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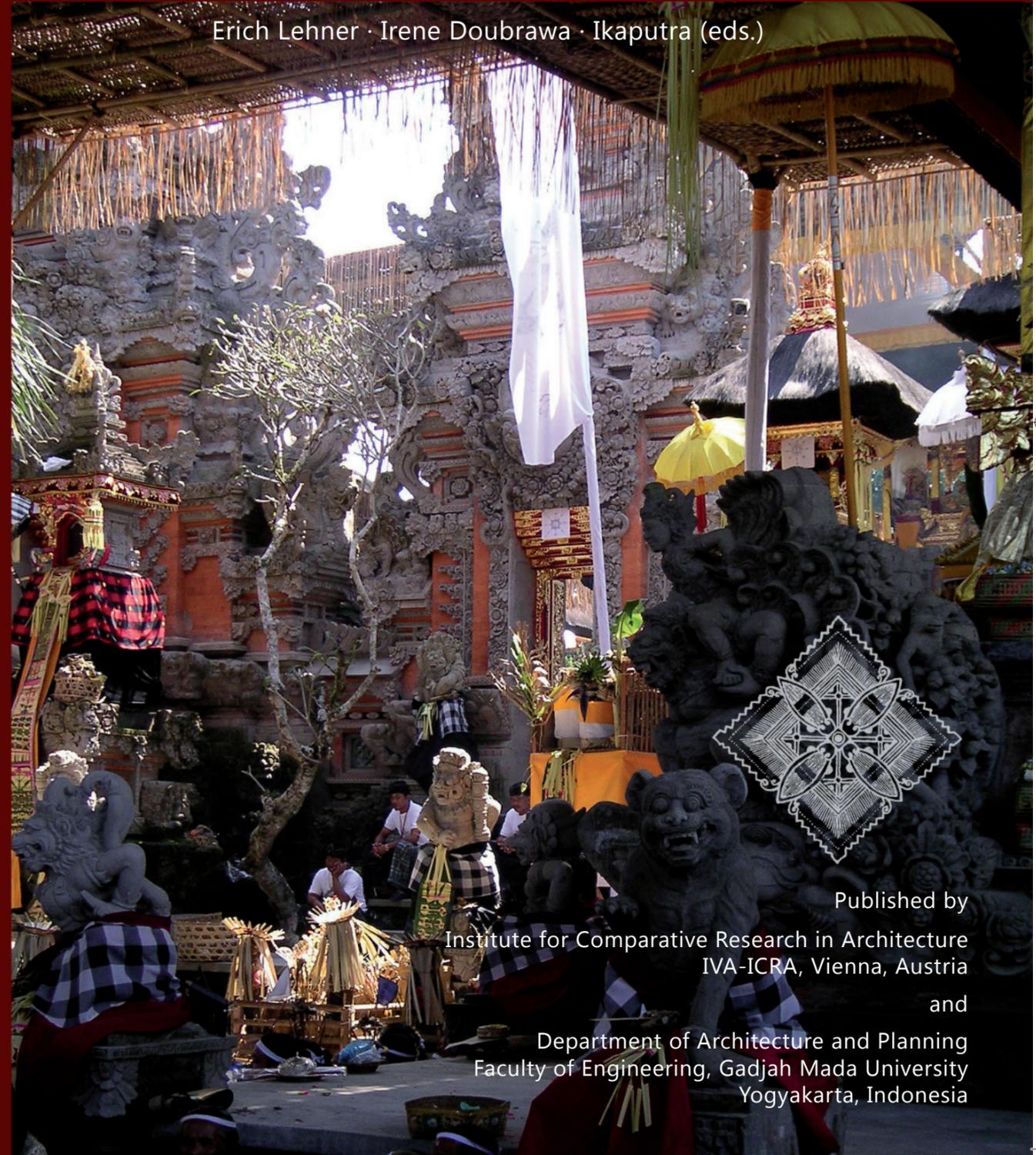
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THE SACRED TRIANGLE OF THE KAENBAUN VERNACULAR SETTLEMENT IN TIMOR - INDONESIA

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Introduction

The spatial configuration of vernacular settlements is an interesting research topic: it becomes the entry point for understanding the culture and local wisdom of a society, especially its spatial behaviour, thoughts and values. The concept of spatial configuration has become an interesting discourse among scholars, who understand architecture in the paradigm of human existence. For Rapoport (1977), with his concept of "socio-spatial", spatial layout consists of the spatial relationships between humans and objects, while Hillier's (1989) "spatial culture" concept affirms that spatial layout is the relationship between humans and artifacts. Like Rapoport and Hillier,

Madanipour's (1996) "socio-spatial" concept states that spatial configuration is the spatial relationships between objects, events and people. Purbadi (2010) through research on the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village, invented the "socio-spiritual spatial" concept. The spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun settlement comprises four key elements, namely: the relationships between nature, man, ancestors and God. The concept of the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun is unique, since it refers directly and explicitly to local culture, explaining its difference from the other concepts of spatial configuration (see Fig. 1).

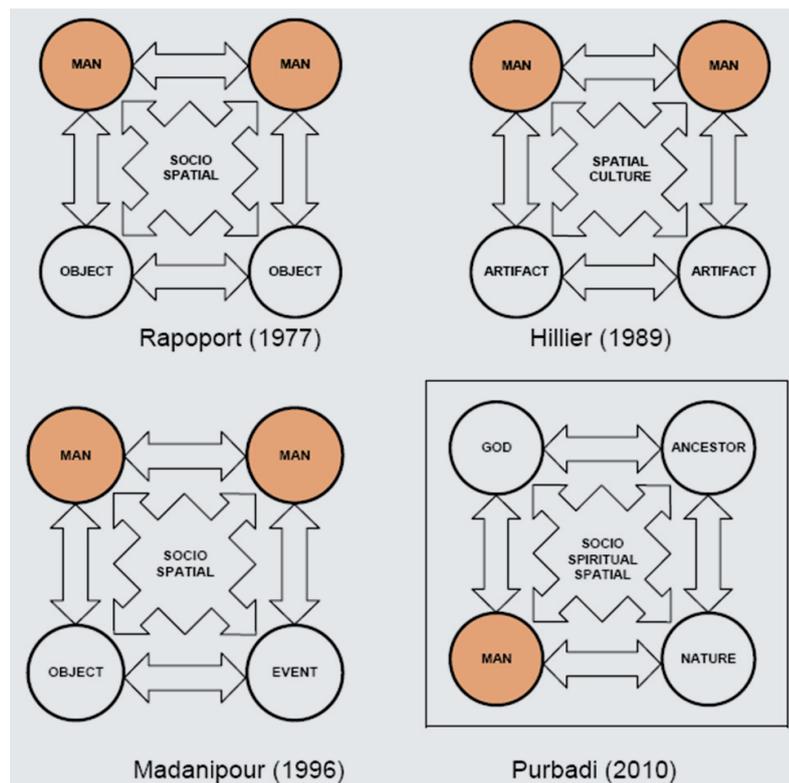


Fig. 1: Comparing Kaenbaun Spatial Configuration with other concepts. (Source: Purbadi 2010, p. 647)

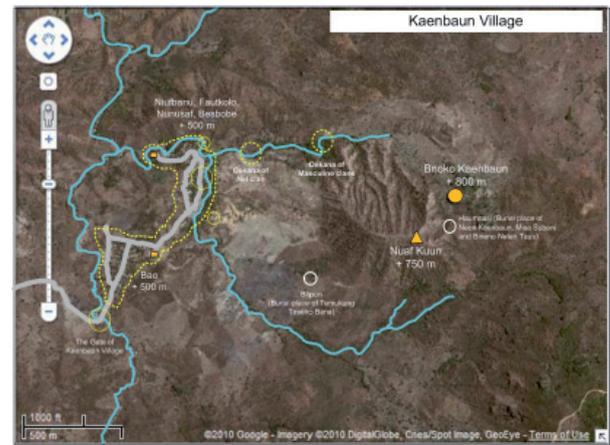
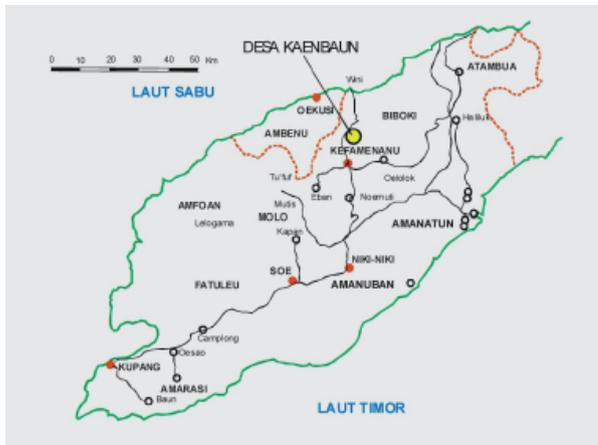


Fig. 2: Location and map of Kaenbaun village with its physical surroundings. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

Kaenbaun village is a vernacular settlement built by the Dawan tribe and developed by them from generation to generation, using the customs and guidance of their ancestors (Purbadi 2010). Kaenbaun village is a unique phenomenon because the design of its spatial configuration integrates the surrounding natural elements such as contours, mountains or hills, pastures, gardens, forests and springs. The spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun settlement is strictly based on the guidance and experiences of the tribe's ancestors. For example, traditional ceremonies are held to accompany decision-making processes at every level: by the individual, the clan and all the inhabitants of the village (Purbadi 2005). The spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun settlement is based on local culture and wisdom, namely the socio-spirituality of the Dawan people which is based on their clan configuration (Purbadi 2010).

The spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village is composed of elements of a strong spiritual transcendence and is expressed by the people's spatial behaviour (Purbadi 2010). The existence of the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun is an important part of the concept of socio-spatial spirituality, especially in the spatial behaviour and spatial configuration of the settlement. Empirical evidence shows that the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun, which is composed of the *fatkana* (sacred stone), the *oekana* (sacred spring) and the *umesuku* (sacred clan house), is an important reference for the design of the spatial configuration in the Dawan settlement (Purbadi 2010). The aim of this paper is to explain the role of nature and of the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun in the spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun settlement.

Research into the spatial configuration of the Dawan settlement of Kaenbaun is based on Husserl's phenomenology paradigm, coupled with the process of in-

duction (Sudaryono 2003; Purbadi 2010). The "Husserl Paradigm" guides researchers to look intensively and to focus phenomenologically on the object of study to find its essence (Peursen 1988; Bertens 1990). The inductive process reflects empirical and abstract elements at the same time (Sudaryono 2003; Purbadi 2010) and is a way to gradually find and understand local spatial phenomena. The aim of induction is to discover and understand the relationships between local data, and proceeds by step-by-step unitization, categorization, and formulation of the themes and concepts that explain each other (Purbadi 2010). Reflections coupled with induction in stages lead to a comprehensive picture of the physical reality and visual, rational and transcendent phenomena of the spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun settlement.

The research on which this paper is based was observation in the field, to capture the phenomena of the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village directly, including physical-visual, rational and transcendent realities (Muhajir 1989; Husserl in Hamersma 1983; Purbadi 2010). In conducting research in the field, the researcher visited almost every corner of Kaenbaun and recorded everything with a digital camera, in order to capture the physical reality of its spaces. To understand the villagers' thoughts on various subjects, the researcher also conducted interviews and held informal conversation with many Kaenbaun families. The researcher also participated in various ceremonies that were held during his stay in Kaenbaun, either as a main actor or just as a participant. Participation in traditional rituals was undertaken to understand the spatial behaviour and to collect a lot of hidden information. The researcher was accompanied by a number of local residents who provided cultural and practical information (Spradley 1980). They also acted as translators because the researcher does not speak the language of the Dawan (Fig. 2).



Kaenbaun village

Kaenbaun is located near the town of Kefamenanu, part of the administrative area of the East Miomaffo district, in the North Central Timor regency. Kaenbaun village owns land covering 1,000 ha and is inhabited by some 147 families and a total population of around 556 (Purbadi 2010). The number of men and women is equal. Young people of 'productive' age live and work in Kefamenanu, Kupang, or even away from the island of Timor; in Sulawesi, Flores, Bali, Java, etc. Generally, the inhabitants of Kaenbaun are old. Usually the 'first man in the family' stays in Kaenbaun, as part of the local tradition. The people in Kaenbaun are self-sufficient in terms of food (Purbadi & Atmojo 2009). As a result, the villagers have never known hunger (Purbadi 2010).

The people of Kaenbaun are part of the Dawan tribe. They live according to their ethnic laws, as well as the precepts of the Catholic religion, and both sets of laws are expressed in practical terms in their everyday lives (Foni 2002; Purbadi 2010). Since the people of Kaenbaun follow the local beliefs and the Catholic religion at the same time, they always hold two religious ceremonies. The devoutness of the Kaenbaun people is in line with the spirit of the Catholic Church, which respects local customs and culture as part of the nature of humans to worship God (Purbadi 2010).

The devoutness of the Kaenbaun people is expressed at an individual level, at clan scale and at village scale (Purbadi 2010). Traditional rituals are conducted on every scale and are always accompanied by Catholic prayers. The people of Kaenbaun always like to open and close ceremonies with candles and Catholic prayers. Because of this strong sense of religious devotion, both a Kaenbaun sacred stone (*faotkana*) and a Catholic altar can be found in each house.

Every household in Kaenbaun has a round building called an *umebubu* (round house), which they use for worshipping their ancestors. The sacred stone of the family (*faotkana*) is used as an orientation point in the *umebubu* for praying during traditional ceremonies. The *umebubu* is always the first building established for each family. It is founded by positioning the sacred stones (*fautleu*) and the sacred poles (*ni ainaf*) (Purbadi 2010). The Catholic tradition is marked by the existence of a small altar in the living room of every house in Kaenbaun. It is used as the family altar for praying at home instead of in church.

Every clan in Kaenbaun has an *umesuku* (clan house), in the shape of an *umebubu* (round house) which is specifically used for meetings and for prayer.

In Kaenbaun there are five *umesuku*, one for each of the Basan, Timo, Taus, Foni and Nel clans. The five *umesuku* are located in a cluster in the middle of the Kaenbaun *adat* land and are organized according to the formation of clans and the guidance of the ancestors (Purbadi 2010). Overall, there are two categories of ritual buildings in Kaenbaun: the *umesuku* (clan houses) and a Catholic church.

If the people of Kaenbaun decide to do something related to their village, they always begin by declaring their intentions in the church, then organizing everything in the *umesuku* and declaring the results again in the church. This explains the close relationship between the *umesuku* and the church (Purbadi 2010). The *umesuku* and the church are the venues for praying at every level: from individual level to village level, which includes all clans. In principle, the existence of five ritual clan houses and a Catholic church marks the uniqueness of the religiosity of the Kaenbaun people. Both the church and the *umesuku* are important elements in the spatial configuration of the Dawan settlement of Kaenbaun (Purbadi 2010).

The citizens of Kaenbaun are divided into eight clans; there are four 'big clans' and four 'small clans' (Purbadi 2010). The big clans are the Basan, Timo, Taus, and Foni, who are recognized as the founders of the village and as the landowners. The small clans are the Salu, Sait, Kaba and Nel, who are known as the 'migrant' clans because their members are the husbands or wives of members of the big clans. The big clans in Kaenbaun (also known as the 'masculine clans' or *lian mone*) have four clan ritual houses and the small clans (also known as the 'feminine clans') are gathered into one ritual clan house (the Nel clan house). So there are five *umesuku* in Kaenbaun, which are located in the middle of the *adat* land and are spatially configured to follow the order of the clan structure of Kaenbaun (Purbadi 2010).

From observations of the important places in Kaenbaun in July 2004, May 2006 and November 2009, the researcher found a more comprehensive structure of a spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village. The first important place is *bnoko* Kaenbaun, the hill where the early generations of Kaenbaun people lived. *Bnoko* Kaenbaun is considered the most important place for the people and in the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village and is now a sacred place, because at its peak lie the graves of the oldest ancestor, Usi Bana Uf, and his wife, Ul Haki (Purbadi 2010). Village rituals that involve all eight clans are always orientated towards *bnoko* Kaenbaun. As *bnoko* Kaenbaun is the dwelling of the first generation of the village, it has become a *kuan mnasi* (old and sacred

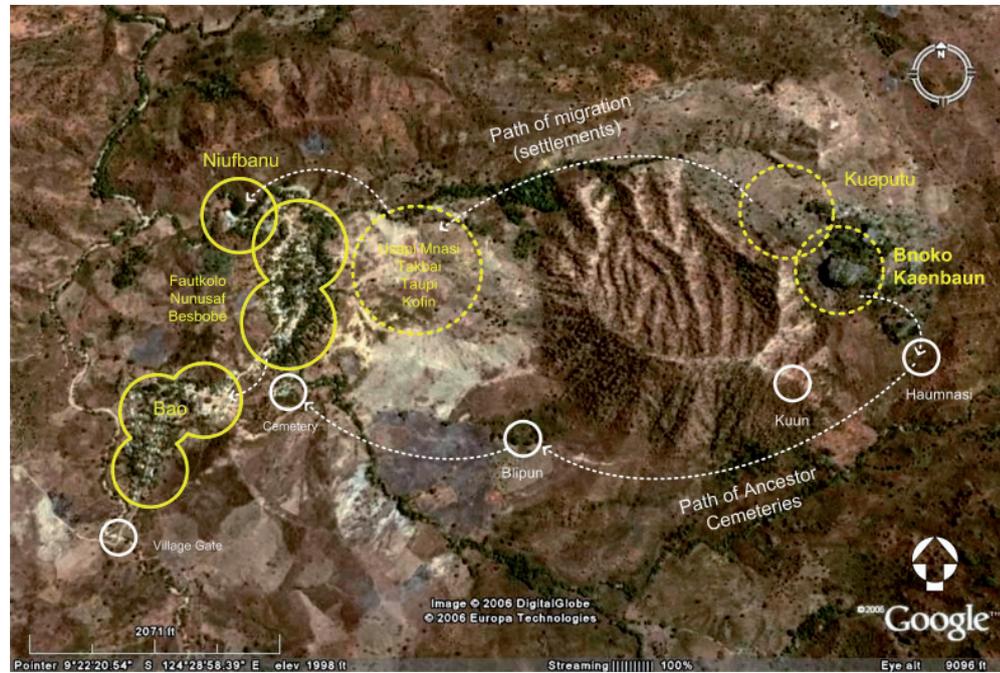


Fig. 3: Google photograph of Kaenbaun settlement and its main elements. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

village) according to the tradition of the Dawan in Timor.

Other important places are the old villages around *bnoko* Kaenbaun, which became Kaenbaun settlements during the era of the tribal wars. The first village to secede from *bnoko* Kaenbaun was Kuaputu. According to the collective memory of older people in Kaenbaun, from Kuaputu, the people of Kaenbaun then moved and occupied several other villages, such as Usapi Mnasi, Takbai, Taupi and Kofin, before they started living in Niufbanu. Their migration from the top from *bnoko* Kaenbaun to Kuaputu and Niufbanu indicates their desire to live in the lowlands and near the river (water). The migration was prompted by the more secure situation after the end of the tribal wars.

Since they settled in Niufbanu, the number of people in Kaenbaun has increased due to a high birth rate. After the people of Kaenbaun moved to Niufbanu, they constructed a Catholic church, were baptized and enjoyed a peaceful life. They developed a farming tradition, and the people prospered. Every family could live off the legacy of their ancestors. Life in Niufbanu was peaceful and the population increased due to the favourable living conditions. Population growth then triggered the founding of new villages, namely Fautkolo, Nunusaf, Besbobe, and the newest village – Bao (Purbadi 2010) (Fig. 3).

Field trips in July 2004 found a 'chain of old villages', inhabited by the early people of Kaenbaun. Field re-

search conducted in November 2009 found a 'chain of tombs' of Kaenbaun leaders. These tombs are important because the people of Kaenbaun are very respectful towards their ancestors. The tomb of the oldest ancestor, Usi Bana Uf, is located in the highest place, at the top of *bnoko* Kaenbaun. The tombs of the next generation of ancestors are always located lower down. The tomb of Temukung Taseko Bana, the most authoritative leader in the era of independence, is located in Blipun. The current burial site for the people of Kaenbaun lies below Blipun. This fact indicates that the order of the cemeteries follows the principle of seniority and altitude: the more senior the leader, the further up the burying place. This spatial order reveals the principle of respect for the ancestors, since people of Kaenbaun believe their ancestors are sacred. People of Kaenbaun believe their ancestors are close to God and are able to give a blessing or a curse. Both of the field trips in 2004 and 2009 led to more comprehensive information about the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun, which is based on clan formation and the respect for nature (Purbadi 2010).

The data from the fieldwork in July 2004, May 2006 and November 2009 revealed much information about the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun village. The spatial configuration is structured by two key elements, namely the 'chain of old settlements' and the 'chain of cemeteries of their leaders'. These two 'chains' meet in the current settlement, closely-knit through the existence of



the five *umesuku* in the central area of the Kaenbaun settlement (*kuan*). In addition to the current cemeteries, the *Saeta Balen* (also known as the “gate between two worlds”) is another important spatial element, which is seen as a gate for communication and as a symbol of the spiritual interconnectedness of the living and the dead in Kaenbaun (Purbadi 2010). The spatial configuration of Kaenbaun is further evidence of how the Kaenbaun people respect and obey the guidance and the experience of their ancestors (Fig. 4).

The Kaenbaun settlement is orientated towards the mountain and the river. The mountain or hill is located on the upper side of the village, while the river is located on the lower side of the village, where the entrance to the village is situated. For the Kaenbaun people, the mountain is a sacred place because it is located at the top and is seen as a historic place. The mountain is also the home of the ancestral spirits. The orientation towards mountain and river is considered to be natural, since the mountain that was hard to reach for the enemies ensured the safety of the first generation of Kaenbaun people in the past. In Kaenbaun, the traditional rituals for worshipping the ancestors are orientated towards the mountain, since it is a sacred place. The orientation towards mountain and river can also be found in the traditional villages of other people in Indonesia, such as the Balinese (Runa 2004), the Mandailing (Nuraini 2004) and the Badui (Purnama 2006).

The sacred triangle of Kaenbaun village

Field observations found that the life of the Dawan is associated with the presence of three key elements, namely (1) the sacred stone (*faotkana*), (2) the sacred spring (*oekana*), and (3) the sacred clan house (*umesuku* or *umekanaf*) (Usfinit 2003; Purbadi 2010). Conceptually, these are sacred elements, because they are an important part of the traditional rituals in Kaenbaun. The rituals are an important part of the ethnic identity of the people of Kaenbaun, because whether they worship as individuals, as a clan or as a village, the people always hold traditional ceremonies at these three places (Purbadi 2010).

For the people of Kaenbaun, the three elements are sacred points for conducting traditional rituals, which are accompanied by praying, eating and drinking with the spirits of the ancestors. Rituals are sacred moments of encounter between the Dawan and their ancestors (Purbadi 2010). The Dawan have many kinds of traditional ceremonies. The two most important types of rituals in Kaenbaun are the rituals for the lifecycle and ritu-

als for the agricultural cycle (Foni 2002; Purbadi 2010). These rituals are an indication that the daily lives of the Dawan are always closely linked to the presence of the ancestors.

The three sacred elements *faotkana*, *oekana* and *umesuku* are still very much a part of life for the Dawan, because they define the position of an individual in a clan (Usfinit 2003; Purbadi 2010). Generally, the clans of Kaenbaun are defined not only according to biological lineage, but also according to the relationship of each person with the *faotkana-oekana-umesuku* (Purbadi 2010). The identity of the Dawan is always closely linked to the lineage and the soul is in close relationship with the ancestors, as shown by the traditional rituals. The Dawan core rituals consist of the children and grandchildren eating and drinking together with their ancestors (ancestral tribe) (Purbadi 2010). Ritual is a moment of communion between the Dawan and their ancestors (Fig. 5).

Kaenbaun society is founded on an agreement between the ancestors of the four major clans (Basan, Timo, Taus and Foni) on *bnoko* Kaenbaun. Their agreement determined the sacred spring (*oekana*) and the sacred stone (*faotkana*) for each clan (Purbadi 2010). The determination of the *faotkana* and the *oekana* was connected with the declaration of the clan structure or ‘clan formation’. The Basan Clan were declared the clan’s first settlers and thus was established as the royal clan from which the king of Kaenbaun had to be chosen. The Timo Clan was assigned the ‘management of life’ (administration of everyday activities), while the Taus Clan became the administrators of agricultural activities and the welfare of the citizens, and the Foni Clan was assigned to village security and guarding Kaenbaun (*bilubahan*) (Purbadi 2010). The sacred pact made by the ancestors has been retained to this day, and continues to shape the thoughts and the behaviour of the people of Kaenbaun in their everyday life.

The sacred springs of the four major clans (the ‘masculine clans’) in Kaenbaun are situated at the foot of *bnoko* Kaenbaun. The locations of the springs were chosen in accordance with the position of the respective clans in the clan formation (Purbadi 2010). The Basan Clan chose the sacred spring called Oel Matanaek (big fountain) and declared *bnoko* Kaenbaun their sacred hill and the *faotkana* of their clan. The Timo Clan was given the sacred spring Oelpeta, below Oel Matanaek, and their sacred stone is located in Oelui. The Taus Clan was given the sacred spring Oelaem, below Oelpeta, and their sacred stone is located in the Kuun hills. The Foni Clan was given the sacred spring Oeltake below Oelaem

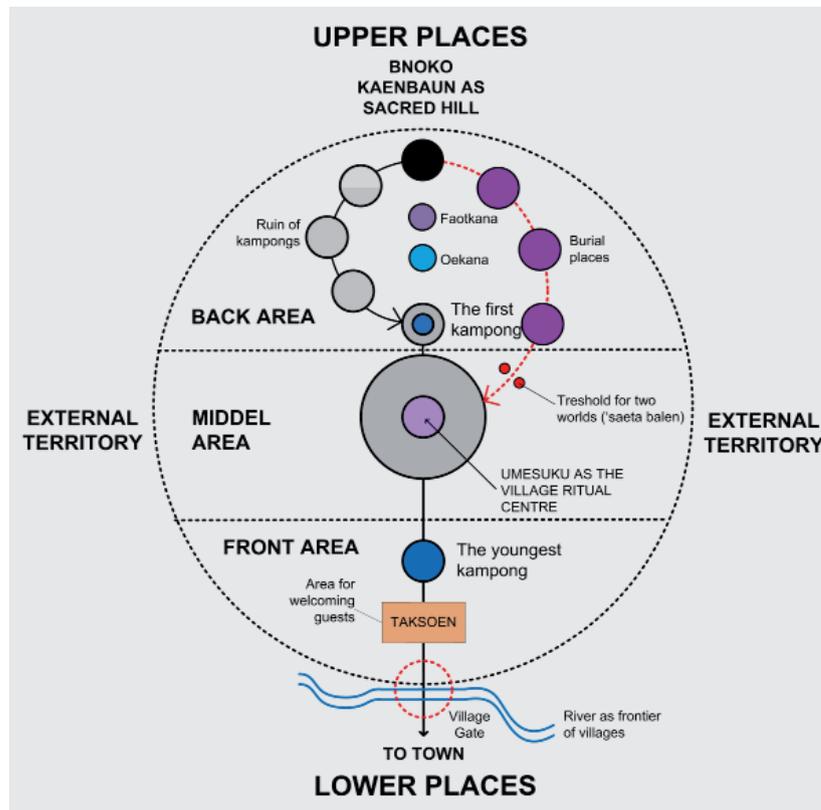
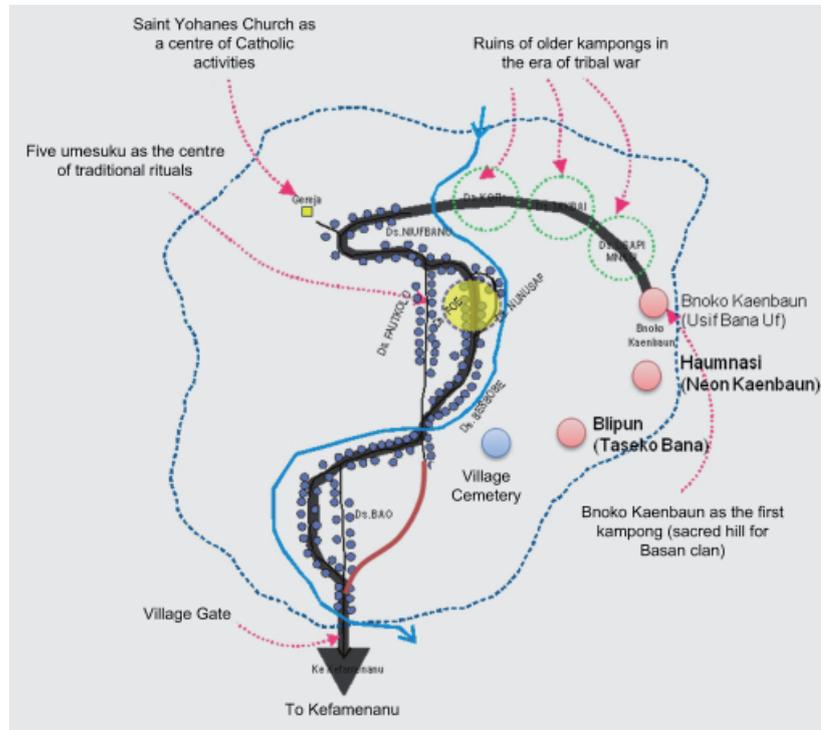


Fig. 4: Diagram of the spatial configuration of the key elements in Kaenbaun settlement. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

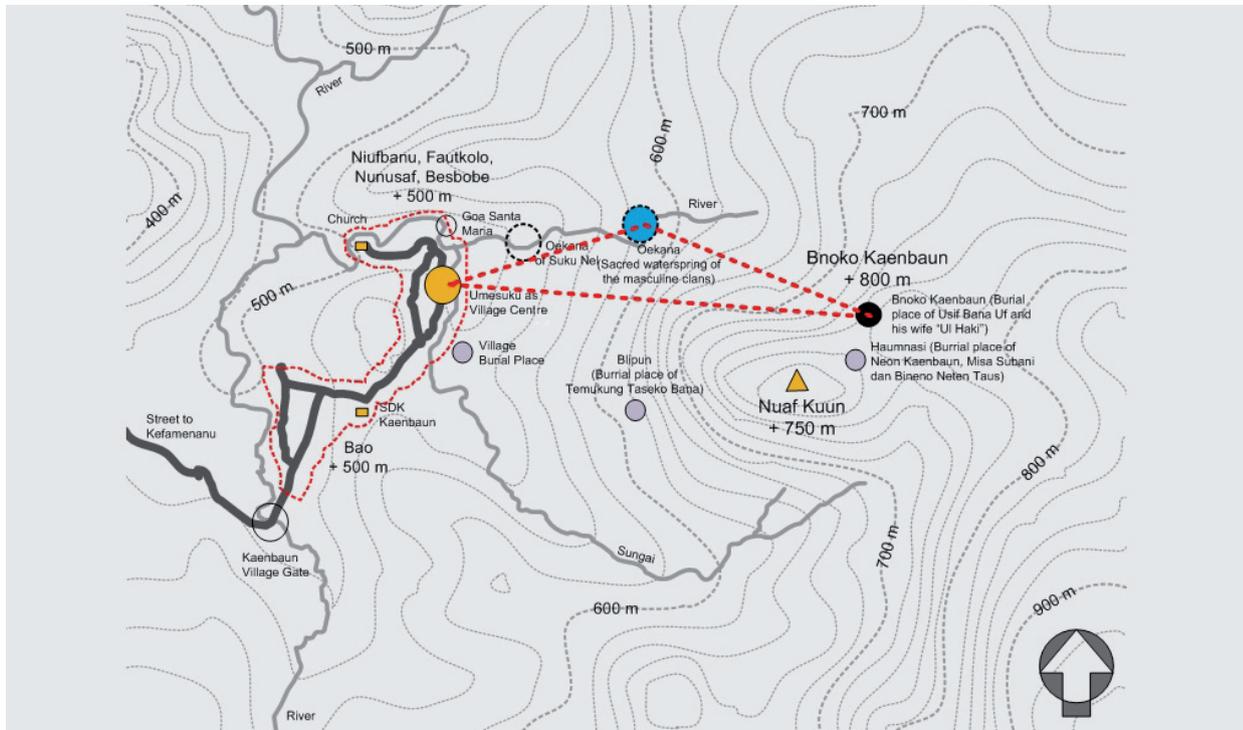


Fig. 5: Map of Kaenbaun settlement and its key elements. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

and their sacred stone is in Talamei. So the location of the four springs fits into the structure of the clans' formation in Kaenbaun.

Sacred stones and sacred springs are always places for worshipping the tribal ancestors. The *faatkana* and *oekana* are part of the village's spatial configuration and are indications for the physical and spiritual presence of the ancestors in Kaenbaun (Purbadi 2010). The ancestors' sacred agreement in the past has become the foundation for the life of the people in Kaenbaun in the present and the future. The agreement is very meaningful and is an important instrument for organizing communal life in Kaenbaun. The sacred agreement is still valid today, and is always a reference for thinking, behaving, managing agricultural activities, developing settlements, and many procedures and customs of everyday life. For the people of Kaenbaun, the ancestors are always present and control the implementation of the sacred agreement. Decision-making and all ceremonies always involve the presence of the ancestors (Purbadi 2005; Purbadi 2010) (Fig. 6).

The sacred clan houses (*umesuku*) in Kaenbaun are five separate structures. The spatial configuration of the five *umesuku* (Basan, Timo, Taus, Foni and Nel) is based on the clan formation (Purbadi 2010). The layout of the *umesuku* is significant, with the *umesuku* Basan being

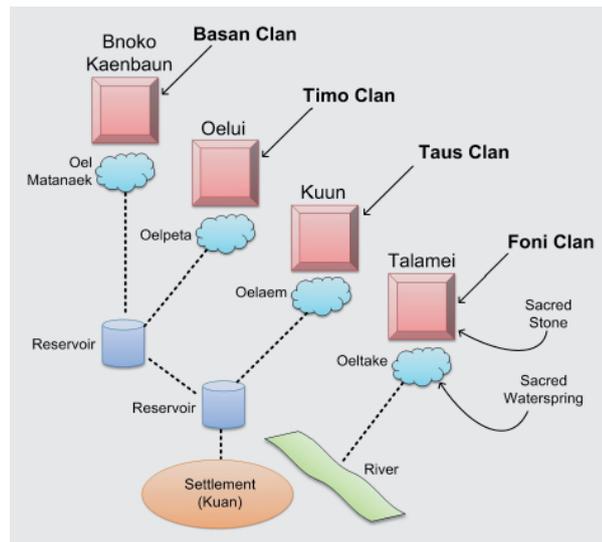


Fig. 6: Relationship between the sacred stones and the sacred springs based on the clan formation in Kaenbaun. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

located in the centre and surrounded by the four other *umesuku*. This order is based on the traditional thought, that the centre is the position of honour and is sacred. In the mind of the people of Kaenbaun, the sacred stone of Basan, a symbol for the tribal king of Kaenbaun, receives the life energy of all the ancestors of the *bnoko*



Kaenbaun and then distributes it to the sacred stones of the four other *umesuku*. Each of the sacred stones of the *umesuku* then transfers the life energy to all the sacred stones in the *umebubu* of every household. The configuration of the *umesuku* and the flow of life energy from the ancestors to their children and grandchildren through sacred stones indicate a spiritual relationship between the people of Kaenbaun and the spirits of their ancestors (Purbadi 2010).

Fig. 7 shows the tribal structure of Kaenbaun in the form of its spatial configuration according to the collective memory of the elders (Purbadi 2010). The Basan Clan as the royal clan of Kaenbaun is always located at the centre, surrounded by the three masculine clans Timo, Taus and Foni, and the feminine clan Nel. The Foni Clan is always in front of all other clans, playing the role of *bilubahan* and guarding the village gate. The feminine clan Nel is always located at the back area near the Basan Clan, which is a place of honour and is at the same time protected, since it is furthest away from the gate. The spatial configuration of the clan is also reflected by the spatial behaviour of the people. In traditional ceremonies, the chiefs also sit in specific places, based on the spatial configuration of the clan (Purbadi 2010).

The sacred triangle of Kaenbaun shapes the lives of all villagers (Purbadi 2010). At individual level, people always remember and use the principle of *faotkana-oekana-umesuku* in their spatial behaviour. Kaenbaun people who want to marry, pray and ask for the guidance and blessing of the clan's ancestors in all three locations. First, they pray at the location of the sacred stone and the sacred spring before holding a tribal ceremony with their relatives and neighbours in the *umesuku*. The rituals in the three places are always accompanied by animal sacrifices, eating rice and meat of the sacrificial animals and drinking *sopi* (local gin) with the ancestors. For the people of Kaenbaun, the traditional ceremonies are opportunities to gather with their ancestors.

The sacred stone and the sacred spring of the members of the feminine clans, who come from outside Kaenbaun, are located in their home villages and not in Kaenbaun. If they need to conduct a traditional ceremony, they have to go to their home village and pray at the shrine of their own *umesuku*. People of the Salu Clan (Mikael Salu and his family, for example), come from the village of Bokon. When they perform traditional ceremonies, they go to their home village and pray to their own *faotkana-oekana-umesuku*. The members of the feminine clans are closely tied to the *faotkana-oekana-umesuku* of their own clans in their home villages, while the members of the masculine clans are bound to their

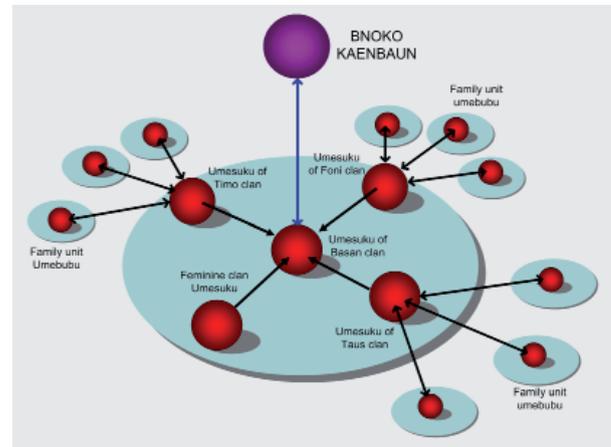


Fig. 7: Configuration of the five *umesuku* based on the clan formation in Kaenbaun. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

own three sacred places in Kaenbaun village. This phenomenon indicates that the principle of spiritual relationships between a person and his or her own tribe (especially with regard to the *faotkana-oekana-umesuku*) is a very important tradition among the Dawan. Thus, the role of the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun is fundamental to the people of Kaenbaun and plays an important role in their spatial behaviour and in determining the spatial configuration of the village spaces (Fig. 8).

The sacred triangle of Kaenbaun is a reference to the life of the clans (Purbadi 2010). Every clan in Kaenbaun has full autonomy in terms of its traditions, because they are always associated with the ancestors of that specific tribe. Each tribe has many tribal ceremonies, which always begin with the customary praying at the *faotkana* and the *oekana*. *Umesuku* are routinely refurbished every 4-5 years. The restoration of an *umesuku* always starts with a ritual in the *faotkana-oekana*, and is then continued with a traditional ceremony in the *umesuku*. The ritual restoration of the *umesuku* becomes a time for gathering together all the members of the clan and their ancestors. It becomes a celebration, and a reunion of all members of the clan, both living and dead (Purbadi 2010).

The role of the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun can also be seen in the behaviour of the whole village, especially during village ceremonies (Purbadi 2010). The ceremony celebrating the agricultural cycle, which involves all the inhabitants of Kaenbaun, is always associated with the *faotkana-oekana-umesuku*. Agricultural activities always begin with prayers at the *faotkana-oekana* of the masculine clan, and continue in the masculine *umesuku* and the feminine *umesuku*, followed by ceremonies at the *umesuku* Basan. The involvement of all citizens and an-



cestors in this process is complete and thorough: everyone is involved and no one is left out.

Ceremonies of the agricultural cycle in Kaenbaun go through different stages (Foni 2002; Purbadi 2010). The people of Kaenbaun depend on the outcome of their agricultural activities, especially on maize, so corn has become a sacred plant in Kaenbaun (Purbadi 2010). The Basan Clan, as the royal clan, always receive a 'corn tribute' (*jagung upeti*) from the other clans at the end of the agricultural cycle. At the beginning of the planting season, corn seeds (*jagung bibit*) are distributed by the *umesuku* Basan among the other clans as blessed seeds from the ancestors.

The best corn from each family is used for the 'corn tribute' and as 'corn seed'. Following this principle, Kaenbaun society has developed a specific mechanism for the conservation of the corn plant (Purbadi and Atmojo 2009; Purbadi 2010). The tradition in Kaenbaun dictates that people should not eat the corn seed if there is a shortage of food, because this would threaten the existence of the maize seedlings inherited from the ancestors. In a food crisis, the inhabitants of Kaenbaun will eat other food instead of corn (i.e. tubers, nuts or leaves) which are planted on other plantations as food reserves. Thus, the people of Kaenbaun have always managed to remain self-sufficient in terms of food production (Purbadi and Atmojo 2009) (Fig. 9).

The concept of *Faotkana-oekana-umesuku* as the three sacred elements in Kaenbaun exists in three categories of space, namely the residential settlement (*kuan*), the fields (*lele*) and the forest (*nasi*). Figure 10 shows that there are three important areas in the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun, each being an area for either *faotkana*, or *oekana* or *umesuku*. The figure shows that the sacred clan house (*umesuku*) is a central and essential part of the *kuan*, the sacred spring (*oekana*) is an important element in the fields (*lele*), and *bnoko* Kaenbaun (*faotkana*) is an important element in the village forest (*nasi*).

The phenomenon of the spatial configuration in the Dawan tribal settlement in Kaenbaun shows that the social and spiritual dimensions play major roles in the lives of the people of Kaenbaun. They always consider the social and spiritual dimensions in their spatial behaviour, on an individual level as well as at group (clan) level and village level. Decision-making is always preceded by a meeting in an *umesuku*, where all clan members are present, so that decisions can be taken at the peer level. In addition, the decision-making in the *umesuku* also happens with the guidance from the ancestors by means of traditional ceremonies, which means that the ancestors are also involved in the decision. In Kaenbaun,

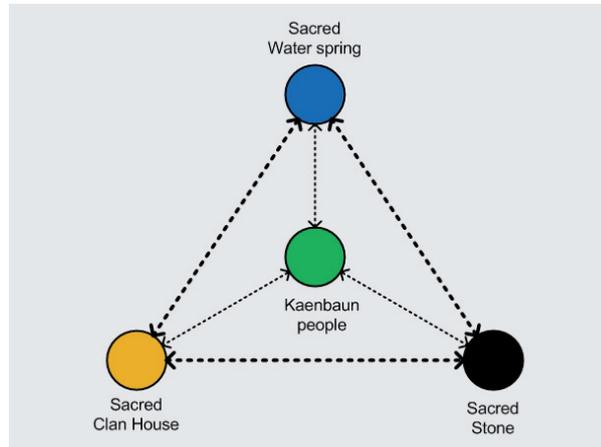


Fig. 8: Relationship between the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun and the individual person in Kaenbaun. (Source: Purbadi 2010)

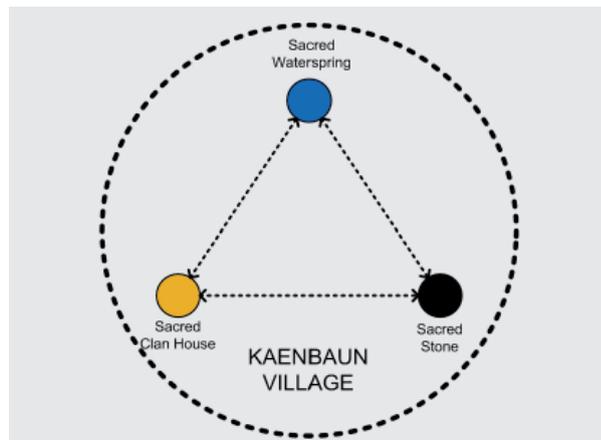


Fig. 9: Relationships between the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun and the village territory. (Source: analysis 2011)

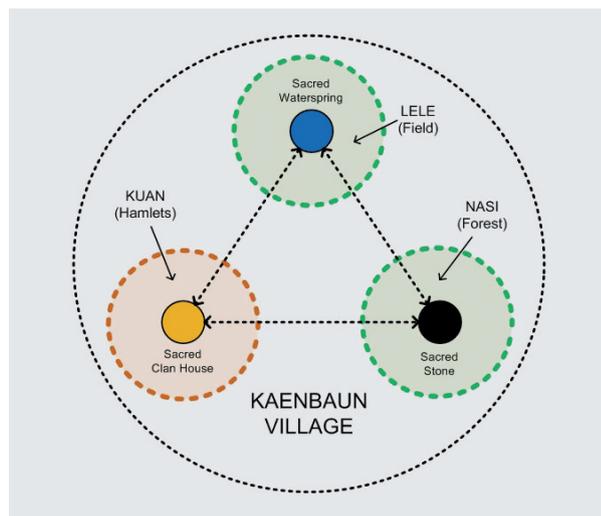


Fig. 10: Spatial configuration of Kaenbaun based on the sacred triangle. (Source: analysis 2011)



Y. Djarot Purbadi : The Sacred Triangle of the Kaenbaun Vernacular Settlement

decisions at the clan level are tribal decisions which are always made together with the ancestors.

If a decision at clan level has been reached, the whole tribe (masculine and feminine clans) negotiate once more to make the decision at the village level and involve all clans. This means that the decision reached is based on agreement by all clans. Once such a decision has been reached, then the ancestors are consulted through traditional ceremonies in the *umesuku* Basan. The ancestors once again have the opportunity to provide guidance through their presence at the traditional ceremonies at village level. Thus, decisions made at the *umesuku* Basan are the strongest because the process involves all clans, and all members, whether living or dead. In that sense, the decisions are always based on the social and spiritual situation, and involve the sacred triangle of Kaenbaun.

Conclusion

The sacred triangle of Kaenbaun exists physically in the spatial configuration of the village, but it is also mentally present in the consciousness of every citizen of Kaenbaun. The concept of *faatkana-oekana-umesuku* is the soul of the Dawan and in the spatial configuration of Kaenbaun it is also the soul of the spatial design of the settlement. The spatial behaviour of the people of Kaenbaun is always bound by this sacred triangle, as well as the spatial configuration of their settlements. *Faatkana-oekana-umesuku*, the sacred elements, are reference points for the spatial behaviour of the people and the order of the space and settlement organization in Kaenbaun, all of which respect God (*Uis Neno*), the ancestors (*bei nai*), fellow brothers and sisters, and nature.

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