* in the village of Bawömataluo. However, in general, the house plan of traditional house is divided into front and back rooms with a partition wall, *fanötö,* which not only divides the house floor but also divides its roof space.

The death of the father does not mean the beginning of the inheritance of house to the first son. *Omo hada* is inherited to the son only if both the parents have already died. The son has to offer the feasts for the renovation of the house like the feasts of merit of his father. If he is not able to fulfil the feasts of merit, he does his job just as the maintainer of the father's house until its demolition. The house is taken over by the son only if the mother has died. The widows in the village traditionally take girls of neighbouring houses to accompany them. However, it is unusual for a widower to live alone in South Nias. However, if it happens, he gets married again after the 100th day of the death of his wife.

The house for the noble class and the influential elder in the village is constructed in a similar form like the ordinary house. The difference lies only in its complete spatial plan and dimension; the houses for nobles and elders are bigger than that of an ordinary man. Prior to the year of 1933, there were four noble houses and 10 elders' houses in the village of Bawömataluo. Architecturally, the noble house was distinguished from other houses, because its access is provided from the space under the house floor.

The chief's house is one of the four noble houses in Bawömataluo that still stands today. Although, the descendants of the former ruler still live in the house, the house and its owner do not have the village authority anymore. The chief's house was left to his son in a negligent condition. Since, the last traditional ruler had been in power only until the beginning of the New Order administration in 1970, the end of village traditional chieftain was the period when public election was introduced into the village in 1969. The weak leadership of the hereditary village ruler led the village to sink into poverty and brought recklessness among villagers. In 1974, the village assembly took an initiative to conduct a public election for the chief for a 7-year period of leadership. Afterwards, the village chief became a public service position nominated and elected directly by the villagers.

As mentioned earlier, the elder's house is a complete common house with a central room between the front room and the back room. In its back room, the sleep platform is provided with a seat bank, *tabölanulu,* with storage under its beams for jewellery, weapons and valuable things. Astonishingly, the core of the house only exists at the elder's house, which consists of rooms for hearth, parents' room and storage. According to the South Nias tradition, the core of the house is to signify the completion of the feast of merit for the nobility and respect that is devoted to the lady of the house. Architecturally, the core of the noble house is usually provided with a loft dedicated to the wife. The loft is accessed from the back room with a ladder. From the loft, *malige,* meaning the highly respected place of rest, the lady of the

house can follow the conversation of her husband and their guests in the front room. The loft is constructed in a way similar to the facade of the house but, of course, in a small scale.

The hearth of the noble house lies at the core between the front room and the back room. Regarding core as the origin of growth, smell and smoke from the hearth give us the sign of active reproductive property of the core. Waiting for the mealtime in the front room evidently demonstrates a tense moment that deals with the significance of care for nourishment. Conspicuously, the cooking area at the core discloses the meaning of care of the mother for the family. The mealtime seems to signify liberation and a care for future of the household. Waiting for the mealtime in the front room is related to the significant role of the mother in the house.

The chief's house is the greatest noble house in the village. The dimension of its columns in the village of Bawömataluo is about 55–65 cm in diameter and 3.80 m high. Such huge dimensions for wooden building element are rarely found in the island's wood. The ruler had sent his people to the islands of Batu, 250 km away from Nias, for collecting the building materials. Uniquely, the chief's house is not only of a huge scale, but also that its access to the entrance door is reached from the central line of the ground plan. A footpath bridge made of timber in the front or backyard of the house leads us to the house stairs going up to the front room. The front room of the house is approached from the entry at the northern area of the core. In the front room, we find the platform of *batö* made of fine and hard wood. The best board is 4 cm in thickness with 1.84 cm in length and 176 cm in width. The seat bank at the front room is made of high-quality timbers and is wider than the seat of ordinary house. Besides its quality, the building elements in the chief's house are embellished with the ornaments and figures of *lasara* at its right and left floor beams. The figures show similarity to dragon or Naga. Remarkably, the figure is to represent the authority and power of the village ruler.

The front room of *omo sebua* is enriched with various decorative figures of: monkey, bird, deer and human organ as decorations. The figures can be used also as hooks and cradles. The long cradles called *saita* are installed crossing the room above the platforms of *batö* and *farakhina*. The hooks of the cradles are decorated with skulls of pig sacrifice demonstrating the number of feasts delivered during the building process of the house. Parallel to the position of the cradles is the horizontal table beam of *batö wranötö* or *batö newali* installed crossing the room above the sleep platform. The beam is used for placing gifts and decorative things.

Although, the use of metal for building construction is an extraordinary thing, it is not found in ordinary houses, but found only in the facade of *omo sebua.* Metal jars can be seen at jalousies of the opening of the chief's house, common jalousies made of coconut beam. The use of metal is actually not because of its strength and durability, rather it is used to actualize the power and wealth of its owner. Besides its *bawaduhasa,* the part of the house that shows wealth and authority is denoted by its central supporting beam holding the metal jalousies. The beam is decorated with the figure of the lifeworld tree, *fösi*, as a symbol of the village stem reminding people of the house as well as its owner as the centre of the village, *banua*.

Fig. 8.10 *Omo Sebua* in Bawömataluo circa 1912. (After Schröder 1917, p. 117)

The access to the back room of *omo sebua* is located at the south sidewall. From here, we find the door, *golu,* to the back room through a gangway at the house core. The core of the house is deep enough to accommodate parents' room, *nifosali*, hearth, *awu,* and toilet, *ulahe.* Regarding its spatially ordering system, the arrangement of platforms in the back room is in a way similar to the front platforms. However, the back room of *omo sebua* is smaller than its front.

Today, the chief's house is not fully occupied by the descendants of the village ruler. The last generation of the village ruler lives in another place and uses only the back room of the house during their visit. The chief's house has been transformed to a public building in 1980 as a tourist attraction of the village. Being a living museum, *omo sebua* has to be preserved from the natural process of destruction and the decay of its wooden materials. The parents' room of the chief's house, *nifosali*, is considered the inner sanctum of the ruler and his wife. The room is constructed like the back room, *föröma,* with storages for weapons, jewellery and Chinese plates. The room is accessed from the back room through a door. From its small window on the wall, the acquiescent daylight comes into the room so that the sleep area finds its comfortableness during the day.

The traditional house in South Nias is architecturally not elaborated much with ornaments. The use of ornaments in certain motifs and in quantity is acceptable which is associated with the nobility and wealth. Nevertheless, most of the surfaces of the wall or the platform inside the house remain predominantly massive, smooth and clear in their natural property. The important ornamental element in the ordinary

house is actually only expressed with the prolongation of the edge floor beam, *sikhöli,* emulating snakebird or dragon figure directing the house to the public space, *ewali.*

Regarding its form, *sikhöli* is an expression of the earth and sky elements in unity. As a matter of fact, the location and position of the beam are demonstratively to accentuate the transitory position between the substructure and the superstructure. Is the figure present to remind people of the sense of the house as a boat of being on the earth and under the sky? The snakebird emulation becomes the expressive element of the house form that brings out the associative aspect of boat apparent.

The elaboration of the detail of the beam with motifs and colours is confined to high social rank and status. A common beam is simple with a curly end. The beam of the elder's house or the noble house is characteristic at its end that is open. Every village has its own design for *sikhöli* beam. The only *sikhöli* beam covered with paint is at the chief's house that is also embellished with the plant motif of *Wöli-wöli,* which is to indicate fertility and unity. The beam is painted with black and white colour, which is related to the colour of earth and sky. The plant motifs are also painted at the facade as symbols of life in harmony.

Besides its extraordinary floor beam, the chief's house is also decorated with *lasara,* that is, the symbol of chieftainship. The figure is like an embodiment of the head of tiger and serpent stature. The figure is painted in black articulating the colour of the underworld. The figure of *lasara* is perceived as the clan's symbol of the highest village authority. The instalment of the three figures of *lasara* at the facade of the chief's house demanded many skulls to be captured from head-hunting. The figures were installed at the facade as the final action of building process.

In the interior of the chief's house in Bawömataluo, one can find reliefs at the sidewalls. Some reliefs carved on all sidewalls are grouped above and near the platform of *batö*. The noble signs are important decorations in the front room. The signs recall the buffalo's horn. As discussed earlier, the signs are also familiar in Minangkabau, Toraja and Naga-Assam. In South Nias, the signs are the crowns of the village ruler and his wife. The northern signs are the signs of *Löwö,* the first ruler, and his wife. On the other side are the signs of the second ruler and his wife. The male crown is distinguished from the female one by its lace, for head-hunters.

The front room until the beginning of the Pacific War was provided with some musical instruments that were hung on the roof base beams. A great drum, *fodrakh*i, used for ritual ceremony is the only instrument left today in the chief's house. The other decorative elements, which are in disappearance today, are the idols and skulls. Before the beginning of Pacific War, most of the ancestral images were installed in every house. There were two idols: *adu zatua*, the idol of man's clan, and *adu nuwu,* the idol of wife's clan. Even in recent times, the images are still perceived as spiritual keepers of the household. The authoritative tradition in the house is represented by the idols. All children were brought up in such a manner to respect the idols. Being things of respect, the images are carved from the inner trunk of selective timber. They believe that the images are the protectors of the house in avoiding disaster from the demonic spirits of the nature.

Generally, the traditional house, *omo hada*, means literally a household and a newly married couple according to customary laws in the village. The word *omo* is

used for marking a person as the partner dwelling under the same roof. Moreover, the word *omo* means not only building but also debt to build. *Motomo* is the verb for *omo* that indicates the act of being established and ready to serve the village life with respect and dignity. To build and to dwell are set together in the word *motomo,* as an articulation of the beginning to attain the certain rank and status in the village community. In other words, dwelling and building relate to each other that enable man and his family being human, *niha,* in the village life as well as being in the lifeworld.

The identity of *omo and* mother as domain is symmetrical as a socially defined boundary, that is, to articulate the simple and sustainable unity of human beings. A house in South Nias as any house anywhere in Indonesia is never open for any guest without the presence of its owner, the man. A widow's house is closed to any man. It means that the absence of the father at home causes the closeness of the domain of the mother for nonidentical elements; females.

The social village institution keeps the defined boundary in its independent and limited condition. Then, the house as the lifeworld exists with fixed role and function for father, mother and children in the context of ruler, defender, keeper, guardian and followers. The identical relation of house to village is reflected with the similar role and function of *si ulu, si ila and sato.* Generally, all elements of settlement are essentially identical as a home system manifested in household and village community as the lifeworld, *banua*.

8.4 Modernity in the Village

Modernity in the South Nias villages comes into being in various ways of influence that affect the change of orders, forms and meanings of building and dwelling. The first encounter with modernity was the introduction to literacy and the concept of monotheistic religion. Literacy opens up people, especially young generation, to the lifeworld as a geographically and socially extended system. Accordingly, the lifeworld as village and community comes into the question of boundary of knowledge. Learning the facts that the village is not the only place where South Nias people can live with their own choice becomes more and more vivid with the integration of Nias into the nation and state of Indonesia based on formerly claimed territory of the Dutch colony.

For indigenous people of South Nias, modernity was never thought as Westernization provided the fact that they do not use it to locate influences from geographical map. Modernity in its operational way has been conceived as everything coming from outside their lifeworld through either coercive or persuasive method surpassing their tradition and culture. Socioculturally, surpassing does not always mean sovereignty. It might properly be understood in the South Nias context as a culturally learning process to fit with contemporary circumstances. Despite its value and cost, modernity in South Nias has been conceived simply as the course of being able to be familiar with open lifeworld.

Since, the South Nias traditional lifeworld is socioculturally defined by its language boundary, modernity is every thinking and action based on unlimitedness of choices and possibilities. Literacy and consumerism are the most vivid examples of modernity for South Nias people. Literacy had been introduced by the Christian missionary in 1946; the programme led people into open lifeworld beyond Nias language boundary. Indonesian language in Nias has been not only lingua franca for schoolchildren but also the access to Indonesian lifeworld with more than 13,600 places since Colonial era in the end of the nineteenth century. Thus, modernity through literacy has disclosed to Nias lifeworld that living is not restricted by the border of village any longer. Rather, modernity has introduced the idea of individual consciousness that enables Nias people to come to terms with choices and possibilities.

Modernity in the context of literacy has brought about emancipation for the Nias language. Accordingly, human beings, *Niha,* are actually free from their predestined stipulation whether as a noble or a commoner. Needless to say that modernity is not a matter of right or wrong, but it concerns actually with the fact that deals with new situation as learning devise for redefining their *banua.* Based on literacy, formal education becomes an effective vehicle of modernity that conveys facts from outside worlds into the South Nias realm, of course, through children's mind. Gradually, but certainly, South Nias is inseparable from historical power struggle of sovereignty in Southeast Asia. Finally, beyond their consent, Nias is an integrative part of Indonesia based on the former Dutch colonial territorial claim since 1816.

During the post-colonial time, Nias has been administratively integrated into the province of North Sumatra under the regency of Sibolga until 1978. Now, Nias is self-governing regency with its seat of administration in Gunung Sitoli. Compared to colonial time, post-colonial Nias people are free to go anywhere to pursue higher education and jobs in other Indonesian places. Government officials and public services invite young generations of Nias to share their presence as a member of diverse Indonesian society with special trainings and educations in Sumatra and Java. Public health service, police and armed forces became the effective institutions of the Republic of Indonesia that integrated Nias generation into Indonesian national identity. The disclosure of exotic and relatively isolated *banua* has to come to terms with Indonesian world. Although, the establishment of government institutions and schools from regency, *kabupaten*, district, *kecamatan*, to village, *desa*, has sustained the Dutch colonial system, there are some fundamental transformations concerning local contents and inspirations. The key positions for local government are given away to the native qualified persons. Of course, experts and technical assistants from Java and Sumatra are always there as resource persons. Fully integrated sense into Indonesian lifeworld is actually conveyed by the use of Indonesian language as formal language, which has been introduced since the Dutch rule in the end of the nineteenth century.

The sense of being integrated with Indonesian lifeworld has been demonstrated with the improvement in the infrastructure of the island for its economic development. Significant public utilities and communication network were laid during the New Order era (1970–1998). More and more young generations of Nias stay and live

Fig. 8.11 *Bale* in the village of Orahili built with galvanized zinc roof-covering material and pyramidal roof

outside their homeland. Most of them serve in the government institutions and as students, workers, professionals and entrepreneurs.

The idea of home in the context of village lifeworld is still alive as the place where they can breathe their last. Wherever they would have been to stay and to work, *banua* as the village lifeworld could not have been shattered by the course of time. Since *banua* is not simply conceived as a physical entity but it is actually the realm of spiritual life of South Nias people, the call for coming back to *banua* does not seem to be a kind of patriotic devotion, but it may have established the sense of being not to get away from their authentic boat of living. Going away from *banua* would have been perceived as a journey to gain experience and wealth as taught by their *owasa* tradition. Finally, all experiences, wealth and expertise must have been brought into the village world that could have established their world in its beauty and power, *banua sisokhi*.

The imposition of modern building in the traditional setting of village settlement came into being when the Government of Indonesia delivered their rural development aid for providing villages with an assembly hall, as it used to be in the other villages in Indonesia. Although, every traditional village in South Nias has always been provided with a place for assembly, *ewali gorahua,* the development aid for village assembly hall must have been executed to demonstrate the government's care for sociopolitical life of villagers. Unfortunately, the erection of the hall had mostly been done without due respect to the already established village architecture, then, the presence of the hall seems to have obstructed the open character of the village open space, *ewali*.

Physically, the vivid idea of modernity had infiltrated the village lifeworld when industrialized building materials, house appliances and modern utensils became available in the district market of Teluk Dalam since the end of the Pacific War. The use of galvanized zinc roof-covering materials had been widely applied in several South Nias villages. Despite its glare and being expressively unfit with traditional building setting, galvanized zinc material is an affordable, practical, light and durable roof-covering structure.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

Despite its grandeur legacy of megalithic culture, the villagers today are not able to afford most requirements for the feasts of merit. The changes and transformations happen in architecture as well as in a society of pragmatic reason. What is left as cultural asset is actually their traditional institution of village that means homeland, the lifeworld and community as a whole. However, the social structure and its components are not the same, but work as in the past. Based on this institutional sustainability, the social cohesion and the sense of belonging among the villagers are so far still in function.

Chapter 9
Building and Dwelling at the Confluence: A *Kenyah* Dwelling Tradition

Abstract This chapter is an exposition of the dwelling tradition of the *Kenyah* community in East Kalimantan in the context of relocation from their native habitat to a newly established settlement. The study focuses on the question of how they deal with the transformations of custom and tradition as the consequences of the resettlement from a jungle to a location provided by the government with standard houses. The dialectics of the capacity for adjustment and conservation form the main part of this study. At the centre of the analysis stands the necessity for home as the reality of the lifeworld they have to deal with. Transformations of lifestyle and house form are discussed in the context of the sense of home in a newly established habitation.

Keywords Kenyah · Longmerah · Resettlement · Tradition · Modernity

9.1 Kenyah in Rukun Damai and Longmerah

Kenyah people have been well-known as a *Dayak*ethnic group living in a relative remote hinterland of East Kalimantan. Rivers used to be the most important means of communication for generations. Wet tropical forests and wild animals have been the habitat of the *Kenyah* tribe among other *Dayak* tribes. The question concerning homeland for *Kenyah* people is always the matter of sustainable land-bearing capacity for swidden cultivation. Lack of minerals, especially calcium and salt, has been the ghost for their dependency on the coastal people who visit them for trading regularly by travelling along River Mahakam or River Kayan. They grow the rice in the forest cleared by the slash-and-burn or swidden technique. The forests from which they earned their living for centuries have been stripped since the 1980s by powerful logging companies. Living in the upstream regions in East Kalimantan seems to have been a struggle for a new beginning since the practice of swidden agriculture must have been gradually outlawed by the Government of Indonesia since 1990.

Finding new land with a new technique of domestication might have been necessary. Introducing wet-rice cultivation through interaction with Javanese people under a transmigration programme could have led *Kenyah* to settle as a peasant community. Such an agricultural technique based on irrigation does not seem to have shown a significant progress, if the former forestlands are deficient in minerals and too sour for wet-rice cultivation. Even though the slash-and-burn technique can lead the land

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into an ecologically declining habitat, especially the depletion of the nutrition level of forest soil, the practice of swidden cultivation brings about a realistic outcome for forest people like *Kenyah* in Rukun Damai. The downsizing of the slash-and-burn technique in the Rukun Damai area is not apparently because of the ecologist attacks and government acts for forest conservation, but because of the lack of free forest remaining since logging companies and licensed timber concessionaries have been operating there since the 1980s. The supporting land for *Kenyah* is precarious for sustaining their traditional swidden agriculture. Nowadays, they learn land-intensified agriculture with fertilizers and biotechnologically elaborated seeds of various crops, such as rice, corn and bean.

Struggling from overpopulation and deficiency of minerals has led the way for *Kenyah*to incessantly seek new land. Migration from the ancient homeland, *Long Nawang*, upstream of River Kayan used to be a common routine of a group of *Kenyah*. The forerunner mission of migration goes to examine the prospect of new settlement for months or years. The most important prospect lies in the availability of place with possibly utilized forest for their swidden rice fields, *uma*. One of the several chosen destinations of the migration is Rukun Damai, East Kalimantan.

Situated at the River Mahakam, Rukun Damai is a newly established settlement with its surrounding forest 770 Km from Samarinda. *Bahau, Penihing* and *Punan* tribes had been there for years before the *Kenyah* came to the site. They live together sharing land for growing rice with the swidden technique. Animal husbandry and growing sweet potatoes, vegetables, fruits, fishing and hunting are still their customs to sustain their living in Rukun Damai. Living in subsistence of swidden cultivation could have no future today in East Kalimantan. The forest people had been suggested to improve the land with fertilizers under government aids, instead of the practice of slash and burn since the 1980s. As a matter of fact, without a programmatic transformation of the mode of habitation and production—from hunting and gathering to an agricultural society—it is likely impossible to stop the practice of slash-and-burn farming. The other constraint is the fact that the soil of the forest is not suitable for wet-rice cultivation; the soil needs a technological adjustment for its appropriate composition. The slash-and-burn cultivation is still practised in Rukun Damai relying on rainy seasons and the use of fertilizer.

Institutionally, Rukun Damai was a village administration in 1978 with a traditional polity based on the *Kenyah* tradition. Other tribal minorities, *Bahau, Peninhing* and *Punan*, have their representative in the village assembly, *rapat desa*. The establishment of a village institution in Rukun Damai enables the local government to provide them with various development aids for medical service, elementary school and agricultural help.

As a newly established home for a multiethnic village community, Rukun Damai people learn to develop their own way to stay away from poverty, famine and drought. Since the forest has not been considered for their future anymore, new generations of Rukun Damai try to move out from their village seeking labour jobs in the lowlands. Bontang, Samarinda and Banjarmasin are urban places where newly growing industries and mining are set up and need more and more labourers.

Like their ancestors in *Long Nawang' lepau tau, Kenyah people* in Rukun Damai live preferably in their longhouse, *uma' dadok*. During their stay in Rukun Damai,

people have been changing in their customs and tradition. Gradually, they move out from longhouses and establish a single detached house; however, it is simple and modest. The movement to leave their longhouses has significantly increased when their longhouses were burnt by accident. New *Kenyah* couples learn the need for privacy and a healthier place to live from urban experience. The need for a single house is mostly motivated by the practical reason of having their own house under their own right and control. It is, however, not to say that people living in single houses do not have their solidarity and care for community.

The transformation of lifestyle from communal to individual living has been intensified with interactions with other tribes and an encounter with modernity through government institutions and aids. The use of Indonesian language builds a communicatively bridging means in surpassing various backgrounds and differences. In addition, the schooling of their children and working in urban areas for a while led the new generation of *Kenyah* to adopt other customs outside their traditional boundary.

Surprisingly, these new customs do not bring crises in the traditional authority. Respect to older people remains in its traditional shape. On the other hand, elders and nobles are able to learn new things from their children concerning urban life and local affairs. Although literacy was not a new thing for *Kenyah* owing its introduction to the Christian missionary work since the beginning of the twentieth century in upstream regions, most women in the village are illiterate.

As any village institution in remote areas, Rukun Damai enjoys government aids for improving their living through social, medical, educational and agricultural programmes. One important programme during the last 5-year plan of development in 1990 was providing family houses for those whose longhouses were burnt down and for those who do not have their own house yet. Ineligible minority tribes and some *Kenyah* families have been listed for a government-funded housing project. The development of social houses took place in a new area at the confluence of River Mahakam and River Merah. Later on, the newly established settlement was called *Longmerah*. The name of the new settlement follows the *Kenyah* tradition to articulate place at the confluence with the prefix *long*. Merah is given to the name of this new settlement after its nearby river's name. Traditionally, *Kenyah* live at confluences in the upstream regions. Besides its convenient access to the waterway, living at the confluence has an apparent advantage for having a landscape mark in a relative homogeneous forest scene.

Longmerah is actually the extension of the Rukun Damai village with a more architecturally organized scheme of settlement. Single houses built in *Longmerah* are similar in form and dimension. Typically, the houses are derived from modern, Indonesian two-bedroom family house types 36 m^2 in area. Although the house lacks bathrooms and toilets, its domain provides people with the sense of property. Living in such a single house must have been a dream to *Kenyah* families living in Rukun Damai.

The most vivid difference with their longhouse is the fact that a single house builds their sense of home bounded by land and garden. A nuclear family concept seems to reveal with the establishment of a single detached house in a lot with garden. The

free space between houses gives them a new experience of neighbourhood without sharing a staircase, terrace and roof.

Since the modern Indonesian state offered the development programmes and projects in the 1970s, *Kenyah* communities spread out from their homeland in Apo Kayan to many parts of East Kalimantan. They move out from their land to seek better living. Recently, in their homeland it is difficult to find salt, metal and fertile soil for their field. The land of Apo Kayan was covered by a tropical rainforest. Since the population in Apo Kayan grows rapidly, the ecosystem is not able to carry the human settlement and many families move out to lowlands to seek new fields. They usually go downstream the rivers Mahakam and Kayan.

One of the migrations landed at *Longmerah* at the river Mahakam. Then, they established a settlement called Rukun Damai at the confluence of River Mahakam and River Merah. Administratively, this settlement is a Rukun Kampung, village neighbourhood in the subdistrict of Long Bangun. The *Longmerah* settlement is not the only *Kenyah* village in the Kutai district. Batumajang is another *Kenyah* village at Mahakam which is situated 19 Km away from *Longmerah* to the upper stream Mahakam. In general, *Kenyah* settlements outside Kayan land are related to the great exodus.

The way to the River Mahakam from Apo Kayan is arduous and dangerous. The *Kenyahs* commonly go along the River Kayan for their migration. With respect to the cultural boundary, Mahakam banks belong to the territory of Kutai, Bahau and *Penihing* people. This is the reason why in *Longmerah*, one can find a population consisting of *Bahau*, *Penihing*, *Punan* and *Kenyah* people. Here, they learn to live together on one site.

Longmerah is a newly established settlement for a *Kenyah* people migrated from *Long Nawang* in the upstream region of Apo Kayan. The first settlement of *Kenyah* is called Rukun Damai. This place is 1 mile away from *Longmerah*. Actually, Rukun Damai belongs to the *Longmerah* region. The name of the settlement called Rukun Damai literally means harmony and peace. This place is situated at the confluence of the rivers Mahakam and Merah where many freshwater fishes can be found. Rukun Damai is 250 Km away going along the River Mahakam from Samarinda, it takes 28–32 h travelling by boat along the river.

Since the 1960s, *Longmerah* has been inhabited by *Punan* people, jungle people who live from hunting and gathering. The *Punans* live in *Longmerah* in a small compound. They did not cultivate the land until the first group of *Kenyahs* came on the location in 1970. The *Punans* learnt to be settlers from the *Kenyahs*. They share a cohabitant and mutual relationship. The *Kenyahs* produce rice and other agricultural products, which are needed by the *Punans*. The *Punans* are trained as highly skilled hunters. They supply the *Kenyahs* with pork and deer flesh. In social life, the *Kenyahs* and the *Punans* constitute a representative assembly consisting of elders and traditional leaders under the Rukun Damai village institution.

During the time of cohabitation, the other people from *Bahau* and *Penihing* tribes came to stay in *Longmerah* as members of the *Punan–Kenyah* community. The *Punans* learnt from the *Kenyahs* many aspects of culture and agriculture. Such cohabitation had been developed within more than 5 years. Conflicts and tensions

among ethics must have been settled in their village assembly. The community of Rukun Damai was growing when more and more *Kenyah* newcomers came from *Long Temunyat* to the village. In dealing with the refugees from the upstream region, they came to terms with establishing a new settlement in Rukun Damai. The *Kenyahs* built their first longhouses on the site. The first was erected in 1971. At least 24 households lived in the house. Then, from 1972 to 1982, the other five longhouses were constructed for accommodating at least 288 households.

The domestication of *Kenyahs* in *Longmerah* is still based on the swidden agricultural technique and traditional habitation. They lived for several years in their longhouses before their leaders moved out and built single houses. Moving out from the longhouses is motivated by many reasons. Two stand out of these. The necessities for much better privacy and more rooms are important reasons. The other reason is the need for more and more adaptation in dealing with modernity. The tendency for more single houses is evident after 1979. Moving out from longhouses becomes a general necessity for the *Kenyahs* in *Longmerah*.

9.2 Peket: Sitting and Meeting

As descendants of *Long Nawang's lepau tau* mentioned earlier, the traditional dwelling of *Kenyah* people is customarily inhabited longhouses, *uma' dadok*. Some of them were torn down because of fire or simply abandoned by their inhabitants. Some families still live in physically demolished longhouses of Rukun Damai for reasons of survival. Traditionally, the longhouses stand on stilts and are usually constructed close to rivers or at a river confluence. Access to the water is important to the longhouses of this region.

The longhouses of *Kenyah* used to accommodate 20–200 families or households. In Rukun Damai, only 8–12 families live in a longhouse. Beyond its tradition as an ancestral heirloom, a longhouse for *Kenyah* in Rukun Damai does not give them more possibility to adopt a simple modern life style in which extension for more spaces for bedrooms and living room finds its way. Moreover, lack of daylight does not help their children do their school homework.

Traditional traces found in Rukun Damai show that a longhouse is actually the communal dwelling place for a unit of community called *uma'*. This unit of settlement might have been stuck together as a division of community. Migration and rice fieldwork for planting and harvesting used to rely on this division. In other words, the physical realm of a longhouse is to socially constitute a division of the *Kenyah* community. Longhouse as a social unit of settlement works as an extended family with its own authority in settling conflicts and disputes within its members. The forum for keeping peace and order in a longhouse is the assembly of *paren*, nobles, and *kelunan*, elders, known as *peket*. The meeting of *kelunan* and *paren* is a ritual talk with solemn preparation. *Paren* and *kelunan* represent longhouses in the community. They come together to sit in the community assembly as a village council called *lepau peket*. This assembly acts as the body of authority for customary laws and a forum

for dialogue between *paren* and elders. Having such a sociopolitical institution, the *Kenyah* settlement used to call their community and their whole existence as the lifeworld, *lepau.*

In many cases, the longhouse plan varies from 18 to 24 m in width and from 30 to 60 m in length. The expansion of the length corresponds with the increasing number of households living there. The central part of the longhouse used to be designed with a bigger roof and larger domain that used to be dedicated to the apartment of the chief. In Rukun Damai, a change of such traditional design as seen in its origin from *Long Nawang* has been made in this new land.

An egalitarian longhouse plan comes to terms without disrespect to the elders. Practical reasons for solidarity and fairness seem to come first that keep them together as a community instead of power play for claiming authority. Far from their ancestral homeland, hard living and surviving from famine, draught and epidemics seem to have established their togetherness as a big family under the notion of *lepau*.

In the *Kenyah* tradition, membership in a *lepau* is their right to live in a longhouse based upon kinship and hereditary. Such membership in Rukun Damai has been changed to voluntary acceptance regarding the fact that only few of them still want to live in the longhouse. The establishment of a new longhouse is traditionally considered as the birth of a new seat of community. Thus, a longhouse is a part of *lepau*.

The role and function of household heads in the hunting organization are reflected in the arrangement of a longhouse plan. Traditionally, the chief and his deputies sit at the central area of the longhouse. At the edge of the house live, however, the assistants of the chief. Since hunting and war have never been in need for several decades, a strictly organized system has been dissolved into agricultural teamwork for swidden rice cultivation instead.

The most idea of community lies in the existence of *lepau*. Even though, today, in the *Kenyah* community, the longhouse does not play a central role as in the past, its *lepau* as a socially organized entity is always there. The boundary of *lepau* is the limit of customary laws of its community. The relationship between *lepau* and longhouse is constructed by its assembly in which elders and nobles sit representing the commitment of being together within the same boat. The concept of *lepau* itself is derived from their ancestral boat. It is probably the reason why the layout of a longhouse is always in line with the upstream–downstream direction. It must have been an identical organization for longhouse community and seafaring.

The sense of community today never comes into being without the occasion of a village meeting called *peket*. The meeting is the occasion when the agreement and resolution of differences take place with open talk in a respectful manner. The ruling group called *parens* sit together with the elders to discuss the village affairs and plans related to cooperative and mutual help for rice cultivation. When constructing a new longhouse or single-family house, help is sought from the assembly for voluntary work.

The open land where the settlement is erected is called *tana' le puun*. In this newly opened area, the site for settlement is called *lasan*. The dwellable site, *lasan*, is distinguished from the land, *tana',* because here the domestication takes place. *Lasan* is an already open *tana'* in the context of inhabitableness. The relation between *lasan* and *tana',* the natural environment, is signified by the pole called *belawing*.

The pole is commonly established to provide the orientation and is a sign of occupied land by a tribe of *Kenyah*.

Among *Kenyah* people, the pole is a sign of territory of a village community, *lepau*. The location of the pole is outside the village and on the way to the forest, *bai*. The *Kenyah belawing* is usually decorated with a wooden carved figure of the *engang* bird. According to the *Kenyahs*, the *engang* bird is a symbol of *Kenyah* solidarity in the community. This figure is installed at the top of the pole with the head facing upstream, *daya',* and the tail downstream, *kaba'*. The pole itself is made of good wood and carved with human figures, *Kelunan*, and plat motifs, *kalong*. The height of the pole varies between 10 and 15 m in height.

In Kalimantan, the *belawing* can be found also among *Bahau* and *Penihing* tribes. Having such a pole, the *Kenyahs* believe that *paselong luhan*, sky cosmic power, and *bali amen*, earthly cosmic power, are gathered. The gathering makes the settlement possible. This possibility is designated with the *mamat* ritual. The ritual of *mamat* required people to practice headhunting. Thus, domestication did not take place if the *mamat* ritual was not practised. In present-day circumstances, the *mamat* ritual is still maintained, but in a new version. The manifestation of the *mamat* ritual is transferred into a village feast.

Kenyah settlement is characterized by its community settlement that pertains to the concept of the village as the lifeworld. The community called *lapau* is the structure of the lifeworld as well as the homestead of *Kenyah* people. The structure of the lifeworld is constituted by the assembly called *peket*. There is no *Kenyah* settlement in terms of *lepau* without this *peket*. Sitting in its dignity is articulated with the notion of *peket* that is to state dwelling as living in community. In the broadest sense, *peket* is an assembly of elders taking place in the chief's apartment for determining community consensus and justice. The important task of *peket* is *pekimet*, a discourse on village affairs and social orders. The assembly exists for the purpose of village community rather than their traditional buildings.

At present, an increasing number of longhouses are deteriorating but the *Kenyah* never lose their home as long as the assembly still exists. New arrangements of settlement are derived from the assembly, *kelunan*. What we find in *Kenyah* settlements today is the decreasing number of longhouses and the increasing number of single houses. However, their dwelling organization still exists to maintain the concept of the village as the village lifeworld.

The *lepau* is understood as a lifeworld. It is not a totality of things on earth but a totality of people living in a certain territory with a commitment in social orders and traditions. A *lepau* is never without its environmental territory and its context of village polity. A *lepau* is always in reference to a community in a certain territorial settlement. The unity of people and place becomes central to the concept of *lepau*.

Furthermore, *lepau* is never a concrete object. Rather, *lepau* is properly understood as that which gives people the sense of home and identification to whom and to where they belong. *Lepau* or *lepo*is for *Kenyah* people more than a community living at the river with the support of fields and domesticated animals. *Lepau* for them is the lifeworld.

Dwelling and building in the context of *lepau* are understood in their social institution as a village settlement. Dwelling outside *lepau* is not considered institutional.

A shelter called *lepo'* is a non-institutional building. Such shelters are erected in the field as temporary dwelling. As a matter of fact, shelters in the field—*uma*—manifest themselves as the cores of rice cultivation.

The *Kenyahs* spend most of their time in this shelter during the planting and harvest time. The village is lively at the time between the planting and harvest. Important rituals besides funerals take place after the harvest time. Working on arts, utensils, clothes and building work is mostly in the time between planting and harvest. In many cases, spending time together for a family in the longhouse is commonly after the harvest time.

9.3 Uma Dado': Longhouse

Uma ' dadok is the name of the longhouse. *Uma'* is house and home. *Dadok* is the word for seat, sitting and position. Originally, *dadok* is sitting. The word *uma'*, however, contains manifold meanings: dwelling place, home, clan and tribes. Members of *uma'* are identified by other *uma's* members with certain characteristics; *uma' kulit* is a tribe with special skill and knowledge to handle leather works. *Uma' tau* pertain to the *Kenyah* tribe which used to plant the *tau* trees near their longhouses. In many cases, *uma'* is a designation of dwelling place and tribe or clan, respectively.

Every *uma'* is independent in developing their tradition and cultural concepts. A general study on *Kenyah* becomes superficial if it does not care for a detailed description and explication of distinctive local concepts. The differences between *uma'* tradition and culture are not a question of distance. They live close to one another, within a 50 Km radius along the River Kayan. *Uma '* as a unit system of the village lifeworld, *lepau'*, is under the leadership of a powerful *paren*. The origin of *lepau'* is constituted by a founding *uma'*. In a more elaborated *lepau'*, there are commonly more than two or three *uma'*.

The longhouse is principally a composition of a dwelling unit called *lamin*. *Lamin* is a family apartment for a *Kenyah* household. *Uma ' dadok* is not erected as a constructionally finished structure. The core of the *uma' dadok* is the most powerful *paren's* apartment. *Paren* is the ruling class of *Kenyah* people. The apartment of *paren's* family is located in the middle part of the *uma' dadok*. Structurally, *lamins* as dwelling units are technically removable from the main structure of *uma' dadok*. At present, this removal is commonly done by the *Kenyahs* that designed single houses originally. The *Kenyahs* usually carry on constructing the *lamins* in a cooperative way. Of course, such a removal is always prescribed with a formal deliberation and permission from the *parens* in the village assembly, *peket lepau'*.

Lamin as a dwelling unit is a unit of economic production. This unit is inhabited not merely by a nuclear family but also stem and joint families. As a unit of economic production, *lamin* is established by the right to cultivate the fields, *uma*, and it belongs to the village community. *Uma'* is created clearing the forest with a village cooperative work. The work is led by the village chief called *paren lepau'*. He and other aristocrats have the privilege to occupy the land for their rice fields. In the past, *parens* had many slaves for working in their rice fields.

The right of dwelling in a community is prescribed with the condition of having a family. One is eligible to build his apartment, *lamin*, in the already established structure of *uma' dadok*. This is traditionally how an integration of a newly established household in *uma's* structure is done. The manifold designation of *uma'* becomes clear that the tribe and longhouse are associated with a dwelling institution. *Uma '* as a dwelling institution sets up *lepau'* as the village lifeworld. The integration of a household into an *uma'* not only means the extension of the longhouse structure but also means the extension of the clan to be more powerful.

In the past, the important sign of power was the collection of skulls from headhunting. The warriorship was not accessible for an adult man without marital status. A newly established *lamin* is an important contribution to the *uma's* community. A contribution is of course in terms of political power and economic support for community life as rice cultivators. The abolishment of headhunting broke the meaningful chain that connects the *Kenyahs* to their warriorship and clanship. Churches and colonial expeditions played an important role in the abolishment of headhunting.

The establishment of new *uma' dadok* is traditionally supported by two reasons. The first is if there is an internal political competition among *paren* people, the founding of a new *uma' dadok* is considered a peaceful solution of inner leadership rivalry in the *Kenyah* community. The second reason is a traditional way of expanding the clanship of *lepau'*. This is usually done by the sons of a *paren* who is the chief of *uma' dadok*. In contrast to the second case, the longhouse of the first case would have been constructed outside the territory of the early generation (Fig. 9.1).

As an agricultural community based on rice cultivation, the *Kenyah* settlement in its complete structure is provided with *palubung*, rice barns. It is interesting to note the fact that rice barns do not stand close to their longhouse. Instead, their barns are mostly located close to their fields. Rice barns are located in the area higher than the village territory.

The site for *palubung* is actually situated on the way from the longhouses to the field. Moreover, with respect to its nourishing support, *palubung* is usually decorated with details at its beams, columns and roof edges. The most elaborate details to avoid mice can be seen at the design of supporting columns of *palubung*. The rice barns are not only the place to store husks of paddy for their long-term demands but also the place for taking a siesta and a temporary stop on the way home from fields and forests.

The building process of *uma' dadok* is traditionally a cooperative and voluntary work called *gayeng*. Building construction work is led by a *paren* and a *mejam*. The *paren* acts as the instructor and leader of traditional orders and principles, whereas the *mejam* is a professional master carpenter who has authority for technical matters. The owner of every apartment—*lamin*—is required to supply the carpenters with building materials and foods. People belonging to the *uma'*or neighbourhood unit are traditionally required to help in the building process voluntarily. Participation in such an occasion is considered a traditional duty (Fig. 9.2).

Traditionally, the *paren's* apartment is firstly erected as the reference of *uma's* structure and form. The *paren's* apartment is constructed with a central position and dominant form, is spacious and decorated with many ornaments. The *paren's* apartment is distinguished from other apartments that articulates the centre of the longhouse. The verandah of the apartment is used for the place of assembly. The

Fig. 9.1 Longhouse in Rukun Damai, 1991

Fig. 9.2 Rice barn, *palubung*, in Rukun Damai, 1990

Fig. 9.3 Long verandah, *use*, in front of longhouse apartments in Rukun Damai, 1990

apartment becomes the most important part of the longhouse. The *Kenyah* longhouse is a pile building. Its structure is constructed by a frame system of logs, beams and columns.

The building structure is a light construction standing on a modular plan of columns. There are two kinds of columns: the long columns, *suka tekedeng* and *suka kabebei*, support the floor and roof system and the others are short columns, *suka pek*, for bearing the floor structure system only. The floor system is constructed by the composition of structural beams: *pengalang, ladeng aso', luong* and *aso'*. The floor, *aso'*, is constructed from boards. In many cases, the floor system is constructed with the tie method using rattan rope. The boards are arranged in a longitudinal direction according to the longhouse's length.

The living area of the longhouse is enclosed by the side and front walls—*ntiang* and *tape'*—which are tied at the columns. The division of domains in the living area is not constructed with the enclosure of the wall system. The walls are to articulate the inside and the outside, verandah, *use*, and living unit, *dalem amin*, and borders between one apartment and its neighbours.

The neighbouring apartments are architecturally divided by a transparent estrangement, either visual or audible. Nonetheless, there is no door between neighbouring apartments. The access to the apartment is only from the long verandah, *use*. The door called *pamen udip* is to articulate the passage of the living. On the other side, one usually finds the other passage called *pamen matai*—the passage of the dead. The dead are traditionally carried out from the apartment through the *pamen matai*. Today, this passage is not commonly built at the longhouse. *Pamen matai* looks like a hole; it is not the door in the sense of the word (Fig. 9.3).

The domains in the living area, *dalem amin*, are only understandable when the family is visited by outsiders. The area where the guests are asked to sit is called

sinong. This is to articulate respectable place. The place is situated at the inner part of the *dalem amin* after the *pamen* where the door is. *Pamen* is the entry area. Usually, the other members of the family sit here to accompany their guests, whereas the father as the host of the house sits together with their guests on the floor by squatting in *sinong*. From the entry area, *pamen*, one can find *atang*, the hearth of the house. The hearth is at the front wall—*tape*—which is directly accessed from the door, *pamen udip*.

Adjacent to the hearth, we can find the sleeping area called *tilung*. This room or place is dedicated to a newly married daughter or son of the family. This sleeping area is used by the parents daily. A bed is usually found in this sleeping area. In the case of two households in the apartment, we can find two *atangs* and two *tilungs*. In the present day, the hearth is commonly constructed at the rear of the house. A rear door is installed in the back wall—*ntiang likut*—to make a rear extension possible. Such an extension is supposedly adapted from Malay houses erected at many places along River Mahakam.

The important domain in the apartment is *sinong*. Here, the head of the household collects his valuable things, war clothes, tools, shield and weapons. Among other things, bronze brass called *gong* is one of the most valuable things in their traditional belongings. According to their tradition, the *gong* is the place where the spirits, *bali*, can be asked for advice and prognostications. *Mamat* as the central ritual for the purification of the *Kenyah* lifeworld is made possible by the help of *gong*. The ancient ritual of purification—*mamat*— required the utmost sacrifice: human beings (Whittier 1978a; see also King 1978, p. 120). Today, slaughtering pigs or hens is a common practice of *mamat*ritual. The importance of the ritual lies in its call that the unity of the physical and the supernatural is necessary. This unity is emphasized and signified by the focus on the presentation of the sacrifice on the *gong*. The transcendence of the cosmic ordering system is recited from the ancient song by a medicine man as mediator.

In the encounter with guests, an aristocrat host usually sits on the *gong*. This is the way to show his status and position in his lifeworld. In many cases, the *gong* is not decorated by certain ornaments, which can be traced back to the Dongsonian motifs of ornament. The other valuable thing is *tajau*, a big vase. The *Kenyahs* put their money and gold into this container. Besides its traditional value, the *tajau* is an important figure for *Kenyah* decoration and ornamentation.

A *Kenyah* longhouse is never in service without having a long verandah. The verandah called *use* is actually the common public area of the house. Here, the daily life of a longhouse is spent. *Use* is not only the place where children play but also where women weave and work to prepare food. In general, *use* is a common place for social intercourse among longhouse inhabitants. Occasionally, *use* is also the meeting place of elders. Such a meeting takes place in front of the chief's apartment.

Along the edge of *use* a seat bank called *pagen* can be found. The seat position of the longhouse chief is at the central column called *suka tekedeng*. There are three columns in front of the chief's apartment. All these are carved or painted with the *kalong* motif. The interval of columns in the central line of *use* indicates the modules of the apartment. Only the apartment of the longhouse chief has two modular rooms. The ordinary apartment usually has only one modular space between two columns.

The roof structure of *uma' dadok* is a trusses system constructed by light bars with tie joints. The roof is simply gable shaped and covered by wooden roof tiles. In many villages today, zinc roof covering is very popular. This material replaces the wooden tiles because of its durability and inexpensive maintenance. Under the roof, rice—*padi*—and other seeds are stored. Here we can also find musical instruments, baskets, rattan, wooden fibres, wooden skin and clothes. All this gives us the information of not only the *Kenyah* system of production but also the way of life and how *Kenyah* people live and deal with their daily household.

In the present day, a boat engine called *motor ketinting* is commonly handled as a valuable item as well as a weapon and shield. The interior of *dalem amin* is not provided with sufficient daylight neither from the roof nor from the wall opening. The living area is mostly inhabited in the evening. They come together in the apartment for taking rest from their work. Spending time in the living room happens usually after the harvest time or while the apartment is being visited by a family from another village.

In the present day, the spatial arrangement is increasingly complicated. The use of a wall for defining the domain becomes familiar for the *Kenyahs*. Nevertheless, there is an indication that traditional sanitation has not been replaced by toilets in the house. Going to the river is a more practical way than having to maintain a toilet. Even though they have already been trained and educated with the modern way of life, bathing in the river is still favourable. Besides the Dutch colonial rule, the Christian missionaries were concerned with the healthy sanitation of forest tribes since early 1912. Nonetheless, the dwelling tradition of the *Kenyahs* till today still relies on the river for water supply and sanitation as well. It might have been difficult to provide a sanitary facility on the land. It has been suggested that the healthy sanitation and water supply would be necessarily provided in the village. Such an attempt has been introduced in the neighbouring village of Batu Majang initiated and developed by the Christian missionaries' programmes for healthy sanitation.

9.4 Modernity in Kenyah Settlement

Dealing with modern dwelling is obviously an unavoidable destiny of *Kenyah* people. We say this is destiny because the modernity superimposes the *Kenyah* dwelling tradition in the name of development and the progress of civilization. Though we never know certainly whether modernity means progress or regress, the modern way of life plays an important role in the *Kenyah* community as a daily-driven nourishment of life.

The people of *Kenyah* and possibly also in other remote regions, understand modernity as urban Indonesianized culture, instead of Westernization. The state programmes and its policies become the first reference to the idea of what modernity is. In the general sense, the state has been perceived as a highly authorized agent of being intact with contemporary affairs and realm. The most vivid idea associated with modernity for remote tribes like *Kenyah*in Rukun Damai is literacy and medical treatment.

Modernity in the context of literacy had been introduced to *Kenyah* people by the Christian missionaries working in upstream regions since the end of 1911. Although

Kenyah contacts with Christianity had taken place since the early twentieth century, the enormous acceptance of Christianity among the tribe took place between 1966 and 1970. The most important reason was their anxiety for being accused as communist, meaning actually atheist. Since their indigenous beliefs do not have any affiliation with the five formal religions under state custody, being Christian was probably the simplest option and a pragmatic choice.

The alteration from the native beliefs to the Christian one was supposedly urged by the political condition from the New Order that asks all Indonesians to hold one from five formally accepted religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism and Hinduism. *Kenyah* native beliefs called *pangelelan* do not affiliate with those five legal state religions. Actually, to be a Christian for *Kenyah*was not only because of the urge of religious homeless but simply for escape from false accusation.

From early 1967 to the 1970s, the church in *Kenyah* communities became the house for existential protection. This was also the time when many skulls obtained from headhunting hung on the longhouses were put down. Although slavery and headhunting had been abolished since the beginning of the twentieth century when the Christian missionary came into the hinterland of Borneo in Apo Kayan, keeping skulls of the defeated enemy as valuable things was a part of house tradition.

The military control from the district authority regularly visits *Kenyah* villages to find persons involved in communism. The failure of communists' upheaval was worse than the confrontation time between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1963–1965. Headhunting as a ritual activity for the village feast called *mamat* was absolutely forbidden by the local authority and the church. Since 1970, there was no headhunting practised in the *Kenyah* homeland. The significance of headhunting lies in its relation to the power of longhouse. According to the *Kenyah* tradition and beliefs, a longhouse without any skull is a structure without spirit of *uma'*.

The encounter of *Kenyah* lifeworld with modernity is, as a matter of fact, never in the way of confrontation. Modernity works in *Kenyah* communities in the manner of existential necessity and superimposition of tradition at the same time. Their understanding on modernity pertains to the characteristics and manners of how the urban lifeworld exists, especially in Samarinda and Balikpapan, and generally in Jakarta. Modernity in its appearance and representation is for *Kenyah* people as everything new and foreign. This is by no means a negative or an unacceptable notion. Rather, it is something or somewhat exciting, tantalizing, surprising and interesting to try.

Modernity has an attractive opportunity for new experiences that enables man to have choices of a multifarious manner and fashion. In daily life, the form and way of modernity are mostly associated with the enrichment of choices and ideologically promoting individual consciousness. Modern clothes, foods, goods, equipment, house appliances, building materials, transportation, communication, etc. disclose *Kenyah* people to the openness of choices. Sensuous pleasure, individual freedom and satisfaction are deliberately given by modernity that challenges the traditional authority of morality. This understanding is associated with neither positive nor negative impacts on their tradition.

Modernity is translated in their word '*ke-moderen-an*' which designates actual and non-handmade products and techniques. In many cases, modernity is conceived

Fig. 9.4 Single-family house, *amin tengen*, in *Longmerah* decorated with *kalong*ornament, 1991

as the realm of dwelling in an always-changing process. In their own understanding, modernity is conceived as a destiny which is unavoidable and superimposes their tradition. According to *Kenyahs'* understanding, modern buildings are distinguished from traditional ones because of their look which is not prescribed by certain rituals, procedures and form. Modern elements can be applied in certain traditional buildings, but a modern building is always that which is traditional in the use of materials and form. Malay Kutai buildings are not considered very modern. Modern designation for a building work is only applicable if such a work is built without any traditional roots and references. Thus, a perfect modern building work in the *Kenyah* context is characterized by its replacement of the traditional building system: elements, structure, form and technique.

A modern house is called *amin tengen*. Such a house is principally based on individual taste or preference, requirement and capacity. Some modern houses in the *Kenyah* village are never really contemporaneous houses. Traditional traces, features and traits obviously decorate its facades. One can, however, trace back many aspects of the house form to their traditional longhouse. Modern houses are obviously distinguished by their detachment from longhouse structure. *Amin tengen* is always a single house.

Malayan type and Banjar type are popular icons and figures of *Kenyahs'* understanding on modern houses. The pictures of houses and urban life in Java and Samarinda delivered by television broadcasters and newspapers are constituent images of how modern houses look like. Electricity and the fashionable look of building form belong to important aspects of *Kenyahs'* apprehension on modernity as progress (Fig. 9.4).

Commonly, the hope of having a single house is evident. A single house can give them more domains and a possibility of extension. The necessity to extend their domain has been indicated at their longhouse. Such an extension is sometimes the source of conflict for neighbouring apartments. Besides that, living in a longhouse is progressively getting difficult for younger generations which are educated to deal with modern living.

The lack of unhealthy dwelling is the reason for the government to provide the *Kenyahs* with a package of a housing project. The local authority, the office for public work and the office for social welfare worked together to plan and realize the project in 1985–1989. The community of *Longmerah* was then developed with the assistance of social workers from the Office of the Ministry for Social Welfare until 1992.

In 1989, at least 120 single houses were constructed for *Punan* and *Kenyah* households. The government provided the people in *Longmerah* building materials and the building model. They built the houses by themselves with mutual help and technical assistance from the local authority of public work. Even though the construction of new houses was primarily intended to accommodate *Kenyah* people living in the longhouses, in the way of execution, some families from *Punan, Bahau and Penihing tribes* did have their turn to own their houses. All this was an outcome of village assembly policy in dealing with the unity, harmony and peace among villagers. In doing so, *Longmerah* as a multiethnic settlement could grow together because they are able to work together in peace based on shared values that unity and harmony are essential. Their elders and leaders are involved in promoting tolerance and mutual respect based on their traditional virtues. In return, the government sent a social worker living in shifts to the village for a period of 6–24 months for counselling and technical assistance. The task of monitoring and auditing the project belonged to social workers who reported the project to the local government official in Samarinda.

Longmerah in the present time is a village with a vision that tradition and modernity are necessarily collaborated in a dialectic way. Dwelling in the village is a learning process to deal with economic production. This is a turning point from the subsistent ecosystem to a productive one. The economic productivity of the village is challenged by modernity. This is a long way to go for *Kenyah* people, who depend economically on the swidden agricultural method.

The important commodity of the *Kenyahs* is still earned from the swidden agriculture and the forest. Dealing with modernity is unthinkable for the *Kenyahs* without a change in the mode of their economic production. In the present day, the *Kenyahs* consume more and more products of modernity—foods, clothes, radios and electricity. All this is supplied by middlemen who travel from *Longmerah* to Samarinda by boat. *Longmerah* is not a traditionally isolated *lepau'* anymore. *Longmerah* becomes the place where the *Kenyahs* and other tribes learn to be familiar with modernity.

In 1989, the government offered a financial aid for the establishment of a new elementary school in *Longmerah*. This was to attach the former school which had been established in 1978. *Kenyah* children in *Longmerah* can read and write the Indonesian language. Education is seen by the *Kenyahs* as an important aspect of

their understanding on modernity. Spending time in towns like Samarinda and Balikpapan after graduation from junior high school becomes a popular experience among *Kenyah* teenagers. Modern dwelling is gradually transferred into the family life through children's experience and understanding of their lifeworld.

The adaptation of modernity in a spatial concept is evident today in many *Kenyah* new houses. In many cases, the central domain of the house is still *dalem amin*. The hearth—*atang*— is, today, a back part of the house. Privacy comes into play while working for food preparation. In many houses, we cannot find *use*, but there is an indication that such a verandah shall be attached in the future. The strong indication to make a differentiation of domains is evident in many aristocrats' houses. The use of a wall for their *tilung*— sleeping room—is evident. What is interesting to note is the fact that such a *tilung* is not entirely for the parent. If the family has an elder joint family, the owner's mother and father who live together in the house sleep in *tilung*.

Traditionally, all members of the family sleep together on the *dalem amin* floor. It is also a common case that *tilung* is used for their storage, especially for modern valuable things, radio, camera, clothes, etc. It used to be the altar of the family where heirlooms found their respective place. In general, the interior of apartment is like a multipurpose house hall, *dalem amin*. Domains in the house do not reveal different activities in daily life. Such differentiation comes into play when rituals take place in the house. *Pamen* is the domain where offering is highly regarded. Surrounding the offering, which is designated by a *gong*, is *sinong*, the area for guests. The hosts sit at the position near the kitchen, *atang*.

In the present day, there are many shops attached in new houses. The room for a shop or workshop is identified by the public character of *use*—verandah as a working space. All newly built rooms in the house are identified with *tilung*, whereas the living area is still called *dalem amin*. The centre of family life is *dalem amin* in which *sinong* and *pamen* are plotted. We as outsiders never know the plot of area for *sinong*and *pamen* because they are very flexible in dimension and orientation. The dimension of area depends on the occupants in *dalem amin*, whereas the orientation is determined by the seat position of the host in receiving his guests.

In 1991, the village of Rukun Damai received a grant from the central government in Jakarta to build a new meeting hall, *bale adat*. The grant of the project was within the framework of an introductory programme of development among the so-called Suku Terasing—culturally isolated tribe from modernity. The Ministry of Social Affairs had taken the *Longmerah* settlement as a model of multiethnic habitation for a culturally isolated tribe. By such a model, the government might have promoted modernity within the framework of Indonesian national development.

The hall is actually a new institution for the tribes living in Rukun Damai. Traditionally, *Kenyah* people do not have any particular meeting hall that is separately constructed from their longhouses. The meetings of the village assembly used to take place in the hall of the chief's apartment. From a traditional point of view, there was actually no urgency of any kind for such a hall. The need for a village assembly with a single building might have been common-sense for Javanese villages. Since every village in Indonesia is supposed to have a respective place of meeting and

Fig. 9.5 *Bale Hada*, meeting hall of Rukun Damai village near completion in 1990

public gathering, the establishment of a meeting hall in Rukun Damai might have not violated the traditional authority if the village assembly exists.

Since Rukun Damai is not a village only for *Kenyah* people, the establishment of Rukun Damai's meeting hall could have incorporated the aspirations of other tribes. The erection of the hall could have taken long discussions among its leaders and elders. Even though the village meeting for elders and leaders used to take place in the village head office, Rukun Damai had not been provided with a public building for social gatherings and cultural performances. From the government, the project was actually an opportunity for promoting mutual understanding among tribes based on the state development agenda and improving acculturation of indigenous cultures and traditions. Accordingly, integrating all tribes, *Kenyahs*, *Punans, Bahaus* and *Penihings*, is to synthesize various cultural resources towards economic growth and welfare.

The hall might have been seen as a symbol of unity and integration in the development of the Rukun Damai lifeworld. The construction of the *bale adat* was an exercise of mutual help in the village in such a way that has constituted the sense of belonging of its presence. In the building process, the project was not successful at all because of many reasons. One important reason is that the building process was executed with a combination of modern wage system and cooperative method. These two systems of the building process had not been well managed by the village leaders. The lack of mutual understanding between the government and village leaders was clear because there was no single person in charge as the project manager of the hall construction (Fig. 9.5).

As a new village, *Longmerah* is no more a compound of longhouses. This village is a multicultural settlement regarding its mixed population. Such a culturally mixed settlement is unusual in the past dating back to the time before the New Order government (1967–1998). The government aids for social housing were given to the

Fig. 9.6 Main pillar of meeting hall in Rukun Damai

people of Rukun Damai village to promote housing for people driven away by the forest burning disaster. Although the disaster was not the case for the Rukun Damai village, the central government of Indonesia would have prevented ethnic tensions and conflicts. The government aids might have intended to set up a culturally mixed community of tribes. In doing so, a new cultural development might have been instituted and established.

The construction of the hall, *bale adat*, is in the hope that all cultural identities of *Kenyah*, *Punan, Penihing* and *Bahau* are represented in decorative arts and building work. The hall is a step ahead for the community in dealing with new buildings. The form of the hall is constructed in a similar way to a longhouse of *Kenyah*, *Bahau* and *Penihing* people. The hall itself is a new building because in their traditional settlements they never had such a single hall.

Adopting various tribe traditions in the location, the meeting hall is actually an architecturally incorporating body of multiethnic settlement. The hall is not only a multipurpose building for public meeting and gathering but also the symbol of unity, harmony and peace in Rukun Damai. Architecturally, besides its traditional pole, *belawing*, the hall becomes a landmark in the location. They watch television together in the evening in the yard in front of the village meeting hall, *bale adat*. Despite its consumerism and moral consequences, modern influence effectively penetrates the village lifeworld in a remote area like Rukun Damai through radio and television communication (Figs. 9.6 and 9.7).

Fig. 9.7 *Belawing*, a tribe pole as sign of settlement

9.5 Concluding Remarks

The *Longmerah* settlement is a model where the multiethnic integration of tribes has been exercised for dealing with modernity. The key condition of its community growth lies in the role and function of village assembly in maintaining and sustaining peace and harmony of its people. The indigenous traditions for mutual respect and tolerance bring the tribes, *Kenyah, Punans, Penihings* and *Bahau*, into oneness. The role and function of the local government were not to be forgotten in guarding the commitment and social contract among the tribes to live and grow together in the village of Rukun Damai.

Epilogue

In Indonesia building and dwelling are culturally associated with the concept of sitting that bring about the involvement of people into socially immersed system of hierarchical influence. Sitting is allusive in the way of finding social status and respective position. However, to build is never in the way of mastering the environment as conceived in the sense of dominion. Old Indo Malay and Javanese concept for building is constructive that is somewhat making sustainable relationship. Indonesian words for building are two-fold; *membangun* and *membina*. The first brings about our effort towards the construction of something that is useful and grows. The second has its emphasis in the sense of sustainable growth—*tumbuh lestari*, based on mutuality—*timbal balik*, and affinity—*kemitraan*. Hence, the very idea of sitting is to articulate the necessity for being able to take role and function in the given social structure. Moreover, to sit as well as to dwell is to give us the indication of behaving according to local norms and mores. In Indonesian tradition the most valuable norms and mores of living are being polite—*sopan*, and hospitable—*ramah*. Traditionally, guests are highly respected and welcomed with respective seat.

Based on tradition, to dwell is to have a seat in society. It is, however, not to establish individual domains because living in Indonesian tradition is never out of commission for collective dwelling. Land is traditionally conceived as heirloom—*pusaka*, of community that is not to dominate under human control. Instead, land for human beings is the mother—*ibu pertiwi*, of culture that enables people to live and grow within the care of its soil and water—*tanah air*. To dwell in terms of *membina* is to cultivate the land that shape, develop and sustain our life-world as beings as a whole. Thus, building is making the built environment that is to construct the relationships with others within the framework of totality as the life-world. Accordingly, land, water, air, and other beings; the livings and things are traditionally not set apart from their concept of the life-world—*dunia, buwana, jagat, leppo, banua*. Since, the life-world as home is made possible with the built environment, building and dwelling are not only restricted to articulate the physical realm, but also the spiritual one. Pantheistic animism plays an important part in making home, which is fundamentally to set up the place of gathering of beings as a whole. This holistic concept is actually to acknowledge others within the framework of system for mutuality and affinity. Despite its mysticism, respect to others (the visible and invisible

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beings) is conceived in Indonesian building and dwelling tradition as the way to remind people for their destiny as mortals that fall in the worldly temporality. Rituals and ceremonies accompanying building and dwelling are nothing but the incessantly reminding validation of human relationships with others. Beyond their superiority in reliance to science and technology, human beings in Indonesian culture are the children of the earth—*ibu bumi* or mother earth. In pre-colonial Indonesia, exploiting the resources is likely to abuse their own mother.

Modernity has come to Indonesia through European explorers, especially the Dutch, seeking spices and later on they had established colonialism in the archipelago since the nineteenth century. Modernity has changed the value of land since the Dutch Colonial Rule enacted their monoculture system and forced cultivation in Java 1830–1870. Traditional rulers were mostly landlords who sold or rented their land to the European investors and plantation capitalists. Under the Dutch colonial rule, the land of traditional towns in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and other outer islands was under Dutch jurisdiction. Since modernity, the land has become the commodity of urban economy, then, the traditional people have to change the sense of community from communal property to individual ownership. Consequently, lands in Java and other islands had to be transferred from traditional control—*girik* or *ulayat*, to formally certified acknowledgement from the state—*negara*. Formally, in 1961 the government of Republic of Indonesia had adopted and adjusted the former Dutch Agrarian laws of 1870 that brought about land property into three categories. The first is state owned land, individual, for less than 2 ha. The second is collective traditional property—*adat* of *ulayat*. The third group includes three status of ownership, property right, use right, renewable after 20 years, and non-transferable right under *adat*. Modernity has changed the value of land from non-exchangeable property to commodity of urban economy.

Although, sitting in several cases is associated with the myth of centre for authority and ordering system, its implication to architectural layout of settlements is less obvious beyond Javanese traditional towns. In other words, in Indonesian dwelling tradition, palace as the seat of ruler is more symbolic as spiritual centre rather than its socio-political symbol. Some palaces in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Tabanan, Gelgel and Cirebon traditionally are perceived not simply only as the seat of the rulers, but also as the centre of spiritual life of people. The significance of domains comes into being if the ritual occasions take place. The seat of ruler is a not public building. Rather it is conceived as a sacred place from which cosmic and creative energy emanates to various directions. Traditionally, the seat of ruler is conceived as the source of wisdom—*arif bijaksana*, and justice—*keadilan*. Traditionally, court is not merely the seat of power in terms of secular authority. Rather, palace is always the inner sanctum of the life-world as totality. Accordingly, centre of town is the place where the meaning and reality of the totality of the life-world is demonstrated and experienced. It is the reason why the palace is actually the stage of worldly existing wholeness where the ruler and the ruled come into terms of oneness. Grand state rituals and ceremonies are nothing but the effective way of demonstrating and validating the idea of oneness in solemn and dramatic manner.

Building and dwelling in traditional Indonesia are characteristically developed from organic materials that are sustainable within the framework of customary laws, religious rituals and ceremonies. The erection of new building and its renovation are never out of commission for ritual feasts—*selamatan, kenduri , hajat*, in which the establishment of new construction is publicly made known. All these rituals date back their origin in Pantheistic Animism that conceive, all beings have their own power for constructive and destructive consequence. What is to build is always accompanied with the wish and call for making up with other beings to beautify the gathering between earthy material and sky abundance. Beyond its physical appearances and daily utilitarian service, building and dwelling in Indonesian tradition are the stage for their rituals and ceremonies.

In Indonesian context, without any association and acquaintance with ritual and ceremonies, human beings as inhabitants likely do not have its sustainable relationship with their built environment. It is the reason why most domains in traditional Indonesian settlement do not show its direct daily utilitarian designation. Only in special occasions most domains are occupied according their primordial designation. In this case, rituals and ceremonies are not simply the occasions for gathering. Rather, they are actually the occasions for validating their relationships with their fellow human beings as well as with their built environment. The practice dates back to the animistic beliefs that any change in the environment requires permission and blessing from the ancestors and the local spirits; otherwise, bad lucks and diseases will come along with the transformations of the environment. In doing so, the built environment is not a machine for living or working. Instead, the built environment is considerable somewhat worldly that enable people to live and work within the framework of mutuality based on respect and conformity with the physical and spiritual power as well.

Regarding its root in the individually growing awareness of privacy, modernity challenges the collectively conformed underpinning of the meaning of built environment from its flexible shareable use to explicit private domain. Nevertheless, dialectic compromise always stands to resolve conflicts and contradictions with peaceful solution within the framework of unity in diversity—*kesatuan dalam keragaman*. Syncretism is an outcome of the Indonesian beliefs in unity in diversity based on tolerance—*tenggang rasa*, hospitality—*ramah tamah* and mutuality—*timbal balik*. It is not somewhat ideological, but it is rather pragmatical by the reason of historical underpinning and geographical setting of the archipelago. For Indonesian people, syncretism is apparently the necessity for being able to cope with incessantly influx of influences. Having realised its geography that cultural resistance is impossible there is nothing to defend but their openness. Since, openness does not have any sense if its purpose is not to set up and to develop the boundary of home. Hence, syncretism seems to be the exigency for domestication that enables the archipelago's people to sustain their home. In addition, hospitality is actually a cultural strategy to deal with the open geography of archipelago because of the fact that their culture never grows without interactions.

Modernity in its rational approach challenges syncretic tradition towards a monolithic cultural direction based on reason. In view of that the built environment is

considerable functional and rational in the framework of mass production. Even though modernity delivers people with affordable building materials and construction system, the relationship between human beings and their built environment is, multivalent that constitutes personal traits, collectively shared values and technologically associated innovations. Despite their architecturally uncoordinated management of forms, Indonesian built environments prevails to incorporate the monolithically dominating materialism of modernity without losing their indigenous culture and tradition. All this thanks to the Indonesian way of community living, which is mostly not based on coercive formal system, but that on communal deliberation for conformity. Meeting of minds for conformity, *musyawarah mufakat*, seems to be more necessary than being open in confrontation with others. This tradition is apparently manifest in every Indonesian community from urban to rural areas that enable them to domesticate foreign influences without leaving out their indigenous culture. The amalgamation of various influences into newly established tradition leads Indonesian people towards some prospective cultural developments that enrich our understanding of oneness in diversity. Of course, the road to such syncretic development is sometime arduous. Violence and hostility happen somehow with the process of syncretism. Indonesian way to settle with the influx of influences is not only to bring everything into unified system, but also to deal with the harmonious growth of culture with sustainable future.

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Chapter 7

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