Between colonial legacies and grassroots movements: exploring cultural heritage practice in the Ngadha and Manggarai Region of Flores

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan

de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,

op gezag van de rector magnificus

prof.dr. F.A. van der Duyn Schouten,

in het openbaar te verdedigen

ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie

van de Faculteit der Letteren

op maandag 14 april 2014 om 15.45 uur

in het auditorium van de universiteit,

De Boelelaan 1105

door

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geboren te Yogyakarta, Indonesië

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Acknowledgements

From the very beginning of writing this thesis on cultural heritage management I felt this would be a challenging intellectual experience but it would also be a joy, since this was an attempt at both examining and envisioning the Indonesian cultural heritage practices. However, I could not imagine finishing this thesis without the goodwill, patience and talents of many people. It therefore have great pleasure in taking this opportunity to thank the project 'Sites, Bodies, and Stories' at Vrije University, Amsterdam and funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NOW) for granting me a PhD candidate position. Without funding provided by Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo, (YAD) I could not have conducted my fieldwork around Flores, organised excavations at the Warloka site or stayed in Amsterdam while writing my PhD thesis. It was YAD that made my dream came true.

I owe a great debt to the Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, particularly to the dean of the Cultural Sciences Faculty and the head of Department of Archaeology. They gave me permission to follow the PhD programme at Vrije University, Amsterdam. I would also like to thank to the Vrije University, especially to the dean of the Arts Faculty and the head of Department of History, for providing additional scholarship, academic and technical support.

My gratitude goes to my academic supervisors Prof. Dr. Susan Legêne and Prof. Dr. Bambang Purwanto for their efforts in helping me to accomplish my thesis. Their brilliant academic minds improved my theoretical and intellectual understanding of cultural heritage management. Throughout the period of writing my thesis they allowed me the satisfaction of finding my own direction. At the same time they helped me sharpen my idea, continued to contribute valuable advice, feedback and encouragement. Indeed, without their guidance I would have been lost. It has been an honour to be their PhD student.

More than anybody else, I am indebted to my former supervisor Prof. Dr. Mike Moorwood. After I have finished my Master's degree, he asked me to participate in his archaeological project on Flores Island. In 2003 he provided funding that allowed me to continue my ethno-archaeological field work in Manggarai region, including Warloka site. At the end of my excavation in Warloka in July 2010, he visited my project and very enthusiastically gave valuable advice, comments and suggestions for future excavation. It was very sad to know that he passed away after losing his battle with cancer. God it was unfair, you took his life before I finished my PhD thesis. Rest in peace Mike.

sharing ideas, collaboration and friendship. In regards to Pim Westerkamp, I would like to express my deepest thanks not only for his excellent arrangement of my Tropenmuseum internship programme, but also his superb assistance, guidance, care and for providing an outstanding atmosphere for working in the museum. It is difficult to overstate my gratitude to Fenneke Sysling. She helped me to create a safe and pleasant social environment in the Vrije University, Amsterdam. She was always enthusiastic, helpful and many thanks for translating the Dutch articles that I needed into English. After I returned to Indonesia, she helped to print my final thesis draft and submitted it to my supervisor. Fenneke, I very much appreciated your help and for this you deserve a big slice of Winkel's apple pie. Indeed, you perfectly fulfilled the role of the ideal elder sister that I have never had. Once again I say to you '*hartstikke bedankt*'.

David Kloos, Eva de Valk, Matthijs Wieldraaijer and Amieke Bouma deserve much appreciation after having shared a PhD room in 12A-16 at the Vrije University for almost four years. They became good friends in every respect. I am indebted to Wim Manuhutu 'my best colleague' a bright and potential PhD candidate in the Department of History, VU who translated my thesis summary into Dutch. Many thanks to Jaap Fokkema for his great interest and who was generously giving his time to work on the computer mapping programme and to complete my thesis illustrations.

Sincere thanks go to all the Indonesian friends, these included the Lilik S. Kristadi family, the Dian Handayani Minang family, the Agrar Sudrajat family, the Adianto Wibisono family and the Anda Zara family whom I met during my study in Amsterdam. They always have given so much encouragement, hospitality and unselfish support over the years of my study. It made my life in Amsterdam a little bit warmer and easier, especially during the time we indulged in discussion of Indonesian topics from celebrities' gossip to political matters.

Most importantly, I wish to acknowledge my parents who raised me with a love of science and provided my initial training in the search for knowledge. They deserve the credit for encouraging, supporting and sometimes pushing me to pursue to PhD degree and earn my academic status. To my great sadness two months before I returned to Indonesia my father passed away. I could not attend his funeral since I was in a critical stage of finishing my thesis draft. Dad, please accept my apologies for my absence at your funeral and I hope you can forgive me. This dissertation is a symbolic trophy for your unconditional love.

Very special thanks must be extended to my immediate family, my uncles, my aunts, my brothers, my sisters, my nephews and my nieces. I carry the weight of Poesposutardjo family pride. Last but not least, I could not imagine finishing this PhD thesis without the faithful

support, patience and understanding of my wife Lusiyani Budi Satia and my son Adwitiya Pradana. They always stood by me in the good and the bad times. So after my long journey to pursue my dream, let our future begin.

Introduction

When I took the undergraduate programme of archaeology in the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, I was absolutely convinced that my study was concerned with the distant or remote past. Indeed, archaeology did not study the recent past and was strongly focused on artefacts or material culture to delineate extinct past societies. While students from the Department of History carried out their research mostly in government archival offices and other indoor buildings, and the students from the Department of Anthropology observed and participated in the day-to-day life of primitive, traditional societies in remote regions, the students from the Department of Archaeology planned adventurous outdoor expeditions to find lost ancient civilisations.

As I enjoyed archaeological field work I also learned to identify, classify and construct new typologies of assemblages of artefacts that were found during archaeological excavations in various regions of Indonesian, and spent most of my study time doing so. After I finished my undergraduate programme, I became interested in Indonesian megalithic tradition. It is evident that such large and smaller stone monuments that are found in many parts of the world vary greatly in both character and chronology. Moreover, the megaliths also show the longest time span from prehistoric time to the present, such as the rectangular stone chambers and long barrows constructed in the Eastern province of Drenthe, Holland, from 2700-2200 BC (Chapman 1981: 71-81); chamber tombs in Wessex, England, from the period 5000-4000 BC (Shank and Tilley 1982: 129-152; Hodder 1984: 51-68) or the Nias, Toraja, Flores and Timor megaliths in Indonesia, from 2500 - 1000 BC (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983; Heekeren 1958). While I continued my studies in the Department of Archaeology at Gadjah Mada University, I obviously noted the dominant point of view among Indonesian scholars of archaeology was that the current living Indonesian megaliths tradition represents the continuity of ancient prehistoric society. This perception confirms the doctrine that the everyday life of people who observe this living megalith tradition is not fundamentally different from the life of their prehistoric ancestors. Archaeological research into the persistence of megalithic tradition in particular areas of Indonesia easily suggests that people respecting these traditions live in an unchanging, backward, primitive stage of human evolutionary progress (Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984; Sukendar 1987). It seems this notion of backwardness was infused with Dutch colonial scholarship (Wolf 1999: 312-322; Gouda 1995: 137)

Then in 1997 came a new phase in my academic training when the Australian government scholarship supported my Master degree programme at the University of New England,

Armidale, New South Wales, Australia. Through the project of archaeological and paleontological research in Central Flores of my supervisor Mike Morwood, I conducted ethno-archaeological field work on the Ngadha megalith villages. When I visited my home town, Yogyakarta, Central Java in order to prepare for my field work in the Ngadha Regency, Central Flores, I found most of my family, colleagues and friends were concerned about my safety. They thought Flores was an arid remote island on the eastern frontier of the Indonesian archipelago where there was lack of public facilities and where small prehistoric ethnic groups lived in the heart of jungles in mountainous regions, while still maintaining a slash-burn cultivation life-style. As will be discussed in Chapter 1, their perspective on Flores' environment and cultural tradition was shaped by the Indonesian government's construction of the modern Indonesian nation identity. Overall, the government regarded Flores people as primitive, static and backward and perceived them as deviations from the Indonesian cultural mainstream. It was the government's responsibility to guide them to meet the standard of the modern Indonesian citizens' social and cultural life-style (Persoon 1998: 287, 290). This Indonesian government policy was reminiscent of the Dutch colonial government's effort to modernise the indigenous people of the East Indies. Guided by the Indonesian government's concept of nation unity, by the Indonesian people's prejudice regarding Flores Island and my archaeological training, I imagined my field work as a romantic adventure to a mysterious place with an exotic, unchanging cultural tradition, where the people still practiced a prehistoric way of life.

Understanding of the meaning of megalith villages in contemporary society

During the two and a half months of fieldwork in the Ngadha megalith villages and two weeks assisting at my supervisor Morwood's excavation in Soa Basin valley in Nage Keo, (Morwood, et al. 1999: 273-286) I gradually experienced the archaeological discourse outside the academic atmosphere. It was evident that as an archaeologist I was not only supposed to deal with finding artefacts from prehistoric archaeological sites but was also involved in day-to-day observation of the way in which megalith monuments were used by the villagers to achieve social ends. This is what is meant by ethno-archaeology. From this experience, I realised that archaeological work produces two results - first, the construction, particularly via archaeological excavation, to produce a narrative of the past. Second, ethno-archaeology research maintains the establishment of past narratives to support and legitimise significant political, social and cultural issues in the present.

After completing the excavation, artefacts recovered from the prehistoric sites in Soa Basin valley were identified, classified, dated and compared, noting their similarities and differences, with other Indonesian and world prehistoric sites. Next, the excavation report

described the ancient natural environment and the development of prehistoric tools in a neat timeline of a chronological sequence regarding the process of human evolution (Morwood, et al. 1999: 273-274). This new narrative of the past was transmitted through national and international academic journals, for instance *Antiquity* (Morwood, et al. 1999). In turn, the Indonesian government absorbed this information to legitimise and justify how they positioned the Flores people as still living in the Stone Age (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 233). This stigmatisation showed that archaeological excavation to unfold the past was directed toward actual issues in present-day society, such as identity, ethnicity and nation unity. Meanwhile I realised that my ethno-archaeological fieldwork on the Ngadha megalith village was related more to the cultural heritage discourse in the present than to archaeological historical debates that had occurred in the past. My fieldwork was intended to extend beyond the level of description and discussed socio-anthropological aspects such as power, knowledge, authority and identity. It made me think about the stakeholders' involvement, and the local community's claim to their cultural heritage and to a larger role in the cultural heritage management discourse, which was dominated by the Indonesian government's policy. In other words, this fieldwork experience undermined my somewhat naive notion of archaeologists as adventurous antiquarians whose task is to reconstruct an image of past civilisations and unfold the real truth of the past. On the other hand it shaped my new view that archaeologists should actively take the role as interpreters of the way in which archaeological sites, monuments and artefacts or material culture are used as a media to achieve social purpose in the present time.

When I finished my fieldwork on the Ngadha megalith village in June 1998 and six months later submitted my Master degree thesis, (Sudarmadi 1999) I considered that the most valuable result of my thesis was an understanding of the meaning of Ngadha megalith villages in contemporary society. For the Ngadha, megalith villages serve to create, reinforce and maintain their ideology, group identity, social organisation, structure of authority, rights to the use of resources in integrating different cultural aspects of society, and as material assets in the processes of negotiation and political dispute (Sudarmadi 1999). However, given the continued intensification of the Indonesian government's project of nation-building and acceleration of the programme of standardisation of Indonesian cultural heritage programmes, I noticed how this Ngadha megaliths cultural heritage had become the subject of ignorance, marginalisation and subordination in the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage management.

This has resulted in the main research question that governs this PhD thesis, regarding the way in which Indonesian heritage is acquired, produced, communicated and contested,

particularly in connection with the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage project to strengthen the notion of national unity and the tension with Indonesian people initiative to manage their local cultural heritage in a wider social, economic and political context. To understand this, it is also relevant to investigate whether and if so, how the Indonesian cultural heritage management was imbued by the colonial legacy of cultural heritage practices. Against this background, I planned this PhD research by focusing on the cultural heritage in the island of Flores, the small island in East Indonesia that claims rights and more autonomy under the nation state's cultural heritage hegemony. In order to investigate the Indonesian government's cultural heritage practice on the island of Flores and experience the day-to-day cultural heritage atmosphere of the local people, I have conducted this cultural heritage research on two present day ethnic groups, namely the Ngadha of Central Flores and the Manggaraian of West Flores.

Most part of the Indonesian Archipelago encountered Dutch Colonialism during the 18th and 19th centuries. As the apparatus of the Dutch Colonial government imposed a new system of Western knowledge that is deeply embedded in the everyday life of Indonesian people today, it is relevant to pose the question whether and if so, how this Western discourse exerted its influence on the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage management. Supposing that the Indonesian nation state inherited colonial cultural practices, what are the implications of this inheritance for the Indonesian nation state's project of national unity?

This also leads to the extent of the shared vision of the Indonesian nation in order to legitimise the existence of the state in this specific territory. It seems that the Indonesian nation state's project maintained coercive national homogeneity and conformity, while acknowledging the wide diversity of Indonesian ethnic groups, languages, cultures and religious practices. So how is the Indonesian collective memory on nation building constructed? Whose collective memories will be recounted, remembered and preserved and whose collective memories will be erased and forgotten? In addition, how can they change the Indonesian nation's discourse? These questions with respect to the Indonesian nation's cultural heritage formation will be discussed in the thesis in the context of the nature and forms of Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage. What are the nature and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage that will be adopted in the Indonesian nation's project of national unity and its interaction with local identity formation? What is the position of Manggarain and the Ngadha cultural heritage in such a project?

While the Indonesian state stresses the golden age in the history of the Javanese major ethnic group, i.e., the Majapahit kingdom, in building a solid grand narrative of national identity (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983b: 420-456), other minor ethnic groups such

as the Ngadha and the Manggaraian are marginalised and viewed as 'other'. In turn, they eagerly add their role in the history of the formation of the Indonesian nation's glorious past. This is clearly seen in the local history book '*Pengaruh Majapahit atas Kebudayaan Nusa Tenggara Timur*' (Kolit 1982) and will be discussed later in Chapters 3, r 6 and 7. This study is also concerned with questions such as the temporal (chronological) and social context of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage. It will discuss why the Indonesian government's project of national unity or its top-down heritage management approach seems inappropriate for greater participation of the local populations with opportunities to develop their own Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage management. Is there an alternative? Would a bottom-up heritage management approach be more appropriate and create more space for Ngadha and Manggaraian' democratisation of their heritage and more flexible participation in heritage management? This also relates to the extent to which in the future the Manggaraian and the Ngadha will be able to position their cultural heritage in the global, national and local heritage discourse that they encounter.

Following these questions, my research agenda has moved toward the specificity of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cases regarding the Indonesian state's cultural heritage custodianship. Hence, my research examines continuity in the ways in which these people use their megalith villages to construct their identity, their dynamic history and their cultural change as well. For this purpose I have worked in various megalith village sites, studied moveable artefacts and colonial ethnographic records, and investigated oral history. The rich and various kinds of data potentially support the integration of archaeological, historical and anthropological insights into the colourful pictures of the Indonesian state and the Flores people – the Manggaraian and the Ngadha in particular - in the cultural heritage management discourse. For this reason, and as explained below, I address my research methods in a multidisciplinary realm produced at the intersection of archaeology, history and anthropology. An important reason for this interdisciplinary study is that archaeological methods reveal traces of human behaviour in the past concerning the production, commodification, consumption, maintenance and disposal of material culture and ecofacts – plant remains, bones and shells- as well as the archaeological site modification that affect social and cultural interaction. Using historical methods this ancient human past daily-life is filtered and compared with archival and oral history to view change and continuity in a framework of a long- term time line. It is interesting to see for instance, whether and how oral traditions concerning the past differ from the past that is constructed on the basis of archaeological finds. Finally, the anthropological approach enables an examination of the production, fabrication and invention of past history in the present.

As my PhD thesis is attached to the project 'Sites, Bodies and Stories: The Dynamics of Heritage Formation in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands' of VU University which has been funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) research programme, I investigate the way features from the past were used and recycled in order to legitimise the present in the Indonesian archipelago from before encountering the Dutch colonial rulers to the present day. Focusing on the process of heritage formation in the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith village sites, I explore the way in which the people are imposing their claims for their ancestors, managing their dynamic identity, and constructing new understanding about themselves in the local, national and global domain. To gain a better understanding of their resistance, acceptance, adaption and adoption of the colonial and postcolonial discourse and heritage practices. This will be investigated with the Manggaraian and the Ngadha tangible and intangible heritage as an integral data entity i.e. archaeological sites, megalith village (Sites), human remains, dance, music and ritual performance (Bodies), portable artefacts, myths of origin, local histories (Stories). While the subordination of certain data, for example related to Sites, might result in the negation of alternative methods and perspectives in the cultural heritage management practice, my data integration opens the gate for dialogue between archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches. Furthermore, interrelationship between 'Sites, Bodies and Stories' data enables my exploitation of the possibilities and limitations of this interdisciplinary method in cultural heritage management. To this end my thesis might shed more light on a new understanding of the cultural heritage management discourse, not only for academics in archaeology, history and anthropology, but also for stakeholders in cultural heritage management in the local, national and global arena.

Brief outline of the Study

Today most Indonesian heritage practitioners still focus exclusively on heritage as a homogeneous phenomenon, mostly associated with national pride and identity. There is too little resonance of the discussions by heritage experts in America, Australia and European countries who no longer deal with the perception of heritage as a fixed representation of the absolute truth of events in the past. In Indonesia too, heritage experts should be persuaded to consider the possibility that heritage is constructed, and this process of construction is enriched by the interplay between different contexts such as the economic, social, or political context, religion and culture. Cultural heritage is socially constructed, which also brings us to the notion of polysemous heritage interpretation. Moreover, this idea enriches the meaning of cultural heritage not only in terms of its value to expose national identity, but also to unfold its value to the public and its significance to people who are culturally or historically linked to

the resource (ethnic value). As this concept is applied, the cultural heritage management practices become more democratic since it allows grassroots participation on cultural heritage management and encourages a bottom-up approach.

The aims and objectives of my cultural heritage research in the present day ethnic group the Ngadha of Central Flores and the Manggaraian of West Flores involve a concise history of Indonesian cultural heritage management based on existing anthropological, archaeological and cultural heritage studies. Moreover, the representation of Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage will be delineated in the local, national and international context. Since this cultural heritage is found in museums outside Indonesian, in national museums and in most parts of the Manggarai and Ngadha region, comparison between the different representations and the ways in which such heritage is represented can yield important insights into the dynamic process of inclusion and exclusion with respect to Manggaraian and Ngadha cultural heritage.

The recording of Ngadha and Manggaraian cultural heritage has been done with survey plans, excavation, interviews and data base collections to show the cultural heritage chronology, the material cultures, the structure and their spatial patterns in relation to their ideology, memory and social organisation. This is based on the assumption that if this heritage encodes meaning, it would be visible in the way in which elements of cultural heritage are organised in connection to one another. In other words, the meaning of these sites could be manifested in the relationship between spatial patterning of the archaeological record and social activities.

This study also involves an ethnographic investigation of uses and functions of cultural heritage sites. Here an explicit semiotic perspective will be utilised in which the actual role of cultural heritage sites will be determined by their wider social role. One must be aware that these heritage sites are given their meaning not by their relationships to ancestral and religious purposes, but by their place in a complex system of culture, such as institutions, politics, histories, behaviours, ceremonies, and ideologies (Melas 1989). This implies that the meaning of cultural heritage sites does not lie in themselves, but in their wider context of use. Moreover, the project will examine where these sites are still used, what material evidence remains for their function, and how this will be manifested in the archaeological record. Through fieldwork living cultural heritage sites have been documented, with particular emphasis on the interaction between material culture and human behaviour in order to explore how they are used by the government, non-governmental institutions and the local ethnic communities, especially in terms of the ways in which they are connected with social strategy.

The heritage management of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, as Avery (1999) argues, has to take as its starting point that unless the values of heritage are accepted, any form of cultural heritage management will be contested and possibly sabotaged. Therefore, by observing the ways in which the Manggarai and the Ngadha cultural heritage are used for social ends (i.e., cultural capital, commodification, social and political) I will try to analyse the nature of the contests and determine ways in which various interest groups can negotiate. The thesis will be divided into three parts, with eight chapters, as follows.

Part 1 provides a general background and historical context of this study, which reaches far beyond the scope of the case study of Manggaraian and Ngadha heritage formation in Flores. Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical framework and establishes the major concepts addressed throughout the thesis. The paradigm shift concerning cultural heritage -- from the general notion that such antiquities were constructed for cultural capital to a recent concept whereby cultural heritage is viewed as socially constructed -- allows this to be seen as a medium for information exchange in mediating social ends. This will provide clues to the way in which cultural heritage might encode meaning. The chapter will explain the rationale for ethno-archaeological research and semiotic analysis, which is applied in this thesis primarily to reveal the information embedded in Flores cultural heritage. Chapter 2 gives an extensive periodisation of the cultural heritage policies and archaeological practices in Indonesia. In broad strokes, it focuses on three periods: 19th- 20th Century under Dutch colonial rule, after 1945 under Sukarno, and after 1965 under Suharto. It discusses how the emergence of cultural heritage institutions is entwined not only with socio-economic state policies (like the ethical policy, guided democracy and the five year plans) but also with the historiography on the Indonesian nation. More specifically, it investigates how Dutch and Indonesian archaeologists have positioned themselves in these events.

Part II introduces the island of Flores and its people, the Ngadha and Manggaraian in particular. Chapter 3 presents the natural setting of the island of Flores and its environmental features. The varieties of ethnic groups, languages, general cultural heritage, ethnic group distribution, their history and previous research in archaeology and anthropology are mentioned. Such a description offers insight into the ways in which the Florenese people deal with multiple identities, related to their ethnicity and clan affiliation, to their being known outside of Flores as Florenese, and their Indonesian citizenship with its contested history under the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building and unity. Chapters 4 and 5 provide a more detailed ethnography and ethno-archaeology of the cultural heritage of Ngadha and Manggaraian with the focus on the megalith villages. It describes the spatial distribution of these villages in the Ngadha and Manggarai regions, their site plans, chronology, ethnic affiliation and social organisation. The coalescence of

ethnography and ethno-archaeology information can present in details the contexts of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage construction.

Chapter 6, the final chapter of this part, focuses on the history of the representation of the natures and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage, which are found and preserved in the collections of a former Colonial Museum in the Netherlands, the National Museum in Jakarta and the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province Museum in Kupang. It argues that the three museums, each in a different way, still struggle with the collection practices from colonial times, and the implicit cultural hierarchies attached to the objects collected from people whose living megaliths culture was and is understood as primitive and backwards.

Part III focuses on contemporary heritage dynamic. In Chapter 7 I question the role of Indonesian government's cultural heritage institutions in practicing cultural heritage management 'in the service of the state', especially in the context of the decentralisation policies in the Reformation era. How do those policies affect the Manggaraian and the Ngadha in their day-to-day and formal dealing with their cultural heritage, do they affect their decision-making, and signifying practices – cultural, social, historical, economic, ideology and political – with respect to their tangible and intangible heritage? Fieldwork reveals two sides of these questions related to the top-down approach of government heritage institutions and the negotiation of the people at the local level regarding everyday perspectives on the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage.

Chapter 8 demonstrates that the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage are produced through the social actor's manipulations. I use my own excavation results at Warloka site, Manggarai, West Flores to show the participation of the people in all the processes, from decision-making through to the management of heritage resources and how they are used to construct and pursue of social ends. My fieldwork principle includes both public government and private enterprises at the national and international levels. Further in this chapter two important issues will be addressed. First, I argue that heritage practices are dynamic, fluid and continuous including creation, recovery, invention and memorisation. Second, based on my study I offer suggestions for a bottom-up cultural heritage management practice that has emerged as a critical response to top-down heritage management.

The last part of my thesis provides brief conclusions drawn from this research and places them in the recent framework of Indonesian cultural heritage studies. It considers the relevance of this research for the practices of new approaches to cultural heritage

management in Indonesia. Furthermore, issues that remain unresolved in this research and direction for future research are outlined.

Methodology

My study aims to determine the specificity of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage case regarding their marginalisation with respect to cultural development and traditional life, not only in the past, but also in the present. As such, I illustrate how megalith villages in Manggarai and Ngadha have produced a history of social and cultural values. Later, I investigate the way in which these megalith villages function and how their meanings are articulated by particular agents with social and cultural strategies, for example the villagers, the nation state, and international institutions. The following sections deal with my selection of Manggarai and Ngadha megalith villages, megalith village properties, recording techniques, sampling strategies, the major limitations of my research and data analysis.

Spatial mapping

Between the end of 1997 and the beginning of 2011 a series of campaigns regarding Manggarai and Ngadha cultural heritage were undertaken (November 1997 to February 1998, June to August 2001, May to August 2003 and January 2010 to January 2011). In the first of these, research was focused on the megalith villages in the Ngadha region. The second was centred on the clan properties of megalith villages in the Ngadha region. From May to August 2003 investigations were carried out in order to trace the megalith villages and clan properties in the Manggarai region. In the last campaign research focused on the Manggarai and the Ngadha cultural heritage discourse and resulted in the excavation of the Warloka site in the West Manggarai Province.

The selection of the sites for this study was determined as much by the chance preservation of archaeological data as by consideration of the indications of social organisation of the practice of megalithic ceremonies. In addition, research sites were selected because of the willingness of individuals to cooperate, the convenience of the situation for the researcher and contacts already established by the researcher. Using these criteria, Ruteng Puu and Todo in the Manggarai Regency and Bena, Nage, Gurusina and Wogo in the Ngadha Regency, were considered important in representing the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages.

Bena was chosen because this site represents the Ngadha megalith village that is built on the ridge of a mountain or hill. In addition, Bena is well-known as the most consistently traditional village in Ngadha within the current time period. On the other hand, Gurusina was selected since this site illustrates the Ngadha megalith village that is built on flat land.

Furthermore, one can recognise signs of modernity such as electricity posts installed in the courtyard, and modern furniture placed on the inner veranda of the houses. The comparison of two different special and chronological contexts of these sites allows more thorough examination of the cultural dynamics. Both Todo and Ruteng Puu were chosen because these sites are the last survivors of the megalith villages in the West Manggarai and Manggarai regions. While Ruteng Puu was constructed in relatively recent times and is related to the recent Manggaraian clan, Todo was established as early as the Dutch colonial period as the palace of a local kingdom and the capital of the Dutch colonial government in Manggarai.

The Warloka site has been deliberately selected for excavation since it is mentioned in oral history as the place where the first ancestor of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha landed after a long migration journey. While this site has the largest megalith remains in the Manggarai region, it is likely that it represents well-preserved archaeological remains. Furthermore, observation on this site has been conducted since the Dutch colonial period and excavations were carried out here under the aegis of the Indonesian nation state. Hence, the combination of historical records and archaeological data supplies an attractive body of evidence for a good understanding of cultural heritage discourse of this site.

Limited time and resources were the major constraints affecting my collection of data for this research. Accordingly, the excavation had to be limited to only one month. Ideally, excavation for at least 3 months is required to arrive at the deepest strata for human activities. Similarly, the documentation of the living culture in the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages were hindered by a lack of public transport and natural obstacles in reaching the remote location, and by the fact that there was a ritual ceremony in two different places at the same time. To compensate, I utilised data from previous ethnographic studies of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha as well as results from my own fieldwork in 2010-11, preceding these intensive investigations. In fact, for some aspects of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha life I was not able to observe during my stay I have relied entirely on the ethnographic information supplied by other researchers.

My excavation was also impeded by a dispute between Warloka village and Kenari village concerning an earlier election for village head and the refusal of my excavation plans by a number of Kenari village elders. The first dispute made it difficult for me to hire people to do the digging, while the latter resulted in a substantial delay in my excavation time schedule. In retrospect however, these disputes provided crucial information on the Manggaraian political life, decision-making and enriched the practice of grassroots cultural heritage management.

A final limitation resulted from the sensibilities of villagers. They often view proposed archaeological work, especially mapping and excavation, with suspicion, fearing government interference in the management of their properties. As a result, I was unable to map in detail a number of potential archaeological sites in Kalurahan Warloka. Furthermore, I was not allowed to excavate a potential site in Warloka village, since the ownership of much of the land on which the site was located was heavily disputed. All these limitations will be addressed in the following chapters.

The layout of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages not only concerns the physical space of material culture, but also incorporates aspects of social structure, cosmology and ideology. As explained below and elaborated in the conclusion, in this thesis these three domains will be 'charted' on three dynamic and interrelated maps - spatial, social and ideological. My collection of data includes a baseline plan of four villages showing natural and structural features; photography of the village lay-out, individual structures and their contents and related inquiry among local people. Considering the time limitation and the large areas of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages, baseline surveys were undertaken as a means for quickly obtaining fairly accurate plans of villages, their structural components and their environmental contexts. Further, this method functioned as a spatial map that marks the location of the Manggarian and the Ngadha megaliths not only in the local landscapes and national geographical spots, but also in the world atlas.

Using an open traverse survey strategy, a series of connected baselines were established at convenient points along the villages, and the length and orientation of each was measured with a 20 m tape and a compass, respectively. Ranging poles were positioned at the ends of each baseline (station) to ensure accuracy in the taking of compass bearings. Structural features of each village were plotted using off-set measurements from baseline sections. Care was taken to ensure that off-set measurements were vertical to the relevant baselines. Station numbers, baseline measurements, compass bearings, off-set measurements and the nature of specific structures were used for drawings of each village plan as the survey proceeded (Hobbs 1983: 43-48). Finally, Global Positioning System (GPS) was used to mark the station numbers and baseline measurement. Given the geographic position system point, then the megalith villages can be located and put on the local map (the Ngadha and the Manggaraian Regency) , the national map (the Indonesian Republic map) -and the global map(the world map).

After each village plan was completed, the various structures, such as the village entrance-exit, courtyards, stone uprights, stone tables, graves, houses, toilets, pigsties and rubbish dumps were determined and labelled on the map. In addition, notes were taken on the size

of domestic houses, number of rooms in each house, location of fireplaces, storage areas, forms of the megaliths, etc. Using information from the site guardian, elders and the head of the megalith villages, the names of various structures and other representative objects were recorded. Finally the ideology map was constructed according to the megalith village plan and local information on the traditional house, megalith structures and surrounding landscape.

Audio-visual documentation

The most efficient means for rapid recording of many levels of information, ranging from general site environment, to the particular elements of megalith villages and the specific forms of villagers' knowledge were photography and digital video camera. This equipment offers not only the ability to represent visual reality, but also to preserve visual memory. Accordingly they provide a technology for the manner in which memory is experienced, especially by virtue of their narrative sequence and their temporal engagement. In short, the mediated forms of images that are delineated in the digital photograph or digital video allow us to embrace past elements, to see and to hear again past events, thereby offering visual posterity as well as auditory access to historical space and time. Indeed, such tools create illusions, as if they can bring the past back in the present moment and trigger the feeling of 'being there'. It is no wonder that digital camera and digital video are used as tools for storing individual and collective memory (Zerubavel 2003: 6; Connerton 2006: 317-318)

For this reason, a digital camera Canon EOS 50 was used in my field work, with an 18 mm lens for all close-up photography and 200mm lens for general views of sites and environmental contexts. Different lighting conditions were exploited, and both flash and long exposure shots (using a tripod) were used when light was poor. Colour photographs were taken of all structures as well as general views of each village and its general environment. Photographs included scales ranging from 10 cm to 200 cm in size. In order to organise photographic data, all photos are cross-referenced to each village survey plan. For example, BN 1 Bena megalith village; BN1-5 Bena megalith village entrance; RP 1 Ruteng Puu megalith village; RP 1-80 Ruteng Puu megalith village exit, and so on.

A Sony digital video camera was also used to represent the megalith village landscape, the day-to-day life of the villagers, the ritual performances and when interviewing the people who inhabited the megalith villages. These records illustrate the relationship between the landscape, cultural traditions and collective identity. In short, my video documentation aimed to achieve social relationship maps or community maps. As Grasseni (2012: 99-100) insists, such video project documentation should not only focus on representation of a landscape, a community and territory, but also emphasise the process by which tangible and intangible

cultural heritage play roles in mediating social ends. Hence, this process of video documentation needs the villagers' involvement and participation through their social expressions that are rooted in their daily traditional conventions, social environments and rituals.

Following the photographic data organisation, all my video documents are cross-referenced to each interview and ritual performance. For example, VCR- TD C 1-2 Todo Caci ritual; VCR- NGR 1-5 Nage Reba ceremony; VCR-LBI SG 1-3 Liang Bua interview Liang Bua site guardian interview, and so on. The digital photograph records and the digital video data are archived on compact disc, computer hard disc and external hard disc. Storing the visual records on these media aims to provide a basic archive that can be easily accessed from simple audio-visual computer program and can be consolidated from time to time (Grasseni 2012: 97-106).

The plans and photographs of the four megalith villages in Manggarai and Ngadha region document the spatial relationships between their structural components. They also provide clues to various symbolic relationships e.g. between the symbol of a megaliths clan material culture and the residential patterns of the clan. However, these relationships only become apparent in creating social relationships maps that systematically integrate data from village settlement maps and photographs with information from local inhabitants. The way in which the various sorts of data are coalesced, reflects an ethno-archaeology investigation, which is an archaeological study focused on recent human behaviour engagement with material culture in a specific cultural context (Charlton 1981: 132, 163, Kramer 1979: 2; Schiffer 1978: 239; Gould 1974: 38-39).

Interviews
Given the previous paucity of ethnographic information on the Manggaraians and the Ngadha megalith village settlement patterns, obtaining more such information was an important part of the research programme. I began by making contact with the megalith village site guardians, the elders who held positions of authority in their villages, had detailed ritual knowledge and controlled village resources. These people and their friends provided the basis for my network of informants. There were limited opportunities to conduct interviews (i.e. no more than 3 with any specific individual), so for consistency and coverage I prepared an interview guide, which was a written list of questions and topics to be covered in a particular order. However, this interview guide had no closed questions and it was a kind of qualitative unstructured interviewing. While the interview guide functioned as a general plan to address certain topics, a more free-flowing interview followed. In case the interviewee wandered too far from the topic under discussion, such a list would remind the

interviewer to bring the interviewee slowly and gently back to the topic list (O'Reilly 2005: 115-122; Bernard 1988: 205; Oswalt 1974: 7-8). Table 1 gives the brief checklist of topics comprised.

Table 1 – Interview guide	14. Usage by whom ?
1. When was the megalith village built, by whom and under what circumstances?	15. Context of usage.
	16. Intensity of usage.
2. The site selection process.	17. Variability of usage.
3. The process of the installation of the megalith village settlement.	18. Value of the artefacts.
	19. Ownership of artefacts.
4. Gender, age and social status of the persons involved.	20. Gifts, to whom?
	21. Trade, with whom?
5. Time and effort or cost.	22. Waste and disposal.
6. Modification of the natural setting as a result of the construction of the megalith village.	23. Marriage and kinship.
	24. Social organisation.
7. Villagers' taxonomies of each megalith village element.	25. Economic organisation.
	26. Political system.
8. How to distinguish the makers on the basis of forms alone.	27. Ideological system.
	28. Kinds of megalith village ritual.
9. How the same type of material from different places can be identified.	29. Who organises?
	30. Where and when performed?
10. Archaic forms and their uses.	31. Sequence and steps of ritual performances.
11. Variations in procedures or materials.	32. Supernatural and mythological involvements.
12. Decorative elements, what they mean, and how they are acquired.	33. Gender, age and social status of the persons involved
13. Supernatural and mythological involvements.	34. Time and cost.

After the megalith villages in Manggarai and Ngadha region were mapped and a range of ethnographic information collected, the two data sets were integrated. Correlation between the Manggaraians and the Ngadha settlement patterns and socio-cultural patterns were then identified, enabling the outlining of supposedly general cultural values and conventions governing the layout of villages. Some of the information inherent in a specific village lay-out was there by explained. This included the placement of megaliths.

Excavation

The Warloka site excavation, in archaeological terms, was a 'looking for' empirical evidence, with a huge number of artefacts – tangible heritage - that might support these ethnic root histories and mythical narratives. However, my starting point was that there is no 'real' past. Representations of the past are invented by the agent's social, cultural and political purposes in the present. Thus my project was essentially to understand the significance of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha myths of origin at the Warloka site. To this end, the results

of my excavations suggerst that the dynamics between oral histories at village level, recorded by scholars, addressed by goverment instution and presented at international forums, can change fundamentally through direct interventions like an excavation.

The location of my excavation programme was selected on the basis of purposive sampling rather than random sampling. In this case the artefacts density in the surface soil, the landscape undisturbed by human activities and the permission of the land owner were the primary factors that determined my excavation spot selection. The excavation method was based on square unit sizes of 1 x 2 and 2 x 2 meters and this format was dug by trowels in 15 cm levels. In cases where natural stratigraphy was obvious, then the level followed it. Artefacts found during unfolding soil level or stratigraphy were collected in plastic bags and were labelled directly at the site (i.e. ceramic fragments, pottery stone tools, human bones etc). A more thorough examination – classification, human bone analysis, artefacts analysis, relative and absolute dating - was conducted after the excavation was finished (within the time periode of this research it has not been possible to also get a DNA analysis of the human remains). Unit level and stratigraphy sections were numbered and labelled. Next each unit level or stratigraphy was drawn and photographed. Given such consideration, the artefacts' finding positions in the unit strata and the unit stratigraphy correlation can be related and compared. This procedure is explained in Chapter 8.

Collection research

As the movable artefacts of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha who lived in megalith villages over a long period were inherited, passed back and forth through a number of villagers and legally or illegally became valuable commodities, they generated their own life histories. Following Orser's (1996), Appadurai's (1986) and Kopytoff's (1986) studies on the mechanisms and processes of material culture life histories, in particular time and space, it was important to carry out historical research on the manner in which such artefacts travelled from their original context and how the new context of Dutch and Indonesian museums changed their meaning. This focus on the life history and cultural biography of objects illuminates the development process of these collections, the impact they have had over time – colonial and post-colonial - and their continuous role in the contemporary world. The three museum collections and displays selected for this study, the Tropenmuseum (formerly Dutch Colonial Museum), the Indonesian National Museum, and the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province Museum collection, represent the way in which the Indonesian government constructs the global, national and local dimension of ethnographic canon formation. In turn this construction frames the Manggaraian and the Ngadha tangible and intangible heritage policies and practice.

Part I – Background and context

Archaeology and cultural heritage management: an interdisciplinary approach

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and cultural heritage management concept. It seeks to show why archaeology is related to cultural heritage management. Further, it analyses archaeological knowledge and heritage management discourse in a changing, historically situated social practice and in specific contexts according to particular relations of power (Lidchi 2007: 184-187). To this end, archaeology and cultural heritage management are positioned as contemporary social knowledge constructions that generate discourses on the way in which the past and the present interact between social, political and cultural contexts.

Theoretical framework: archaeology, anthropology and historical methods

Broadly speaking, archaeology is a social science that studies past human activities and past cultural processes through artefacts – material remains of the past. In this manner archaeology helps to provide modern people with an understanding of the way of life, culture and social structure of past societies via human made objects that were left unintentionally (Watkins 2012: 257; Domanska 2006: 172; Johnson 2010: 1-2; Trigger 1989: 19). While such remnants have a biography of their own in the past cultural contexts concerned – procurement, manufacture, use, maintenance and discard – and are deposited in the archaeological context sites and historical landscapes (Schiffer 1976: 46-47), archaeologists cannot interview and question these artefacts since they are 'silent' objects. Under these circumstances, archaeologists produce knowledge of the past by inferring human behaviour and ideas from these material objects. Accordingly, traditional archaeologists believe that the physical form of artefacts in themselves will inform us what the past was like and simply collect, assemble and collate such antiquities for their own sake.

Following Gustaf Kossinna's 1911 formulation, traditional archaeology moved towards a nationalist archaeology paradigm. Kossinna dedicated archaeological research to the discovery and confirmation of the origin and roots of European ancestors. His publication '*Die Herkunft der Germanen*' (The Origin of the Germans) identified historically known ethnic groups with the distribution of particular types of artefacts that were discovered in archaeological excavations. Mapping the distribution of artefact types and correlating these types to a certain ethnic group, he argued that at some point it would be possible to track the location and the ancestors of this ethnic group. Such an approach was clearly seen in his study of the Indo-European speaking people, particularly the blond, longheaded Nordic

(Aryan) racial group as the direct ancestors of the present Germans. Further, he insisted that this Aryan race originated in Northern Germany from the early Mesolithic Maglemosian culture and claimed that it was the superior race in the world. In short, his work not only organised archaeological data of the prehistory of each European race, but also related and elaborated such data to a particular ancient race as a way to construct a mosaic of ancient European ethnic cultures (Trigger 1989: 163-167). However, I argue this approach not only led archaeologists to emphasise their research on prehistory sites, but also to search archaeological sites that could render artefact finds from the oldest chronological sequence. Moreover, this perspective came to support belief in the superiority of the own race, nation or ethnic group and marginalised 'others'.

Fourteen years later, a growing preoccupation with glorifying the national ancestor encouraged the rise of cultural history approach in archaeological study. In *The Dawn of European Civilization* (1925), Gordon Childe adopted Kossinna's concept of the artefact types distribution but abandoned his chauvinistic notion of origin. However, rather than marking the artefact types as the representation of cultural stage and ethnic technological development – the Three-Age system of Stone, Bronze and Iron Age, and the primitive and modern stages of development - Childe's main purpose was to trace artefact types as the delineation of historical culture, particularly as an expression of ancient norms and ideas. In addition, he argued that the expression of such norms and ideas defined what European ethnic culture is, i.e. the *Linearbandkeramik* culture, *Trichterbandkeramik* culture in Neolithic Europe. Thus artefact types were used to identify the development of social, economic and cultural norms – hunter-gatherer; agriculture and modern civilisation. In short, Childe regarded culture as a set of ideas and norms that were held in common and were transferred along the chain of lineage of a particular society from age to age. Thus archaeological study should be more focused on the artefact makers – who portray the historical life of extinct societies - than on the artefacts as dead fossils (Johnson 2010: 16-18; Trigger 1989: 60-61, 149, 167-174, 293). This point of view has been criticised for its emphasis on an unchanging and particularising tendency of ancient society as perceived by archaeologists. For example, Childe excavated artefacts from present archaeological sites, classified these findings into groups and named such groups after fixed archaeological cultural characteristics. His method stressed differences between artefacts, specific features and particular forms, rather than what they have in common. Hence, in the *Linearbandkeramik* archaeological culture archaeologists found rectangular house forms, pottery marked with linear design and an agricultural economic system On the other hand, *Trichterbandkeramik* archaeological culture architectural house form, pottery style and economic activities were all different. As these two archaeological cultures showed fixed and

unchanging characteristics, the only way to explain cultural change was through external influence, such as diffusion and migration (Johnson 2010: 18-19): but why would there not also be internal cultural change?

Not until 1960 did archaeologists in the United States embark on this cultural history approach. Rather than emphasising the never-ending artefact collection activities without setting an appropriate general theory, they were more concerned with using artefacts to test hypotheses about ways of life in the past. Using the term 'New Archaeology', Binford (1964, 1965) theorised cultures as reflecting humans' *extrasomatic* means of adaptation. While animals adapted to their environment through their bodies, for example bison have thick skin and a lot of fur to survive the Savannah winter climate, the human adaptation to the environment is developed through culture, such as the Asmats of Papua who live in swampy areas and use canoes as a mode of transportation (Johnson 2010: 22-25; Acciaioli 2001: 7, 15; Triggers 1989: 296). It is clear from these examples that human practices outside (*extra*) the body (*somatic*) are the mechanism of cultural adaptation. Hence, culture was adaptive to the external environment. This notion led archaeological study to put more emphasis on cultural ecology and modelling of the human prehistory subsistence economy. The New Archaeology also developed ethno-archaeological approaches to observe 'contemporary peoples' behavioural engagement in the procurement, manufacture, use, discard and reuse of contemporary material culture. This research was used to generate analogies, models and rules for understanding associations between archaeological data records, material culture, environment and general laws of human behaviour (Charlton 1981: 132, 163, Kramer 1979: 2; Schiffer 1978: 239; Gould 1974: 38-39).In addition, this Processual Archaeology, as it was also called, promoted the study of environmental archaeology to provide information on long-term interaction between ancient human groups and the environment (Trigger: 1989: 313). Ceramology, or the study of ceramics, was now considered the early approach of the Processual Archaeology to infer the settlement pattern of prehistoric society (Trigger 1989: 300). In short, the material world discourse – settlement patterns, modes of production and cost-benefit decisions - was regarded as more significant, than a focus on the mental world, which focused rather on social agency, symbolic behaviour and cognitive archaeology (Johnson 2010: 24; Preucel and Hodder 1999a: 23-35; Preucel and Hodder 1999b: 299-312; Renfrew 1994: 5-6). As hard scientific techniques like Carbon dating, dendrochronology and pollen analysis were developed after World War II, the New Archaeology used these scientific techniques to support their academic methods. In this sense the New Archaeology had already made a significant shift from traditional cultural historical study, which was intuitive, inductive and descriptive, to studying scientific cultural

processes using logical positivism, deductive arguments aimed at constructing universal laws (Renfrew and Bahn 2012: 40-42; Johnson 2010: 24-27; Harrison and Schofield 2010: 22; Trigger 1989: 294-303).

This focus of 'New' or 'Processual Archaeology' on the construction of universal laws with respect to past human activities, while and describing processes of internal cultural change, lead to the acceptance of the essentialism tenet. For example, the general statement 'the collapse of the Maya civilisation in Central America is caused by population increase and the decline of agriculture production' is essential as it assumes a general law that a drive for procreation, which is engendered biologically and naturally in humans, is the main factor for the population growth (Johnson 2010: 72, 87). Whatever the case, this essentialist statement on the 'universal human' suggests unchanging time and static culture. Instead, one could argue that each age constructs particular knowledge of the past in the context of the present. This knowledge does not belong to the past. Archaeological data is discovered from the archaeological context in the present and framed by recent archaeologists' ideas, attitudes and assumptions. Thus, the past that archaeologists construct is also in the present. Indeed, archaeologists will never know what exactly the real past was until scientists invent a time machine (Handler 2003: 355; Johnson 2010: 12-14; Trigger 1989: 19).

Following this argument, the construction of archaeological knowledge can be regarded as an interpretative action and active interaction in the context of recent time and space, which also requires a historiography of archaeology. In the process of interpretation, archaeologists assign meaning and significance to artefacts, i.e. material culture, because such archaeological data is assumed to be symbolic of past human activities. To grasp the meaning in the archaeological data, archaeologists examine artefacts as text that can be read. While text is considered a manifestation of an underlying structure or grammar, its meaning is hidden in a set of grammatical rules. As Barthes argues, once the hidden rules that generate grammatical construction are uncovered, the text is explained (Johnson 2010: 94-95, 109; Olsen 2006: 87; Hodder 1986: 126). However, interpretation of material culture is more than merely recovering a preconceived message in text, since the object is constantly re-articulated in relation to other objects, repeatedly placed in different analytical contexts and associations and put to different uses. Thus new meanings are discovered as the relationships between them are reshuffled. Archaeologists, reading objects as texts, bring to it other assumptions, cultural values, voices and other texts that they have read before. As such, the meaning is outside the control and far beyond the intention of the author/maker. It is the archaeologist who reads the object as a text, who becomes the actor and who produces the new meaning (Johnson 2010: 110; Olsen 2006: 87; Tilley 1998: 308).

Emphasising the past social actor and the present archaeologist as writers and readers shifts the notion that meaning resides in the object itself and moves towards the idea that the reader makes sense of the object. This concept leads to the view that the readers approach objects with prior knowledge and prejudgment. While the readers impose their knowledge and prejudgment on the objects, the process is dialectical in a way that the readers mediate objects and also objects mediate the readers in a reflexive process resulting in knowledge of objects by the reader. Indeed, such a dialectical relationship never separates the past from the present or culture from society. Accordingly, it is linked to the heart of the hermeneutic approach, which investigates how an object is treated as text, separated from its author, detached from its production context, and entered into dialogue with other objects through the process of reader interpretation. Furthermore, the intentional act of producing meaning by the reader gives objects multiple layers of meaning and affirms the plurality of the 'objects' meaning. For all these reasons, I strongly support the hermeneutic perspective that different readers will read similar things differently and things are also being re-read by new readers in new contexts. The hermeneutic approach claims that interpretation is fluid and changes through time (Olsen 2006: 90; Hodder 2004: 28-30; Shank and Tilley 1994: 111). Hence there is crucial need in archaeology to develop an understanding of the relation between past and present, other societies and culture, contemporary society, the archaeologist's interpretation of the site, and the archaeologist's society that constructs the interpretation (Shank and Hodder 1998: 76).

This approach is clearly shown in Henry Glassie's (1999: 47-58) book 'Material Culture'. He describes the hand-made carpet by the female weaver Aysel, who lives in Karagömlek village in north-western Turkey. Later, through exchange in the trading process this carpet is detached from its production context and separated from the carpet maker. While this carpet gets a new context in the Covered Bazaar in Istanbul city, Turkey, a German tourist couple buys it as a souvenir of their tour to Turkey. As the German couple put it in their home, especially as a part of their interior decor, they also imbue a new meaning to the carpet - a memory of the sun in the tropical beach and a representation of their taste in art. As time goes by, their son preserves this carpet as family heritage, since it triggers a childhood memory of a rainy day, the moment when he lay upon it and played with his shiny tin soldiers. Later, he marries and has a son. One day, his son finds the carpet torn and worn, and he reuses it as a bed for his dog. After he passes away, his son finds the carpet in tatters in his father's house and he puts it in the trash can. Soon it is dumped in a landfill and deposited in an archaeological context. In a similar manner Kopytoff (1986) introduced the concept of the 'cultural biography' of a material culture. As Glassie portrayed the social live of material culture, Kopytoff elaborated the life history of a material culture throughout its

existence in space and time contexts. Given an example of the huts of the Suku of Zaire in Africa that commenced their function as houses and as time went by were transformed into guest houses, widows' houses, finally, such huts ended as kitchens or goat or chicken houses (Kopytoff 1986: 193).

For Glassie and Kopytoff, the significance of hermeneutics lies in its ability to investigate the process by which meaning is produced rather than passively recovered. In addition, by studying the carpet's life history and the huts cultural biography both Glassie and Kopytoff reveal the way in which things interweave and show themselves - in a variety of networks of relations - to the people who are deeply rooted in a cultural tradition, attached in a social network and committed to pursue their future dream (Orser 1996: 193; Olsen 2006: 90; Thomas 2006: 46). However, in this example the carpet is situated within a complex web of experiences in different places and associated with a specific number of memorable family moments. How could the object as such be involved in the negotiation and contestation of its ever changing meaning and be related to social agency, power and group identity? This approach therefore seems inadequate to examine the way in which site excavations -- i.e. my excavation site in Warloka, West Manggarai, Flores (see Chapter 8) – function as an arena of ideological, economic, political, social and identity struggle and how archaeological objects and other evidence are interpreted to pursue social ends.

In an interesting perspective which has recently emerged in material culture studies, a number of archaeologists have argued that not only the physical form of an object and its durability, but also the effects of its destruction, fragmentation, rarity, residuality and the affective charge of the object - in terms of possession - are rather problematic to be analysed like a text. Here foregrounding is necessary to analyse the manner in which material forms influence the day-to-day life of individuals, groups, institutions or, more broadly, culture and society, rather than just what they represent or how they are entwined in social relationships (Hicks 2010: 74-75; Tilley 2006: 60; Buchli 2004: 183-187).

Observing the ways in which objects stimulate an emotional response and are invested with some of the intentionality of their creators, I should point out that Gell's theory of art and agency is analogous to the anthropological theory of social relationships, particularly persons as 'social agents'. Given his idea that 'social agency' is analogous to 'object agency' in art, since persons and objects have the ability to captivate, possess or enchant, he argues that an object acts as an agent when the maker's skill is so great that the viewer cannot comprehend how it was made and is therefore captivated by the object's image properties, such as vulnerable, perishable, losable, scarce, fragile and enduring as well (Gell 2009: 211-213; Myers 2001: 14; Gell 1998: 5-7). It is an effect created by the perception of the viewer

who is unable to see how an object came into being. While the maker inserts elements of attraction and efficacy into the form of a thing, the end products, like their apparent mysterious manufacturing method and the excellent production, give an impression of happiness, sadness, anger, passion or fear to the viewers. Thus, not only exotic art objects from Southeast Asia and Australia found in museums of Europe, objects like stone spears, bronze statues, woven cloth, weapons and household utensils, but also the massive megalith monuments and many imported colonial objects found in Southeast Asia like ceramics, guns, cannon and cameras, act as agents in both Western and non-Western people and stimulate their desire for power, knowledge and social ends (Harrison 2010: 531-533; Gell 2009: 211-213; Hoskins 2006: 75-76; Myers 2001: 14).

Gell elaborates on the example of the Trobriand canoe prow-board, and argues that the object's agency is manifested through the radical transformation of the object. In this case, the object was acquired from the root buttress of ironwood trees and manufactured with traditional equipment, which resulted in a new form of a smooth and magical fancy board. Installed in a Trobriander's canoe, this board was intended as a magical vehicle/tool which was used by the Kula partners of the Trobriander to deliver their valuable commodities without retaining possession of the items. As such, this board was made in order to act upon the world and to act upon other persons. Material objects thus embody complex intentions and mediate social agency. Indeed, this canoe board not only represents social differences, ideas and symbolic systems, but it also functions as a medium through which values, ideology and social differences are fabricated, contested, legitimised and transformed. In other words, differing configurations of social relations and different manners of constructing identity are produced through the medium of living with and through a medium called material culture (Gell 2009: 220-222; Tilley 2006: 61).

Another excellent example of the object captivating an idea and the way in which material culture can actively mediate the social agency of humans is Morphy's study (1991) on Yolngu bark paintings of northeast Arnhem Land. Examining the way in which Yolngu art objects are used in a variety of cultural contexts, Morphy remarks that Yolngu paintings are regarded as having innate value and spirit in themselves. They are not passive ancestral past representations, but they are active and powerful in relation to individuals and Yolngu people in the present because these objects mediate a manner of socialising people into a particular worldview in which certain themes become meaningful, in which certain values are created, and by which certain things can be done. Moreover, such paintings provide a framework for ordering the connection between people, ancestor and land. In a similar way, they are used to mediate claims among the living to power and authority, to discriminate

between different areas of land owned and to mark status differences – men and women, the initiated and the non-initiated - that contributes dialectically to their own significance and power. Therefore, Morphy argues that Yolngu bark paintings are an active projection of ideas or social relations and play an important role in the reproduction of Yolngu identity (Morphy 1991: 293-296).

Recent archaeological studies follow Gell's and Morphy's approach to show how megalith monuments function as an active agency. Take as an example the Breton menhirs in Ireland which are made of coarse stones that give a smooth appearance. Rowlands and Tilley (2006: 506-507) argue that such forms and the materiality of stones give power and significance to these monuments - the way in which they captivate viewers, particularly when they approach menhirs from different directions. Moreover, the stone materials for the megaliths' construction were brought from a distant location. In many cases such materials were not local stone: the bluestones at Stonehenge for example were transported from the Prescelli mountains of South Wales; the quartz, the granite and siltstone of the megaliths procured from the Boyne valley, Ireland were concentrated in the Wicklow mountains, approximately 40 km south of this site; and the rocky andesite of the Wogo megalith village, Central Flores were collected from the Inerie mountain, at least 15 km from the site. In former time, the Ngadha megaliths in Flores were also carried some distance to the new village. The Ngadha elders provided information that the transport of these megaliths required considerable time and expenses. As the stones were carried over a long distance, several buffaloes and pigs were slaughtered to feed the transporter and a meal of rice, meat and palm wine had to be distributed each day to those involved in the carrying process. The financial expenditure involved in transporting the megaliths was laid on all the members of the *woe* (sub-clan). In case the sub-clan was unable to mobilise enough resources, the movement had to be postponed. Then they built temporary houses, opened a new garden and bred livestock. When enough resources were accumulated, the moving of the megaliths was continued (Sudarmadi 1999: 117). It seems quite clear that megalith monuments that have power over humans and their lives not only consist of their physical and chemical characteristics but also of the myths and stories of movement from distant places to the location where they are installed. Accordingly, as I will show in my Chapters 4, 5 and 7 the megaliths are powerful and significant because they play a role as an active agent – iconically and indexically- and can evoke feelings through their materiality as well as symbolise social narratives of events and being permanent markers of memory and history (Rowlands and Tilley 2006: 500, 506-507).

Indeed, contemporary archaeological study and ethnographic observation of the megaliths suggests that attention needs to be shifted from the passive role of material culture as exemplified by Glassie's work on the Turkish carpet, to the active role of the object's biography in which the object might not only play a number of different identities as a precious imported thing, ancestral personification or trading object on the large-scale dynamics of supply and demand, but might also 'interact' with the people who observe it, use it and try to possess it. Hence I explore material culture with an object agency approach since this point of view makes important contributions to the way in which objects are endowed with power and are related not only to the identities of individuals and groups but also to the cultural value system (Appadurai 1986: 3-56; Hoskins 2006: 76; Tilley 2006: 70; Glassie 1999: 45-58).

In the context of cultural heritage discourse however, I argue that it might not be enough to probe the object's role in the ongoing afterlives of the people, their alienation from day-to-day use of the object in the colonial context and the survival of the object across space and time. For this reason I highlight Harrison's (2010) attention to the residual agency after objects have ceased to be useful, as well as his further argumentation concerning object agency that functions independently of the intention of the producers. Examining bifacially pressure-flaked Kimberley points that were manufactured using European bottle glass as a raw material, he argues that these artefacts were less useful as spearheads. As indigenous people in Kimberley came into contact with European culture these points were produced in a definite shape, grew in size and developed into fine works of art rather than meeting the purely functional requirements of hunting land game. While iron spearheads and steel guns were introduced as new equipment for hunting, these glass spear points were made mostly in indigenous reservations and settlements associated with Europeans where food and other stuff of Indigenous people were provided by the new-comers. In such conditions, these Kimberley points were transformed from everyday effective tools for hunting into symbols of masculine status and works of fine art. No wonder these artefacts were collected widely in Colonial Australia and circulated in many museums and among collectors around the world. What is clear is that in fact, at the end of the object's life, a fancy glass spearhead produced using prehistoric stone-age technologies still had a form of agency in enchanting not only colonial collectors and antiquarians in the past, but also archaeologists in the present (Harrison 2010: 531-533).

As a matter of fact, this example shows that while colonialism intensified the contact between Europeans and non-Europeans, it also generated a flow of artefacts between the colonised and colonising countries. While such material culture carries properties and

efficacies from its raw material qualities and its perfection of technical production processes, its movement through space and time has the potential to shift social, cultural and historical contexts. Accordingly, the dynamics of transformation and destabilisation are highly visible in the social agency of the artefacts. Regarded from such a perspective, Thomas (1991: 163) has directed attention to the fact that material culture to which people attach no specific importance can be considered as the manifestation of local distinctiveness or emblem of a particular local character by outsiders. For example, Marquesans and a number Polynesians usually treated guns, whether obtained through purchase, barter or as a gift, as though they transmitted a component of the owner and the power of Western warriors. Later, Thomas analysed clothing introduced by colonisers among Samoan and Tahitian peoples. Rather than treating clothes passively as a mutable medium of information exchange – such as identity marker or social status - he sees clothes as things that carry properties or certain efficacies that result not only from the object's physical qualities but also from their potential to fascinate – rare, unique and resistant - to empower and render visible efforts of cultural transformation, particularly the transformative working of colonialism (Thomas 2002: 17, 182, 194-195).

It should be noted that non-Western material culture transformations in the colonial context were also related to the European passion for making the world their own, as discussed in Chapter 6. Being captivated by indigenous people's artefacts that were endowed with a sense of mysterious, primitive, exotic and ancient civilisations, the coloniser became obsessed with collecting such native material culture. Later these accumulated collections were classified, valued and preserved. However, the social agency of these artefacts had the potency to destabilise their categorisation and transform them into a different social role. As the artefacts moved through space and time, their enchanting value drew the attention of the Europeans to different notions of these objects' enchantment, for example from precious and everyday objects of tribal peoples to art commodities (Myers 2001: 6-12; Torrence and Clark 2011: 46-47).

In order to further elaborate on this point of view, let me focus on the agency of human skulls and their value, movement and deployment in a complex cultural practice between indigenous people and colonisers. It was noted that people of the New Guinea mainland valued certain human skulls as precious items, since these were skulls of enemies slain in face-to-face fighting. Accordingly, such objects were a proof of an individual's status as a warrior - the more skulls obtained, the greater the honourable warrior status achieved. Without the possession of skulls young men were not allowed to marry and young women would not admire them. These valuable indigenous people's objects have been reported in

the colonial ethnographic literature. In 1875 Luigi D'Albertis described numerous human skull trophies of the New Guinea people that were hung up outside houses at Mokata village. Ten years later, in Tureture village Captain John Strachan presented a 'tomahawk' to an old chief and in return insisted on the purchase of three well smoked, grim and ghastly human skulls. After he went back to Australia, these skulls were given to scholars in Sydney as objects of medical research. Frank Hurley, a famous Australian photographer and filmmaker took a journey into parts of Papua in the early 1920s. He successfully collected not only bone and stone artefacts, but also human skulls painted, decorated and mummified to stop the decay. From Hurley's article in the Sydney newspaper 'The Sun' of February 7th, 1923, it was evident that on one occasion a number of artefacts were plundered from a hut in the absence of the swamp dwellers, in the name of science (Davies 2011: 99-101; Thomas 1991: 177-181). While indigenous people valued human skulls as trophies of a warrior's bravery, their materiality attracted the Western coloniser and through circulation and mobilisation these artefacts were brought to the home of the empire. Through different levels of transformation in Western cultural hierarchies, such collectable items found their way into private collections, museums, research institutions and art galleries, but when they were preserved in the metropolis their previous value was transferred into exchange value in Western colonialism, and the abstract exchange value became fetishised. Marx is often quoted on such a process, especially in terms of his idea on alienation; the way in which the object was taken from specific contexts – cultural, historical, social - distanced from humans and made to 'stand for' an abstract whole, such as the human skulls of New Guinea became a metonym for a primitive headhunting culture. This would seem to establish the new role of such objects in Western Colonial knowledge, particularly in legitimising racial stereotypes and providing empirical data proof to sustain Darwin's notions of cultural evolution and notions of primitives that were made without discussion with the New Guinea people (Hodder 2012: 33; Torrence and Clark 2011: 40; Thomas 1991: 180; Trigger 1989: 94, 113-114; Clifford 1988: 220).

Another example of such transformation, which happened in the post-colonial context, relates to Anasazi and the Phoenician artefacts; the discarded objects, attributed to them as 'people without history', were acquired by Western excavation and underwater salvage archaeology. It shows that the agency of these artefacts did not cease after their function but continues in the present day cultural context. The New York Times of December 8th, 1984 reported that painted pots and urns were discovered in a good condition after an excavation at the Anasazi archaeological site in the American Southwest. The antiquity market valued these pots and urns at $ 30,000. At the same time, another article showed a photo of Bronze Age pots and jugs which were rescued by archaeologists from a Phoenician shipwreck off

the coast of Turkey. While the Anazasi and the Phoenician artefacts were found in recent ex-colonial locations and were related to recent colonised people, these objects became a source of admiration as they possessed the effect of rarity, beauty and antiquity. Moreover, such inner agency in the artefacts from Anasazi sites resulted in widespread illegal looting and the objects from the shipwreck were salvaged for further archaeological preservation. Hence, the social agency of these objects manoeuvred along a slippery line construction in the given system of commercial, aesthetic and scientific values (Clifford 1988: 221-222; Myers 2001: 11).

To highlight such transformation processes, the social agency movement of artefacts needs to be positioned in more constantly changing, dynamic and active cultural contexts, particularly in contesting, subverting and threatening social configurations. This consideration leads to Clifford's (1998: 223-226) ideas about the dynamic movement of modern art in the Western culture system. Focusing on the manner in which artefacts were collected, Clifford points out that they were assembled from traditional indigenous people, were classified into both aesthetic works of art and scientific cultural objects. While the items were circulated in the cultural context, the modern art-culture system classified and assigned their hierarchy level. Perhaps the common case was art production of a tribal developing country. For example Haitian 'primitive' paintings, which are recent, tourist art and souvenir commodities have been upgraded from ethnic mass culture production to a fine example of an ethnic tribal artistic style period. A more dramatic case can be seen in the transformation of the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese statue called *Prajñaparamita*. In 1823 this statue was sent to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands, and it was assigned a role in Dutch colonial scientific curiosity and in the panorama of the primitive cultural history of the colonised. However, in the postcolonial process of indigenous antiquity repatriation this statue was returned to Indonesia in 1978 and internationally marked as a masterpiece of art. Here a fine example of tribal art work was promoted to the masterpiece representation of ancient art (Keurs 2011: 175; Clifford 1988: 223-225).

Further, Clifford's art-culture system leads to the notion that artefacts also play a role in mediating and constructing cultural contexts. In all these ways artefacts show their potency as vehicles of both local and national political and cultural agency. Starting with the removal of such objects from their sites of origin, assembling them in a specific way with specimens from other excavation findings, and holding them as public collections, they are then associated with a number of historical events that could evoke and create collective memory. This in turn leads to the artefacts being used in memory construction. This happened, for instance with the Manteño stone seats from ceremonial sites in Cerro Jaboncillo and Cerro

de Hojas, Southern Manabí, Ecuador. After a series of conquests first by the Inca and then the Spanish, these portable stone seats became a colonial collection trophy. In the early 1880s, through a process of gift, barter and trading, these stone seats ended up in the collection of museums in Berlin, Vienna, Copenhagen, London, Madrid, New York and Chicago. In this case, these objects were transferred from indigenous people to the colonial institutions and thus transformed into Western colonial property from which indigenous people were excluded. In 1906, Saville an American archaeologist noted the Manteño stone seats and a year later he excavated archaeological sites where they were found. His excavation demonstrated the relationship between this stone seat and an outstanding ceremonial character of the Manteño culture. Half a century later, his unpublished field notes enabled the Ecuadorians to construct a long-term association, special interest and a claim to ownership of these artefacts. On the basis of historical precedence the stone seat gradually represented a symbol of the indigenous Ecuador cultural accomplishment and identity. Later, the Ecuadorian claim of ownership was supported by the Ecuador nation state project of nation unity and identity. As the project developed such a claim was strengthened by societal sanction to avoid destruction from humans: conservation and preservation regulations were put in place to protect them from decay (McEwan and Silva 2011: 249-263). Given this notion, artefacts become valuable heritage that must be preserved for the benefit of future generations. However, the process of their inheritance also leads towards constructions of exclusion-inclusion of ownership, power and identity (Hodder 2012: 24; McEwan and Silva 2011; Harrison 2010: 536; Schofield 2008: 27).

Cultural heritage has the potential not only to address identity claims, access to ancestral land and cultural domination, but is also a powerful vehicle for creating the future. The use of stone tools by contemporary Indigenous Australians perfectly expresses the artefact's inheritance agency to provide possibilities for imagining and connecting the present indigenous people with their ancestral past, constructing collective political consciousness and developing social identity in the present. As a matter of fact, Indigenous Australians consider stone tools not only as a symbol of identity but also as physical objects that can function as a medium to connect with the spirit of their ancestors. While interaction – touching, rubbing, smelling - with stone tools on site is important, it is dangerous to remove them. As indigenous people believe that an ancestor's spirit resides in them, an effort to damage and remove such objects results in having bad dreams and sickness. These indigenous people thus recognise that stone artefacts have prime agency independent of their makers and they allow them to influence the body and minds of people who encounter them in the present. Hence the stone tools represent indigenous sentimental memory to lives once forgotten, discarded and buried. Later they are excavated in an archaeological

context and transformed into a cultural context through cultural heritage management practice. For most Indigenous Australians, participation in cultural heritage management projects not only allows a physical and spiritual engagement with the stone tools and sites of their ancestor's past life, but also develops a way of constructing and perceiving their identity and community in the present day Australian nation state (Harrison 2010: 536-540).

These studies on the cultural heritage approach to material culture from archaeological, anthropological and historical points of view are important, since some of the theoretical perspectives and strategies of inquiry are directly transferable to the investigation of cultural heritage management practices, including Indonesian cultural heritage management This is clearly seen in Chapters 2 and 6, and in the recent megalith practice of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian of the Central and West Flores Island that I will show in Chapter 7. Moreover, a number of studies on Flores have concluded that there is continuity in the use of megalith sites from ancient times to the present day (Erb 1999; Sudarmadi; 1999; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a; Sukendar 1984; Heekeren 1958; Verhoeven 1952; Bekkum 1944; Arndt 1932). Direct historic analogy should therefore be applicable in using ethnographic information to interpret the way in which Flores megalith villages engage in local, national and international discourse on heritage.

Instead of treating Flores megalith villages as the material culture of past societies that survive into the present, I view them as an historiographical study through which such material culture of past people is re-evaluated and re-used in the present. (Skeates 2004: 9-10). Particularly emphasis is given to the way in which this Flores cultural heritage was involved in the discourse of the Indonesian government project of Indonesian nation unity. While in 1957 the idea of glorifying the Indonesian past via the ancient Javanese kingdom Majapahit was officially propagated by Muhammad Yamin in the first National History Congress, this narrative of Indonesian national past also resulted in the inclusion of the Javanese cultural heritage and that of Flores in the Indonesian state project of national unity (see Chapter 2) (Nordholt, Purwanto and Saptari 2008; Nordholt 2004; Noer, 1982; Supomo 1982; Soedjatmoko 1965; Ali 1963; Soedjatmoko 1960; Yamin 1956).

Tracing the historical life of megalith village material culture – portable and immovable- and its properties, I demonstrate the way in which such cultural heritage is valued, categorised, ranked, preserved and protected. However, I offer an alternative approach that allows a more active model of the biography of artefacts, in which they are not only passive media that broadcast information, but also play an active role as social agents, especially in the way they are used and appropriated, and in the manner in which individuals and groups identify themselves with them – from village people to archaeologists, and from government

officials to museum experts. This consideration helps us to account for the role of artefacts in changing times and changing contexts, especially in captivating and enchanting people long after they might be supposed to have ceased to have an active role in society (Byrne, et al. 2011: 9-10; Tilley 2006: 71).

As the cultural properties of Flores megalith villages are positioned in a time-line of world events coinciding claims are met regarding ownership, guardianship, inheritance and the manner in which their role as agents affects people, nation and state in transforming such material culture into cultural heritage. This deployment of Flores megalith village culture in a time-line provides a framework to delineate longer-term history on the day-to-day life in Flores, particularly the effects of contact with outsiders and encounters with capitalism. This time perspective includes Dutch colonial hegemony and later Flores' incorporation into the Indonesian nation state. Since the complete panorama of the effects of external factors on Flores' cultural heritage discourse is impeded by limited historical documents, the challenge is to combine diverse sources – artefacts, myths, ritual performances and local informants. In the following chapters, these sources will be compared, moving between past and present to acknowledge the presence of the past and how new pasts will be fabricated in the present and the future (Shank and Tilley 1994: 103-112).

In short, this study makes use of archaeology, anthropology and historical perspectives in order to shed new light on the Indonesian cultural heritage practices. Its archaeological approach towards the cultural heritage management by the Indonesian nation state in Flores is shaped by the following intersection of disciplines: 1. Archaeological methods emphasise intervention in the landscape through field survey, mapping, excavation and interpretation of artefacts. 2. Anthropological methods focus on material culture studies, particularly on the materiality of cultural heritage artefacts as fragments and their agency. 3. Historical methods stress colonial history, especially the changing contexts of tangible cultural heritage and power relations that frame such material culture. 4. The three disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and historical methods are integrated in the interpretation of community development and memory politics through observation of the way in which material culture is used to achieve social ends. In the following this research's theoretical approach to cultural heritage will be discussed further.

Cultural heritage, western enlightenment and colonialism

Our world can be divided into natural and cultural environments. Natural environment consists of natural resources and since people depend on natural resources, they tend to value, use and to modify it. Pearson and Sullivan (1995) have suggested that the result of people's interaction with or intervention in natural resources is called cultural resources.

What has to be considered is that cultural resources are somehow inherited, that they are passed down along a chain of owners and handed on to an individual, to a group of closely related people or to ethnic groups. In the past the act of looking after cultural resources was clearly shown in the form of the property which parents bequeathed to their children, as well as how such a community passed on their landscape to the next generation. In this case 'the act of looking after' could be related to the local continuity of the ancestral heritage (Davidson 2008: 31).

During the latter half of the 19th Century, particularly in Europe, a shift from the notion of cultural heritage as family legacy or ancestral inheritance, to the idea of cultural heritage as national possession related to nation building, emerged. This view was influenced by Enlightenment philosophy. Through the Enlightenment the Europeans envisaged the idea of the progress of technology, culture and human life. Furthermore, John Lubbock – who later became Lord Avebury - used tangible cultural heritage as an evidence to advance the view that Europeans were the result of thousands of years of biological human evolution and the representatives of the completed achievements of the stage of cultural progress (Trigger 1989: 58, 114-117; Trigger 1995: 268). In fact this idea raised the Europeans' sense of nation, legitimised colonialism and reinforced imperialism (Smith 2006: 17-18).

Enlightenment also had an influence on the French Revolution in 1789. This also brought about a sense of nation into the legal and political terms of national sovereignty in which people had equal juridical rights and equal opportunities under the same government's law and required that it should be governed by themselves, or their delegates, to represent themselves (Özkirimli 2000: 21, 24; Eriksen 2010: 132). It was on the basis of the legitimacy of national sovereignty that cultural heritage played an important role for proving and justifying the nation's existence, boundary and glory.

It was in the context of representing the Europeans' superiority, progress, achievement and the glory of European nations, that the awareness that cultural heritage must be conserved, protected and managed by the nation state was developed. This was very clearly seen in Lubbock's efforts from 1873 to 1879, to propose the Ancient Monuments Protection Act that was submitted to the Parliament in Great Britain. Briefly, this act introduced the concept of guardianship, since it gave the State authority to purchase particular ancient monuments, which would be sold by the owner, or to hold cultural heritage that was handed over and donated by the citizen. After heated debate and a long process this act came into effect in 1882 (Cleere 1984: 54). In France on Napoleon III's order an excavation was carried out at Mont Auxois (Alesia) near Alise Sainte Reine, Burgundy from 1861 to 1865. The finds from these excavations were associated with the Celtic habitation in France on the eve of the

Roman conquest of Gaul. Such interpretation was directed towards encouraging a romantic French nationalism and patriotic sentiments (Daniel 1975: 110; Trigger 1984: 358).

On the other hand, Lubbock's view also supported the doctrine of human racism and colonialism, since his idea placed the indigenous people in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australia as less technologically advanced and culturally and intellectually in more primitive stages of development. Such a reason was propagated to naturalise, legitimise and justify Europeans' colonisation and domination in these continents (Trigger 1984: 361, 364; Trigger 1989: 145, Trigger 1995: 208). In accordance with this tenet, in 1851 to 1870 the South Kensington museum project – which was inaugurated by the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park - was inspired by a didactic intent in which the hodgepodge objects of low quality from subordinate colonies, particularly from Indian courts, were put on display to promote England's economic development and to shape Great Britain's national glory on the grounds of political and economic hegemony over the inferior British Indian people (Barringer 1998: 11-15).

Another example of a relation between nation building and cultural policies relates to America, where the third president of the United States from 1803 to 1806, Thomas Jefferson, sent an expedition led by Lewis and Clark to collect Native American artefacts. An enormous number of these Indian objects were exhibited in the entrance hall of Jefferson's residence at Monticello, Virginia and the exhibition was visited by more than a thousand people (Jameson 2008: 43). This display was an example of the acknowledgement of United States' national identity imagery relating directly to the Colonial American's heritage spectacle. In this case the United States' superiority was built in a perspective that primitive indigenous Americans and their static culture could not catch up with the more advanced and civilised Euro-American colonisers' culture. Such perception was taken for granted in subordinating the colonised people, for claiming land and for dominating and controlling native peoples' heritage possession (Trigger 1989: 121-129).

As in the case of the United States, the European coloniser's assumption about the primitive, static and unchanging indigenous Australian culture put cultural heritage as an evidence of delay in human evolutionary progress. As a result, native Australia's cultural heritage was not highly valued. While the Australian museum started to collect indigenous peoples' artefacts around 1830, the policy reflected the common-universal ideology at the time that European civilisation tamed the savage Australian continent and it was their duty to preserve Australia's indigenous retarded culture before it was doomed to extinction (Anderson and Reeves 1996: 84-88). It is little wonder that the history of indigenous Australia is ignored as it

is considered to be even less glamorous than the significance of the pipeline as heritage site in Western Australia. This pipeline built in 1896 and conveyed water was built in Helena Valley and the water was pumped to Kalgoorlie. Furthermore, this pipeline construction was associated with the story of engineering genius, innovation, exhausting work and intrigue. This story has helped in the creation of a heritage of inspiration for Western Australia over the last century (Stephens 2001: 161-172). So, in part, the Australian national identity is associated with particular places, in addition to conquering the harsh, arid and empty land. Moreover, it indicates the continuity of the historical record of Europeans as being in the forefront of human progress.

On another continent and in another colonial context, the significance of the Europeans' manipulation of the African cultural heritage representation was started in 1776by Andrew Sparman, a Swedish naturalist. His excavation of stone mounds near the Great Fish River in South Africa yielded nothing, but he concluded that this site was occupied a long time ago by the great and advancing African ancestors before being transformed into the degeneration of the primitive Cafres, Hottentots and Boshiesmen and other recent African races. More controversial was the fabrication of the ruins of the Great Zimbabwe. Speculation about the builder of the ruins was raised after Carl Mauch's visit in 1871. Being constructed in stone, the ruin fulfilled the biblical description of the lost palace of the Queen of Sheba, rather than being attributed to the indigenous people's technological progress in building construction. Thus, the ruins of Great Zimbabwe became the cultural heritage monument to legitimise Europeans' colonisation in Africa, especially within a framework of reference of 'the white race subjugating a continent that once in ancient time had been ruled by the Phoenician, the Arabs and the queen of Sheba (Trigger 1989: 129-135; Juwayeyi 2011: 787).

In short, the European consciousness of the nation in the 18th and late19[th] century developed by glorifying their own past. Indigenous people outside the Europe continent were seen as a kind of living museum of that European past, since in such places the Europeans could find the beginning and most untouched, primitive stages of European cultural development. Hence, the European nations' territorial expansion to the New World, and the African and Oriental continents, and their subjugation, exploitation and replacement of the inferior native people by Europeans, in other words colonialism was believed to be the honourable duty of '*mission civilisatrice*' – civilising mission - and the European burden to elevate and bring primitive indigenous people into the dynamic world progress (Triggers 1998: 268; Cohn 1996: 78; Gouda 1995: 130; Prager 1999: 339-340).

The desire to develop European nation building was in accordance with the liberal education movement, particularly in its efforts to educate the common people about their citizenship

and national duty. In order to foster public education, the idea of the nation, the evidence of national glory in the past and the present national achievements became subjects of intense scrutiny. While monuments provided indisputable links to this glorious past, references to past events and heroes were used to forge the people's consciousness of the idea of the nation. Even more, chosen artefacts could stimulate the nation toward the future and promote present day aspirations. Considering the importance of these cultural heritages as a medium that could represent an example of European national ideology and contribute to a downward spread of knowledge to the public, it was the prime responsibility of the state officers to collect, preserve and conserve such cultural heritage as a national legacy. Furthermore, this legacy was stored, exhibited in museums and functioned to impart lessons about their ancestor's civilisation and national progress. It follows from this conviction that museums came to function as regulatory institutions in providing public education and stimulating the people to become good citizens of the superior European state (Kaplan 1996: 1-5; Smith 2006: 18; Crooke 2007: 13-14; Rydell 2006: 137).

While museums became official cultural institutions with the duty of raising the historical glory, national identity and pride, the emergence of the World Fair was attributed to the European expansion through conquest of distant continents, exploration of natural resources, exploitation of labour, interference with political and cultural system of indigenous people i.e., colonialism and industrial economic growth. These advances bolstered the confidence of the mercantile class and generated a new wealthy middle class by enhancing their pride in their metropolis. It was with the purpose of impressing the world with the stability of their capital city, celebrating market flow and glorifying colonialism that such World Fairs were organised, and which were launched and funded by upper-middle class Europeans. From 1851 until World War II, every few years, citizens of the world's great cities saw a new World Exhibition. Starting with the Great International Exhibition in London's Crystal Palace and the American response, New York's 'Crystal Palace' Fair, major European and United States cities including Chicago, San Francisco, Vienna, Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels hosted World Exhibitions of commercial commodities and industries. Amazingly, the world colonial capitalist economic crisis around 1930 ignited another series of World Exhibitions, such as the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition and the 1933-1934 Chicago Century of Progress Exposition, culminating in the 1939–1940 New York World Fair (Trigger 1989: 117; Smith 2006: 18; Kaplan 2006: 152; Loomba 1998: 6; Rydell 2006: 135-136; Hinsley 1991: 344).

In contrast to the earliest museum displays, which tended to exclude the visitors from experiencing the everyday life of communities, World Fair displays from the middle of 19th

Century to the middle of 20th Century offered the visitors the possibility to interact with the daily life and cultural performances of communities. However, all the World Expositions were carnivals of the colonial and imperial vision and were ephemeral events aiming at commercial benefits, facilitated by corporate boards and official state governments. It is perhaps inevitable that the World Fairs emphasised the display of the European nations' industrial achievements by contrasting these with exhibiting the life habits and customs of the primitive communities from the European colonies. Thus the sole purpose of the World Fair seemed to be to illustrate the European nations' path to progress, glorify imperialism and celebrate colonialism (Hinsley 1991: 344-348; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 57-61)

Envisaging an exhibition and display of an ordered representation of the world in miniature, museums and World Fairs undertook never ending projects for the collection and acquisition of objects in the various European colonies. For acquiring collections through donations and purchasing them from travellers, colonial administrators, missionaries, troops and explorers were not enough to accelerate the vast growth of the object collections. Thus a new way of extending collecting was used by sending scientific expeditions to remote Europe colonial regions to collect and to bring back of exotic types of indigenous people and their cultural heritage (Barringer 1998: 11; MacKenzie 2009:13).

Some examples of this practice were begun with the *Natuurkundige Comissie* (Natural Science Committee) of the Netherlands around 1828-1836, an expedition was sent to, for instance Sumatera, the Lesser Sunda Islands, South Borneo and New Guinea. In England in 1883 Caspar Purdon Clarke accomplished The South Kensington Museum Project to purchase a vast number of ethnographic objects, including embroideries, pottery, glass, metal-work, inlaid sandalwood and ivory from India. Sometime around 1876 Hagenbeck dispatched Johan Adrian to bring a collection of artefacts and a number of Greenland native people to Hamburg for the purpose of public display and private business, and continued to exhibit them around Europe for eight months.In 1881 the Berlin Museum sponsored Adrian Jacobsen's expedition to the Northwest Coast, Alaska and his following expeditions to Siberia (1884–1885) and Indonesia (1887–1888). Further, between 1887 and 1915, the same museum arranged six expeditions to Mexico and at least another six to Oceania (Keurs 2007: 9:10; Barringer 1998: 22-23; Hinsley 1991: 345; Shelton 2006: 67-68).

The European museum and the World Fair patterns of collecting created the 'travelling cultural heritage'. In this case, the native colonial periphery cultural heritage was removed from the original natural and cultural context, transferred to the imperial cities and integrated into a western world view. These processes often imposed a severe imbalance of power

relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. As indigenous people's cultural heritage was exhibited in public, these tangible objects were elevated from their social, functional and spiritual day-to-day life into the exotic craft of primitive traditional society. In a similar way, native intangible cultural heritage was transformed from untouched, pagan, forbidden erotic performances into popular amusement shows. Such fabrications attracted the attention of the inhabitants of the great cities who were interested in exotic primitive artefacts and erotic performances. Moreover, this fabrication was consumed via exhibition brochures, catalogues with object descriptions, photographs, trading and entertainment shows. Here the sense of capital in indigenous colonised cultural heritage was developed and further marketed as Oriental or Primitive Cultural Heritage commodities. Indigenous cultural heritage flew to the European empires, and the capital flow also saturated the imperial centres. Like most colonial commodities, the capital flow of travelling colonised cultural heritage was reflected in the colonial idea of moving from centre to periphery and flowing back to the 'mother country' (MacKenzie 2009: 11; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 17-30, 57-62; Barringer 1998: 11-12; Pagani 1998: 34-38; Loomba 1998: 4; Hinsley 1991: 362-363).

In order to preserve static, primitive indigenous cultural heritage, which was probably doomed to extinction because of the European encroachment and to rescue it from obscurity and neglect by the colonised natives, from 1778 to 1877 the European colonial rulers also promoted museum development in their colonised contingent territory. The museums were intended not only for the good of indigenous people, but were also meant to provide information about the colony and its cultural heritage. Thus the museum was supposed to broaden the knowledge of European expatriates and tourists of the colony in which they lived and visited. Ironically, such museums were constructed with European ideology, by which they imposed their own versions of history, i.e. that European culture was progressive and changing and that of native peoples was static. In such a way, the Europeans labelled indigenous people's cultural heritage as evidence of a primitive, prehistoric stage of human cultural development. In other words they projected the indigenous people as being a 'People without history' a primitive society isolated from the external world and a tribe sufficient unto itself (Wolf 1982:4). In fact, the museums were aimed at feeding the European gaze. Given this colonial discourse, indigenous people did not have the power to control the ways in which their cultural heritage was displayed and represented in their fatherland. On the other hand, the Western museum institution in colonial regions justified and legitimised the Western colonial hegemony of the cultural heritage possession around the world (MacKenzie 2009: 5; Classen and Howes 2006: 209-210; McGregor 2004: 16; Shelton 2006: 70; Cohn 1996: 79-80).

Cultural heritage and the postcolonial state

The end of the colonialism, the emergence of new nation states in the continents of Africa and Asia, and the idea of modernisation in the middle of 20th Century resulted in a shift of cultural heritage practice. Triggered by the events during World War II and also the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, many ex-colonies of Europe like India, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, and soon African countries too, like Nigeria, fought for freedom and successfully constituted new nation states. As new nation states 'without history', they needed collective memories to share the narrative of a common past history in which the visions of the future are drawn. Considering the importance of a national cultural heritage as a means of regaining the national identity that was lost during the colonial period, and of welding different ethnic groups into a new nation, the nation-states then mandated a national project of unity in which indigenous people's cultural heritage played a pivotal new role for envisaging national glory and forging national identity. Further, the nation-states adopted and merged the collections of the colonial museums in the colony into the nation state project of national unity. As a result, far from rejecting and neglecting these collections, the museum institutions of the former coloniser became the legacy of the new nation. Indeed since the middle of 20th Century, this effort ended the European colonial power and domination, but came to determine, dictate and control the cultural heritage articulation of the new nation states (Kaeppler 1996; Kaplan 1996: 1-2, 6-8; Sudarmadi 2011; Lindholm 1993: 19; Silverman and Ruggles 2007: 3-4, 17; Byrne 2008b: 231).

At the same time, the modernisation in Western countries reached a phase in which on the one hand pursuing a good quality of life became the ultimate public discourse. On the other hand, the modernisation also exaggerated urbanisation and industrialisation that in a huge number of cases posed threats to the natural and cultural environment. Indeed, people saw buildings, monuments, places and sites of the past that were located in the natural landscape to be in danger under the process of modernisation. Well aware of the need to minimise the impact of environment deterioration, the Western citizens demanded more state government protection and conservation regulations for cultural heritage (Davidson 2008: 32-33; Smith 2008: 63-66).

In the United States, while the Antiquities Act 1906 protected antiquities and archaeological sites on public lands, it was not until 1966 that a plan of inventory and preservation of United States' cultural heritage was launched under the Act of that year. Three years later, the 1969 Act was passed mainly to protect natural resources. Later the Act of 1974 authorised any federal agency to utilise funds and to investigate and recover the data contained in those

resources (McGimsey III and Davis 1984: 119; Jameson and Hunt 1999: 39-43; Jameson 2008: 46-48)

Although the 1960s and 1970s were marked by a sharp rise in urban and rural development, as well as increasing public awareness of conservation issues and management policy, in fact authority within heritage management in the United Kingdom was firmly held by the government (Thomas 2008: 139-140). Moreover, the continuity of top-down conservation heritage policy from the past was supported in 1968 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private works (UNESCO 1968: 1)

> '*Considering, however, that the prehistoric, protohistoric and historic monuments and remains, as well as numerous recent structures having artistic, historic or scientific importance are increasingly threatened by public and private works resulting from industrial development and urbanization,... Considering that it is the duty of governments to ensure the protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind, as much as to promote social and economic development*'

In the 1960s through to the 1970s the practice of heritage conservation in Australia was influenced by the American concept of heritage management, especially the 1966 act that dictated a system of site protection, managed by The National Register of Historic Places, that provided a mechanism for the development of state-level historic preservation programmes. These two decades also witnessed uncontrolled land development and the deterioration of the environment that lessened the quality of life of the people. In response, in 1967 the Australian government launched The New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Act to protect heritage from extinction. A further instance was academic and professional concern over the preservation of heritage. Experts argued both in academic literature and popular media about their important role and their duty as stewards and protectors of heritage (Smith 2008: 63-68; Jameson 2008: 46).

In sum, the heritage practice in the middle of 20th Century was centred on the protection and conservation of cultural heritage. Further, such effort was projected as a means to enhance the quality of life in modern Western countries and the need to construct the longer lasting and continuous past glory of cultural heritage. In Asia and Africa the new nation states adopted this approach as a framework to develop nation building and identity. In this context heritage helped to bond the country and its social communities together (Lowenthal 1990; Fowler 1992).

It is not really surprising that the establishment and control of national heritage has long been a prime responsibility of state officials and the practices of many aspects of heritage in various countries has become the monopoly of national governments. As a system that was typically state-run, heritage management reflected the government point of view in its time and space context. However, in many cases heritage has been, and is still, mostly manipulated by the power and authority of the nation state which has annexed the past. The assumption and co-ordination of power centralised by the state are considered as natural, i.e., given, timeless, true and inevitable (Graham, et al. 2000; Hall 2008: 219-221).

While the government's domination of the identification and conservation of heritage became stronger in the 1960s to the 1970s, professionals and heritage management academics began to show a much greater interest in the search for authenticity and protection of heritage objects. Indeed, in a few cases citizens and voluntary organisations propagated and lobbied for the protection of heritage. However, as a rule the will to perpetuate heritage was the passionate obsession of the power elite and educated people. In this respect little had changed in the heritage management notion since the early 19th century (Graham, Asworth, and Tunbridge 2005: 26).

What is questionable however, is the failure of heritage professionals and the governments to acknowledge the benefit of heritage in terms of social and economic development to the people and their communities. Since the late 1980s many social science experts have attributed the heritage preservation model to the increasing reification or materialisation of cultural heritage. In this view, heritage was seen as properties such as monuments, old places and objects that belonged to the nation. They were entities that could be lost, and thus needed to be preserved. The implication was that the accumulation of heritage and the preservation of labour in acquiring it came to be seen as a form of cultural capital of the nation. In this respect the nation state seemed to regard the possession of heritage in the form of cultural capital as God given. However, this tenet is no longer the only option. Today there is a strong tendency from people and the community to view heritage as socially constructed. The most recent issues, i.e., heritage landscape, memory, place, identity and intangible heritage are at the heart of this trend (Anderson 1991; Byrne 2008: 158-159; Fairclough 2008: 297-302) and this view has altered the former focus on materiality.

These new approaches address the social significance of heritage and reflect the idea that people and communities are not only passive heirs of heritage, but also active owners and agents of heritage change (Byrne 2008: 162-163). To show how heritage represents social

significance I offer the following description of a personal reminiscence inventory cited by Lowenthal (1998: 31):

> '*Memories … old photograph … family words and tales … grandmother's old quilt … a locket with a picture of a long-forgotten aunt … smells that trigger past events … an old wedding dress … father's pocket watch … our ancestral cemetery … special holiday meals … treasured tea sets … a favorite teddy bear … a tree you climbed as a child … your dad's baseball mitt … a lullaby …*'

All this reminiscence is heritage and also encodes meaning that is created through time by the relationship and the interaction between objects as historical and material witnesses, and the moment of recall in the mind of the person in the present. People who make an imaginary journey in the past inevitably encounter traces of themselves there. These are not only tangible (material objects such as old photograph, father's pocket watch and a favourite teddy bear) but also intangible (immaterial, such as family words and tale, a lullaby, and smells that trigger past events). By recalling the special moment in their mind (memory) and associating it with tangible and intangible heritage, people interpret the meaningful traces in their own social, political and ideological context (Byrne 2008: 154-157; Harrison, et. all 2008: 4-5)

The heritage that is socially constructed and experienced by particular people is then inherited by their successors, but once again it is reinterpreted based on their own experiences. Thus the meaning that is encoded in the heritage is simultaneously inherited and reinvented by people in a series of processes that construct, reconstruct and uncover the tangible and intangible heritage (Byrne 2008: 162-163; Wolf 1982: 378).

The understanding that heritage is socially constructed was accompanied by the consideration that first, it is situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, and second, that these are time and space specific contexts. From these points of view, heritage meaning can be viewed as a kind of a text, which can be rewritten and re-read as time passes and space alters. So it is hardly surprising that heritage practices are fields of contestation (Graham, Asworth, and Tunbridge 2005: 30).

This point of view was fitted in a 'new museology' discipline that focused on the democratisation of museum practice. The origin of this movement can be traced back to the concept of 'storefront' museum coined in the 1970s and 1980s by S. Dillon Ripley - the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in the United States. After considerable lobbying by community activists, Smithsonian officials chose their neighbourhood for the site of the proposed Anacostia Neighborhood Museum (ANM). The site, the Carver Theater, an old

abandoned 'coloured' theatre, was renovated by teams of young people –including a group called the Trail Blazers – in conjunction with professional Smithsonian staff. The exhibitions held in the museum's first five years had diverse subject matters, but reflected the concerns of the constituency on issues of urban and contemporary community life. As time passed the museum staff was expanded and more professionalism was introduced in the museum activities. All these shifts resulted in a more formal museum organisation, and more sophisticated and costly exhibitions, but lessened the community participation and raised socio-economic problems (James 2005: 340-355).

In 1994, a more successful democratisation in United States heritage discourse was established at Stanford University, California. An installation of a sculpture garden on the Stanford University campus with a low budget and no funding was proposed by a student in the anthropology department. The project's aim was to invite and involve the community in the installation process. By inviting people to participate, to donate and to work on the sculpture garden installation, the argument ran that it aimed to create a site for the grassroots or the powerless, especially for a process of self-discovery and empowerment, in which the interactive process was as important as the production and collection of material culture. Thus sculptors from Highland New Guinea travelled to Stanford University to carve and construct a sculpture site garden. Their workplace was open to the public and a party was organised every Friday evening, when more and more people turned up to socialise, to make art and to celebrate. When the work was finished the sculptors were invited to Disneyland and the Esalen Institute, and were entertained by local fire fighters and the African Community Church in Oakland. Moreover, hundreds of people gathered at the airport on their departure to say goodbye. Six months later, a leaflet informed visitors that some money was still needed for site construction and landscaping. A year later the garden was almost finished. Volunteers built poles bedded in cement and erected stone sculptures, and mounds of earth and plants were arranged to replicate the New Guinea landscaping style. Moreover, the regular visitors to this site have increased considerably (Clifford 1997: 195-196).

In Britain during the 1980s several movements were launched that were concerned with the democratisation of cultural heritage management. The movements demanded bottom-up and participatory approaches that were directed towards giving communities control over their cultural heritage in respect to how they maintained, reinforced and constructed their identity. The exhibition called 'Food for Thought: The Sainsbury Gallery' held in the Science Museum, London (part of the National Museum of Science and Industry) in 1989 was an example of such movement. In this exhibition the curator became the facilitator rather than a

figure of authority and the material objects became the focus of the visitors' activities. The exhibition offered a venue for cultural activism and involvement where general public learning, entertaining and pleasuring as well as social issues on food were brought into the prime discourse. As part of the strategy, visitors were allowed to choose their own routes through the exhibition, to touch, to handle, to examine closely and to smell all kinds of food. Just as customers in supermarkets, visitors were encouraged to be active participants, to experiment with food, to entertain themselves and to have fun with food. In many respects, the exhibition can be regarded as democratising since the general public experienced and participated in museum resources (Macdonald 1998: 122-131).

In Australia a changed emphasis on the perception of the role of heritage did not emerge until the late 1970s. Previously in the area of indigenous heritage Australian heritage institutions, especially museums, had as their paradigm the collection of rare, unique and curious objects of the early European museum. The material collections themselves became the major reason for the museums' existence. There was little attempt to place the objects within any social context, and there was certainly no contact with indigenous communities at all. Therefore, the Regional Seminar held by UNESCO in Adelaide in 1978 with the topic 'Previous Indigenous Cultures: New Role for Museums' inspired the Australian museums to take into account the participation of their clients. In the museum institutions the realisation emerged that indigenous Australians had a legitimate right to participate at all levels in the curation, usage and presentation of the materials held within the museum. Furthermore, a policy document called 'Previous Possessions: New Obligation' was developed that was intended to outline a whole range of policy issues that museums needed to address to meet the growing demands of Indigenous people to be an equal partner in the preservation and interpretation of their heritage (Gordon 2005: 357-359).

In France empowerment and democratisation became pivotal themes to challenge the traditional museum and heritage management approach. This movement, which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, advocated the eco-museum concept. According to this concept there are certain features of places, both tangible and intangible, that make them meaningful to people. In addition it might be argued that there are certain aspects of places that are so important that they are given special significance in terms of social, cultural, economic and political atmosphere. Hugues de Varine and Georges Henri Riviere were central to the development of new concepts of encouraging the empowerment of local communities to take control of their own heritage. The eco-museum mission was to conserve the very particular nature of places. The museums were conceived as territories with landscapes, wildlife, historic artefacts, people, customs and folklore, with special focus on

significant places that were valued by the people themselves and were to be managed by the indigenous people and exhibited to the local community and visitors. The most well-known eco-museum was established in 1974 at Le Creusot-Montceau in Burgundy. This museum introduced not only political, social and regeneration ideals, but also the idea of the 'fragmented museum', which encouraged the visitors to explore the territory by visiting several signified places (Davis 2005: 370; Davis 1999: 62-67, 83-111).

From many heritage practices in the world in the early 1980s to 1990s, it was clear that the concept of heritage management had moved from a concern for preservation to social significance. Such a new orientation tended to decentralise the power of formal heritage institutions. Furthermore, by reducing such centres of power, individuals, people and society were able to provide their own heritage (Urry 1995: 220-221).

According to Hogget and Bishop (1986: 40-42) this new grassroots movement can be characterised by self-organised institutions conveying various heritage interpretations like artistic, written, sporting, spoken, visual and so on. These interpretations are viewed as products of the institution that can be consumed (Ashworth 1994: 16-18). Native Americans provided an example of such a non-governmental movement. For instance, the Cherokee Native Americans in Cherokee, North Carolina and the Cherokee Heritage Center in Tahlequah Oklahoma, had the vision of reinforcing their cultural identity, to promote understanding of the Cherokee culture and to manage their cultural heritage by establishing the Oconaluftee native Americans village and the Museum of the Cherokee. The activities of these community villages and museums included drama performances of 'Unto These Hills', which portrayed a tragic story of colonisation, betrayal and annihilation, tours for visitors to experience the life of the Cherokee at the time of European contact in 1650, art exhibitions, education programmes for schools, workshops, lectures and access to the research collection. Through these activities successful profit-making enterprises were established since these activities attracted around 150,000 audiences/visitors per annum, generated employment for 35 to 45 Cherokee each year, provided work to a cast and crew of 70 Cherokee for drama performances each week and showed a profit of $ 70,000 in 1982 (Simpson 1996: 139-148).

It is obvious that heritage as the product of interpretation encodes multiple meanings, since it is socially and culturally constructed. In light of the many meanings of heritage, Graham (2005: 29-33: Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 35-68) argues that in general there are three categories of heritage meaning. First, heritage can be viewed as a cultural capital, since the government regards tangible and intangible heritage collection as a kind of property belonging to the nation. Secondly, heritage can be used to convey social and political

meaning. In this case, individuals, groups, public institutions and governments discover, create and invent heritage, and then all works are interpreted within a framework of legitimisation of history, political benefit and social affiliation. Thirdly, heritage can be used as a commodity of present consumption. In this case, heritage is intended for economic consumption, either as an industry created by governments or workers in the tourism industry, or as an economic activity supported by the local people and the tourists themselves.

Mapping Manggaraian and Ngadha cultural heritage on spatial, ideology and social maps

The perspective developed in this chapter on archaeology, anthropology, historical methods and heritage management, challenges the notion of nostalgia for authenticity as a core heritage value (Butler 2006: 466). Such a notion of authenticity would freeze Flores megalith villages as death monuments and obscure the daily reality that megalith villages are active, dynamic and unique spaces of the production of social relations. Instead, heritage is approached here as a resource for empowering human dignity, respect and justice, thus providing more significant insights into the relationship between cultural heritage and the Florenese. The Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith cultures are understood here particularly as a reflection of a subaltern living culture that has been subsumed to the excessive power of colonialism and to the top-down authority of the state both in the past and present.

As many researchers have called megaliths 'monuments of the living to the dead', longer-lasting examples epitomise the message of continuity with the past, and also legitimise society's concerns with this. Megaliths play a role in marking the permanent relationship of people to their settlement and to the land of their ancestors (Bloch 1975: 208; Fleming 1973: 189). Importantly, the Manggaraian and the Ngadha annually perform the myths of ancestor migration and the movement of megaliths in the *Reba* and the *Penti* ritual. These performances of past events serve as an intangible heritage that has powerful meanings for the present and future claims to clan properties, for exclusion-inclusion of clan identity, and for construction of social groups (Mitchell 2006: 394-398). As the ritual function of megaliths requires substantial wealth, labour and appropriate social ties to maintain them these objects are an effective emblem to convey social status and power (Clarke, Cowie and Foxon 1985: 38).

Indeed, in their placement in relation to other cultural and natural features, the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages as art and as monumental artefacts also have a specific context. They enable people to create space, manipulate and modify the relationship

between nature and culture, or legitimate culture, by making it part of the landscape (Morphy 1991, Layton 1985: 434-453; Kus 1983: 287). To analyse this, the notion of a spatial map is relevant to illustrate the way in which they recognise their place relating to landscape and natural environment. While the spatial map is represented in the construction of their settlement patterns, an ideology map implies the manner in which they add symbolism and provide meaning to their settlement patterns: thus this symbol is narrated, registered and organised in their mind. In the end the social map reflects the way in which they mediate the spatial map and the ideology map back and forth in the past and present time to negotiate their social purpose (Zerubavel 2003: 1-5; Renfrew 1994: 5-6).

Given the notion of these maps, the Ngadha megalith village settlement patterns function as spatial map, ideology map and social map simultaneously. Through the spatial map they recognise their place in the male/female clan's traditional house. In turn, their place in the clan house is determined in the myth of their ancestral house inheritance - the ideology map. Hence, such maps allow transformation from spatial structure into temporal narratives. At the same time, the myth of their ancestral house is part of the sacred knowledge that is possessed only by the eldest woman of the traditional female house and cannot be divulged without a particular ceremony. As such, these social maps relate and mediate the way in which people have access to the traditional house, construct clan hierarchy and sustain identity (Sudarmadi 1999: 177-189; see also Chapter 4).

In the same way, the Manggaraian *lingko randang* (round field), which is located outside the megalith village, represents not only a spatial and an ideology map, but also a map of social relationships. While the round field spatial map is divided like slices of a pie, this portion is related to the place of certain descendants who occupy the traditional house (*mbaru*) in the megalith village. Mostly, the distribution of such a round field is established according to the clan myth of origin and to elder-younger male lineage relationship of the traditional house occupant, which is an ideology map. In addition, this round field distribution is considered illegal without a particular ceremony and the attendance of the head of the megalith village, the leader of the nuclear family, the heads of all the clan round field and the elders, which is a social relationships map (Nggoro 2006: 179-186; Lawang 2004: 76-81; see also Chapter 5).

Realising the materiality and longevity of the Manggaraians and the Ngadha movable artefacts, is a significant point for focusing on their movement and transformation (as discussed in Chapter 6). Their unique, primitive and rare material properties might enchant outsiders and allow these objects of the indigenous people to travel to foreign countries. While these artefacts are transformed from valuable possessions of clan inheritance into

Indonesian National Museum and Western museum collections, this Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage creates relations that do not represent the past but play an active role in negotiating individual and institutional social purpose in the present. In a similar way, their presence in the Western museums might allow a research strategy of critical Western conceptualisation of Oriental cultural heritage representation or 'anthropologizing the West' (Byrne, et al. 2011: 5; Butler 2006: 475).

By moving from the traditional house of the Manggaraian megalith village to the miniature of such a house in the Indonesian National Museum the spatial, ideological and social relationships maps are shifted. The display and the location of the Manggaraian traditional house in the ethnographic room narrow and shape a new spatial map of its artificial form and environment. Rather than demonstrating everlasting relationships between the Manggaraian people and their ancestor house origins, this spatial map infuses the idea of the Indonesian ethnic traditional house comparison, and exemplifies the narrative of the Indonesian nation in the project of Indonesian nation unity – an ideology map. From this point on the social relationships map is elevated from the social daily life of the Manggaraian to the Indonesian nation's celebration and promotion of the unity and diversity of Indonesian cultural heritage.

While the Ngadha and the Manggaraian portable artefacts such as traditional music instruments, weapons and household equipment are stored and displayed in the Western museums these material culture spatial maps are strongly bound with the notion of the West's marginal territory where traditional indigenous people as 'other' produce exotic, unique and rare primitive arts. Hence, the spatial map links the idea of cultural heritage hierarchy with cultural progress in which primitive arts represent the lowest Social Darwinist cultural development and legitimate legato phrases, thus serving as an ahistorical narration of continuous progression or an ideological map (Zerubavel 2003: 34-35). From this point of view the social relationships map is used to differentiate between the West as the modern civilisation and the East as retarded traditional culture. The very notion of intangible heritage as promoted by UNESCO, interestingly enough, relocates the actual use of these artefacts at the spatial map of Flores (see Chapter 7).

National heritage discourse and local heritage

While the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage has received professional recognition as being of great significance from the Indonesian National Archaeological Research Centre (Sukendar 1984) and other researchers (Cole 1997; Sudarmadi 2000), unfortunately the government has not shown interest in a well-planned cultural heritage management strategy and to 'show it off' as being of equal importance to the Borobudur heritage. This is partly due to the Indonesian government's priority for cultural heritage that

can develop the sense of national identity and pride. Since their heritage sites are smaller than that of the Borobudur and also located far away from the Indonesian governmental administrative centre, so they represent a traditional lifestyle and cannot act as a stimulus for waving 'the Indonesian nation modernity flag'.

Further, the subordination and marginalisation of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage are stated rhetorically by the Indonesian government and legitimated through the '*Wawasan Nusantara*' (Archipelago Concept) of Indonesian nation state security. Historically, this notion, which emphasises the meaning of the waters that unite the islands in a nation, was developed under Sukarno's model of Indonesia's glorious past (see Chapter 2), the Indonesian Youth Pledge in 1928, particularly in the first pledge '*Kami Putera Puteri Indonesia bertanah air satu tanah air Indonesia*' (We the sons and daughters of the Indonesian nation, acknowledge one land and water, the land and water of Indonesia) and the first lyric '*Indonesia Tanah Airku*' (Indonesia my land and my water) of the Indonesian national anthem (Moertopo 1978: 29-30, 73-76). This national doctrine was introduced by the former Indonesian Prime Minister Djuanda in the Djuanda Declaration on 13th December 1957. Officially, this doctrine was called '*Azas Kepulauan*' (Archipelago Principle) and it was concerned with naval law. As the largest archipelago in the world, these Indonesian maritime territories should also represent the Indonesian nation homeland. Thus, rather than dividing the Indonesian homeland into countless islands, these vast ocean waters unify the Indonesian archipelago into a single nation. Accordingly, the Indonesian nation state boundary at sea should not be measured 3 miles from each shoreline, but should be measured from the outer end of the Indonesian archipelago (12 miles). In short, this government announcement proclaimed the Indonesian nation as an archipelagic state (Danusaputro 1982: 76-79, 91-92; Taylor 1994: 83; Anwar 1998: 209; Acciaioli 2001: 5-6).

The Djuanda Declaration of the Archipelago principle was refined even further in the '*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 4 tahun 1960 tentang Perairan Indonesia*' (Government Regulation to Replace Law Number 4, 1960 of Indonesian territorial waters). Under this regulation, the Principle was explicitly developed under the term of '*Wawasan Nusantara*' (the Archipelagic Outlook). It is important to note that this concept unites the Indonesian Archipelago into '*Tanah Air*'- a unitary Land and Water - where Indonesian people share an archipelagic nation. Such an Indonesian government project of a maritime nation requires an essential postulation of the Indonesian ancient maritime empire continuity that has been preserved in recent times. Following this concept, the Çrivijaya kingdom and the Majapahit kingdom led the Indonesian ancient maritime culture and highlight the nation's maritime heritage (Djamhur 1982: 66-69; Notopuro 1982: 232).

Further, the term '*Nusantara*' was invented from the *Pararaton* manuscript, particularly from the Gadjah Mada's oath called *'Sumpah Palapa'* as follow (Muljana 2005: 249; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983b: 436):

> '*Sira Gajah Mada pepatih amungkubumi tan ayun amukti palapa, sira Gajah Mada: Lamun huwus kalah nusantara ingsun amukti palapa, lamun kalah ring Gurun, ring Seram, Tañjungpura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompu, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana ingsun amukti palapa*'

From his position as Prime Minister of Majapahit kingdom, Gadjah Mada declared that he would cease to enjoy a life of luxury until he conquered *Nusantara*, the regions which consisted of Gurun, Seram, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dompo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang, and Tumasik. Yamin (1953: 50-53) proceeded to extend the *Nusantara* territory by relating it to the *Negarakretagama* manuscript Metrum 13-14 in which the Majapahit kingdom's domain was called '*Nusantara astadwipa*'. This domain consisted of eight regions, namely the islands of Java, Sumatera, and Kalimantan, the Malay Peninsula, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Nusa Tenggara Timur and surrounding islands, Sulawesi, Maluku and surrounding Islands and Papua, with the central domain being the island of Java. Thus, the Indonesian nation state sea boundary measurement of twelve miles was validated and rooted from ancestral time (Notopuro 1982: 200). This framework also fitted the notion of *Kebudayaan Nusantara* (Archipelagic Culture) in the New Order era after 1965. As the New Order's objective was to maintain order and stability, the national doctrine of '*Wawasan Nusantara*' was developed into the Indonesian nation state as a single political, social, economic and defence unit. The obsession to maintain order and stability transformed the Majapahit kingdom into the ancient maritime kingdom in which the archipelago was unified into a single nation that was inherited by the Indonesian nation state today. Given the Island Java as the location of the Majapahit kingdom, the Indonesian government labelled the Javanese as the ultimate agents of maritime culture and placed them in the centre of the pan-Indonesian maritime heritage (Acciaioli 2001: 4-5; Anwar 1998: 486, 490).

Accordingly, the Indonesian state supported Suharto's wife 'Siti Hartinah' in launching an ambitious project *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Beautiful Miniature of Indonesia). This project was finished on 20th April 1975 and occupied approximately 100 hectare (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah Profil 2009). As a small-scale representation of all the Indonesian regions, this park consisted of 26 traditional houses from 26 Indonesian Provinces (Taman Mini Indonesian Indah Anjungan Daerah 2009), and 8 hectare artificial lake, in which a small-scale Indonesian archipelago was depicted, 15 museums, hotels, and recreation facilities (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah Fasilitas 2009). However, confusing implementation of this state policy occurred when considering how Florenese cultural heritage should be displayed.

Since Flores Island is occupied by many ethnic groups it is not easy to choose 'the best and the most unique' Flores cultural heritage. Thus, Flores ethnic group cultural heritage is simplified and reduced to a traditional house from the Ende ethnic group (Taman Mini Indonesian Indah Anjungan Daerah 2009).

Meanwhile, through the Indonesian government's project of '*Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*' text book, the Indonesian nation state formation appears to be a representation of Java as the centre of Indonesian state authority and also as the dominant ethnic group. To counter such criticism, the New order Indonesian government launched the project of regional-history writing in which minority ethnic groups could recount and add their contribution in the Indonesian nationhood history (Atkinson 2003: 135-137). While the Manggaraian and the Ngadha are positioned as primitive ethnic groups of the prehistory period in *Sejarah Nasional* Indonesian official government text book, this state project offers these minority ethnic groups the opportunity to include their contribution in the core national culture, particularly in the modern history of Indonesian Independence. The textbooks '*Sejarah Perlawanan terhadap Imperialisme dan Kolonialisme di Nusa Tenggara Timur*' (Kopong, 1983) and '*Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur*' (Widyatmika, et. al., 1979) resulted from the government project of regional history. However, these textbook publications are not on the market. They are only used for public school education of the people of Flores themselves. Outside of Flores, Indonesians learn about the world's great Borobudur cultural heritage, the Çriwijaya kingdom and the Majapahit kingdom, but their teachers in early schooling rarely give lessons on the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megaliths, while they regard their local history and their local kingdoms as marginal ethnic groups.

This thesis aims to point out the daily operation of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages as ancestral inheritance sites that are continually shaped and reproduced across time and space. Mapping and interpreting the Warloka site excavation findings and the megalith village's portable artefacts in different parts of the world provides further evidence that there was such a past. How is this past interpreted, infused and presented in the present? Rather than approaching the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage as a material objectification of the past or as a project to return to the past, my approach is to see ethnic cultural heritage not only as a dynamic and powerful resource to address claims about ancestry and identity to create the future and to sustain agency of cultural transformation, but also to undertake issues of otherness and freeing this cultural heritage from the hegemony of government protection, monopoly and custodianship.

From antiquities and ethnography to cultural heritage and national history: a periodisation of heritage discourse, law and institutional practices in Indonesia

The aim of this chapter is to acknowledge cultural heritage management in Indonesia as the product of both the Indonesian people and a specific Dutch colonial historical social construction, which was continued and transformed after Indonesian independence. In order to fully grasp this we need a periodisation of heritage practices. Although this periodisation seems to run parallel to the history of state formation, it also has a 'timeless' notion related to ancient cultural heritage practices that survive to the present. Furthermore, I will describe the nature of cultural heritages, their functions, the general tendency in heritage legislation and policy regarding their ownership and the government custodianship of cultural heritage from the earliest Indonesian ancestor to the New Order era. Throughout this chapter I will also address questions of power and authority concerning who has the mandate to manage cultural heritage, as well as the right to benefit from it. In this context how Dutch and Indonesian archaeologists have positioned themselves within these developments will also be discussed.

Colonial interpretations of cultural heritage before 1945

In former times the Indonesian ancestors had their own way of approaching what today we would call cultural heritage management practices. In general these practices were intimately linked to the preservation, conservation and protection of *pusaka*, a tangible and intangible cultural heritage that included ritual regalia, masks, land, houses, weapons, ceramics, musical instruments, manuscripts, myths and dances that were animated with an energy or ancestor spirit and had magical, supernatural powers. As such, they were living things and were considered as ancestor embodiment (Kreps 2003: 50-52).

Rights to the ownership of *pusaka* -- such as in Ngadha, Flores the *sao saka puu*, which is the big traditional house of the founding female ancestor that was first installed in the megalith village and its adjoining land (see Chapter 3 for more details) --   were inherited by the family of this first female founding ancestor. (Sudarmadi 1999: 72-74). In Java the *keris* (Javanese dagger) was owned by all the members of the nuclear family of the grandfather: it could not be sold and was held in the custody of the eldest man of the grandfather's nuclear family, who was endowed by the ancestor spirit power. These examples of matrilineal and

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patrilineal inheritance and care for pusaka indicate that rights to the ownership of *pusaka* have long varied according to the customs of each Indonesian ethnic group.

It is also believed that the *pusaka* embodied supernatural powers that could protect people from danger and bring prosperity. If people fail to acknowledge this dependence and do not reward the *pusaka* for their benevolence by conducting certain periodical offerings and particular rituals, the descendants might be punished. The punishment could take the form of serious accident, illness or death among them. To avoid the risk of such punishment and to remain on good terms with the *pusaka* people must meet their obligations to them by retaining a keen interest in them and fulfilling ritual obligations (Kreps 2006: 467; Sudarmadi 1999: 156-157).

These Indonesian ancestor methods of cultural heritage management demonstrate a symbiotic mutualism of the *pusaka* and its heirs. Since the *pusaka* is an essential medium to ensure kinship ties, lineage continuity and community welfare, people give much attention to its care and preservation, which are thought to enhance spiritual power and physical integrity. In this sense, it can be said that the significant concept of Indonesian ancestor cultural heritage management is based on the principle of harmonising relationships between the universe, *pusaka* and people in day-to-day life. Consequently, the divorce and exile of the *pusaka* from its cultural context origin, fallacy in custodian inheritance and ritual disobedience will endanger the living and create world destruction. This is not the ruling concept in most cultural heritage institutions today. It is held mainly by Indonesian ethnic communities whose traditions are still alive and by individuals who maintain the glorious past of their ancestors for prestigious social reasons and for national pride (Sudarmadi 1999: 160-176; Feldman 1994: 44-47; Taylor 1994: 74-77).

The colonisation of Indonesian cultural resources

On March 12th 1619 the Dutch colonial merchants of the VOC (the United East India Company) established a permanent safe port on the northwest coast of the island of Java from where they could run offices, warehouses and facilities for their Asian trade network. This fortified post was called 'Batavia' after the 'Batavian myth', an imaginary historical continuity of an ancient Germanic tribe of the Netherlands who rebelled against Roman imperial tyranny (Schama 1987: 54, 68, 72-82, 178). From this time, the Dutch colonial power gradually achieved control over Java, Sumatera and the Outer Islands for more than 300 years (Ricklefs 2008: 32-33; Vickers 2006; 10). While the VOC, or *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie,* was focused primarily on trading and natural exploitation, in the middle of 17th century Rijklof van Goens, a Dutch merchant who was also an ambassador of the VOC, in his travel notes made during his journey from Semarang port to the court of

Mataram Islamic kingdom, reported a Javanese cultural heritage such as an abundance of gold and precious jewellery that were found in sacred sites like Hindu-Buddhist temples and Islamic graves (Scheurleer 2007: 76).

Dutch colonial concern for Indonesian heritage continued to increase the metropolis citizens' interest in indigenous people's antiquity but remained descriptive and typological in emphasis. In addition the heritage function has usually been interpreted superficially in terms of its mysterious, exotic and unique phenomena. An early instance is the Rumphius book '*D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer'* published in 1705, which described stone adzes, bronze celts, kettledrums and also the stories and myths associated with these artefacts (Heine-Geldern 1945: 129).

In 1771 de *Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen* (the Holland Society of Sciences) called for essays not only on the Dutch trade in the East Indies, but also on the role of arts and sciences in the Dutch colony's proselytisation of Christianity. This essay competition inspired the Society to establish a branch in the East Indies. As a result, on May 21st 1777 an economic science branch of this institution was established in the East Indies and J.C.M. Radermacher was appointed as the director. Focusing on the idea of promoting East Indies commodities, this branch of the Society was supported by the VOC, which by now had great control of the East Indies colony (Djojonegoro 2006: 42).

Considering that such a branch could expand its aim from natural resource commodity business to the study of the East Indies indigenous people and their culture, VOC made this institution independent from the Holland Society of Sciences and renamed it '*Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*' (The Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences), and Radermacher was given charge of this new institution on April 24th 1778. A year later, the works of the institution were published in '*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (VBG)'. Since the institution's collection of prehistoric and ethnographic artefacts grew beyond counting, Radermacher donated his house to serve as a storage place for the collection. As time passed the collection was exhibited not only to the Dutch, but also to the indigenous people, and in 1779 Radermacher's house in Kalibesar Street was given the name Batavian Museum (Hardiati 2005: 11-14; Wood 2005: 10). Although The Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences assigned to the museum the motto 'for the good of the general public', this museum also conveyed Dutch colonial pride in the colony (McGregor 2004: 16-17).

The Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences was the first European institution of learned societies in Asia. However, in the early institutional policy, economic interest in colonial

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products and exploitation of natural resources had more priority in the programme than research into the cultural heritage and indigenous people's daily activities. This was clearly seen in Volume I of the Batavia Society proceedings, which listed only two topics of literature among 44 subjects that included agriculture, fishing, industry, mechanics and medicine. The dominance of colonial economic themes in the programme of this institution might have been related to the initial institution membership since, of the total 103 members, one third were VOC officers, 77 persons were high officials of Dutch colonial trade companies outside the East Indies and the rest were honourable Dutch members who lived in the East Indies (Scheurleer 2007: 84; Djojonegoro 2006: 42, 45-46).

The death of Radermacher in a ship mutiny while on his way to the Netherlands in 1782 and the Napoleonic invasion of the Netherlands in 1795 halted the activities of the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences. Shortly after, in September 1811 the British Empire took over authority of the East Indies. Following the British Empire take-over Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Java. His interest in Javanese antiquity and his responsibility of the British Empire museological colonial project that represented East Indies cultural heritage as trophies of imperial conquest, motivated Raffles to accept the post as the new Director of the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences in 1813 (Hardiati 2005: 12-13; Djojonegoro 2006: 44, 47; Keurs 2007: 9; Ricklefs 2008: 135-138).

Although Raffles led this society for only three years, he initiated procedures of collecting, classifying and documenting Javanese cultural heritage. As a result, the Batavian Museum collection grew and Raffles donated the building in the Majapahit Street around the Harmoni area to the museum. Raffles's book 'The History of Java' published in 1817 indicated his broad Javanese ethnographic knowledge (Keurs 2011: 170; Keurs 2007: 9; Scheurleer 2007: 86-87; Djojonegoro 2006: 47-48; Hardiati 2005: 12). Moreover, Raffles' antiquarian work also marked the beginning of the Westernisation of East Indies cultural heritage, in which indigenous peoples' *pusaka* were removed from their cultural context and then put in the Western cultural context through the process of selection and collection, before being displayed in the Western institution 'museum' under the guardianship of Western scholars and experts. Moreover, his book on the grandeur of Javanese history reflected the Colonial documentation project since he brought Western ideas to the indigenous peoples' cultural heritage representing the Javanese, an ethnic community of the East Indies that in Raffles' perception did not have their own history, in the Western imagination as a primitive, prehistoric, static and exotic society.

In 1815 Napoleon was defeated in the battle of Waterloo and the Anglo-Dutch treaty was ratified. Following this treaty, Dutch possession of the East Indies was restored and Raffles

and the British Colonial Empire left Batavia on March 25th 1816. An immediate action to transfer the East Indies' colonial administration from the British Empire was taken by King William I by appointing Baron van der Capellen first as Commissary-General for the East Indies, and then as its Governor-General, while assigning Professor C.G.C. Reinward as the head of the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences. It soon became apparent that their policy, outlined in the decree drawn in 1822, was to survey, collect and deposit the East Indian cultural heritage, especially the Hindu-Javanese artefacts, in the Batavian Museum. As soon as a thorough scientific examination was done, the masterpiece collection was shipped to the Netherlands for its national collection, which would become the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (Hardiati 2005: 13; Djojonegoro 2006: 48; Keurs 2007: 9; Scheurleer 2007: 87). At that time, the concept of Western knowledge justified the colonial collection project, particularly on the grounds that they were preserving and conserving the indigenous peoples' cultural heritage from obscurity and neglect. It was also believed that a museum was a better place to store such precious cultural heritage than their original cultural context (Classen and Howes 2006: 209).

Throughout this period, it was a common practice of the Dutch colonial expatriates to collect objects that were part of the East Indies cultural heritage and to bring them back to the Netherlands in the interest of trade, science, exchange and elite citizen status. In order to represent the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences' role as the guardian and the protector of this cultural heritage, the Dutch colonial government launched a decree in 1840, which stated that the East Indies cultural heritage was the Dutch colonial property and without the Governor General's permission these antiquities could not be shipped to the Netherlands. Following this decree, W.R. Baron van Hoëvell, the successor of Reinward as the Director of the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences, was invited to select Javanese tangible cultural heritage from the Residents' list. As the Representative of the Dutch Colonial authority on the East Indies Cultural heritage, Van Hoëvell selected the best Residents' collections and added them to the Batavian Museum. While he initiated the annual publication of the *Tijdschrift voor Nederland's Indië* (Journal for the Dutch Indies) in 1838 in the Netherlands, the journal '*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal– Land- en Volkenkunde*' (the Journal of Languages, Geography, and Ethnography of the Indies) was also launched in 1853 (Djojonegoro 2006: 43,50-52; Scheurleer 2007: 89-91). The decree legitimated and provided a way for the Dutch Colonial authorities to monopolise and control the East Indies cultural heritage practice while the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences' research and journal publication conveyed the way in which Dutch colonial knowledge imposed the vision of domination, glory and representing the 'other' (Keurs 2011: 170).

Archaeologists were assigned their role in the East Indies colony cultural heritage management in 1862. Anticipating the lack of expertise in management of indigenous people's tangible cultural heritage and the scientific need to assess antiquity sites, the Dutch Colonial Government promoted J.F.G. Brumund as an archaeologist scholar and assessor of the East Indies antiquities which would be sent to Batavia. A year later Brumund died and he was replaced by Isidore van Kinsbergen. Simultaneously, with the initialisation of the cultural heritage assessment, the Dutch Colonial government initiated the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences as the Government's executive institution. Further, the Batavian Museum became the centre of Javanese cultural heritage storage and research (Scheurleer 2007: 94-95). With these colonial institutional instruments to control the cultural heritage management of the East Indies, the Dutch Colonial government more and more infused the indigenous people's cultural heritage with Western values and meaning.

From 1863 -1873 Van Kinsbergen worked on the Dutch Colonial documentation project of the Javanese cultural heritage. Considering photography as the new technology to catch the best images of the Javanese antiquities, he produced photograph albums of 'the Antiquities of Java' which represented 332 images of monuments and antiquities. Such pictures enabled the Dutch Colonial officers to promote their work in the East Indies colony. No wonder his album was admired by the crowd when it was displayed at the Vienna Colonial Exhibition held between 1st May and 31st October 1873 and at the Paris World Exhibition held in the park Parc du Trocadéro from 1st May to 1st November 1878. At the end of the former exhibition the Dutch Colonial government was awarded a gold medal and Van Kinsbergen received the award. Today, his photographs are kept in the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*/KITLV, Leiden (Teuns and Asser 2005: 136-140; Scheurleer 2007: 94). With this recognition of the photographs, the Dutch colonial government transformed the static cultural heritage of others into an emblem of Dutch modernisation and superior knowledge over that of indigenous people, thus bringing them national pride and colonial glory.

The installation of the Dutch colonial government's research institution on the East Indies cultural heritage

The institutionalisation of colonial management of the East Indies cultural resources reached its maturity in the early 20th Century. The Ethical Policy embraced the Dutch colonial notion of paying its 'debt of honour' to the indigenous people of the East Indies through elevating the native colony's welfare by the moral mission programme under Dutch colonial tutelage. Such efforts required a long term process and needed more bureaucratic administration. Following this point of view, it was also the responsibility and the obligation of the Dutch colonial government to provide the East Indies indigenous people with a history in

accordance with the Dutch Colonial 19th century glory perspectives (Gouda 1995: 24-25, 51-56). Accordingly, cultural heritage management in East Indies was organised by the Dutch Indies government in 1901 under the *Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indie voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madura* (the Commission in the Dutch Indies for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura). It was an official government institution, which was led by J.L.A. Brandes (Soekmono 1977: 1; Tanudirjo1995: 66).

As a Dutch colonial officer and philologist, Brandes was appointed by the Dutch Colonial government as an art protection officer to join the second Lombok military expedition in 1894. Given the responsibility of preserving the valuable artefacts of the Lombok kingdom, he secured *Nagarakrĕtagama (*a large number of palm leaf manuscripts) from the Lombok prince's library collection by looting and destruction. At the end of the Lombok military expedition, the Dutch colonial authorities brought 230 kg of gold, 7,000 kg of silver, jewellry and other precious items of Lombok cultural heritage to Batavia (Ernawati 2007: 196-197; Supomo 1982: 180; Pott and Sutaarga 1979: 38). Having accomplished such a successful Dutch Colonial government service, Brandes was promoted to the post of director of the Commission.

While in 1891 Eugene Dubois discovered the skull and a year later he found a femur on the banks of Solo river, Trinil, Ngawi, Java, 15 metres below the ravine, was and thereby made his first discovery of the phenomenal missing link of the *Pithecanthropus erectus* (upright man-ape), Brandes' projects did not emphasise the palaeo-anthropology of primitive Java ancestors, but engaged on the Hindu-Javanese manuscript publication of the complete episodes of the history of the Singhasari and Majapahit kingdom, such as '*Pararaton (Ken Arok) of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit*' (Pararaton (Ken Arok): The Book of Kings of Tumapel and of Majapahit) (Brandes 1896) and '*Nagarakrĕtagama: lofdicht van Prapanjtja op Koning Rasadjanagara, Hajam Wuruk van Madjapahit*' (Nagarakrĕtagama: ode of Prapanjtja to King Rasadjanagara, Hajam Wuruk of Madjapahit) (Brandes 1902). Brandes' article on Old Javanese society in the 9th Century has remained fundamental, since he concluded that ten aspects of Javanese culture, like *wayang* (puppet shadow) and *sawah* (wet rice cultivation) had originated from the Javanese before the penetration of the Hindu culture (Wibowo 1977: 72: Casparis 1961: 123). Moreover, he became involved in the preservation of the grandeur of the Hindu-Javanese monuments by establishing the Borobudur commission that carried out salvage and reconstruction of Borobudur structures. The *Candi* (temple) Jago and the *Candi* Singasari monographs were outstanding works on the Hindu-Javanese antiquities (Hadimuljono 1977: 30; Tjandrasasmita 2002: 259).

His successor, N.J Krom in 1910 was granted funding to undertake a comparative study of cultural heritage management in the British and French colonies in Southeast Asia. After completing this task, Krom restructured this Dutch Colonial Archaeology research institution, particularly by adding a new branch for collection, documentation and research on North Sumatera antiquities – Pase, Pidie, Aru, Langkat and Baros- under the joint responsibility of P.J. Perquin and J.J. de Vink, and Islamic antiquities under the direction of P.J. Moquette (Tjandrasasmita 2002: 260; Soekmono 1977: 1). Further he proposed to the Dutch colonial government official announcement of the Commission as a permanent government institution. Hence, on June 14th 1913 the Commission was renamed *Oudheidkundige Dienst* (the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies) by the Dutch Colonial authority (Sedyawati and Keurs 2005: 28; Tanudirjo 1995: 66).

Under Krom's leadership this new institution continued to focus on the beauty of the civilised Hindu-Java culture. In 1912 he also supported the installation of the Mojokerto museum initiated by the *Bupati* (head of Regency) of Mojokerto, Kromodjojo Adinegoro, in order to store and display the Hindu-Javanese collection from the East Java region. His admiration of Hindu-Javanese cultural heritage was clearly seen in his publication *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (Introduction to the Hindu-Javanese Art) in 1919, his monograph of Borobudur in 1920, and *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese History) in 1926. In addition, Krom's scientific works were elaborated in the Netherlands after he left East Indies in 1915 and never returned (Casparis 1961: 126-129; Berg 1961: 169-171; Soekmono 1977: 2-3; Tjandrasasmita 2002: 260). In fact, Krom's publications presented the Hindu-Javanese culture as the highest East Indies cultural achievement, giving credit to the Indian kingdom colonialism which had transformed the cultural variability of the East Indies into a harmonious one and fabricating such indigenous people's culture under the Dutch colonial knowledge supremacy.

From 1915 to 1936 F.D.K. Bosch took over N.J. Krom's position as the leader of the Archaeological Service*,* and his early work was concerned with the reconstruction of Hindu-Javanese monuments, particularly the Prambanan temple. The publication of the Old Malay inscriptions of Çrivijaya by G Coedès (1930) proved the existence of the Çrivijaya imperial reign in Sumatera in 7th AD, before the rise of the Majapahit kingdom (Casparis 1961: 133-134; Supomo 1982: 182). This outstanding French scholarly work completely changed Bosch's research point of view. While Hindu-Javanese research was still carried out in Java and the Trowulan museum was established in 1920 to store and display artefacts from Trowulan – the capital of Majapahit kingdom - site excavation, Van Stein Callenfels as the Inspector of the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies was sent to East Sumatera,

especially to collect and to take inventory of the Sumatera antiquities (Tjandrasasmita 2002: 257; Hadimuljono 1977: 32).

Although Van Callenfels observed the Çriwijaya remains, he soon found *'kjökkenmödinger* (shell-midden) in the East coast of Sumatera. Four years later he published prehistoric stone tools *Sumateralith* (Mesolithic hand-axe) from his shell-midden excavation along the East coast of Sumatera (O.V. 1924: 127-133). From 1928 to 1933 he excavated the Sampung cave in Ponorogo, East Java, the Petang site in Bali and the Kalumpang site in Sulawesi. His excavation findings showed prehistoric stone tool artefacts such as rectangular adzes, arrow heads, flakes, blades, pottery and human remains of *Austromelanesoid* prehistoric people (Hadimuljono 1977: 33-34). In 1934 he was promoted to be the advisor of the Archaeological Prehistoric Service and the curator of the Prehistoric section in the Batavian Museum. For a short while after the promotion he installed a special room for prehistoric collection display in the Batavian Museum. This display consisted of prehistoric artefacts and a cast of human remains of Dubois' famous finding the 'Javanese ape-man' and his own more recent prehistoric human find. It is no wonder that Van Callenfels eventually became the first Dutch scholar who established prehistoric research in the East Indies (Hadimuljono 1977: 32, 34).

Van Callenfels' prehistoric excavations also transformed stone tool and human remain finds of *Austromelanesoid* into supporting evidence of the primitiveness of East Indies indigenous people. Indeed, his interpretation of stone tools attributed such tools to the *Austromelanesoid* who made and used them before they mastered the technology of making metal tools. Viewed from Progressionism - a product of Enlightenment Thought that typically stressed the historical narrative associated with the notion of progress - such a theme can be regarded in human evolution as the development of their brain volume, social organisation phase and stage of technological control over the environment. As a consequence, the small sized brain, lack of social organisation and simple stone tools technology of the *Austromelanesoid* – the former ancestors of indigenous people - positioned their lineage lower in the ladder of evolution progress than the Dutch colonisers (Poesponegoro and Notususanto 1983a: 117-123; Zerubavel 2003: 14-16). Thus, Van Callenfels' study infused what Gouda (1995:137-139) terms 'the Dutch Colonial justification', as the civilised progressive empire controlling the savage, underdeveloped, primitive tribes of the East Indies colony.

In 1931, under the direction of Bosch, a huge number of Hindu-Javanese precious objects and prehistoric bronze-iron masterpiece artefacts from the Batavian Museum were loaned

for display at the Paris Colonial World Fair. They were displayed in the Dutch Pavilion under the Ethnography section. However, following the story line and route plan which ended with the Dutch colonial history, it was evident that the East Indies cultural heritage represented the original, primitive, exotic and static civilisation that had been subjugated and brought into historical development by Dutch Colonial power. Thus, the Dutch Colonial government promoted the East Indies cultural heritage as the complementary role – otherness - for the purpose of impressing the world with its civilising mission, tutelage responsibility and glorifying colonialism (Bloembergen 2006: 296-302; Gouda 1995: 220-221; Soekmono 1977: 8-9). It was the first time that the Batavian Museum loaned its collection to an international exhibition that eventually would provide these Hindu-Javanese and prehistoric artefacts from East Indies with international public recognition through the Van Kinsbergen photographs, but unfortunately the Dutch Pavilion caught fire and much of the Batavian Museum collection such as the bronze axe from Roti Island, the Hindu-Javanese gold statues and small bronze jewellry were completely ruined (Soekmono 1977: 8-9; Gouda: 1995: 229-23)

Another important development with respect to the East Indies cultural heritage was the act issued by the Dutch Indies government on 13th June 1931 called '*Monumenten Ordonnantie'* (Monuments Ordinance) number 19. This act established the government ownership of the East Indies objects of antiquity and it also regulated compensation claims of monuments and sites on private property, especially when such objects and sites were listed in the government inventory. In short, this act was designed to protect, to conserve, to preserve and to restore the indigenous peoples' cultural heritage (Sedyawati and Keurs 2005: 28; Pott and Sutaarga 1979: 40). Actually, such a policy was inspired by the Dutch colonial quest to preserve East Indies cultural history. The East Indies culture was viewed as a 'primitive living museum' which mirrored the Dutch feudal society in the Middle Ages and such a culture had to be protected from the impact of modern Western civilisation. While the effort of unfolding East Indies' cultural history was not easy since there were many hundreds of ethnic groups with many different cultures, the process of Western modernisation caused these static and tranquil cultures to lose their authenticity (Gouda 1995: 125-138).

In 1935, Bosch as the Director of the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies and of the Batavian Museum delivered a speech 'On the Development of Museum in the Dutch Indies'. In the speech he once again stressed the importance of a cultural heritage ordinance to protect indigenous peoples' arts and crafts which were under threat of the Western civilisation penetration (Bosch 1935; 213-215, 217). In this case he strengthened the Dutch colonial concept of guardianship with respect to the monuments of indigenous people and their movable artefacts, which were considered important by the Dutch colonial government.

However, this cultural heritage act was focused on tangible heritage protection and preservation (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan 1989: 14-32). Indigenous peoples' intangible heritage preservation was tackled by Dutch linguist scholars like Brandes and Stutterheim

While the Monuments Ordinance authorised the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies to collect, register, identify, label, categorise and synthesise indigenous peoples' tangible cultural heritage into sources of the East Indies past history, each past narration needed more monuments and more artefacts. Thus the Archaeological Service officers faced a never ending jigsaw-puzzle to accomplish the East Indies cultural history formation and give a detailed description of myriad native peoples' culture, in order to construct a representation of what might be a Dutch colonial nostalgia for the distant Middle Ages of an Archipelago imperial civilisation such as the Çriwijaya imperial reign in Sumatera of the 7th Century and the Majapahit kingdom in Java from 13th Century that had long since been lost. However, such an approach overshadowed and neglected social scientific study on the explanation of cultural diversity or similarity, the reason for cultural change and the cultural dynamic of indigenous people under the penetration of Hindu, Islamic and Western civilisation (Prager 1999: 336-344, 347).

Obviously, Bosch's studies on Ancient East Indies Art formation were influenced by the approaches of previous Dutch colonial scholars. However, in his article '*Een Hypothese Omtrent de Oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*' he argued that the temple installation was based on the Çilvasastra from India, whereas the execution of the relief sculpting on the temple was done by Javanese artisans. In other words, he turned the role of Indian architects in the construction of Javanese temple buildings to a mere source of inspiration and credited this work to the Javanese artists. Further, he promoted the Javanese temples and Hindu-Javanese art objects to a new and significant level of the highest achievement of the East Indies civilisation (Bosch 1919: 93-169). By doing so, he elevated and established Hindu-Javanese culture as a marker of progress, development and high civilisation. By implication, his concept classified those indigenous peoples' culture that had not lived through this stage of Hindu-Javanese culture as primitive, less developed and retarded societies.

While the greatest attention was paid to the study of the Hindu-Javanese art, Bosch also inspected the Islamic antiquities in Cirebon, West Java, Kudus, Central Java and Lamongan, East Java. Further, he reported that given their architectural and artistic style, these antiquities showed the acculturation of Hindu-Javanese culture and Islamic culture

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(Tjandrasasmita 1977: 111). However due to the lack of Islamic expertise and Dutch Colonial policy on Islamic subjects, until the end of his occupation in the Archaeological Service, little was known of the ancient Islamic art development in the East Indies (McGregor 2004: 24; Tjandrasasmita 1977: 110-115).

Subsequent to Bosch's retirement in 1936, the Archaeological Service office was under the charge of W.F. Stutterheim. Like his predecessor he was initially trained in linguistic research, but later he broadened his work to archaeological inquiries (Casparis 1961: 138). When Stutterheim became chief of the Archaeological Service, he faced the worldwide economic depression and soon would be confronted with the World War II. However, inspection, excavation, restoration and preservation activities were still carried out with limited funding and shortage of staff (Sedyawati and Keurs 2005: 28; Soekmono 1977: 9-10).

During Stutterheim's leadership in the Archaeological Service work on Borobudur and Prambanan temple restoration were continued. Later, an excavation was conducted in Gebang village, Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Province and a small Hindu temple was discovered, but it was not until 1939 that this temple was completely restored. From 1938 to 1940 Islamic monument conservation was done in Cirebon, West Java and Lamongan, East Java. In 1938 prehistoric research was extended to Sa'abang site, Palopo, Central Sulawesi and excavation was conducted by W.J.A Willems. A year later he also excavated Melolo site, East Sumba. Further, a few Javanese worked as Dutch Indies employees at the branch of this institution in Central Java, after they finished their *Algemeene Middelbare School*/AMS (High School) in A1 (Oriental/East Letters specialisation) degree. Soon they were allowed to assist archaeological research (Tanudirjo 1995: 67; Wood 2005: 11; Soekmono 1977: 10-11).

Until the end of Stutterheim's career around 50 archaeological notes were published. His study on Bali antiquities resulted in a reliable account of the Old Balinese palace kingdom and its social structure. Finally, his last scholarly paper '*De Kraton van Majapahit*' synthesised his ethnographic knowledge of the *Kraton* (palace) of Surakarta, the reconstruction based on archaeological data of the excavation in Trowulan site, Mojokerto, and his interpretation of the Ma-Huan report of the Majapahit palace, giving a detailed illustration and map of the palace of the Majapahit Kingdom (Stutterheim 1948). Such an approach can be attributed to his quest for the East Indies cultural origin. Accordingly, he insisted that the Old Javanese culture should be viewed as an ancient original culture of the East Indies region. In addition, the term Hindu-Javanese culture should no longer be used since it would give a hybrid impression of India and Javanese cultures. Instead of Hindu-

Javanese, he proposed Old-Javanese to indicate this cultural period (Gouda 1995: 71; Casparis 1961: 138-140). In this way his ideas were rather different from Krom's and Bosch's points of view, particularly by giving Indonesian indigenous people a role in mediating their original culture. On the other hand, his concept also put the Old-Javanese culture at the centre and as a highly civilised imperial culture in the East Indies region.

The Second World War, which reached South East Asia in 1942, had a strong impact on the Dutch Indies activities. The chaotic situation in the Netherlands and the Japanese military invasion of the East Indies forced the Dutch colonial government to stop its works. Finally, the Dutch colonial administration surrendered to the Japanese on the 8th March 1942. While almost all the Dutch in the East Indies were interned in Japanese military or civil internment camps, a huge number of the East Indies indigenous people were promoted to the Japanese administration work (Elson 2008: 98-101). A similar case was experienced by the Archaeological Service office. Stutterheim was imprisoned but was soon released to report his institution's works on the East Indies antiquities. However, in September 1942 he died. With the help of Stutterheim's reports and assisted by Suhamir – the Javanese staff who previously worked in the office of the Archaeological Service - the Japanese officers continued the restoration of Borobudur temple and Prambanan temple (Soekmono 1977: 12).

Indonesian cultural heritage and Indonesian nation state building between 1945 and 1965

On the 15th of August 1945, by the time the East Indies nationalists knew from the radio that the Japanese had surrendered to the Allied forces, the East Indies nationalist movement had accelerated to its peak. In the morning of August 17th 1945, Sukarno and Hatta - supported by many prominent nationalists - declared the establishment of 'Negara Republik Indonesia' 'a free state of Indonesian Republic' (Elson 2008: 111-113; Ricklefs 2008: 247; Vickers 2005: 95).

The immediate circumstance of Indonesian nation state formation was the idea of nationalism, an expanding consciousness of a shared experience of Dutch colonialism and the fierce struggle for freedom. This notion of nationalism became a political concept to overcome, and at the same time to fight against, the humiliation of the Dutch Colonial oppressor (Elson, 2008: 8-97; Ricklefs 2008: 196-232; Vickers 2006: 72-84; Ali 1963: 113). This attempt was difficult and complicated, especially in the case of the Indonesian nation state. Facing the question of how to keep the multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities united in one nation, the Indonesian state constructed the long lasting and continuous identity of a nation based on their roots and long-term national consciousness. Sukarno, one

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of Indonesia's founding fathers, was able to formulate the building of the Indonesian nation state.

In 1928 he had been inspired by the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Indonesian Youth Pledge) that was '*Bertanah air satu tanah air Indonesia'* (acknowledging one land and water/motherland of Indonesia) as discussed in Chapter 1 (Moertopo 1978: 29, 73-75). In his defence '*Indonesia Menggugat'* (Indonesia Accuses) in the Dutch colonial court in 1930 after having been accused of subversive propaganda, Sukarno had envisaged a model for building national identity and unity in which first, the Indonesian nation state provided the Indonesian people with a narrative of the glorious past that included them all. Second, the Indonesian nation state intensified the dark present notion to the Indonesian people in which everyone suffered alike: and third, the Indonesian nation state led the way to a shining, glittering and promising future for all people together (Oetomo 1961: 75; Soekarno 1961: 130; Reid 1982: 290). It became important to justify the origin and formation of the nation in an early beginning, which would imply a shared vision among the citizens of a past 'Golden Age'. Nation building thus involved the process of recovering, inventing and creating history, particularly in the sense of constructing an 'Imagined Community,' a sense of a society whose members might never know and meet each other or even have a shared similar past history, but in their minds there exists a recent political desire of the image of their community (Anderson 1991: 5-7; Wood 2005: 2-3). Such an effort then had to be made sensible to the people through the means of history, language, monuments, museum collections, artefacts and heritage (Herb, 1999: 17-24).

On the 1st June 1945 during the first session of the *Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (The Investigating Committee for Preparation of the Indonesian Independence) meeting, Sukarno introduced the '*Pancasila*' concept as the official philosophy of the Indonesian state foundation. Inventing the state slogan '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'* (Unity in Diversity) from the old Majapahit manuscript '*Sutasoma*' (The Ministry of Information Republic of Indonesia 1952: 3, 11-32), Sukarno, with the consensus of the other Indonesian nation founding fathers and the elite Indonesian state officers, constituted a unitary nation state.

Sukarno's model paved the way for the development of ideas of a glorious past of the nation state. Being interested in the discoveries of the Çrivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms by the Archaeological Service, which were portrayed as the great empires of the highly civilised Hindu-Javanese culture by the French and Dutch scholars, i.e. Brandes (1896, 1902), Coedes (1930), Krom (1931, 1923) and Stutterheim (1948), Muhammad Yamin and Sanusi Pane, under Sukarno's direction, focused on the Çrivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms to

stimulate Indonesian national pride and unity. Accordingly, the ancient kingdom of Çriwijaya located in Palembang, Sumatera, that was founded in 700 AD, mirrored the first Indonesian nation's embryo, since its territory stretched from Sumatera to Malay Peninsula, ruled by a Malay race – a majority of the Indonesian races today - and became the trans-shipment centre in Southeast Asia before it was conquered by the Javanese (Schnitger 1989: 1-10). However, the most prominent model of Indonesian ancestors' grandeur was the Majapahit kingdom. This kingdom emerged around 12 AD, in Trowulan, East Java and was founded by Raden Wijaya a Javanese nobleman. From East Java region, Majapahit expanded its boundaries by regularly conducting expeditions to conquer other regions. As a result, this kingdom controlled territory as extensive as the Indonesian region today (Yamin 1958; Pane 1952a: 85-101; Pane 1952b: 31, 75-80).

Sukarno, Yamin and others thus modelled a national history with an ancient glorious past, the dark ages during the colonial subjugation, and a liberation struggle that was soon brought to life by emphasising the king, nobleman/woman, leaders or hero/heroine's struggles and rebellions against Dutch colonial oppression. Gadjah Mada (Yamin 1953), Diponegoro (Yamin 1952), Kartini (Subandrio 1950), Tuanku Imam Bonjol (Madjolelo and Marzoeki 1951), Teuku Umar and Cut Nja Din (Hazil 1952) were depicted as brave, energetic, noble, patriotic, sacrificing and steadfast Indonesian heroes who never surrendered to anyone (Oetomo 1961: 76-78).

To this end, Sukarno's model sought the future of the Indonesian nation state as follows (Soekarno 1930: 135):

> *'Kita soedah mendengar persanggoepan-persanggoepannya akan rezeki million-millionen jang ta' diangkoeti ke negara lain, akan perikehidoepan ra'jat jang dus senang dan selamat, akan keadaan social jang sesuai dan memenoehi keboetoehannya, akan soesoenan hidoep politiek jang set jara kera'jatan longgar, akan kemadjoean seni, ilmoe, cultuur jang ta'terhalang-halang. Kita mendengar persanggoepannya akan soeatoe Federatieve Republiek Indonesia, jang hidoep didalam persobatan dan kehormatan dengan bangsa-bangsa lain, akan sesoeatoe bendera Indonesia jang menghiasi angkasa Timoer. Kita mendengar persanggoepannya akan soeatoe natie jang tegoeh dan sehat, keloear dan kedalam'.*

In other words, there would be income worth more than millions that would not be taken away to another country, a promise of a happy and secure society followed by prosperity and welfare, more openness in political life, and encouragement in arts, sciences and cultural activities. There was a promise to form an Indonesian Republic Federation, which would live among other nations with brotherhood and respect, of an Indonesian national flag

rising in the eastern sky and the promise of a nation healthy and firm both inside and outside.

In the late 1940s and 1950s the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) introduced the concept of 'intercultural dialogue' as the main strategy for constructing peace, which immediately paved the way in bringing the newly emerging nation state's culture into the political discourse of international cooperation (Logan 2007: 35-36). For example, UNESCO's policy accommodated Sukarno's ambition to convey the future of the Indonesian nation to the international world for its admiration. The restoration and preservation of the Borobudur temple and Prambanan temple by the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies were suitable for constructing the project of nation building and for representing the Indonesian nation state as a newly emerging force in the international political arena. These great monuments placed Indonesia on the world map and gave a chance to present the Indonesian nation state as being linked to the cultural organisations in the international arena. No wonder Sukarno promoted the Borobudur temple as the Seventh Wonder of the World

As might be expected in a newly emerging nation, Sukarno's model was passionately concerned with the ideology of shaping the Indonesian nation-building. In essence, such an ideology raised the Indonesian collective memory that first they had a nation equal to any of the West; second, they were not a nation without history and in the glorious past their ancestral kingdoms were respected by the world's greatest imperial powers in India and China; third, their golden age was as great as that of any nation in the world; and fourth, their collapse and stigmatisation as a colonised nation was the result of treacherous cunning and the Dutch Colonial deceit strategy of '*divide et impera*' (Ali 1963: 115).

Indeed, this perception of cultural roots extending back to an ancient golden age became a cornerstone of the countries formerly colonised by the Western colonial empires, particularly in search for independence and sovereignty from 1945 onward. For example, Nehru's speech on India's Independence Day on August 15th 1947 'A Tryst with Destiny' underlined the moment when India stepped from the old (ancient glorious past) to the new (free country) and when the soul of the nation, which had been long suppressed finally found utterance (Nehru 1949: 3). Moreover, such a view provided a way to bolster the national moral pride against the colonial humiliation, especially central to the issue 'people without history' and not yet ready for independence. This idea resonated in Queen Juliana's speech at the concluding ceremony of the transfer of Indonesian sovereignty on 27th December 1949, and which highlighted the acceptance of the sovereignty by the young state of Indonesian Republic as well as its renunciation by the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the

establishment of a Union as the most poignant and dramatic events in the history of both the countries The Queen stressed the readiness of the Netherlands to assist, whenever and wherever the young Indonesian nation state needed it (Drooglever and Schouten 1996: 872).

While Sukarno's effort to encourage Indonesian nation building was supported by the Indonesian nationalists, his idea to promote the kingdoms of Çrivijaya and Majapahit as the representation of Indonesia's golden age was not accepted enthusiastically. Even Sukarno in his Colonial court defence of 1930 had indicated the spirit of imperialism and colonialism in the Çrivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms i.e. invading other kingdoms, conquering other nations and expanding their territories (Soekarno 1930: 131). Hamka - the prominent Moslem nationalist - also interpreted Gadjah Mada's policies as an invasion of Islamic kingdoms in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara. Moreover, he equated Gadjah Mada with Otto von Bismarck – the Prime Minister of Prussia - who subjugated the North German Confederation to carry out his policy of Germany's unification (Noer 1982: 256).

Completely disagreeing with the Çrivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms as the symbols of Indonesia nation state's past glory were Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana and Muhammad Hatta. Alisjahbana insisted that such symbols were Java-centred imperialism and the Indonesian nation's unity spirit differed from the earlier kingdoms' unity. While the will to be united in the new Indonesian nation state *'Republik Indonesia'* was based on common interest and ideals – that was a spirit to be free from the Dutch Colonial regime - the sense of unity in Çrivijaya kingdom and Majapahit kingdom was constructed on imperialistic expansionism. Following his argument, the Çrivijaya kingdom and Majapahit kingdom territories in the past could not be claimed as the Indonesian nation state's territory in the future (Nordholt 2004: 3; Supomo 1982: 183; Reid 1982: 291, 295-297).

Indonesian independence revolt and transformation of the Dutch colonial cultural heritage institutions

Given the circumstances facing the Indonesian nation state government during the early Independence Revolt and the Dutch Colonial aggression -1945 to 1950 - it is not surprising that the intense debate on the Indonesian nation state's past glory projection have not yet been resolved. Meanwhile, the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies was renamed '*Jawatan Urusan Barang-Barang Purbakala*' (Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects) and Amin Soedoro was assigned the responsibility for the administration of the Bureau Affairs. In the latter half of September 1945, when Allied troops arrived in Jakarta, Dutch troops and administrators also came with them (Elson 2008: 117-119; Ricklefs 2008: 252). In December

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1945 the Dutch military officers took over the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects, but they let Amin Soedoro manage the Bureau's administration. In 1946 he recruited R.L Soekardi – Stutterheim's former student - to work in this there. A year later, R. Soekmono enrolled as an officer in this bureau. Thus, there were at least three Indonesian who worked in the Bureau Affairs office in Jakarta during the Allied and the Dutch military invasion (Soekmono 1977: 12-13; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 9-10).

The first Dutch military aggression on 21 July 1947 ended Amin Soedoro's administration. A couple of months later the Dutch officially controlled the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects' administration and once again it was renamed the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies. While A.J. Bernet Kempers was appointed as the new Director, V.R. van Romondt took the position of head of Preservation and Conservation of monuments. Further, a new branch office was established in Makassar. While J.C. Krijgsman was in charge, H.R. van Heekeren was responsible for prehistoric research. At the same time, Amin Soedoro, Soekardi and Soekmono continued their administrative works in the Archaeological Service, Jakarta (Soekmono 1977: 13; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 11).

At the end of July 1947 the United Nations forced the Dutch to agree to a ceasefire. In January 1948 the Dutch signed a treaty with the Indonesian Republic on USS Renville. However, the Dutch retained the construction of federal states in East Sumatera, South Sumatera, Pasundan (West Java), East Java and Madura. Thus, from mid-1947 to early 1948 the Dutch established 15 federal governments (Elson 2008:132-133; Ricklefs 2008: 262-263). Following the treaty, the Indonesian Republic's capital was moved to Yogyakarta and the Indonesian Republic Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects was installed its new office in Prambanan, close to the Prambanan temple location. In fact after the Renville treaty there were two institutions of cultural heritage management in the Indonesian region. First, the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies, that was administered by Bernet Kempers as the Dutch representative authority in Jakarta, and second, the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects, which was run by the Indonesian Republic government in Yogyakarta. Suhamir, who had been assisting Van Romondt since 1938 in the Prambanan temple restoration, was appointed as the Director of the Indonesian Republic Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects. In practice however, the works of the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies were hampered by the clash with the Republican army and the ensuing hostile atmosphere. At that time most research work was conducted in Makassar, where the civil administration was under the control of the Dutch government, and concentrated on the prehistoric excavation in the South Sulawesi caves. On the other hand, the works of the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects, especially on Prambanan restoration, were

continued and were relatively safe from the chaotic war situation. As a part of an international cooperation between India and the Indonesian Republic in early 1948 two Indian experts on temple conservation were invited to observe the Borobudur temple stones' deterioration (Soekmono 1977: 13-14; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 11-13).

On 18th December 1948 the Dutch initiated their second aggressive action and a day later the Dutch invaded Yogyakarta, the capital of the Republic. From the point of view of military strategy, this police action met with success, but a guerrilla combat was unleashed by the Republican army and this warfare made the Dutch desperate to gain total victory (Elson 2008: 143; Ricklefs 2008: 267-269; Vickers 2005: 111-112). This Dutch military penetration in Yogyakarta brought the works of the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects to a halt. Moreover, during this conflict many Hindu-Buddhist statues in Bogem village and almost 500 archaeological work documents – excavation reports, site excavation illustrations and temple reconstruction maps – were destroyed or damaged (Soekmono 1977: 14; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 13).

Thereafter the Indonesian Republic was politically supported by the United Nations, the United States and the international forum. As a result, between August 23rd and November 2nd 1949 a Round Table Conference was arranged in The Hague. The most important result was that the Dutch would transfer full sovereignty over Indonesia, excluding Papua, to a *Republik Indonesia Serikat/*RIS (Federal United States of Indonesia) by July 1st 1950. In fact, on 27th December 1949, the Dutch formally handed over sovereignty to RIS (Elson 2008: 143; Ricklefs 2008: 267-269; Vickers 2005: 111-112). Soon the two institutions of cultural heritage management in the Indonesian region were united under the name '*Jawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia Serikat*' (Archaeological Bureau of the Federal United States of Indonesia). Bernet Kempers, the previous director of the Archaeological Service in the Dutch Indies in 1946, was appointed as the head of the Archaeological Bureau of RIS. While Suhamir was sent to Delft, the Netherlands to undertake further studies on technical construction, J.C. Krijgsman and H.R. van Heekeren left Makassar because of conflict in South Sulawesi. Later, Krijgsman was moved and became the director of the Archaeological Bureau in Gianyar, Bali. H.R. van Heekeren was withdrawn to the Archaeological Bureau of the Federal United States of Indonesia in Jakarta (Soekmono 1977: 14; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 13-14).

While Bernet Kempers struggled to consolidate the institution's organisation, the Federal United States of Indonesia became embroiled in more political problems. The majority of the Indonesian nationalists were disappointed with the Federal United States' forms and they started fighting to keep up an Indonesian unitary state. On May 19th 1950 a charter of

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understanding between the United States of Indonesia (RIS) and the Indonesia Republic (RI) was ratified. Finally, during the celebration of the 5th anniversary of the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17th 1950, the Federal United States of Indonesia was abandoned and a unitary Indonesia Republic, which comprised 10 provinces, was declared (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983: 194-195; Vickers 2005: 115; Ricklefs 2008: 270; Elson 2008: 149-150).

By 1950 the Indonesian Republic's sovereignty had gained international formal legal status and began to construct a nation-state. Besides the implementation of the Indonesian nation's ideology '*Pancasila*' with the motto '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (Unity in Diversity), the Indonesian flag '*Merah Putih*' (Red and White) and the Indonesian language were used to underpin and to lay out the patriotic national concept of 77.2 million people from diverse islands, religions and ethnicities (Ricklefs 2008: 273-278; Elson 2008: 157-158; Vickers 2005: 117-118; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983: 198-199).

Since some basic debates on the way in which the Indonesian nation state would develop national unity by sharing an imagined past and envisaging a future dream needed a further elaboration, Sukarno, with a number of politicians and advisers, continued to work on constructing the Indonesian nation's past glory. Considering the Archaeological Bureau of the Indonesian Federal United States' potential to provide an Indonesian cultural heritage for the purpose of conveying the Indonesian collective memory of a golden age, to reinvent the spirit of struggle of Indonesian heroes from the Colonial tyrant's oppression, and to abandon their inferiority complex towards the Dutch colonial power, Sukarno and his advisors approached this institution as a vehicle for shaping the nation.

Under the Round Table Conference agreement on the subject of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union cooperation, around 16,000 Dutch colonial officers and experts were needed to stay in the Indonesian country for the purpose of transferring knowledge and expertise. At the same time, a draft Cultural Agreement to promote the Indonesian fundamental basic of cultural knowledge in the Netherlands, and the other way round, was made. This included education, exchange programmes, scholarships, cultural institutions, recognition of certificates, radio broadcast, books and translations. More than this, article 19 of the draft Cultural Agreement provided for the return and exchange of cultural property, especially the artefacts which embody art and historical value (Jong 2000: 61; Legene and Postel-Coster 2000: 272-273).

As a consequence of this agreement the Dutch leaders and the high ranking officials of the Archaeological Bureau of the Federal United States of Indonesia remained to carry on the

institution's programmes. However article 19 was not implemented and not until early 1951 did the Indonesian Republic finally merge the Archaeological Bureau of the Indonesian Federal United States under '*Jawatan Kebudayaan Kementerian Pengadjaran, Pendidikan dan Kebudajaan*' (Culture Bureau of Learning, Education and Cultural Ministry). Following the Indonesian Republic government's concept of nation building, this institution later was renamed the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic. Again, Bernet Kempers was appointed the director. Soon he established four sections: the first section was devoted to Ancient Monuments under the leadership of V.R. van Romondt, the second section was devoted to Prehistory under H.R. van Heekeren, the third section was devoted to Hindu Antiquity under J. van den End Blom and the fourth was the Epigraphy section headed by J.G. de Casparis. Further, the previous office of the Bureau Affairs of Archaeological Objects in Prambanan was merged with the Ancient Monuments section and was renamed the Javanese Monuments Office under the leadership of Soewarno. In a similar way, the previous office of the Archaeological Bureau in Gianyar, Bali was renamed the Balinese Monuments Office under J.C. Krijgman. Indonesian officers such as Soekmono and Soekardi were sent to *Universitas Indonesia*/UI (the Indonesian University) in Jakarta to study Ancient History and Archaeology. Later, Satyawati Soerjono Soerjo, a student from the Arts and Philosophy Faculty, UI was employed to assist in The Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic (Soekmono 1977: 15; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 15-16).

From 1951 onwards the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic carried out research, restoration, conservation and publication. Examples are Van Heekeren's publication on the prehistoric rock-art in Maros, South Sulawesi, the never ending restoration and preservation of Javanese temples like Borobudur, Prambanan, Plaosan and Ratu Boko, under Soewarno's supervision, as well as the effort to keep Bali as the image of the Majapahit kingdom and the cultural survivor or living museum of Hindu-Javanese civilisation, carried out by Krijgman. While the Islamic grave of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, East Java, was restored, there was no section on Islamic antiquities in the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic (Soekmono 1977: 16; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 17-19). Since the main director and most high official positions were occupied by Dutch scholars, this institution's vision clearly mirrored the former colonial ideology, which fitted the Indonesian nation state's project of a national golden age such by searching for prehistoric evidence of primitiveness, focusing on adulation of Hindu-Javanese high civilisation, marginalising Islamic antiquities research, registering ancient monuments and preserving these antiquities as static culture. These studies were enthusiastically endorsed by the Indonesian government.

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Moreover, the Dutch colonial scholarly ideas on Indonesian cultural heritage management were perpetuated through education and cadre forming. As the Indonesian state government established *Universitas Indonesia*/UI (Indonesian University) in Jakarta and *Universitas Gadjah Mada*/UGM (Gadjah Mada University) with a faculty of Arts and Philosophy, the need for creating a new young generation of intellectuals who would fully understand their culture and history was absolutely essential to weld the nation together. The Indonesian state government's emphasis on culture and history learning of the Indonesian past golden age to stimulate nation building paralleled the longing of the Dutch scholars to preserve the Hindu-Javanese culture, which mirrored their anxiety about the extinction of traditional culture under the modernisation processes.

Accordingly, the Indonesian government recruited prominent Dutch scholars of the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic, i.e. Bernet Kempers, Van Heekeren, Casparis and Van Romondt, as lecturers at the Indonesian tertiary learning institutions. While Bernet Kempers, Van Heekeren and Casparis contributed to the establishment of the Ancient History and Archaeology departments in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, UI, Jakarta and UGM, Yogyakarta, Van Romondt took an active role in the development of the *Technische Hogeschool* (Technical High School) in Bandung – soon renamed *Institut Teknologi Bandung*/ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology). Following their academic career, Casparis was promoted to doctor in 1950, while Van Romondt and Bernet Kempers were given the rank of professor in 1953. At the same time, Soekmono and Satyawati (Soerjono Soerjo) Soeleman, who were Bernet Kempers' assistants in the Archaeological Service and also his students in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, UI, gained master (Drs./Dra.) degrees in Hindu-Javanese (classical) archaeology. A few years later a number of students in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, UI also completed degrees, such as Boechari in Epigraphy, Soejono in Prehistory Archaeology, Uka Tjandrasasmita in Islamic Archaeology and Samingoen degree in Architecture from ITB, Bandung (Soekmono 1977: 17; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 14, 21-24). Hence, the Dutch scholars' methods and practices of cultural heritage management had been successfully transferred to the Indonesian scholars since 1953. Further, the Dutch scholars had bequeathed their cultural heritage management knowledge in its entirety to the Indonesian scholar cadre.

While Sukarno propagated anti-imperialism, opposed feudalism and instigated an enduring hatred towards Western modern culture from 1945 onward (Elson 2008: 141; Vickers 2005: 130-131), the results of the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic research, particularly on their feudal Hindu-Javanese kingdom delineation, and its organisation structure, which reflected the domination of the Dutch and the institution leaders' role in

infusing the Indonesian scholars with Western ideology , was never criticised by the leaders of the nation. Such contradiction might not seem surprising and could be attributed to the sympathetic attitude of the prominent Indonesian nationalists towards the efforts of the Archaeological Service to collect, register, restore and describe the survival of the Indonesian cultural heritage. In a similar way, the Indonesian government was also enthusiastic about transforming the institution's works from glorifying Dutch colonial knowledge production in the frame of imperialism into the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building.

Indeed, the Archaeological Service's work on the Prambanan temple restoration - which was previously designed to convey the Dutch Colonial image as the protector and guardian of the static, natural, pure Hindu-Javanese high culture of the colonised East Indies, other, marginal, people without history - then was taken over by the Indonesian government and framed into the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building, especially to stimulate the Indonesian nation's pride and glory of their past golden age. This on-going use of the Hindu-Javanese monument was clearly seen in the official announcement of the finishing the restoration of the Çiva temple – the major temple in the complex of Prambanan - in 1953. While Sukarno, as the President of the Indonesian Republic, Muhammad Yamin as the Minister of tLearning, Education and Cultural, as well as most of the Indonesian high ranking officers attended this event, such a celebration coincided with the resignation of Bernet Kempers, the Archaeological Service Director, and Soekmono's appointment as the new Director (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 22-23). Hence, the Çiva temple's final restoration was intended to broadcast information to the Indonesian people and the world that the Indonesian nation as a new emergent force had a glorious past and the Indonesian government was seriously carrying out the act of protecting and guarding its cultural heritage.

However, for reasons that go beyond the scope of this research, Sukarno's campaign against Dutch colonialism and imperialism culminated in 1956. As a result the Indonesia nation state broke off the Round Table Conference agreement on the Dutch colonial officers and experts' cooperation. Moreover, the Indonesian government also unilaterally terminated the union with the Netherlands. This anti-Dutch colonial sentiment was followed by a movement to nationalise the Dutch commercial companies from colonial times, while imposing repatriation of Dutch nationals in 1957 (Peters 2000: 87). Gradually, the director and the other Dutch high officers of the Archaeological Service resigned. Preceded by Bernet Kempers' and Van Romondt's resignation in 1953, Casparis returned to the Netherlands in 1954 and was followed by Van Heekeren in 1956, Krijgsman in 1957 and Van

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den End Blom in 1958. As a result, Soekmono replaced Bernet Kempers, Samingoen took over Van Romondt's position, Boechari was promoted to take Casparis' duty, Soejono substituted Van Heekeren's authority in the prehistory section, and Satyawati Soeleman was installed as the head of Hindu-Classical Antiquities after Van den End Blom's resignation. Thus the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic was headed by Indonesian scholars in 1958. Furthermore, Uka Tjandrasasmita was appointed head of a new section called Islamic antiquities in 1960 (Soekmono 1977: 17; Soejono 1987: 7; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 24).

The Dutch scholars' resignations marked an important process of cultural heritage management transformation from the Dutch colonial authority to the Indonesian nation state. Interestingly, while the Archaeological Service of the Indonesian Republic was completely in the hands of Indonesian scholars, the Dutch scholars' ideas on the way in which colonial power preserved and guarded cultural heritage was perpetuated and continued by the Indonesian Archaeological Service authorities. There was no doubt that the Dutch colonial legacy on cultural heritage management was handed down from the Dutch to the Indonesian scholars through the education and cadre process. As Trigger (1984: 363-364) has argued, this colonial cultural heritage management hegemony made a strenuous effort at cultural domination as well as political and economic influence over their ex-colony. Since the archaeologists from Western colonial empires had the financial resources and political will to organise cultural heritage projects in many parts of the world and engage in training students from various other countries, their cultural heritage theory and methodological approach, student cadre engagement in cultural heritage projects and wide research publications, shaped and naturalised a global perspective of Western domination on cultural heritage. Through such notions their cultural heritage projects all over the world were legitimated.

To some extent, Soekmono's expedition to Palembang and Jambi mirrored the Dutch colonial cultural heritage management legacy. In 1954, under the direction of Muhammad Yamin, the minister of Learning, Education and Culture, this expedition's aims were to reconstruct the boundaries of Çrivijaya kingdom and locate its capital (Soekmono 1977: 18; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 26). As a matter of fact, the Dutch colonial ideology was deeply involved in the use of the term 'expedition', a sense of exploring and encountering new imperial frontiers. Further, the Dutch colonial's previous admiration of the Çrivijaya Hindu kingdom feudal civilisation was elaborated to bolster the Indonesian nation's past glory and the current project of nation building.

What is even more important, such a colonial legacy reflected the domination of colonial knowledge in the way in which Indonesian cultural heritage was viewed as static, frozen in

time and with unchanging meaning. As a consequence of this idea, most of the cultural heritage management works were dedicated to search for cultural heritage origins, salvage such authentic cultural heritage and protect it from on-going dynamic cultural processes (Gouda 1995: 69-71, 133-137; McGregor 2004: 20). For example, from 1954 to 1960 a number of excavations were conducted in Bedulu village, Bali. As a result the sacred bathing place and six statues from the Hindu classical period were discovered. Excavation in Gurah village, Kediri, East Java discovered a Hindu-Javanese temple. At the same time, the Selogrio temple in Magelang, Central Java, Dwarawati temple and Gatutkoco temple in Dieng, Central Java, were reconstructed and the restoration programme on the Prambanan temple complex was continued. Coremans from UNESCO investigated the Borobudur temple stones' deterioration (Soekmono 1977: 18-19; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 27-30). These are examples of how the direction and priorities of the Archaeological Service project on Indonesian nation building did not bring a radical break with the previous Dutch colonial cultural heritage management agenda.

It is important to note that from 1950 onwards the Indonesian nation state adopted Western liberal democracy. Under this political system the Indonesian government was based on a parliamentary system, which consisted of a number of parties and was also responsible to the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (People's Representative Council). However internal cabinet conflicts and lack of party domination in the People's Representative Council brought an unstable government authority. As a result the cabinet was not capable of running the government programmes and failed to meet the high expectations of social welfare and economic recovery that were held in Indonesian society (Elson 2008: 162-163; Ricklefs 2008: 278-280; Vickers 2005: 121-124; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983c: 198-202). As time went by, the political discourse and economic and social interests of the nation-state were fully centred in Jakarta, Java. Slowly but surely, the people in the outer islands began to feel neglected. Such disappointments led to a number of rebellions (Elson 2008: 165-170, 195-196; Ricklefs 2008: 280-292; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983c: 279-288). Although all the rebellions were crushed by the Indonesian government, the insurrection impact seriously weakened the nation state unity. In the ideological sphere, the Indonesian elite politicians viewed the uprisings as a turning point and cause to examine the Indonesian political system of the nation-state and encourage nation building.

It was in this respect that in December 1957 Muhammad Yamin, as the Minister Learning, Education and Cultural and as an Indonesian nation state writer adopting a similar role as Prapanca in Majapahit kingdom, initiated the first National History Congress in Yogyakarta. In his key note address Yamin argued that Indonesian nation building must be shared as a

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collective memory by constructing a narrative of the Indonesian nation's past glory and the struggle for independence. Following his argument '*Pantjaparwa Sedjarah Indonesia*' (the Five Essential Parts of the Indonesian History) was proposed. The first part was called the prehistoric era, starting from the appearance of the primitive Java Man - *Pithecanthropus modjokertensis*, *Homo erectus* and *Homo soloensis* - in 750,000-150,000 BC to the 1st century. The second part began with the first inscription discovered and lasted to 6th century. The third part or the national era was marked by the emerging of Çrivijaya kingdom and Madjapahti kingdom from the 7th century to the 15t[h] century. The fourth part signified the international state, i.e., the first contact between Indonesian people and Western people, between the 17th century and the 19th century. The fifth part was the century of the Indonesian Independence (Nordholt, Purwanto and Saptari 2008: 8; Nordholt 2004: 3; Noer, 1982: 258; Ali 1963: 152; Yamin 1956: 7-36).

However, his concept of a Hindu classical kingdom as the starting point of Indonesian national awakening was not fully accepted. A number of Indonesian Muslim scholars and other intellectuals disagreed completely with Yamin's argumentation on the narration of the national era. For example, Mukti Ali questioned the marginalisation of the Islamic kingdom of Demak and Mataram during the Dutch colonial regime. Soedjatmoko doubted the glorious representation of the great Madjapahit Hindu-Javanese Kingdom's static feudal-agrarian social structure. He insisted that grounding the Indonesian nation state project in a dictated utopian past clearly violated human rights, since the Indonesian state's project of nation building was constructed at the expense of the individual freedom to choose. Further, this view encouraged excessive pride and domination with regard to other nations. Muhammad Ali disagreed with ignoring regional history in Yamin's concept of the Indonesian nation's golden past, because the sense of nationalism was associated only with the Java and Sumatera Hindu kingdoms. This disagreement impeded further efforts to initiate the writing of the Indonesian nation state's official narrative. Hence, the history/narrative of Indonesian glory was still based on Sanusi Pane's book '*Sedjarah Indonesia*' and Muhammad Yamin's book '*6000 Tahun Sang Merah Putih*' (Nordholt 2004: 3-4; Supomo 1982: 183-185; Ali 1963: 153, Ali 1965: 1-6; Soedjatmoko 1965: 404-405; Soedjatmoko 1960: 4-11).

At the same time, Sukarno embarked upon the '*Demokrasi Terpimpin*' (Guided Democracy) ideology. In February 1959, Sukarno convinced the cabinet that liberal democracy was not suited to the Indonesian state and he proposed guided democracy as a nation-state political mechanism. In July 1959, Sukarno as president of the Indonesian Republic issued the decree to return to the 1945 Constitution as a foundation of guided democracy. On 17th August 1959 he definitely acknowledged this ideology in his speech at the celebration of

Indonesian Independence. From then on there was no longer a prime minister in the Indonesian government and the President became the central authority. Furthermore, this was also the prime momentum towards the centralisation of political power and authority of Java over the periphery of Indonesian islands. Gradually members of East Indonesian elites such as Sam Ratulangi, Zakarias Yohannes and Frans Kaisiepo were pushed out of political power and as a result they participated less in the Indonesian government's policies (Elson 2008: 199-223; Ricklefs 2008: 294-305; Vickers 2005: 143-146; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983: 290-293).

Following the Indonesian shift of ideology, Yamin played a crucial role in providing a valuable resource for 'legitimating' Sukarno's authority. Yamin's previous idea on *Pantjaparwa Sedjarah Indonesia*' became a semi-official reference for Indonesian nation building (Noer 1982: 25). In the same way, the Archaeological Service works were directed to the '*Pola Pembangunan Nasional Semesta Berentjana*' (the National Development Planning Patterns) which was to facilitate Indonesian nation state building. As a result, the Archaeological Service project plans in 1961 were as follows:

1. Restoration of Borobudur temple; 2 Excavation at Trowulan site, Mojokerto, East Java to discover the Majapahit kingdom and protect it from looting; 3. Prehistoric excavation in Bekasi-Krawang-Cikampek, West Java, which was a joint project between UGM, Geological Research and the Archaeological Service prehistory section in Sangiran, Central Java, Gilimanuk, Bali and Manggarai, Flores Island; 4. Research on Indonesian Hindu-Buddhist Classical inscriptions to delineate ancient Indonesian society; 5. Developing the Islamic section of the Archaeological Service (Soekmono 1977: 21; Wibowo 1977: 91-92; Tjandrasasmita 1977: 125-126; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 32-33).

The Archaeological Service project was exactly in accordance with the Indonesian nation state's project of constructing a collective memory on the Indonesian nation's past glory. Nevertheless, it also reflected the preoccupation with the Dutch colonial cultural heritage management's ideas, especially in the way in which cultural heritage was used as a means of positioning Java at the centre of Indonesian activities and justifying Java's ethnic domination over the communities of the Outer Islands. In short, while Java Island represented a complete series of cultural development from the primitive stage – prehistory, Middle Ages, Hindu and Buddha kingdom to the modern colonial government - the Outer Islands mirrored a primitive culture since, based on archaeological finds, these islands lacked a medieval cultural heritage.

While guided democracy as a system of government authority was being implemented, economic conditions were nearing their final collapse. This condition also affected the Archaeological Service projects. In fact, from 1961 to 1965 the Borobudur restoration project became the central theme of this institution. The other project plans were delayed and cancelled because of lack of funding from Indonesian government's (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 31-35).

By the end of 1965, guided democracy led to political, social and economic chaos. On the night of 30th of September 1965 in Jakarta, a military coup supported by *Partai Komunis Indonesia/*PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) abducted and killed six army generals. Meanwhile, the escalating political crisis in Jakarta swept the country and resulted in widespread massacre of PKI sympathisers from late 1965 to early 1966. On 11th March 1966, Sukarno signed the '*Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret/Supersemar* document which gave authority to Suharto to act as the supreme commander of Sukarno's security, to settle the nation state's turmoil and to maintain the civil administration of the government. A year later *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara/*MPRS (People's Consultative Assembly) dismissed Sukarno as the President of the Republic of Indonesia and installed Suharto as acting President (Elson 2008: 239-244; Ricklefs 2008: 318-332; Vickers 2005: 156-160; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983: 364-380, 386-401).

Indonesian cultural heritage in the service of the state from 1965 to 1997

In March 1968 Suharto was elected by the People's Consultative Assembly to replace Sukarno's position for a five years period. As the new president, Suharto promised economic development, welfare improvement and political stability. In fact, the process of stimulating economic development was started in 1966. Very soon after, the Indonesian finance minister, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX visited the Netherlands to discuss aid and debt rescheduling for Indonesia. General Suharto selected a number of Indonesian economic experts to draft and carry out a package of economic development programmes. Under the leadership of Widjojo Nitisastro the *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun* (Five Year Plan) was elaborated. The plan paved the way for Western donor countries to coordinate financial aid through international consultative institutions. Given political motives and economic purposes, the Netherlands seized this chance to renew and improve its relationship with Indonesia. At that point the Netherlands, backed by the United States, convened an international aid conference to discuss the status of pledges of assistance to Indonesia. In this conference in 1967 it was agreed to establish the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), headed by the Netherlands. From 1968 onward IGGI supervised not only

Indonesia's programmes aid requirements but also financial assistance to these projects (Malcontent and Nekkers 2000: 25; Posthumus 2000: 149-151).

Being financially supported by Western countries' development aid, on the 1st April 1969 Suharto announced the first economic Five Years Development Plan or *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Pertama*/Repelita I. His cabinet was called '*Kabinet Pembangunan*' (Development Cabinet). While economic and national welfare was being pursued he declared that political stability could be maintained by sticking to the *Pancasila* (Five basic Principles) and the 1945 Constitution. Moreover, to avoid political dispute, the government declared that all government civil servants had to show their loyalty by joining the "*Golongan Karya*/Golkar (Functionaries' Party), instead of a political party. The Indonesian armies also had to be free from political party interest, firstly, by disfranchising them in elections but giving them proportional representation in the People's Consultative Assembly; secondly, by giving the armies a dual function, that is not only as a defence tool of the nation-state, but also as a functional party; finally, to gain control over political parties, the Indonesian government in 1971 merged Islamic parties, including NU and Parmusi into *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*/PPP (United Development Party), and also fused Nationalist and Non-Islamic parties, such as PNI, Murba, IPKI into *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*/PDI (Indonesian Democracy Party). However this new order of the Indonesian political discourse was centred, dictated, controlled and dominated by *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* (ABRI) military force – the pillar of the Suharto regime- (Elson 2008: 244-245, 257-258, 3; Ricklefs 2008: 335-339, 350-381; Vickers 2005: 161-162; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983c: 406-422).

Viewed from the perspective of political ideology and Indonesian nation building, Suharto's concept of development had a strong resemblance to Sukarno's formulation of the building of Indonesian nation state. Such a continuity was clearly visible in Suharto's (2003: 103-109) speech 'Pancasila, the Legacy of our Ancestor', which was delivered to the leaders of the Golkar-affiliated youth organisation, the *Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia*/KNPI (the National Committee of Indonesian Youth) on July 19th 1982. At this event he highlighted Pancasila as a cultural inheritance which could be traced back to the Çrivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms. Further, his obsession with order and stability was rooted and anchored in traditional culture, particularly traditional Javanese culture (Pemberton 1994: 10). Undoubtedly there was an intimate link between Suharto's concept of nation building, the Javanese feudal kingdom system and the legacy of the Dutch colonial authority. The first was a centralising authority, the second marginalising the extra-Java regions and third

assigning military punishment to the region breaking the '*rust en order*' or '*keamanan dan ketertiban'* (security, order and stability) (Wood 2005: 82, 191).

REPELITA I (Five Years Development Plan) and the Indonesian cultural heritage canonisation

In general, Suharto's development objectives were '*Membangun manusia Indonesia seutuhnya*' (developing Indonesian people's physical and spiritual perfection) in the way of *Pancasila* and the *Undang Undang Dasar* (Constitution) of 1945. Further, this idea was implemented into *Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara*/GBHN (the Indonesian Nation Government Directives) and later this GBHN was spelled out by *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional*/Bappenas (the Planning Board of National Development) in the Repelita (Five Years Development Plan). While the political system was not ready to be constituted through GBHN in 1968, the development of Indonesian peoples' spiritual wholeness was mentioned in the GBHN 1973 as a programme to strengthen national identity, encourage national pride, shape national unity and guard and preserve both cultural traditions and archaeological remnants that represent the past golden age and Indonesian national revolt (Aziz 1994: 417, 431-432). However, such development of Indonesian peoples' spiritual wholeness was described in detail by Bappenas on the Repelita I texts as follow (Bappenas 2009: 19, 27): 1. Cultural education would be conducted via formal and informal government institutions. At the same time, temple restoration, establishment of museums and ancient antiquities' excavation was developed, not only to shape nation building, but also to attract tourists; 2. The national culture development was directed towards the excavation of cultural elements particularly, first, by establishing archaeological institutions and museums as centres of cultural research, cultural germination and cultural development; second, by the development of cultural institutions, art institutions and local cultural activities; third, by preventing negative influences of Western culture and protecting Indonesian cultural development from such influences. In line with this, the Indonesian government prioritised ancient monument preservation and restoration as tourism objects, and developed art centres and *gamelan* (traditional Javanese music) conservatories.

Under these circumstances, the establishment and control of national heritage was a prime responsibility of Indonesian state officials and the practice of many aspects of cultural heritage became closely related to a monopoly of the national government. As I argue, the heritage system, which was typically state-run, reflects the government point of view concerning its time and spatial context. These assumptions and co-ordinates of power centralised by the state were supported and legitimised by the narrative of the grandeur centred on the Majapahit kingdom – the glorious past of the Indonesian ancestor. Thus, such centralising authority was possessed as an ancient bureaucratic legacy from the Madjapahit

kingdom that was timeless, true and inevitably natural and given, and was the evidence in the past of the effectiveness of centralising authority efficacy that should be continued in the present (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983b: 451-456; Graham, et al. 2000a; Graham, et al. 2000b; Hall 2008: 219-221).

The implication was that the accumulation of the heritage and the labour of preservation in acquiring it came to be seen as a form of cultural capital of the nation, since it represented the nation state's ancestral legacy. In that respect the nation state seemed to regard the heritage it possessed in the form of cultural capital, as God given (Byrne 2008: 158-159). As a result, the elite state had the right and power to control the representation of the national past and the institutionalisation of collective memory. For this reason, cultural heritage was supposed to be dedicated to exposing national identity and raising national dignity (Natzmer 2002). While cultural heritage was seen as a thing, an entity that could be lost and a property that belonged to the nation, it was the duty of government officers to select whose cultural heritage would be included or excluded from the nation state's project of nation building and national unity.

This paradigm was clearly seen in the speech by Soekmono, the first Indonesian leader of the Archaeological Service, on the event of the 40th anniversary of Universitas Indonesia, in 1990. Having to face the issue in the earliest Indonesian Revolt 'what is the contribution of archaeology in the Indonesian Revolt?', he was not able to answer this question for the first two years or so after 17 August 1945. The Indonesian government's effort to invite two Indian archaeology experts on conservation in 1948 in the middle of the chaotic revolt situation, particularly to observe the condition of the Borobudur temple, enabled Soekmono to state that during the Indonesian Revolt:

> … *Orientasi ke dalam terutama sekali berupaya merubah sikap dan pandangan terhadap kedudukan ilmu pengetahuan pada umumnya dan arkeologi pada khususnya. Berbeda dari pandangan umum maka bagi Negara kita yang baru lahir itu, ilmu pengetahuan harus diabadikan kepada nusa dan bangsa. Apalagi arkeologi yang langsung ataupun tidak erat bertalian dengan upaya menggali kembali kepribadian nasional*

This means, national orientation was directed to change the attitude and view of the meaning of knowledge, particularly archaeology (Soekmono 1990: 1, 7). Being different from the general view, and considering the status of Indonesia as a new nation, knowledge must be dedicated to the nation state. Moreover, archaeology as knowledge - direct or indirect - was also concerned with the effort to excavate the Indonesian national character (Soekmono 1965: 40-46). Hence, Indonesian archaeology must be dedicated to preserving, protecting and guarding Indonesian antiquities. In a similar way, Indonesian archaeologists have to

play a role as the saviour, the guardian and the steward of the Indonesian nation state's tangible cultural heritage (Soekmono 1990: 2, 6). In short, his idea legitimised and positioned archaeology as the government's arm to rescue, preserve and construct an Indonesian heritage that justifies the Indonesian nation's prestigious state project of '*jati diri bangsa*' (the nation character building).

Considering the UNESCO conference in 1966, especially from the Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation, article I-3 that mentioned 'in their rich variety and diversity, and in the reciprocal influences they exert on one another, all cultures form part of the common heritage belonging to all mankind' (UNESCO 1968), Soekmono used Borobudur as a bait to attract the attention of the international forum. Actually, Soekmono's work to promote Borobudur as a world cultural heritage was in accordance with the Indonesian government's Repelita I 1969-1974 framework to show off the nation's golden age and promote tourism. As a result, on January 1973 the Indonesian government and UNESCO ratified an agreement for the Borobudur temple restoration (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 44). Furthermore the restoration was officially established as the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation Project in Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA) in 1978 (Soekmono 1990: 8).

Not surprisingly perhaps, prior to the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation and the new departure of Indonesia and the Netherlands' co-operation from 1966 onward, a new cultural agreement was reached. As part of the cultural agreement implementation, in 1968 the Indonesian government admonished the Netherlands about its obligation to transfer and return the Indonesian tangible cultural property that was kept in a number of museums in Netherlands. To further discuss Indonesia's claim for its cultural property, an intensive study and negotiation was held from 1974 to 1975. However, not until June 1977 was a second meeting organised in the Netherlands. During this event the first transfer of the Lombok valuable tangible cultural heritage took place. Further, the meeting declared that the most important transfer of the Indonesian Hindu-Javanese classical art masterpiece called the '*Prajñāpāramitā* statue should be made in Jakarta in April 1978 on the second centenary celebration of the Museum Pusat – formerly the Batavian Society of Arts and Science museum and now the National Museum. Following this agreement, between June 1977 and April 1978 the transfer of property belonging to Prince Diponegoro and the famous Raden Saleh painting called 'The Surrender of Prince Diponegoro' of 1830 were settled (Legêne and Postel-Coster 2000: 275; Pott and Sutaarga 2000: 40-42).

While the Archaeological Service canonised Indonesian tangible cultural heritage to construct Indonesian nation character building, the Indonesian government made a second

effort to transfer Indonesian collective memories to the nation's character building narrative. In 1970 the second National History seminar was carried out in Yogyakarta. At the end of the seminar the *Panitia Penyusunan Buku Standar Sejarah Nasional*/PPBSN (the Committee for the Compilation of a Standard National History Book) was officially established. As a nation state's project of forging national unity, the committee was composed of many well-known archaeologists and historical experts and was led by Sartono Kartodirdjo (a social-economic historian), Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro (a European historian) and Nugroho Notosusanto (an Indonesian military historian) (Aswi 2005: 255; Wood 2005: 29-30). It was also planned to complete this Indonesian narrative of history writing by the beginning of the Repelita II.

In 1974 the first manuscript of Indonesian National History was submitted. It consisted of six volumes. The first volume portrayed the Indonesia in prehistory and was edited by R.P. Soejono. The second volume represented the Ancient Indonesian history and was edited by Bambang Sumadio. The third part delineated the development of Indonesia Islamic Kingdom since the 13th Century and was edited by Uka Tjandrasasmita. The fourth volume described the Indonesian history from 18th to 19th century and was edited by Sutjipto Atmodjo. The fifth volume narrated the Indonesian nation's revival and the end of Dutch colonial power and was edited by Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo. The sixth volume started from the Japanese occupation to the Indonesian Republic and was edited by Nugroho Notosusanto.

Following the implementation of the second Indonesian development plan in GBHN 1973 on the topic of Religion and Social culture under the heading 'Culture' (Aziz 1994: 383-384) and Repelita II 1974-1979, particularly on Chapter 24 '*Kebudayaan Nasional*' (National Culture), under the heading '*Kebijaksanaan dan Langkah-Langkah*' (Policies and Steps) and subheading 4, development of non-fiction books and journal printing and publication (Bappenas 2009: 223-224, 228), the manuscript of Indonesian National History was printed and published in 1975. As the first editor, Sartono Kartodirdjo wrote the introduction to this six volume series. He noted that these books had the purpose of developing the Indonesian nation's unity through a history from within where the Indonesian society was the main focus of the narration. Hence it would lead the way to a decolonisation of Indonesian history writing and nurture the Indonesian nation's integration. However this book did not exactly mirror the way in which Indonesian people constructed and developed their sense of national unity. Furthermore, it did not fulfil the expectations of an Indonesian account of decolonisation history. This failure might be attributed to the central role of Nugroho Notosusanto, who as a 'court writer' legitimised Suharto's ideology of Indonesian nation's character building (McGregor 2005: 215-224; Wood 2005: 20, 30-31).

A close examination shows that Nugroho's work was to legitimise the New Order authority via the Indonesian National History book. First, he continued to adopt Sukarno's triad - the glorious past, the dark recent times and the promising future. However, this triad was adjusted to the government's New Order concept that development had to be carried on in a harmonious way, in a balanced atmosphere with centralised authority and using military punishment to prevent a chaotic situation. In pursuing stability and harmony at all costs, the unfinished discourse on the way in which Indonesian national history contributed to shape the national character, as discussed during the first National History Seminar 1957, was excluded from Notosusanto's National History book. Thus this important recent debate was not shared with the Indonesian people through the National History book.

Other examples of the New Order's manipulation on the glorious past can be seen in the Indonesian National History book volume II which was written by many prominent Indonesian archaeologists such as Setyawati Soeleman, Boechari, Hasan Djafar and edited by Soemadio - an Indonesian anthropologist who occupied the position of head of the Indonesian National Museum. In this case, the Javanese cultural heritage was elaborated to transmit the nation's cultural core (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983:420-456). The reasoning went like this: first, the state used of Majapahit kingdom, a Javanese kingdom, to represent the Indonesian nation's greatest history sequence, particularly a 'proto-Indonesian' nation period; second, this kingdom's narrative functioned as a reminder that the Indonesian ancestor – of Javanese origin - in the past was capable of organising central control over vast regions. Indeed, this delineation offered a direct relation between an Indonesian nation's shared identity in the present and one in the past, which was constructed to meet recent needs rather than to mirror historical reality. It was implicitly an attempt to legitimise Javanese ethnic domination, underscored by the military, over the Indonesian marginal ethnic groups.

As the editor of the Indonesian National History book volume VI, Nugroho's delineation of the Japanese invasion era to the beginning of Suharto's period of authority in 1966 was criticised by a number of Indonesian historians, including Sartono, particularly on the narration to lessen Sukarno role as the Indonesian founding father. Nugroho also contributed to this volume to justify military action to preserve '*Persatuan dan Kesatuan Bangsa*' (the nation's unity) and '*Pembangunan Nasional* (the nation's development). Further, his imposing role with respect to the content of the Indonesian National History book resulted in conflict with the team of writers of the Indonesian National History book volume V, and was followed by the resignation of most contributors to volume V. Later Sartono Kartodirdjo also resigned from this project because, as the chief editor, he did not want to take the burden of

Nugroho's writing on the Indonesian National History volume VI. From this moment, Nugroho Notosusanto became the general editor of the Indonesian National History from 1981 to the end of his life in 1985 (Asvi 2005: 255-256; McGregor 2005: 221-223; Wood 2005: 30).

While the more critical historians of Indonesian National History who aimed at a decolonisation of the Indonesian nation formation narrative resigned, and were excluded from the Indonesian nation state's project of 'historical' nation building, the prominent Indonesian archaeologists, writers and editors in this project were not involved in such internal conflict. Incorporating a spirit of patriotism, the idea of nationalism, and the Dutch archaeologist training, the well-known Indonesian archaeologists were determined to draw more attention towards the emergence of Indonesian national history and the roots of Indonesian ancestors. Accordingly, they encouraged archaeological data to bolster the nation's past glory and identity. It was significant that their archaeological research was closely aligned with the nationalist archaeology paradigm and cultural history tenet (see Chapter 1).

While Kossinnas´s nationalist archaeology provided a favourite model to interpret archaeological data in Germany, Childe's concept of cultural historical archaeology was adopted throughout Europe, including the Netherlands, and used into the 1960s. Their approach continued the former Dutch nationalist aim of searching for the origin of the Dutch empire. For example, Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660) had elaborated on artefacts, - potsherds and ground-plan reconstructions - for his patriotic version of the Batavians, the supposed ancestor of the Dutch. Likewise, synthesising archaeological data with Batavian ethnology and historical text enabled Dutch archaeologists to describe the day-to-day life of the Batavians, such as Batavian women dyed their hair with henna and their robes with madder. Such a cumulative representation formulated the Dutch cultural identity and accepted the commonly held belief that the Batavians were the ancestors of the Dutch. Moreover, such particular norms of their Batavian ancestors differentiated the Dutch from other nations (Schama 1987: 75-81). As the Dutch colonial adventurers conquered the Indonesian archipelago, this cultural history approach was conveyed by the Dutch archaeologists as a method to search for the indigenous people's ancestors and the people behind the artefacts of Hindu-Javanese culture. After Indonesian freedom in 1945, the Indonesian archaeologists who were the Dutch archaeologists' cadres took such a cultural history legacy to glorify the Indonesian golden age and forge national identity. To this end, the Indonesian state's concept of a glorious past of an 'Imagined Community' found synergy with the Indonesian archaeological nationalist ethos of dedicating their works to cultivate national dignity and bolster national pride. It is important to note that the co-optation of Indonesian archaeological

knowledge into the Indonesian nation state realm also led the way to comprehending why the archaeologists as the writers and editors of Indonesian National History volume I, II and III took a neutral position on the internal debate on the way in which Indonesian nation building should be narrated.

REPELITA (Five Years Development Plan) II, III, IV and the Indonesian cultural heritage top–down approach

It can come as no surprise that the Indonesian state regulation and Indonesian archaeology's scientific knowledge contributed to the adulation of her static tangible cultural heritage. Evidently, GBHN and Repelita provided an interesting example to examine the way in which the Indonesian government constructed procedures and processes of materialising cultural heritage management practices through which knowledge of archaeology was legitimated and archaeological expertise was summoned. While GBHN 1973 on the topic of Religion and Social Culture under the heading 'Culture' (Aziz 1994: 383-384) outlined the Indonesian state's effort to develop an Indonesian national culture to shape national unity and national pride under the *Pancasila* state ideology, Repelita II 1974 – 1979, Chapter 24 on National Culture, particularly section III on National Culture policy, stated that National Culture development was engendered through four steps and the first of these was salvaging, conserving and researching both Indonesian national cultural heritage and local or ethnic culture. The detailed plan to perform the first step was: 1. registration of objects of Indonesian antiquity; 2. research and excavation of Indonesian antiquity sites; 3. reconstruction and safeguarding of Indonesian antiquity sites and artefacts; 4. restoration of Borobudur temple and other temples; 5. research and formulating local culture; 6. collecting artefacts and ethnographic objects and storing them in the Indonesian National Museum or Provincial Museum; 7. promulgation of knowledge of national and local cultural heritage (Bappenas 2009: 221-228).

Given this planning of an official Indonesian nation state project of nation building and a preoccupation with national unity, the Indonesian government provided funding for archaeological work. Increases in budgets and intangible cultural heritage projects led to a larger and more specific organisation. Hence, in 1975 the Archaeological Service was divided into the '*Direktorat Sejarah dan Purbakala*' (the Directorate History and Antiquity) and the *Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional*' (the Centre of Archaeological Research and National Heritage). While the Directorate History and Antiquity was focused on applied archaeology – intangible cultural heritage inventory, restoration, conservation and preservation - the Centre of Archaeological Research and National Heritage carried out pure archaeology – intangible cultural heritage observation, excavation, analysing and interpreting excavation artefacts finds. As part of this reorganisation, in 1978

the division of the Directorate History and Antiquity was authorised to hold cultural heritage works at the provincial level. Such branch offices were called the '*Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala*' (the History and Antiquity Reservation). Thus, the first branch office in Prambanan was split into two new offices, the History and Antiquity Reservation of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Province and the History and Antiquity Reservation of Central Java Province. The second branch office in Bedulu officially controlled cultural heritage works in the Provinces of Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat/NTB and Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT. The third branch office in Mojokerto supervised cultural heritage works in East Java, and the fourth branch office in Makassar became the Directorate History and Antiquity of the province of South Sulawesi. In a similar vision, the Centre of Archaeological Research and National Heritage installed branch offices called the *Balai Arkeologi* (the Archaeology Bureau) in Yogyakarta and Denpasar. While the Archaeology Bureau in Yogyakarta was authorised to conduct archaeological research in the Provinces of West Java, Central Java, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta and East Java, the Archaeology Bureau in Bali could to carry out archaeological research in the Provinces of Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat/NTB and Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 49-50).

The themes sketched out previously in GBHN 1978 and GBHN 1983 were still continued with the addition of the Indonesian government's statement of the intention to develop the national culture, especially cultural elements which reflected the glorious ancestors' supreme value. It was expected that the concrete result of such cultural developments would be mastering of '*Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (total comprehension and complete practice of the *Pancasila*) (Aziz 1994: 323-324, 383-384). These aims of GBHN ran parallel with the aims of Repelita III 1979–1984 and Repelita IV 1984–1989.

Accordingly, it was stated in Chapter 18 of Repelita III, section A, on general policy, that the purpose of national culture development was to implement cultural values that were based on *Pancasila*, *Undang-Undang Dasar/*UUD 1945 (Indonesian constitution 1945), and to endorse national development. While the previous programme on cultural heritage management was continued, a number of programmes were added as follows: 1. enhancing guidance, control and evaluation of archaeological and historical programmes; 2. formatting policies and constructing patterns of national museums, general museums, specific museums and establishing a museum system and typology according to the historical context of each region; 3. upgrading knowledge of archaeologists, historical monuments and archaeological site guards and museum officers, particularly in their role as Indonesian national cultural heritage guardians; 4. finishing Borobudur temple restoration, renovating Islamic antiquities in Aceh and Banten, restoring the Prambanan and Boko temples, the

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Trowulan, and the Sangiran prehistoric site and Dutch colonial fortresses. In future these historical monuments, Islamic antiquities, classical sites, prehistoric sites and Dutch colonial monuments would be developed for cultural tourism; 5. replacing '*Monumenten Ordonnantie',* the act from Colonial Dutch era for '*Undang-Undang Kepurbakalaan Peraturan Cagar Budaya* (the Indonesian Cultural Objects Heritage Act); 6. raising intra-departmental supervision on excavation permits and the uncontrolled shipping of antiquities from island to island and abroad; 7. renovating ancient buildings where Indonesian heroines organised their parties and installing these building as centres of modern Indonesian women's organisations (Bappenas 2009: 17, 23, 27-28).

The two decades in which the Indonesian government followed this Repelita programme were also an era of United States' economic domination and political hegemony in the world. This superpower's role in the world also was manifested in the United States' scholarly materialistic paradigm and modernism. Hence, the main concern was to account for subsistence, technology and environment as the key factors determining the progress of human culture (Trigger 1989: 289-294). Further, this perspective influenced the young generation of American archaeologists in the 1960s. It was significant that the 'New Archaeology' or 'Processual Archaeology' tenet (see also Chapter 1), which was popularised in North America by young American scholars had an enormous influence on the archaeological discourse in the world (Harrison and Schofield 2010: 22).

While the most prominent Indonesian archaeologists, who had been trained by Dutch archaeologists, still held the cultural history paradigm, the American Ford Foundation provided scholarships for a Master's degree in Archaeology. Mundardjito, a lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, University of Indonesia, applied for this scholarship and was sent to Pennsylvania University, the United States. After he obtained the Master's degree he came back to Indonesia. In 1979 and 1980 Subroto and Timbul Haryono, both from the Department of Archaeology, Gadjah Mada University was awared the Ford Foundation scholarship in Archaeology. They also joined the Master's degree programme in Pennsylvania and finished this in 1981 and 1982 respectively. From this time Indonesian archaeologists embraced the New Archaeology philosophy. This new method that was applied in Indonesian archaeological research placed archaeology as an objective, neutral and rational science. Such a perception of the neutrality, objectivity, rationality of archaeological knowledge and the Indonesian archaeologists' claims based on nation state loyalty were pivotal in marking the profession as the Indonesian government's apparatus. Viewed from Indonesian cultural heritage management this approach laid more stress on scientific methods of observation, excavation, collection, conservation and

preservation of tangible heritage. Indeed, the adoption of this tenet distinguished Indonesian archaeologists from unscientific grave diggers and treasure hunters. Moreover, it developed a positive image of the knowledgeable, intellectual, legal authority of the Indonesian cultural heritage stewards and protectors. While this imagery positioned archaeologists as the experts and the ones in authority of cultural heritage management, it also marginalised people who did not have the authority to manage their own cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, increasing sophistication in the Indonesian archaeological technical skills and approach was not followed by theoretical development. Emphasis on the practical application of cultural heritage management and claiming of scientific ethical neutrality encouraged the young Indonesian archaeologists to embrace a natural scientific approach and economic point of view that stresses material objects rather than ideas. Moreover, such a view is thoroughly mixed with the cultural history paradigm that tends to describe historical events as a time line series and attributes static meaning to findings. It is within this context that Indonesian cultural heritage assessment is based on their physical nature, like forms, style, aesthetic and intrinsic values like unique, rare, masterpiece, rather than their embodied meaning like historical, social or political significance. This assessment is also accompanied by the desire to preserve authenticity, freezing the cultural heritage's inherent significance and providing evidence of an unchanging glorious past (Sulistyanto 2009; Putra 2011).

Indeed, in Repelita IV both the doctrine of cultural history (as a continuation of Dutch scholarly approaches) and the American influenced Processual Archaeology continued to operate. As the section on National cultural development was put in Chapter 21, the significance of this approach was addressed in a few cultural heritage projects such as the Muara Jambi temple restoration in Jambi, Sumatera, the Muara Takus temple restoration in Riau, Sumatera, Çrivijaya kingdom remnants restoration in Palembang, Sumatera, the Sewu temple restoration in Central Java and the installation of Archaeological Parks. Overall the discussion of the programme on cultural heritage management was fairly similar to the Repelita III programmes. However the Indonesian government's adoption of an environmental protection policy coupled with Indonesian archaeologists' tendency to study ecological adaption resulted in the regulation to carry out an environment feasibility study ahead of a restoration project. Concern for industrial intensification and agricultural development also led to an implementation of priority for cultural heritage rescue from natural deterioration and man-made destruction. Within this context, tangible cultural heritage was classified into a living monument, i.e. an archaeological site that had not been

abandoned, a dead monument, an archaeological site which was abandoned by past society (Bappenas 2009: 30-31).

The passing of Repelita III and Repelita IV stimulated the advancement of Indonesian archaeological institutions. In 1980 the '*Direktorat Sejarah dan Purbakala*' was renamed the '*Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Purbakala*' (the Directorate Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage), and *Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional* was renamed the '*Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional*' (the National Archaeology Research Centre) (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 49-50).

It was significant that such restructuring resulted in more professional staff to conduct cultural heritage projects and broadened the government authority in the cultural heritage management discourse. This was clearly seen in the accomplishment of Borobudur temple restoration. With 33% funding from the Indonesian government and the rest being provided by and through UNESCO, the restoration was completed in 1983. Further, in 1991 Borobudur temple was put on the UNESCO World Heritage list and was supported with US$ 5,000 in international assistance and US$ 42,000 in extra allocation finance to 2009. The Netherlands was also one of the State Parties that provided technical assistance (amount of US$ 35,000). Today, Borobudur has also been made into a tourist destination by the Indonesian government (Westrik 2012: 28; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 43, 99-110).

A similar achievement was the installation of the Leang-Leang Prehistoric Park, Maros, Sulawesi, from 1977 to 1979. Soon the Megaliths Park in Pugung Raharjo, Lampung, Sumatera, was installed between 1978 and 1982. 1981 to 1984 saw the restoration of the Dutch colonial fortress Vredenburg in Yogyakarta, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Marlborough in Bengkulu, Sumatera and Duurstede in Saparua, Maluku. While restoration of the Islamic castle Sunyaragi in Cirebon, West Java, was finished in 1982, that of site Keraton lama in Banten, West Java, was completed in 1984. Restoration of the Vishnu temple and Brahma temple in Prambanan were finished in 1981 and 1987 respectively. The most impressive works might be the restoration of Trowulan site, the capital of Majapahit kingdom. Restoration of an ancient artificial lake called Segaran began in 1974 and was finished in 1985. Tikus temple restoration was completed in 1989 and a number of temple restorations projects are still in progress (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 65, 71, 78-79).

REPELITA (Five Years Development Plan) V and the culmination of Indonesian cultural heritage top–down approach

GBHN 1988 and Repelita V 1989–1994 mirrored the New Order '*Pembangunan*' ideology's peak achievements. In GBHN 1988 under the heading 'Religion and Belief of God, Social-

Culture' and sub heading 'Culture', an elaboration of National Culture was stated as follows: National Culture is based on *Pancasila* and it is a manifestation of creation, sense and the desire of Indonesian people that are used to develop values and dignity as a nation. Further, the National Culture is aimed to provide perception and meaning toward national development (Aziz 1994: 238; 243-245).

More detailed programmes were tailored in Repelita V Chapter 21 on National Culture. While restoration of many monuments was continued, conservation programmes were launched in 7 regions namely Central Java, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, East Java, South Sulawesi, Banten, Jambi and Bali. Hence, the tangible cultural heritage that had been restored in these regions would be supported by further government funding and maintenance. In addition, the government would establish a new office of History and Antiquity Preservation in the provinces of West Java, Daerah Istimewa Aceh, Jambi, Bengkulu and West Sumatera. Further, the formulation of the Indonesian Cultural Objects Heritage Act would be continued.

As Repelita V programme embraced a wide field of cultural heritage management, the Directorate Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage and the Centre of Archaeological Research and National Heritage recognised the need for more archaeological expertise and professional staff. In an effort to accommodate this demand, the Udayana University, Bali and the Hasanuddin University, South Sulawesi, added a Department of Archaeology to their Arts Faculty around the 1980s. As a result, from Repelita I to the end of Repelita V more than a thousand archaeologists had graduated from Indonesian universities. It was not until 1978 that regular training, courses and workshops were also arranged to increase professional knowledge of the archaeological field staff (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 58-59).

In 1985 Ford Foundation also provided five years teaching aid programmes in archaeological study. John Miksic, a new PhD graduate from Harvard University in anthropology and archaeology was given the post of temporary lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, Gadjah Mada University. He introduced several new subjects to the curriculum, such as environmental archaeology, ethno-archaeology, ceramology, archaeology data method analysis, and the world's ancient civilisations. In general, his courses reflected the Anglo-American 'New Archaeology' perspective (see also Chapter 1). Further, from 1991 to 1993 the Indonesian Field School of Archaeology was conducted in Trowulan sites. This archaeological field school was funded by the American Ford Foundation and the participants came from the junior staff of the Centre of Archaeological Research, The History and Antiquity Reservation, the archaeology students from Indonesian University, Gadjah Mada University, Udayana University and Hasanuddin University. The

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senior staff from the Directorate Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage, the National Archaeology Research Centre and senior lecturers from these Universities acted as mentors and instructors (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 61).

In 1992, given the increasing archaeological expertise and staff recruitment, four new branch offices of the History and Antiquity Reservation were officially installed. The office in Banten carried out antiquities projects in the provinces of West Java, Jakarta Special Province and Lampung. The Jambi branch supervised the antiquities works in Jambi, South Sumatera and Bengkulu. The History and Antiquity Reservation in Batusangkar was responsible for the antiquities programme in the provinces of West Sumatera and Riau, and that in Aceh controlled projects in Daerah Istimewa Aceh and North Sumatera. At the same time, the Centre of Archaeological Research and National Heritage installed branch offices called the *Balai Arkeologi* (the Archaeology Bureau) in Palembang, Bandung, Menado, Ambon and Jayapura. By the end of the deployment of these offices over the Indonesian region, the Sewu temple restoration was completed in 1992, while the Bajang Ratu temple, the Brahu temple and Wringin Lawang gate restoration at the Trowulan site were finished in 1992, 1994 and 1995 respectively. It was also during the Repelita V period that the '*Undang-Undang No. 5, 1992 tentang Cagar Budaya*' (the Indonesian Cultural Objects Heritage Act) was ratified and implemented (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002: 51-52, 68-70, 78, 81: Kementerian Sekretaris Negara 1992: 1-9; Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan 1989: 1-32).

While Indonesian archaeologists insisted that cultural heritage management discourse was scientific, objective and neutral, it gradually became clear that such a view was severely biased. Certainly, the Indonesian government's and the archaeologists' interest in the past golden age contributed to the incorporation not only of the scientific methodology of archaeological knowledge, including cultural history and the New Archaeology, but also of the authority and power of the state via the mechanism of GBHN and Repelita. In short, the interest of the state in integrating the nation through a glorious past was reflected in its decision to set up research agendas, providing funds and institutionalise archaeology as the only discipline to study tangible cultural heritage. In a similar way, such integration also brought archaeology into the political arena and its scientific method became value-laden.

Concluding remarks

There can be little doubt that Indonesian archaeological work on cultural heritage during the New Order was not neutral or objective. As a matter of fact, the Indonesian archaeological offices' assessment was based on the Chapter XIII, Article 32 and the official explanation of

the Article 32 Indonesian constitution 1945 was as follows (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia 2010: 25):

> '*Kebudayaan lama dan asli yang terdapat sebagai puncak-puncak kebudayaan di daerah-daerah di seluruh Indonesia, terhitung sebagai kebudayaan bangsa. Usaha kebudayaan harus menuju kearah kemajuan adab, budaya, persatuan, dengan tidak menolak bahan-bahan baru dari kebudayaan asing yang dapat memperkembangkan atau memperkaya kebudayaan bangsa sendiri, serta mempertinggi derajat kemanusian bangsa Indonesia.*'

In short, the traditional and genuine culture in the Indonesian region that represents the peak of local cultures is included in the national culture. Accordingly, such assessment is carried out under the principle of representativeness. Given the premise that cultural heritage is unique and inherently significant with the significance residing in the material world (Johnson 2010: 67-68; Byrne 2008: 160-161), such assessment is focused on the empirical reality, i.e., the presence and proportion of cultural heritage assemblage, the natural environment context, and aesthetic measurement, rather than social and cultural thoughts and ideas – and political meaning. It follows from this view that cultural heritage assessment should be value-free from social, cultural and political action. Such a view can be elaborated by arguing that cultural heritage assessment on the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building in the New Order regime era might or might not be ethically wrong, since this assessment is based on scientific knowledge that is ethically value-free and neutral. In a similar way, archaeologists as scientists should not bring their social, cultural, political values into their assessment works, i.e., they should be completely depoliticised. However, it has become clear that this representative assessment is not value-free since by justifying what cultural heritage is to be included and excluded in the peak of local culture, Indonesian archaeologists relate their work to the prevailing political discourse (see also Chapter 3).

The local cultural heritage antiquities that are included in the list of Indonesian nation state treasures are inherently imbued with assessment values like unique masterpiece, rare and exotic. Further, the archaeological knowledge claims of objectivity and universalism can lead to generalised assumptions, i.e. that the Indonesian national culture formation has evolved from the primitive stage to the civilised stage. Yet, once local culture heritage antiquities are given universal meaning by the Indonesian state, these antiquities are deprived of cultural context. At the same time, they are also isolated from their social context.

Even the definition '*monumen mati*' (the dead monument) on the Repelita IV programme of Indonesian cultural heritage assessment is not neutral but has a subjective connotation (Bappenas 2009: 30). Indeed, Indonesian archaeologists use such a term to define

monuments that are believed to have lost their cultural context, such as the people who installed these monuments are extinct and they are no longer used by the dominant modern people. However there are many examples that the local people see them in a slightly different way. They believe that these monuments are related to their ancestors, irrespective of whether they have official documents to prove it or not, and that they are also endowed with their ancestors' sacred powers (see also Chapter 8). The notion of dead monument and '*monumen hidup*' (the living monument) also contribute to the never-ending cultural heritage registration. While the registration of cultural heritage is based on environmental impact assessment, the pressure of modernisation has a greater impact on cultural heritage preservation and the update status of the dead and living monuments. In this way, the Indonesian state has played a significant role in encouraging cultural heritage registration programmes as stated in the Repelita II (Bappenas 2009: 225-226):

> '*Inventarisasi peninggalan purbakala akan ditingkatkan mengingat benda atau monument yang tersebar di berbagai daerah Indonesia mungkin sudah tidak ditempatnya lagi, walaupun pernah dicantumkan pada inventarisasi yang pernah dilakukan dalam tahun 1914-1915.*'

Going back even further in the Dutch Colonial era, the cultural heritage registration programme was brought about by the Dutch Colonial Archaeological Service in 1914. It is likely that cultural heritage registration in Repelita III 1979 – 1984 strengthens the view that the end of the authority of the Dutch colonial regime did not mean the end of colonial knowledge practices. Moreover, as the founding father, archaeological study still holds the top position in the Indonesian government's cultural heritage institutions. The Dutch colonial archaeology cultural historical approach is still bound with the New Archaeology approach of the young Indonesian archaeologists. Accordingly, from the time of Indonesian Independence to the New Order era Indonesian archaeologists are cultural historical approach laden and adopted the New Archaeology positivism point of view. Thus, in a certain way they turn cultural heritage into mere 'objects of study' and keep local knowledge at a distance, since the cultural heritage is only a thing and it is the archaeologists' duty to insert meaning into such a thing via their scientific methods. On the basis of this perspective, Indonesian archaeologists focused their research to excavate, protect and preserve static, primitive, isolated marginal local cultural heritage, recorded these pristine tangible heritage in the list of national cultural heritage. Through their objective and neutral justifications on local cultural heritage and national cultural heritage, a new legitimate knowledge on the Indonesian cultural heritage management is produced.

Once the processes for possessing new knowledge on the cultural heritage management were officially legitimated, the need for organising and systemising these processes resulted

in the development of government archaeological institutions in the Indonesian outer regions. In fact, such a process culminated in the Repelita V (Aziz 1994: 238; 243-245).

While this programme is aimed at conveying the abundance of Indonesian cultural heritage and glorious past, it also masks the colonial ideology agenda. In this case, the Indonesian ethnic groups' *pusaka* (cultural heritage) are discovered, collected, registered and stored under the Indonesian state guardianship. Further, these ethnic groups' *pusaka* are converted into the Indonesian nation state treasures and ranked according to the Indonesian cultural mainstream standards. Accordingly, *pusaka* from marginal ethnic groups is marked as lower traditional, primitive culture. On the other hand, *pusaka* from the Javanese major ethnic group is labelled as highly civilised Hindu-Buddhist culture. From this point of view, cultural heritage gets a meaning which positions Java in the centre of the Indonesian nation state's activities and justifies Java's ethnic domination over the Outer Islands. However, as Yamin's opponent noted the adulation of the Majapahit and Çrivijaya kingdoms as the Indonesian nation state's glorious past also reflects the colonial and imperial ideology. Accordingly, it best fitted with the Indonesian nation state's centralised policy, which was a top-down approach on the project of Indonesian nation state building and forging national unity. Through this project Indonesian archaeologists travelled from the metropolitan centre, i.e. the Indonesian state capital, the Province capital and the Regency capital, towards the remote marginal village in the quest for preserving cultural heritage, while bringing their finds back to the centre. Finally, the fabrication of cultural heritage in the service of the state and marginalisation of local heritage outside the regions of Java and Sumatera reflect how the New Order state manipulates the Indonesian archaeologists' works (see also Chapter 6, 7 and 8).

Part II – On the history and ethnography of the Ngadha and Manggaraian

Chapter 3

Including Flores, the island and its people in the Indonesian nation state

As we saw in Part I, the Indonesian nation state's framework of nation building forged national unity through cultural heritage references that were emphasised by celebrating the past golden age of the Javanese. What were the consequences for ethnic groups outside the core area ?. The cultural heritage discourse of the Flores ethnic groups offers a good case to examine the crucial role of the Indonesian nation-state in constructing Florenese territorial boundaries and creating the nation's collective identity, particularly the relationship between the traditional Flores Island people and the modern Indonesian nation state, I will explore the mechanism of inclusion and exclusion of Florenese cultural heritage under the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building and forging national unity after 1945. Part II on the location, geography, climate, fauna, flora, history and cultures of Flores is not just scene setting but reveals features having major impact upon the marginalisation of the Florenese cultural heritage and the current heritage dynamics as discussed in Part III.

Flores: geography and natural environment

The island of Flores is a part of the Lesser Sunda Islands archipelago and lies between 8° S and 11° S latitude and 116.5^{o} E and 125.5^{o} E longitude (Nurini 1985: 1-8). The Lesser Sunda Islands are situated on two geanticlines belts that form the westward extension of the Banda Arc. The inner geanticlines carry from east to west the islands of Roma, Wetar, Kambing, Alor, Pantar, Lomblen, Solor, Adonara, Flores, Rinca, Komodo, Sumbawa, Lombok and Bali. The outer arc is formed by the islands of Timor, Semau, Roti, Sawu, Raijua and Dana (Bemmelen 1949: 51). Flores is bordered by the Flores Sea to the north, the Sawu Sea to the south, the island of Sumbawa to the west and Lembata to the east. Internally Flores is divided into eight regencies: *Manggarai Barat* (West Manggarai), *Manggarai Tengah* (Central Manggarai), *Manggarai Timur* (East Manggarai), *Ngadha, Nagekeo, Ende*, *Sikka* and *Flores Timur* (East Flores) (see Figure 3.1) (Website Resmi Pemerintah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2010). Rugged mountains, inaccessible buttes, deep canyons and gravel plains represent a very substantial part of the island. Most areas are totally unsuitable for wet rice cultivation since there is sufficient water only in the high and rugged mountains above 1250 to 2000 meters. However, at this height rice is impossible to cultivate (Anon 1945:47).
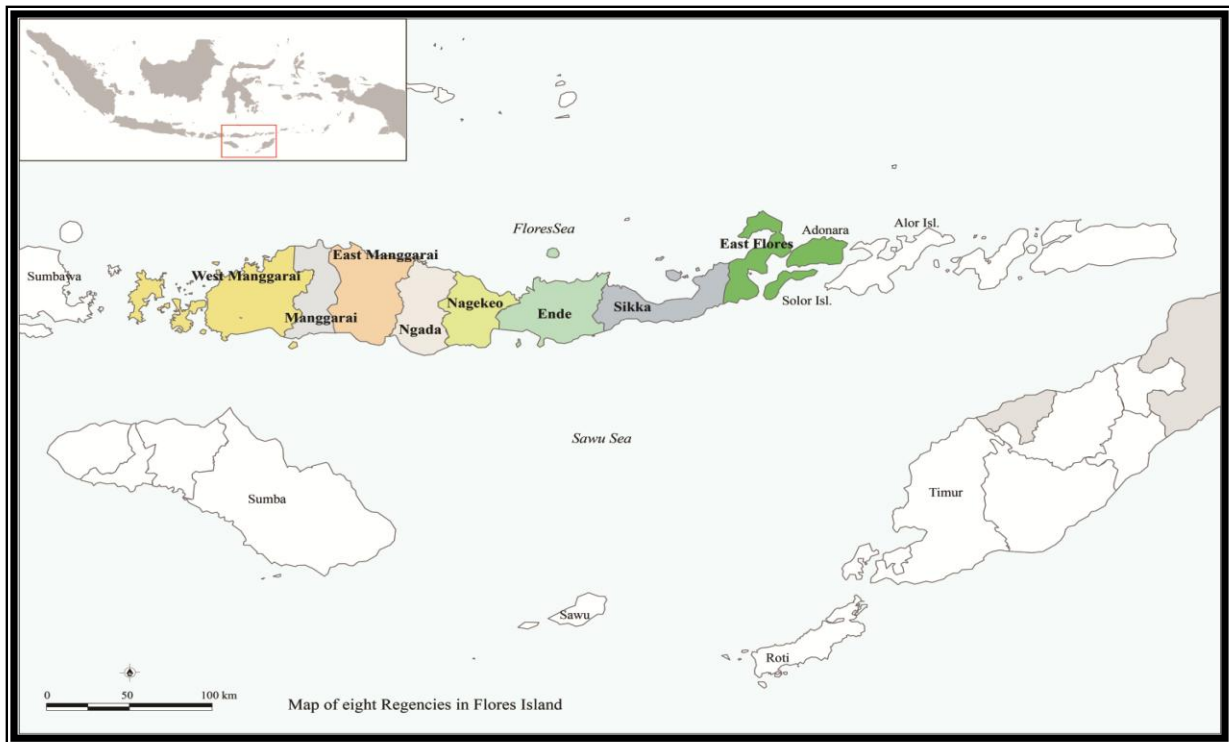
Figure 3.1: Regency Regions of Flores Island (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

About half of the island is composed of volcanic mountains with many active craters including Ebu Lobo (2149 m), Inerie (2200m) and Ine Lika (1159 m). The main range runs the length of the island somewhat south of the centre. As a result the southern part is steeper and more mountainous than the northern. The highest point is the Poco Renakah (2408 m), southeast of Ruteng in the western part of Flores. Eastwards the altitudes decrease gradually (Anon 1945:47). Several mountain streams and rivers are found on Flores Island. Larger rivers such as the Moke and the Ae Sissa are found on the western border and in the north-eastern plains. There are also small rivers such as the Pessi, Likoer, Rica, Sai and Bobo. All rivers in Flores flow from the central mountains to the north and south coasts, but they are only navigable for light, native crafts near their mouths at high water. During the dry season they are almost dry and drinking water is difficult to find. The coasts are mostly high and rugged, especially where spurs reach the sea to form bold headlands (Anon 1945: 73). Vegetation is sparse except on the higher slopes of the mountains and is largely savannah, forest, alang-alang grass or scrub. Indigenous wildlife on Flores is different from that of western Indonesia and is characterised by lizards and marsupials. In fact Flores is part of the bio-geographical transition zone between Asia and Australia, with the former generally being dominant (Anon 1945: 1-2; Bellwood 1997: 13-16).

The climate of Flores is tropical but the weather is quite varied. There are essentially two seasons, the wet or monsoon season and the dry season. The wet season on Flores – as on other islands of the Lesser Sunda group - extends from December to March. However, in the

wetter mountain regions the rainy season falls a month earlier and continues into April. The dry season extends from May to November, and the drier months are July, August and September. Drinking water is hard to find on the south coast in the dry season (Le Bar 1972: 80-90). Rainfall is highest in the high mountain regions. It is evident that the high mountain peaks push the rain-bearing winds upward to cooler altitudes, causing the precipitation on the land to be much greater than at sea. As a result, the highest rainfall occurs in the regencies of Ruteng and Bajawa (over 2,000 mm of annual rainfall), which are more mountainous than other regions. Conversely, the lowest rainfall (less than 1,000 mm of annual rainfall) occurs in coastal areas around Mumere, Reo and Aimere (Anon 1945: 105; Metzner 1982:37). Monthly means of daytime maximum temperatures probably average 29º - 32ºC and are highest from September to November. Corresponding figures for night time minimum vary between 21º and 24ºC, being lowest in July and August. Occasionally in the hottest month temperatures rise between 35º and 38ºC, and during June to August they fall to about 16º on some nights. Maumere is the hottest part of this island (Anon 1945: 106).

The people of Flores

The rugged and mountainous topography of Flores and the effects of different historical influences have helped, created and perpetuated great cultural diversity. In each of the eight regencies at least four or five different population groups can be distinguished in mountain and coastal regions. They show a typically mixed race characteristics of the Malay and the Papuan (Lewis 1988: 7; Kunst 1946: 7; Anon 1945: 86). In the large Western part of the island live the *Manggaraian* who have long been subject to Macassan influences. In 1710 there was a small Macassan sultanate under the Sultana Daeng Tamena in the area. The Islamic sultanate of Bima (Sumbawa) then held sway over the area until 1928. As a result many *Manggaraian* show *Macassan* and *Buginese* 'Proto-Malay' physical characteristics (Kunst 1942: 1; Bellwood 1978: 30).

The *Ngadhas* live immediately east of the Manggaraian. Muda, a priest from Bajawa, argued formerly they lived somewhere in the west of Flores, immigrated about 250 years ago to what is now their homeland, and gradually settled around the Inerie volcano (Molnar 2000 10). As mountain people, the *Ngadha* and the culturally related *Nage* of the Mbai and the Keo districts appear to have been rather isolated. Both groups tend to be more 'Melanesian' in appearance (Kunst 1942). The *Ende* and the *Lio* people occupy Central Flores. Ende was formerly the seat of an independent Muslim kingdom allied with Bima, while the mountain-dwelling *Lionese* were divided among many local political domains (Lewis 1988: 7). The purest *Lio* group is found east of Ende, whereas around Ende itself the *Lio* have inter-married with the *Maccassan* and *Buginese* (Kunst 1942: 1). The *Sikka* group and *Larantuka*

live in the Eastern part of Flores, especially in the districts of Nita, Sikka and Kangae. By the 16th Century, the *Larantuka* were ruled by a number of local rajas, with the raja of Larantuka gaining importance through contact and trade with the Portuguese. As a result, Portuguese blood runs in the veins of *Lio* people in coastal districts, particularly around the town of Larantuka in the extreme east of the island (Lewis 1988: 7; Kunst 1942:1-2).

Despite *Macassan*, *Buginese* and Portuguese influences, most inhabitants of Flores show Negroid, Papua or Melanesoid physical characteristic. Furthermore, there are differences between the people of the coastal and mountain regions; the former display more Proto-Malay features, while the latter tend to be more Melanesoid (Le Bar 1972:80). In addition to the original Flores inhabitants, there are many migrants in the towns and coastal villages. Among them are people from Sumbawa, Sumba, Roti, Sawu, Timor, Alor, Kisar, Makassar and Buton. Some of them form their own colonies, such as at Kampung Roti and Kampung Sawu in the town of Ende (Anon 1945: 87). Today, Javanese migrants are also found in Flores and they mostly settle in the capitals of many regencies in Flores such as West Manggarai, Manggarai, Ngadha and Ende.

In Flores both matrilineal and patrilineal descent is recognised. Houses are occupied by extended families comprising grandparents, parents, children and the wives or husbands of children who have not settled with the spouses' relations, so 20 individuals may live in the same house (Le Bar 1972: 80-90). While polygamy is a common practice among the wealthy, most marriages are monogamous. Arranged marriages still exist with cross-cousin marriage being preferred, i.e. with the mother's brother's daughter. However, nowadays young people usually choose their own partners. Either a man or a woman may ask for divorce, which is easily arranged and marked by a particular ceremony. Payment by the husband to the family of the bride is important and bride-price might include buffaloes, horses, gold, jewellery and elephant tusks, although today it is mainly paid in money. When the full bride-price is not paid, the husband lives in the house of his wife's family and works for them (Le Bar 1972: 80-90). Reciprocal presentations from the family of the bride must be paid in pigs, cloth and rice.

Languages in Flores belong to the Austronesian language family (Wurm and Hattori 1983: 40). More locally, the Manggarai, Ngadha and Ende languages are said to be related to the Bima-Sumba linguistic group (Le Bar 1972: 80), while Sikka and Larantuka, as well as the languages of Solor Island to the east, are members of the Timor-Ambon linguistic group. However, there is some disagreement over this. For instance, Dyen suggests that Ende language is closer to Sikka, and therefore belongs to the Timor-Ambon linguistic group (Le

Bar 1972: 80). More extensive studies need to be carried out on the linguistic diversity evident on Flores.

The majority of the population is Roman Catholic and the rest are Muslims, Protestants and Hindu Dharma. Most Muslims are found in West Manggarai and in the coastal areas (Le Bar 1972: 83). However, aspects of the original 'animist' religion still feature in ceremonial life, which focuses on ancestor worship. In Manggarai the spirit of the ancestor is called *empo* or *andung*. In Ngadha they are associated with a particular sex such as *Dewa* (male) and *Nitu* (female). In Ende there is also a pantheon of named deities including *Ngga'eh Dewa* (the high God). In Sikka the important deities are *Lero Wulang* and *Niang Tana*, who are connected with the sun and moon. In Larantuka the two high Gods are *Rera Wulan* (male) and *Tana Ekan* (female), and they are also connected to the sun and moon (Le Bar 1972: 80-90).

People of Flores mainly make their living from dry land agriculture. Paddy-field cultivation is feasible only in certain regions due to restrictions on the availability of water, as well as topographical factors. The most important agricultural crops include dry rice, wet rice, corn, various kinds of yam, beans, sorghum, millet, aubergine, chilli, cucumber and peanuts. Banana, sugar cane and papaya are also common crops, while Chinese cabbage and cabbages have recently been introduced, and coffee, vanilla, chocolate and cloves are grown in small plantations as cash crops. Livestock includes water buffaloes, horses, pigs, cattle, chickens, ducks and sheep. Although village people still hunt wild boar, deer, monkeys and bats, this is becoming increasingly difficult. Catching eels, other fish and shrimps in rivers is a popular activity (Sudarmadi 1999: 54-55).

Florenese identity

Unlike the most of Javanese for whom ethnicity and place are considered the same, the Florenese incorporate the ethnicity of a significant number of indigenous Flores inhabitants such as the Manggaraian, the Ngadha, the Nage, the Keo, the Lio and the Sikka. Thus, among themselves, the Florenese differentiate their ethnic identity according to the region or village in which they were born. It is also worth noting that they usually identify themselves by name, but when identifying themselves concerning claims to the rights and status in relation to their ethnic identity their name alone is insufficient. Hence, they add to it the myth of their ancestral origin through long recitations of the names of places and the names of ancestors associated with those places. In other words, the extent to which the members of the ethnic groups on Flores have the right to claim their ethnic identity and territory will depend upon their genealogical authenticity that can be traced from their founding ancestor whom they can recall through recitation (Sudarmadi 1999: 178-183). Since each ethnic

group has its own myth, thousands of such myths are preserved among the ethnic group affiliations. The right to claim a certain ethnic identity connected to ancestral land is often a topic of contestation. However, such claims are important since being 'just' a Florenese is an unattractive option for the indigenous people of Flores. They fear that within such a broad ethnic (or even geographical) identity they will be excluded and marginalised from their more specific ethnic origin identity.

While land continues to be a primary economic resource for the ethnic groups in Flores, access and control to the land reside in the elder and the highest ranking of the ethnic group. With time, an increase in the number of new members and the consequent reduction of land for farming resulted in the decline of the welfare of the people of Flores. The collapse of their traditional livelihood and a firm commitment from the Indonesian nation state to guarantee economic and social well-being of the Florenese drove the young people and the lowest strata of the Flores ethnic groups to migrate (Graham 2008: 124-129).

As the Indonesian government launched transmigration programmes in the 1970s, many Christian Florenese resettled in the less densely populated Indonesian Islands such as Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. This migration was both state sponsored and self-motivated. At the same time, industrialisation in Java attracted Florenese to seek wage labour in big Javanese cities like Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. The Florenese are mostly uneducated and only approximately 35% of the total Flores population graduate from elementary school. They are mostly dry land farmers with traditional farming techniques and unskilled farmers of modern wet rice cultivation technology (Graham 2008: 124-127; Tirtosudarmo 2006: 139-141; Sudarmadi 1999: 54-55). Over the years the Florenese became a migrant Indonesian ethnic minority group with a second class citizenship and a low socio-economic level. In spite of their different ethnic groups, spoken languages and cultural customs, they are not considered as *Orang Ngadha'*, '*Orang Manggarai*', or '*Orang Lio*', but they are called '*Orang Flores*'. Regarding this improper ethnic name and inequality in social-economic realms, the Florenese believe that as a migrant community they have no choice but to accept subordinate positions outside their Flores territory. However, recently, many Florenese migrants have become better educated, richer and are able to negotiate their multiple identities as an indigenous Flores ethnic group, as the Florenese and as Indonesians.

In the early 1980s, the world demand for palm (Elaeis guineensis) oil increased rapidly. Malaysia as the biggest palm oil producer opened new plantations to fulfil the needs of the world's palm oil market. As demand for plantation workers began to exceed the Malaysian's labour supply, the Malaysian government recruited contract labourers from neighbouring

countries. Being attracted to their migrant family's success stories in Sabah, a large number of Florenese migrated to Sabah, Malaysia, and took plantation jobs offered by the Malaysian government (Graham 2008: 115-118; Tirtosudamo 2006: 144-148).

Away from home, migrant Florenese struggle in a world of marginalisation. Basically, Sabah authority classifies the Florenese as '*Orang Timor*' (Timor ethnic groups) or '*Budak Indon*' (blue-collar workers from the Indonesian nation state), since the majority of them work as unskilled plantation labourers or coolies in the colonial era term. Their Catholic religion also places them in a minority since Islam is the dominant religion in Sabah. Fortunately, the Florenese migration to Sabah is organised via familial and kinship networks. The Florenese community has been established in Sabah since 1950, and as these links and networks are internally strengthened and externally broadened, they retain and sustain social, political and economic relationship with other Flores migrants outside Sabah and their 'Flores' ancestral land. Such processes allow Flores migrants to forge a new form of identity, promote economic integration and maintain the cultural boundaries of their origin and settlement, while at the same time building collective identities that cross geographic, cultural and political borders. This phenomenon is clearly seen in the consumption and distribution of Ngadha ethnic pop music VCDs among the Flores migrants (see also Chapter 7). According to Basch and his colleagues, this phenomenon shows an embryo trans-national community (Tirtosudarmo 2006: 146, 148: Basch, Schiller and Blanc 1994: 6; Barlow, et. al. 1900: 13).

A history of Flores

Early reports on Flores by travellers and expeditions provide very little ethnographic, historical or archaeological information. They include erratic descriptions of their local culture, material culture and customs (Wolf 1999: 321). While archaeologists, historians and anthropologists in the 20th Century categorise their reports as unscientific, at least from earlier travellers and expeditions reports the name of the island of Flores could be traced back. According to such reports, this island got its name from Portuguese sailors, 'Cabo de Flores', which indicated the cape of the easternmost peninsula of the island (Abdurachman 2008: 59-60). However, according to oral tradition of indigenous Florenese who live in Sika, Nita and the surrounding regions, this island is called '*Nusa Nipa*', an island of the dragon, following the shape of the Flores Island (Orinbao 1969: 114-167). In 1891, Meerburg pioneered anthropological field work. He listed all the villages and described the land and the people in the Manggarai region (Le Bar 1972: 81-83). In 1916, Van Staveren, a colonial administrator in Central Flores, described local social organisations, religious life, feasts and sacrifices, laws, marriages, inheritance, land ownership, housing and other material culture of Flores (Molnar 2000: 14).

Not until in the early 20th century was the earliest history of Flores people revealed by archaeological investigation. Arndt, Staveren, Rouffaer, Ernst and van Bekkum's reported the megalith remains in Flores, and these reports illustrated the forms, location and distribution of megaliths. Indeed, megaliths' structure such as stone walls, upright stones, stone tables and tombstones were easily found in the villages of Flores (Loofs 1967: 74-79). This report on megaliths initiated the archaeological excavation of a Catholic priest and amateur archaeologist, Father Theodor Verhoeven. Around 1952-1953 He found stone artefacts at a number of sites in the Soa Basin Central Flores (Ngadha Regency) – including Mata Menge and Boa Lesa (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 114-115). Soon, he discovered flakes tools, chopping tools, choppers and bifacial hand-axes in association with fossil bones of *Stegodon*, crocodiles and rodents. Both Verhoeven and Soejono assumed that typologically these artefacts represent a close relationship with Patjitanian tools as well as the chopper/chopping-tool complex of Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the presence of *Stegodon* indicated that the finds were of the Middle Pleistocene Age (Heekeren 1972: 46, 71; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 108-109; Bellwood 1997: 66, 191; Glover 1970: 188-190).

Recently an Indonesian-Australian research team has re-excavated two of Verhoeven's sites, as well as several other fossil sites in the Soa Basin. Stone artefacts definitely occur in primary association with large *Stegodon* at Matamenge and Boa Lesa. Fission-track dates of 80,000 and 900,000 years respectively were obtained for Matamenge and the pre-hominid site of Tangi Talo (Morwood 2001: 393-394; Morwood, et, al 1998). Flores was evidently colonised by *Homo erectus* around 900,000 years ago during the Early Pleistocene. This new evidence extended the prehistoric occupation of the Island of Flores from the Middle Pleistocene Age to the Early Pleistocene Age. Work on the archaeology and palaeontology of the Soa Basin is currently in progress and will include research on the recent history of the region (Morwood 2001: 391-396).

The most prominent archaeological excavation was the discovery of the *Homo floresiensis* who lived 38,000-18,000 years ago. The remains of this type of were found in Liang Bua site 14 km north of Ruteng, Central Manggarai by an Indonesian-Australian research team led by Morwood in 2004. Stratigraphically, the remains of this human were deposited on a sloping surface on dark brown silt-like clay together with animal remains including komodo dragon, rat, bat, dwarf *Stegodon* (small elephant) and artefacts such as macroblade, microblade, arrows, perforator and burin core for producing microblades (Morwood, et. al. 2005: 1012-1013; Morwood, et. al. 2004: 1-4).

It was also evident that Verhoeven excavated a number of caves and rock shelters in west Flores (Rinca, Labuan Bajo, and Riung). Indeed, his excavation in Liang Toge, a cave near Warukia in Western Flores, produced a great number of flakes, small blades, asymmetrical scrapers and small cores in association with human skeletons (Heekeren 1972: 140-142). Scattered human skeletal remains were also found by Verhoeven at Liang Momer, Gua Alo, Liang Panas in Labuan Bajo and Aimere open site on the south coast of west Flores, Liang X near Reo, Liang Bajo, Liang Buto, Liang Bua, Liang Alu and Liang Rundung (Heekeren 1972: 145; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 144-145). Human skeletons from Liang Toge were said to have Australo-Melanesian characteristics and they could be categorised as a former agricultural and maritime Austronesian speaker (Heinsohn 2001: 155; Bellwood 1997: 86-87). Radio carbon dating of this site gives an absolute date of 2000 BP (Bellwood 1997: 86). The most important finds from this second migration and colonisation of Lesser Sunda Island around 5000 – 1000 years ago were the scattered human bones, a large number of flakes, small blades, asymmetrical scrapers and small cores. These finds were mostly associated with fauna comprised of bare-backed bat (*Dobsonia cf. peroni*), common long-tailed macaque (*Macaca fascicularis)*, porcupine (*Acanthion brachyurus*) and feral pig (*Sus scrofa*) (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 144-145; Heekeren 1972: 142-148).

Shortly after examining Verhoeven's excavated material, Van Heekeren (1972: 140-145) conducted an excavation at Liang Rundung, a cave near Wangka, Riung district in north Flores, and Liang Soki, a cave half-way between Ruteng and Reo. The most important finds were a large number of base-stepped stone projectile points. He also found rock-paintings at the Mbikong cliff near Wangka, Western Flores. The paintings are black and appear to have been applied with a greasy substance. They depict geometric motifs, e.g. squares with dots and concentric ovals. Faunal remains, such as starfish and tortoise were also found. At the foot of the cliff, lithic flake were also discovered suggesting the production of lithic artefacts (Heekeren 1972: 147-148). Later, Heekeren's excavations in a number of caves in west Flores and central Flores also produced a huge quantity of flakes, scrapper and small blades. These artefacts were associated with human occupation on dating to the Late Pleistocene to the Early and Middle Holocene, 10,000 BC to 2000 BC (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a: 117-188; 225-233; Heekeren 1972: 141).

This archaeological research also reflects early human migration from the Greater Sunda Islands – Sumatera, Java - crossing the Wallace's line to the Lesser Sunda Islands, East Indonesia. From this point of view, the first human migration from the west Indonesian archipelago took place around 900,000 BP. On the basis of the discovery of fossilised remains of the *Homo erectus* at the Tangi Talo site, Soa Basin, central Flores, it might be

suggested that parts of the east Indonesian Islands were colonised by *Homo erectus* in the Early Pleistocene. Following the relative stabilisation of the sea level during the Early Holocene around 40,000 years ago, a second migration wave of the southern Mongoloid population moved from south-east Asia towards the Malay Peninsula. From this area they migrated to the western Indonesian archipelago that was previously occupied by Australomelanesian or Australoid races. Later, the two groups hybridised to varying degrees (Bellwood 1997: 82). As *Homo erectus* in Flores might have been a dead end of human evolution, they were replaced by the new migratory waves of Austromelanesian people. Archaeological evidence i.e. the human remains, pottery, microblade, and rock painting demonstrated that a series of migrations took place between 10,000 BC to 2000 BC (Morwood 2001: 391-396; Heinsohn 2001: 155; Belwood 1997: 86-87). From 3000 BC onward, the third migration of expanding populations of southern Mongoloids or the Austronesian speaking populations moved to Taiwan. In 2000 BC they arrived in the Philippines and around 1500 BC they landed in the western Indonesian archipelago (see Figure 3.2) (Bellwood 1997: 92).

Given the strength and clarity of what Trigger called (1984, 1995) archaeology's colonialist tenet, this theory basically reflected the Dutch colonial knowledge of the Indonesian archipelago human evolution progress. While the Mongoloid in the western Indonesia Archipelago successfully made human progress as it was clearly seen in the establishment of maritime kingdom enterprises and more complex civilisation, the Australomelanesian in the East Indonesian Archipelago continued to have less complex civilisation and followed static traditional ways of life (Chauvel 1996: 64-66). As the Indonesian government adopted this paradigm in the contemporary Indonesian nation state formation discourse the inevitable consequence was the persistent acceptance of this perspective in the Indonesian National History official text book (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983a; Poesponegoro and Notosusanto 1983b).

After the prehistoric time almost three thousand years went by before Flores appeared in an historical chronicle. A Majapahit expedition colonised Flores in 1357 (Hamilton 1994:30). As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2, the historical epic *Nagarakrêtagama* – written by Prapanca, the Majapahit kingdom chronicler, also listed Majapahit's conquered territories in the Lesser Sunda, including Sumba, Timor and an island called Solot (Pigeaud 1962 IV: 34). Vatter (1984: 22-25) associates Solot with Solor, Alor, Pantar and the general areas of Flores. According to the origin myth of the Sikka in east Flores, *Palang Jawa*, a great warrior from Java, helped the king of Sikka to defeat the clan *Uma Ili*. It was recounted that *Palang Jawa* successfully beat the tough and brave warriors from clan *Uma Ili*. As a result *Palang   Jawa*
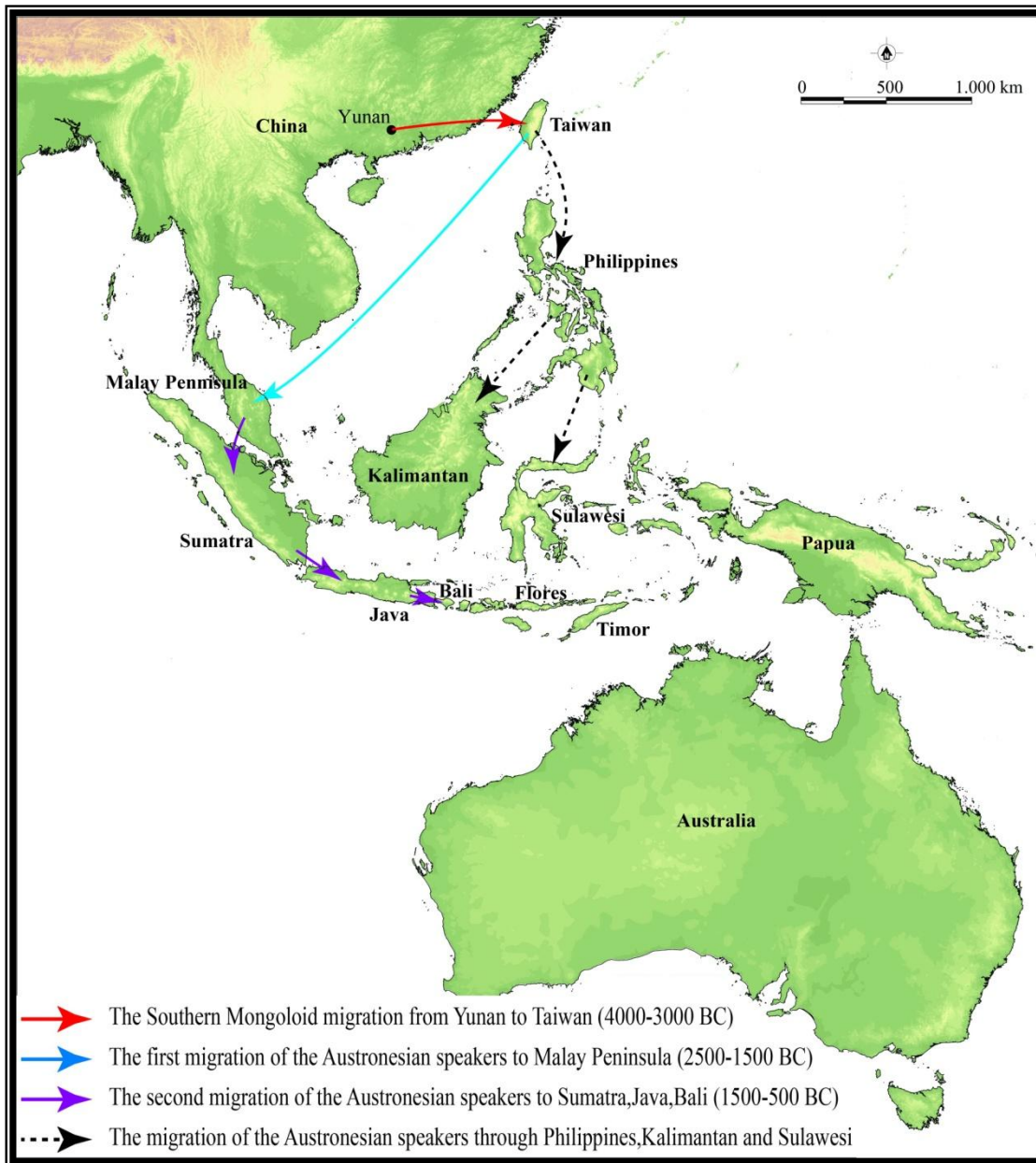
Figure 3.2: The Austronesian speakers' migration (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

was granted a piece of land in Sikka by the king. Soon, he married a Sikka woman and today his descendants are spread all over Flores. Viewed as toponymy, Bajawa, the capital of Ngadha Regency, was a combination of two Javanese language words '*Bongso-Jowo*' (Javanese ethnic). Moreover, the village Benteng Jawa, around 40 km northeast of Ruteng (the recent capital of Central Manggarai Regency), was believed to be the fort of Majapahit troops. The Endenese, the Lionese, the Nage and the Keo who inhabit central Flores, gave a name *kowe* or *krowe Jawa* to a particular Flores region which showed the greatest influence of the Majapahit kingdom (Kolit 1982: 24-26, 51-54).

However, from about 1400 to 1511 the sea-trading system, especially the trans-shipment centre in Southeast Asia, was dominated by the Islamic Empire of Malacca, Malay

Peninsula. In this trading system Flores occupied a peripheral position since it was only recognised as a sulphur resource (Hamilton 1994:30). In the 15th to 16th Century, after the Majapahit kingdom had collapsed, Flores was controlled by two sultanates. The Islamic sultanates of Goa in southern Sulawesi dominated the western to the central parts of Flores and the sultanate of Ternate in the northern Moluccas ruled eastern Flores, Solor and Alor (Metzner 1982: 65).

António de Abreu, a Portuguese sailor who was on the way to Moluccas in 1512, was the first Westerner to mention Flores Island. Around 1550 another Portuguese was the first to find the Solor Island, which provided the best shelter around Timor's coasts for protection from monsoon. In 1561 Antonio de Taveria, a Portuguese Dominican priest started a mission post at Solor. By 1575 Portuguese Dominican priests had founded twenty missions along the coast of eastern and central Flores. Furthermore, the Portuguese had also constructed fortresses in Ende and the capital of Solor (Metzner 1982: 65-67). At that time the Solor Island and the South coast of Flores were well-known harbours for local trading commodities such as beeswax, honey and sandalwood. Similarly, the northern coast of Flores was also a port of call for the spice trade (Abdurachman 2008: 59). However, the Portuguese domination of Flores decreased after 1596 with the invasion by the Islamic sultanates of Goa, local rulers and pirates. Furthermore, in 1613, Dutch aggression tore down the Portuguese settlement and fortresses at Lawajong, Solor. Lastly, in 1637 the Moslems from Ternate conquered and destroyed the Portuguese fortresses in Ende. These attacks marked the end of Portuguese authority in most parts of Flores (Metzner 1982: 67).

The Portuguese defeat in 1637 and the fall of the Malacca Islamic Kingdom in 1641 established the Dutch VOC as a powerful coloniser in the Indies archipelago. Being interested in trading benefit rather than religious mission the Dutch Company had already signed a treaty with the local Solor authority in 1618. This treaty mainly established the obligation of Solor's indigenous leaders to sell all goods, including slaves, exclusively to the VOC Company for export. This treaty was renewed in 1646 and gave more power and authority to the Dutch entrepreneurs. Thirty-seven years later, under an agreement, the Sultan of Ternate released Solor Island to the Dutch VOC. By means of several treaties with the local kingdom, the Dutch company almost monopolised Flores' trading (Metzner 1982: 69).

Meanwhile in the early 17th Century, the northern and southern parts of West Flores became dependencies of the Bima Sultanate in Eastern Sumbawa (Le Bar 1972: 80-81). The VOC then signed an agreement with Bima in 1669, which allowed them to purchase sandalwood from Manggarai in western Flores (Metzner 1982: 69). It is interesting to note that according

to a manuscript of Manggarai history - a chronicle of the Bima kingdom - the Manggarai region was subjugated by a deity who was believed to be the first ancestor of the Bima kingdom, called Sang Bima. This manuscript was written between 1762 and 1847 and its aim was to legitimate the Bima kingdom's mythical claim to the Manggarai region (Toda 1999: 76-82, 94-96). However, one must acknowledge the possibility that Manggarai was a part of the Bima kingdom from the earliest period, particularly on the basis of the fact that Manggarai was located not too far from Bima region.

Other historical sources like the description of Juan Sebastián Elcano's journey through the Timor Archipelago in the Magalhães ship Victoria, mention that the Goa kingdom in Southern Sulawesi ruled the Western part of Flores during 15th-16th Century (Le Roux 1928: 9-14). This source mentions a number of expeditions of the Sultanate of Goa to Islamise the Bima kingdom. The first expedition was undertaken by Loqmoq of Mandalleq in 1618 AD. Subsequently, led by Karaeng Maroangin, a second expedition to completely convert royal Bima was carried out in 1619. But the Bimanese group who were anti-Makasarese rebelled against the pro-Makasarese Sultan of Bima and this rebellion forced the Goa kingdom to send the third expedition in 1629. In the end, under the supervision of Karaeng Matoaya the Sultan of Bima's opponent was defeated and once again the Bima Sultanate was subjected to the Goa kingdom's authority (Noorduyn 1987: 327-339). As a vassal of the Bimanese kingdom, Manggarai also came under the hegemony of the Goa Sultanate.

While Manggarai was in the possession of the Goa Sultanate, Verheijen (1991: 23) notes that in 1661 Manggarai was subjected to the Bima kingdom's authority. As a consequence of being the Bima kingdom's vassal, Manggarai had an obligation to pay an annual tribute and abide by Bima kingdom's trading monopoly regulation on Manggarai's commodity products. However, the Goa Sultanate was not slow to react to the Bima kingdom's invasion of Manggarai. In 1666 the Goa army joined the "Cibal" clan of Manggaraians, who lived in Northern middle Manggarai, to attack the "Todo" clan who were immigrants from Minangkabau (Nooteboom 1950: 208-209). As the Cibal clan and their ally's raid proceeded, the Todo clan was defeated and their clan house was burned: but the allies failed to kill all the Todo clan members who were scattered outside the Todo clan village. From that time the Goanese resided in Reok and dominated the North Manggarai region (see Figure 3.3) (Bekkum 1946: 67-68; Toda 1999: 254-257). After years of trade rivalry with the Goa Sultanate, the Dutch Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) attacked and defeated the sultanate in 1667. Furthermore, VOC forced the Goa Sultan to sign the Bongaya permanent treaty that allowed VOC to monopolise commodity trading in the Eastern region. It was also stated in the Bongaya treaty article number 14 that the Bima kingdom was freed from the

Goa Sultanate's power and that Manggarai was handed over to the Bima kingdom's authority (Coolhaas 1942: 163; Toda 1999: 88). The Bongaya treaty also strengthened VOC's domination in the Goa Sultanate's day-to-day life, and as a result a huge number of Goanese escaped and sought freedom.
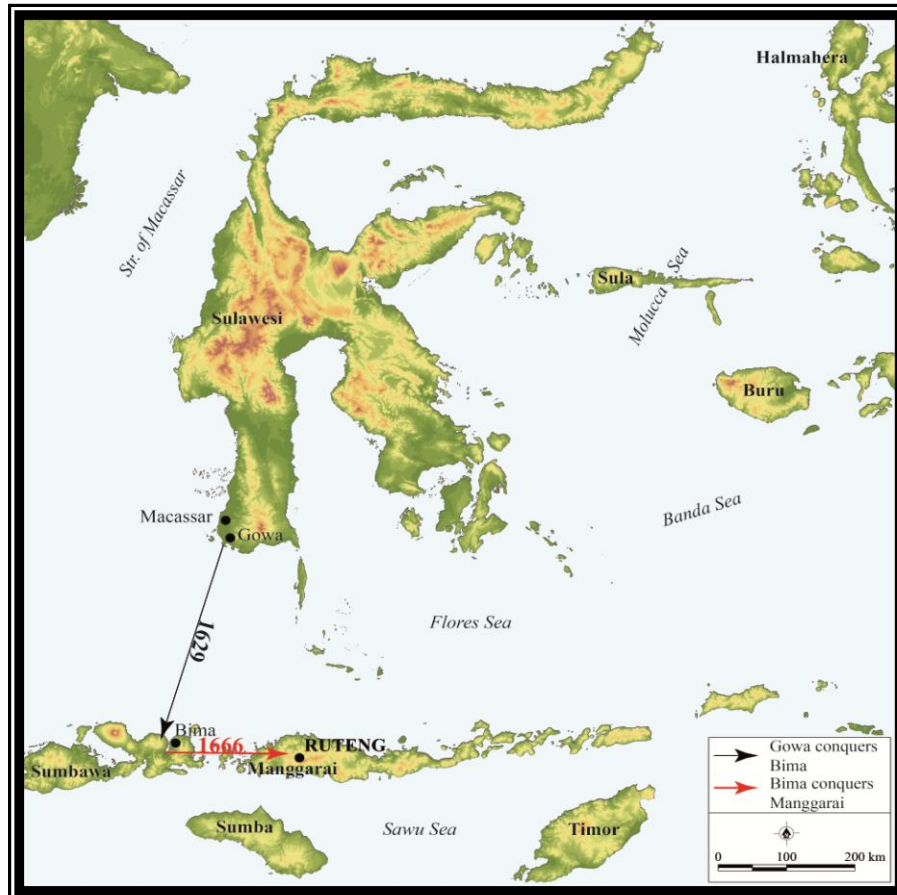
Figure 3.3: The subjugation of Manggarai region by the Goa Kingdom
and the Bima kingdom (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

The North Manggarai region, which the Goanese had controlled previously, was thought to be the most suitable place to start a new life (Lawang 2004: 17-120). It is possible that the Goanese refugees in North Manggarai strengthened the Cibal clan's authorityIt took almost a hundred year before the Todo clan took revenge against the Cibal clan and their ally. Around 1750-1765, the Todo clan, supported by 13 *dalu* (Manggarai territory), sought Bima's aid to attack the Cibal clan and the Goanese. Although supported by the Goanese, the Cibal army was overpowered and surrendered to the Todo confederation army. Five years later, the Bima kingdom defeated the Goanese settlements Reo and Pota, in the northern region of Manggarai. Thus, the Goanese authority in Flores was ended in 1769 (Bekkum 1946: 68-69; Nooteboom 1950: 208-209; Toda 1999: 124-152; 257-272). As a consequence of Bima's aid, including weapons and military support, in the Manggaraian clan confederation's war against the Cibal and the Goa Sultanate, the Manggaraian were obliged to pay *taki mendi*

(an annual tax and tribute) to Bima. Furthermore, the entire Manggaraian clan was put under the control of the Bima kingdom. Thus, every three years tax and tribute, consisting of slaves, mats, beeswax and horses was collected. (Bekkum 1946: 69-70; Nooteboom 1950: 210; Lawang 1999: 127-128).

Increasing demand for slaves to fulfil the need for cheap and plentiful labour on the Dutch colonial plantations in Western Indonesian archipelago around 17th Century had a major impact on the profitable slave trade (Erb 1999:88-89). Historical records from around the1660s mention the arrival of the Dutch company trading ship in Batavia which carried slaves from Manggarai (Erb 1999: 88). Around 1669 the Dutch VOC also increased slave trading in Flores to provide workers for the pepper and sugar plantations on the islands of Java and Sumatera. In the eastern region, the Dutch colonial demand for slaves was primarily supplied by Bima. In order to satisfy this, the Bima kingdom issued an act which obliged 25 *dalu* (regions) in Manggarai to deliver 65 slaves (Nooteboom 1950: 210). This act caused a chaotic situation in Manggarai because it was difficult to meet this obligation, and sometimes attacks on other *dalu* were carried out to kidnap villagers and later deliver them to the Bima kingdom as slave tribute. The Ngadha also benefited from this slave trade since they conducted sudden raids on certain *dalu*, abducted the villagers and later sold them to other Manggaraians *dalu* (Coolhaas 1942: 174; Bekkum 1946:69). In fact from the 17th to the 19th century the slave trade in the Manggaraian region reflected the Bima kingdom's arrogance and violence towards the Manggaraian. This slave trade was ended in 1839 by the Dutch colonial authority (Ricklefs 2008: 166; Metzner 1982: 69).

The Tambora volcano eruption in 1815 caused heavy losses to the Bima kingdom and its people. Due to this catastrophe, the Bima's control over Manggarai became weak. On the other hand, the Manggaraian saw this natural disaster as an unexpected opportunity to free themselves from the Bima's exploitation. With the Todo clan and the 13 *dalu* leaders a well-prepared battle was organised against the Bima kingdom and around 1890 once again the Todo clan met their old enemy 'the Cibal clan', who had become an ally of Bima. Shortly after, the Bima kingdom and the Cibal clan were defeated by the Todo clan and their allies (Bekkum 1946: 72-74; Nooteboom: 1950:211). The victory over the Bima kingdom also gave rise to the Todo's clan power and authority. At that time the Manggaraians respected and honoured the Todo clan to the point that their status was raised to nobility and their leaders received the honorary title '*Keraeng Raja* Todo' (Coolhaas 1942: 346; Lawang 2004: 138-141).

Attracted by rumours of mineral wealth in Flores, the Dutch finally contrived to take over the colonial interests of the Portuguese in Flores (Ricklefs 2008: 166). This was achieved under

the Dili treaty of 1851 under which the Portuguese handed over Larantuka and Adonara, East Flores to the Dutch. Three years later, the Portuguese and the Dutch concluded the Lisbon treaty under which the Portuguese abandoned their claims to Flores and ceded this region to the Dutch (Jebarus 2008: 5-7; Metzner 1982: 71). In 1889 the Dutch sent a mining expedition led by Van Schelle, a mineral engineer to the region, but Ngadha's resistance forced the expedition to withdraw. In 1890 the expedition was sent again with military protection, but was again defeated by the Ngadha. Finally, in 1907 the Dutch, under Captain Christoffel, conquered the Ngadha. The region was included in an administrative district together with Riung, Nage and Keo, with the capital in Bajawa (Molnar 2000: 14-17).

In 1912 Roman Catholic priests from the Society of the Divine Word (SVD, *Societas Verbi Divini*) began their missionary work in Flores. However, it is interesting to note that in 1913 the SVD was authorised by the Dutch colonial government to convert the Flores people. These missionaries converted almost all the Ngadha to Roman Catholicism and provided education and health facilities to them. During the programme of proselytisation the missionaries collected and recorded the indigenous people's customs in order to use this in the future to civilise these people. The works of Father Arndt and Father Rozing were examples of early ethnological and linguistic studies of the Flores people (Schröter 2010: 142-146). In 1915 the Dutch hegemony in Flores was continued by constructing a new administrative jurisdiction under the Dutch head controller. As a result, Flores Island was divided into four districts namely North Flores with the capital at Maumere, East Flores with the capital at Larantuka, Solor Island with the capital at Adonara and South Flores with the capital at Ende (Jebarus 2008: 8; Metzner 1982: 71). While the missionaries recorded the indigenous people's ethnography, in 1916 Van Staveren, a colonial administrator in Central Flores, described local social organisations, religious life, feasts and sacrifices, laws, marriages, inheritance, land ownership, housing and other material culture of Flores (Molnar 2000: 14).

Although the Dutch established their authority in Flores, it was difficult to rule the Florenese. From 1860 until the second decade of the 20th century a series of revolts against the Dutch occurred in many parts of Flores Island (Ricklefs 2008: 166). In 1907, Motang Rua, a local leader of the Manggaraians, refused to cooperate with the Dutch authorities and provoked the villagers of Manggarai to attack the Dutch army. The Manggaraian rebellion was suppressed in 1908 after Motang Rua was captured and exiled to Kupang. Also in 1907 the Ngadha villagers at Rowa, Sara, Rakalaba, Mangulewa and Lawa attacked Dutch troops under the command of Captain Christoffel. The Ngadha uprising escalated, reaching its peak in 1910 with Nipa Do as the leader. However, in 1917 the Dutch army ended the Ngadha

rebellion (Widyatmika, et.al 1979: 30-31). Around 1907 the local Ende people burned down Ende, the capital of the Dutch government in Flores. In East Flores clashes occurred between Flores villagers and the Dutch and from 1905 to 1913, Florenese fought off the Dutch at Lewokluok, Lewotala and Leworok in Larantuka. Only with great difficulty did the Dutch succeeded in quelling the East Flores mutiny in 1913 (Kopong 1983: 62-107).

The Dutch finally gained control over the entire Flores Island in 1917 (Le Bar 1972: 80-90; Molnar 2000: 11-12) In order to maintain order effectively in Flores, the Dutch issued a *korte verklaring* (treaty text which can be translated as brief statement) in which the local leader conceded authority to the Dutch colonial government. In case the local leader violated the *korte verklaring*, then the Dutch government would send a punitive military expedition (Molnar 2000: 12; Erb 1999: 90-92). Furthermore, the Flores region was divided into six districts namely Manggarai, Ngadha, Ende, Maumere, East Flores and Solor Island. Each district was led by a *Raja*, the Dutch title for local king. In 1929 East Flores and Solor Island were merged for economic reasons. Thus, Flores Island consisted of five districts and each district was ruled by a Dutch controller who was supervised by an *assistent resident* (assistant resident) in Ende (Metzner 1982: 74).

After Flores was subjugated under the Dutch project of colonial state formation, Flores Island's remote location, its lack of natural resources and unsophisticated culture were the main reasons for the colonial civil servants and the priests to preserve this outer island as an example of a primitive, prehistoric culture. Soon the Dutch government promoted anthropological study to document the day-to-day life before it disappeared. Accordingly, in 1921, Van Suchtelen, a colonial controller, produced an ethnographic monograph on Ende. He noted the structure of villages, houses, wooden images and other material culture (Aoki 1996:17). The most extensive ethnographic work on Central Flores was done by Father Paul Arndt (1929, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1936, 1937, 1940). He focused on the Ngadha ethnic group's religious beliefs, economics, social life and language. Slightly later, Kunst (1942) undertook an ethno-musicological study of the Manggarai ethnic group (West Flores), the Ngadha, the Nage and the Keo (Central Flores), and the Nita, Sika and Kangae (East Flores). He also described their dances in detail.

It is worth noting that on February 14th 1934, Sukarno was exiled to Ende, the capital of District Ende, Central Flores after undertaking a nine-day journey on the *Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatschappij*/ KPM (Royal Shipping Company) ship called van Riebeek. After four years punishment in Ende, it was expected that he would be isolated from the Indonesian independence movement. Moreover, the Dutch colonial government thought that he could not develop a new political organisation in Flores since the indigenous people were

assumed to be illiterate, backward and at the lowest level of human evolutionary progress. However Sukarno established a new social organisation with the people of Ende and also maintained friendship with the priests of the Society of the Divine Word in Ende. His discussion with Father Bouma and Father van Stiphout resulted in the adoption of *sociale rechtvaardigheid* (social justice) concept to the fourth principle of *Pancasila*. It was important to note that the *sociale rechtvaardigheid* idea originated from Pope Leo XIII's declaration in 1891 '*Rerum Novarum*' and Pope Pius X '*Quadragessimo Anno*' encyclical in 1931. Through his drama club which he established in Ende, Sukarno propagated his political ideas of Indonesia's freedom from colonialism. It is also believed by the Ende people today that Sukarno obtained the basic idea of *Pancasila* after his frequent meditation under the five branches of the breadfruit tree that grew close to his exile's house in Ende. Thus Ende became an important place where Sukarno discussed, contemplated, reflected and developed the concept of *Pancasila* (Dhakidae 2013: 125, 130, 134-136; Tim Nusa Indah 2001: 45-86).

After the Dutch Colonial Administration under Governor General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer surrendered to the Japanese military forces on March 8th 1942 (Ricklefs 2008: 232; Vickers 2005: 87), Kupang, the capital of the Timor Island was incorporated in the Japanese occupied territories on 20th of March 1942. Two months later, the Japanese troops landed in Reo, on the northwest coast of Flores Island, and on May 15th 1942, the Japanese Imperial Navy invaded Ende, the capital. In this town the Dutch colonial authority capitulated to the Japanese military forces. As a war procedure 110 Dutch, two Polish priests and brothers, 34 Dutch sisters and 8 German sisters were sent to the internment camp at Pare-Pare, Sulawesi on July 15th 1942. On the other hand, the Florenese were freed from Dutch colonialism and with the slogan 'Asia for Asians', the Japanese induced the Florenese to cooperate with the Japanese imperial policy (Webb 1986: 55-65; Hemo 1988: 94-100).

In September 1943 the new civil Japanese administration was officially inaugurated. At the level of the regency, the local king (*raja*) was entrusted with the management of civil administration under the supervision of the Japanese Naval Administration. In order to raise the local inhabitants' sympathy, more Florenese were given new positions in the Japanese civil administration, in addition to the Florenese who formerly worked in the Dutch Colonial Office (Webb 1986: 64-65; Hemo 1988: 99). Early in 1944 the Japanese military forces planned to attack Australia. As a part of this plan, the Japanese Naval Guard Corps headquarters at Ambon, Maluku Island was moved to Ende. Furthermore, a huge number of Japanese troops were sent to Maumere, Eastern Flores, whence they were ordered to conquer the entire Australian Continent. To ward off the Japanese military invasion of

Australia, from June to November 1944 the Allied forces conducted twenty air raids to Maumere, Ende, Ruteng and Waewerang. As a result, the Cathedral in Ende was burned down and those of Ruteng and Waewerang were damaged, 200 civilian houses and office buildings were destroyed and 80 people were killed (Petu 1966: 47). Around the middle of 1944 Japanese troops were starting to meet defeat on various battle grounds. The feeling that Japanese forces might soon leave Flores Island was clearly seen in the closing of their naval headquarters in Ende. Moreover, the Admiral Fukeda sailed back to Japan. On August 15th 1945 the Japanese Emperor announced a decree which ended the war. In Flores, Japanese officers, troops, bishops and priests became prisoners of war of the Allied forces. They were sent to a prison camp in the western part of Sumbawa by the Australian army (Webb 1986: 68; Sato 1957: 119-122).

Although the independence of the Indonesian Republic was declared on 17th of August 1945, most of Flores' inhabitants did not know of this declaration. Once it was known, the Australian allied troops landed and took control of this region around mid-September 1945. Most of the Florenese who supported the Republic were captured and jailed. In mid-October 1945 Dutch armies and civil administration (NICA) arrived in Flores. Poor communication with the central leaders of the Republic and with the government, internal conflict between local kings and lack of Republic administration were the main reasons for the easy conquest of Flores by the Dutch (Ricklefs 2008: 250-252; Hemo 1988: 101-103).

In 1946, Bali, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Nusa Tenggara Barat and Sulawesi were combined by the Dutch government as Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT). It was H.J. van Mook, Minister of Colonies during the war and Lieutenant Governor General since 1942, who wanted to establish a federal state in East Indonesia and his primary purpose was to hinder the power and influence of the nationalist Indonesian Republican's ideology among East Indonesian people (Cheong 1982 and Ricklefs 2001: 274). Moreover, it was advocated as a means of preventing the domination of the Javanese in the political, economic, social and cultural realm (Elson 2008: 131; Ricklefs 2008: 261; Chauvel 1996: 68-69). By the end of 1946 the authority of Flores was transferred to the Dutch military. As the Dutch occupation proceeded, the Allied Forces pressed the Dutch to negotiate an agreement with the Republic. However, officially a new Dutch civil administration was developed. This was still inspired by the Dutch colonial authority that had become obsolete during the Second World War. The regency was led by a *Raja* and under Dutch government supervision, but to gain more sympathy from the local people, the regency was given autonomous status (*swapraja*). Further, the Dutch allowed the nine *rajas* of Flores to develop a 'Flores Federation', a kind of the United Kingdom of Flores. This new federation's government consisted of the council of local kings

(*dewan raja-raja*) and the Flores general assembly (Winokan 1960: 14-17; Hemo 1988: 103-104). As Indonesia's independence as a federal state was finally acknowledged in 1949 at the Round Table Conference in the Netherlands, the island of Flores was included in the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (Daeng 1985: 291).

Under the Indonesian nation-state (RIS, and subsequently RI), the Florenese began to broaden their boundaries in a new modern institutional setting. In addition, they had rights and obligations in obtaining better education, political participation, religious affiliation and social-economic development as equal members alongside other Indonesian ethnic groups. In the same way, by bringing the Florenese into the Indonesian nation state, the Indonesian government incorporated the Flores people into the unified boundary vision of the Indonesian nation's 'imagined community'. As many scholars argue, such a nation state boundary functions as an instrument for control over its people, and as its collective identity's territory, especially by referring to codes of collective identity like ideas, events and places. Since codes of collective identity are constructed and contested, thus boundary construction is a process of classification and identification of gender, religion, ethnicity, modernism and education into two categories – similar or different - in which mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are created, used and reinvented (Herb 1999: 17-24; Kaplan 1999: 31-32, 37-38; Eder, et. al. 2002: 19-20; Cooper 2005: 72; Jesse and Williams 2005:4-5; Cruz and Tuyll 2009: 1-6; Legêne 2009: 223-224).

To be granted the status of homogeneity and belonging to the national community, the Florenese had to fulfil the Indonesian nation state criteria related to religion, ethnicity, gender, language, social, economic and political views. By using such classification, the Indonesian government formulated an inclusion and exclusion mechanism of citizenship and territory. However, this project of nation building also constructed hierarchies, particularly on formulating first class and second class Indonesian citizenship, which is clearly seen in its legislation and practices. An example is the definition made by the Indonesian government with respect to traditional ethnic groups. These are people living in a hinterland region or at the heart of the jungle, far away from the metropolis and out of reach of state authority. They were considered as 'primitive' or marginal ethnic groups, who are different from the majority of modern Indonesian ethnic groups. In such classification practices Dutch colonial classifications on south-east Asian ethnicity resonate, especially regarding small groups of people lacking economic resources and living in remote places, a kind of hill tribe, slash and burn prehistoric agriculturalist and stone-age community (Rosaldo 2003: 1-2; Li 2000: 153-155; Anderson 1998: 321).

Being a hinterland community in the Eastern Indonesia archipelago, Flores ethnic groups have been marked as second class Indonesian citizens and face problems of exclusion, marginalisation, and subordination from the Indonesian state. Although the majority of the Florenese supported the Republic in the revolution against Dutch colonialism, their Christian religion and their local leaders' support of the NICA government brought ambiguity in the Indonesian nation movement. Inevitably, the Florenese got the least political representation in the Indonesian nation-state. During the Sukarno period to the present day Indonesian government, only two politicians from Flores – Frans Seda and Jacob Nuwawea - have held ministry positions. Under Suharto's New Order regime, for almost 32 years, none of the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province governors were Florenese. At the national level, no Florenese reached the position of general in the Indonesian armies. They were absolutely excluded, denied and subordinated by the Indonesian nation-state's political discourse.

The Indonesian nation state's idea of modernism also marginalised Florenese people, since they were categorised as isolated, traditional and living 'prehistory' ethnic groups. This categorisation was strengthens by Kennedy's report (1955) of the general condition of Flores around 1950. He briefly described the traditional Flores people's day-to-day life, their social structure, kinship, marriage practices, the village lay out, social life, political, geographical, economic and religious life. Considerable attention was given to the Manggarai, Ngadha, Ende, Sika and Larantuka. No wonder, not only the Dutch colonial institution regulation in 1930s forced the Florenese to abandon their megalith villages in the upper hills and to build modern settlements in the low land, but the Indonesian government did the same things. It was from 1970s to 1980s that the Indonesian government proposed the villagers of the megalith village abandon their traditional house and build a modern house closer to the asphalt road. In addition, the Florenese' traditional methods of hunter-gatherer for living and slash-burn cultivation were supposed to be unproductive and deleterious for the environment. Thus, the Javanese wet rice agriculture method and modern plantation were considered the best (Sudarmadi 1999: 130-131, 191; Molnar 1998: 49-54; Barlow, et. al. 1990: 20-22).

From 1980 to 1988, when the New Order rocketed to its peak, '*Pembangunan*' (development) was the ultimate ideology to transform Indonesian traditional agricultural society into an industrial modern society. As the Indonesian state established infrastructure throughout most of the archipelago, like schools, public health hospitals, electricity, public transport and asphalt roads, they brought transformation and modernity to the Florenese. At the same time anthropological study of the Flores region highlighted the impact of modernisation on many traditional practices. Erb (1987) observed linguistic and cultural

patterns and social structure of the Rembong villagers in north-eastern Manggarai. To that end she compiled and described Rembong villagers' mythologies and rituals in facing the Indonesian state modernisation. Lewis (1988) documented the Ata Tana Ai (the People of the Forest Land) of Central-Eastern Flores. His first publication dealt with the social organisation of *Tana 'Ai* (a type found throughout Eastern Indonesia); the quest for origins; the delegation of authority and the manipulation of dual categories, such as male/female, elder/younger and centre/periphery in the era of the New Order.

While the Indonesian government's efforts to bring modernisation were welcomed and appreciated, the Flores villagers were critical and cynical of this government's programme. In their view, the government modernisation programmes were insincere and untruthful. In 1980 the government promised to launch modern wet-rice agricultural methods such as developing an irrigation system, introducing new rice seed strains and reducing the price of fertilisers and pesticides. These promises were not fully kept. The irrigation project focused only on the Manggarai region, the new rice seed strains were not properly distributed and the price of fertilisers and pesticides increased each year. Moreover Florenese as clove farmers also suffered from Tomi Suharto's monopolisation of the state's clove trade. Suharto authorised his son 'Hutomo Mandala Putra' (Tomi) to lead the *Badan Penyangga dan Pemasaran Cengkeh*/BPPC (Clove Marketing and Buffer Stock Agency) and soon Suharto's son monopolised the Indonesian clove price. As the one and only Indonesian government agency that had the authority to buy cloves from the villagers, Tomi held the reins on the clove price through the purchase of cloves at the *Koperasi Unit Desa* (Village Cooperative) level. Hence, from 1989 to 1998 Tomi's enterprise bought cloves from Florenese farmers at half normal the price and sold these commodities to the *kretek* cigarette industries at five times the price paid to the Florenese farmers (Salim 2000: 109; Vickers 2005: 186). Thus the discontent of the Florenese increased during the New Order, particularly regarding the way in which the state controlled access to resources and their marginalisation in regard to economic benefits of the nation state's development.

While Flores' ethnics groups were oppressed and reduced to a marginal and subordinate society, the recent wave of Javanese self-motivated migration to Flores escalated rapidly around 1990. These Javanese migrants not only increased the Muslim population but also started to gain economic business benefit in Flores. To some extent, the Javanese Moslem migrant economic domination increased the frustration of the Florenese and their consequent hostility towards the Javanese as a group. In this case, the Florenese regarded the Javanese migrants as a group who had benefited under the New Order government's policies and as such, they became the prime targets of the social jealousy and anger of the

Florenese. The migrant Moslems also desecrated and insulted the ritual religion of the Flores Christians which from 1992 to 1995 led to several riots in cities like Bajawa, Ende, Maumere and Larantuka, providing further evidence of social violence and religious conflict (Tule 2000: 95; Banda 2001: 5).

Recently, the Florenese have become more mobile than they were a decade ago and their migrations also represent a broader spatial pattern. Being guided by their families who had migrated earlier to Indonesia's neighbouring countries, the Florenese join their families living abroad and work as unskilled labourers. Since the Indonesian goverment is known for its corruption, collusion, and nepotism, the Florenese migrants experience that their exploitation and oppression occurs from beginning to the end of the migration process. In addition, the Indonesian officials also fail in the support system like providing free training skill, temporary shelter and appropriate regulation and protection of migrant workers (Hugo 2008: 61-66). Thus once again, Flores migrants are being and ignored by the Indonesian state. As a result, the Florenese unskilled migrants prefer to enter their destination country as illegal migrants. They realise that the way they migrate breaks the law, but it is cheaper, faster and safer to operate through kinship relations (Tirtosudarmo 2006: 141-144) (more on this in Chapter 7).

The Indonesian state's paradigm of "*Keterbukaan*" (Reformasi) reaches the Florenese to a great extent and such efforts of the state to bring democratisation, good governance; decentralisation and globalisation are welcomed and appreciated. However, at the same time the Flores people retain a sense of desperation, hopelessness and unworthiness since they feel that the Indonesian nation state has classified them as a traditional society, second class citizens and is ignoring them and they are suffering from the Indonesian state's inequality. This sense was clearly seen in anthropological studies like that of Djawanai (1983) who examined the social use of the Ngadha language, especially concerning myths, proverbs and traditional sayings. Forth (1993) described the customs and beliefs of the Nage (a population of cultivators and stock raisers who inhabit to the north and west of the Ebu Lobo volcano in Central Flores). He documented their ideas about witches and kinship terminologies. Tuademu (1997) also recorded myths, rituals, festivals, customs systems of marriage and traditional ways, particularly in Bena, Gurusina and Mataloko. Molnar (2000) compared the Hoga Sara (people of Sara Sedu, adjacent to Ngadha) and Nage ethnic groups. At heart, the Florenese have a cynical view of the government's programmes, which demonstrate the government's policy rhetoric 'We know what is good for them' and the significant 'top-down' approach is a way to marginalise the Florenese from national plans as they reap few benefits from state policies. Indeed, up to now, the Indonesian government unambiguously state that the Florenese in fact were "*Daerah Tertinggal*' or left behind

compared to other Indonesian Provinces (Sudarmadi 2011: 118; Chauvel 1996: 62-63). This Florenese struggle with Indonesian government's recent plans was illustrated in recent anthropological studies. Aoki (1996) studied the Wologai of the Ende region. She examined the collective identity of this society as expressed in village ceremonial life and found that factors such as wealth and prestige are integral components. People are keen to assert their own ritual village's superiority over all others. In this case, people take differences between the ritual villages to be signals of identity. Moeliono (2000) researched the dynamic process of the customary land tenure in Rura village, in the northern part of Central Manggarai. She concluded that the most fundamental change in the land tenure system was the shift from communal property by which clan land resources could not be sold and land authority was held by the clan leader, towards privatisation by which members of the clan had right and authority over clan land resources in their possession, and the clan leaders lost their power and formal authority to reclaim these resources. Allerton (2004, 2001) also undertook anthropological fieldwork in Wae Rebo village and Kombong village, South of Manggarai Regency. She demonstrated the way in which the people of these two villages experience and tailor landscape, house, and kinship in relation to the ancestral past and present. The importance of her study was the notion of interaction between these villagers' traditional houses and their movement back and forth through the landscape. This interaction also revealed the mutual constitution of dwelling and travelling in creating a dynamic, contested landscape linking place, history and kinship. These studies attempted to move from observation of primitive societies to the delineation of traditional societies facing the dynamic process of modernism in the era of industrialisation (Prager 1999: 346; Bremen 1999: 366-367). Future studies could shed light on the Florenese struggle to include themselves in the mainstream of the Indonesian nation state project of nation building.

Ethnography and ethno-archaeology in Ngadha megalith villages

This chapter will zoom in on the history of Ngadha, the physical types of the houses in their megalith villages, their village economy and social organisation, and the spiritual and cultural views of the Ngadha people. It is based on my previous ethno-archaeology research in Bena, Nage, Gurusina and Wogo megalith villages in 1998 and my recent fieldwork in the same areas in 2010, and also incorporates previous ethnographic work from the Dutch colonial period that, in my opinion, is still relevant in the context of current convictions and views. This chapter will give a general description of the tangible heritage in Ngadha, their distribution and functions, the use of different areas for display and the domestic activities revolving around the tangible heritage and their significance. Using a similar framework, in the next chapter a comparison will be undertaken between the Ngadha and the Manggaraian ethno-archaeological evidence. This comparison will provide insight into the ways in which cultural heritage is used by two ethnic groups who both have adopted the Christian faith while maintaining a living megalith culture to mediate human social ends.

Locating the Ngadha communities

The Regency of Ngadha (*Kabupaten* Ngadha) lies between 120^0 48' 28.39"-121^0 11' 8.57" E longitude and 8^0 20' 24.28"-8^0 57' 28.39" S latitude (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Ngada 2009: 3). It is bounded by the Flores Sea to the North, by the Sawu Sea to the South, by the Regency of Ende to the East and Manggarai to the West, and extends over 1,620.92 km^2 (Figure 4.1). The Ngadha people are mainly concentrated in four districts – Aimere, Bajawa, Ngadha bawah and Golewa (Djawanai 1983: 1). Up to the late 19th Century they had a *raja* (king) and Bajawa was the capital of the kingdom. Today the remnant of the Ngadha kingdom's capital constitutes a district, Ngadha bawah, and the descendant of the king lives in Jawa meze *Kalurahan* (sub-district) (Molnar 1994: 15).

The Ngadha people do not have a distinctive ethnic background, but rather seem to be a Malay-Melanesian mix (Le Bar 1972:84). Physically, they have sparse, curly hair, dark-skin, broad faces, flat noses and fairly marked prognathism. They tend to be small (the men average about 1.6 meters and the women under 1.5 meters) and are slight in build. The inhabitants of Aimere, Bajawa, Ngadha bawah and Golewa speak different dialects of the Ngadha language, which is generally accepted as a member of the Austronesian language family (Wurm and Hatori 1983: 40; Le Bar 1972: 84). However, Djawanai (1983: 2) questions

this because Ngadha is so different from Austronesian norms: for instance, words do not have clear cognates and the grammatical processes are not similar.
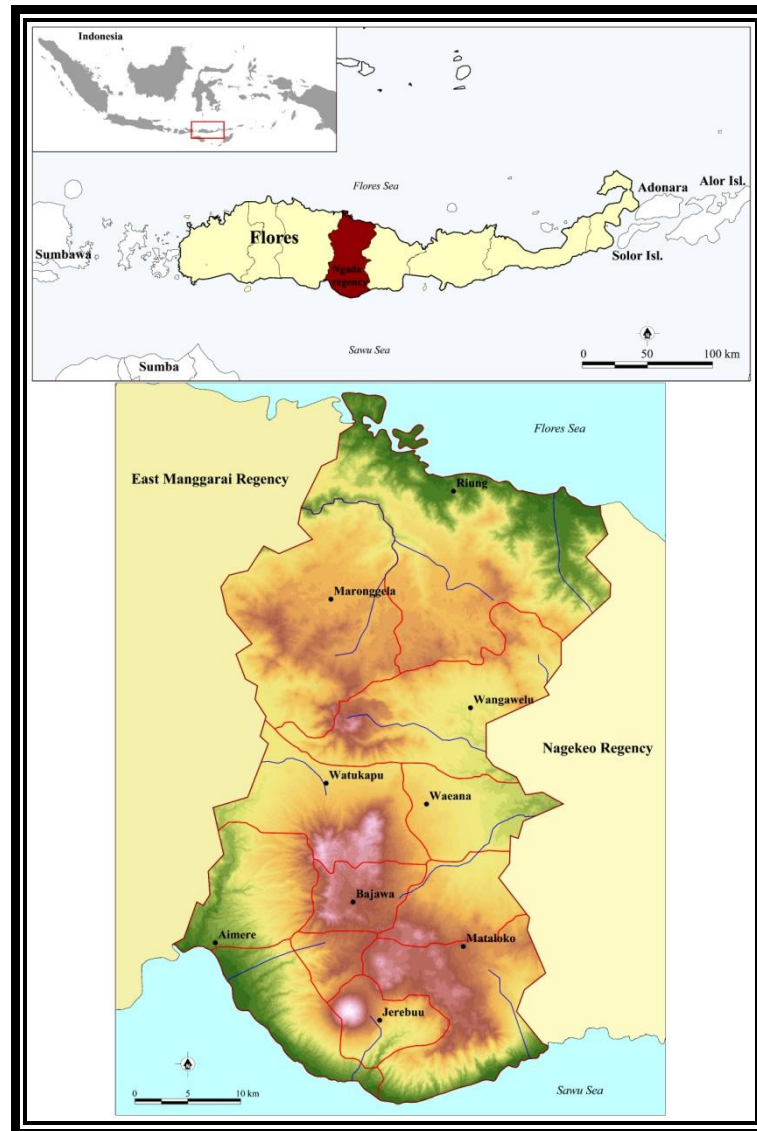
Figure 4.1: Map of the Ngadha Regency (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

Verheijen places the Ngadha language in the Ngadha-Lio subgroup, which is affiliated to Bima-Sumba languages (Djawanai 1983: 3), and there are good historical grounds for this, as prior to the early 17th century the northern and southern parts of West Flores were held by the Bimanese kingdom of East Sumbawa. This kingdom only gave up control over West Flores in 1929 when the Dutch established their colonial administration in the region (Le Bar 1972: 81). This long-term political domination fits with the close relationship between Manggarai-Ngadha-Ende languages in Central and Western Flores and the Bima-Sumba languages.

Ngadha people still make their living mainly from agriculture, especially the cultivation of dry rice, wet rice, corn, sorghum, millet and aubergines. Maize is probably more important in the average family's daily fare, but the local government encourages the people to plant rice because it stores longer and consequently has more associated prestige. The Ngadha economy is based on both the cultivation of dry land (slash and burn) and *sawah* land (terraced or with irrigation work). Most land in the region comprises of rugged hills, gravel plains and deep canyons, covered by secondary forests and bushes. Such areas are almost totally unfit for wet-rice agriculture, but dry paddy and cassava are favoured for planting in this area. In fact, only about 25% of land in the region is suitable for planting. This includes land on mountainous peaks, cliff and earth slides. However, the working of sawah is mostly feasible in Golewa *Kecamatan* (district) due to availability of water and topographical factors. Land with particularly poor soil, or which is undulating and hilly is usually planted by the Ngadha villagers with coffee (*Coffea arabica*/*Coffea robusta*), vanilla (*Vannili planifolia*), chocolate/ cacao (*Theobroma cacao*), coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*), *aren* (*Arenga pinnata*), *kapok (Ceiba pentranda*), *kemiri (Dipterocarpus sp)* and cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*). Despite the economic importance of vegetables and grains, the raising of domestic animals is given a lot of attention. These comprise goats, cattle, ducks, chickens, horses and dogs. Buffaloes, horses, pigs and chicken are the most valuables livestock since they are killed on ritual occasions and feasts. Furthermore, buffaloes, horses and pigs represent wealth, since they are used as gifts, bride price, restitution, or for payments of any kinds. Buffaloes, pigs and chicken are usually slaughtered only on important occasions such as sacrifices in religious ceremonies, or when there is an important guest to be entertained. Horses are still used for both transportation and *belis* (bride price). In the same way, dogs are used as pet animals, in hunting, and as a food on special occasions such as feasts for young people. The game resources of this region are much depleted and hunting is becoming increasingly difficult. However, rivers and ponds provide another important resource. Turtles, crabs, shrimps and a great variety of fish are among the usual fare. In the middle of the dry season the levels of ponds and small rivers begin to drop, so that fish and shrimps are then easily caught with nets.

The social organisation of the Ngadha villagers

Based on my observations in Ngadha region in 1997 (Sudarmadi 1999), 2001, 2003 and 2010 there social position is determined by kinship. An individual is seen as related by blood to others only through his mother. This matrilineal concept is also seen as a lineage in which all are descended from a common ancestor. The basic social segments of the sub-clan are matrilocally extended families, which typically consist of a man and wife, their married daughters and their husbands, their daughter's children and any sons who are as yet

unmarried. Usually, these extended families occupy a *sao* (traditional house). Indeed people commonly attach their nuclear family residence to the *sao* of their mother. When extended families have so expanded or land has become so overburdened that all members can no longer reside in the same locality, then some family members settle elsewhere. These splits produce more extended consanguineous kin groups that are called *woe* (sub-clan). The members of the *woe* are related to one another because they all share descent from a female ancestor as a fixed point of reference. Furthermore, the *woe* means everything to the individual: it provides member families with land, arranges marriages and enforces the rules of social behaviour. In a kinship based system of social organisation like the Ngadha, the marriage of two individuals, in effect, is an alliance between two descent groups. In other words marriage is primarily an agreement between individual families and secondarily between two *woe* (Sudarmadi 1999: 67).

According to Emanuel Sebo, the site guardian of the Bena megalith village four kinds of marriages are common - marriage between people of different *sao* of the same *woe* (endogamy), marriage between people of *sao* of different *woe* from the same village, marriage between people of *woe* from different villages and marriage with non-Ngadha 'outsiders'. The customary pattern of marriage, generation after generation, serves to tie all members of *woe* together in close, mutual dependency. Of the four usual Ngadha marriage types, choosing a partner within the same *woe* (endogamy) has the lowest preference, for it involves people marrying within their descent group or *woe*. However, within this option there is a strong tendency for a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter. In a matrilineal system, this is a good way to retain control over married daughters, who have the right of inheritance, and to assure that they will be well cared for. Furthermore, within-*woe* marriage, *belis* (bride price) is easier to negotiate, reinforces matriarchal sub-clan system and consolidates both manpower and property. On the other hand, this kind of marriage does not create alliances with *sao* of different *woe*. Such alliances are important because they provide allies to call upon in times of need, influence in obtaining government positions, and so on. While endogamic marriage is possible, the actual patterns of marriage indicate a preference for *kadhi/laga bata* (exogamy*)*. This marriage is almost universally valued as a means of linking the nuclear family to other *woe*. This alliance fosters inter-*woe* economic, social cooperation and the maintenance of peace. Furthermore, it establishes and reinforces links in a valuable network of reciprocal ties between kin groups. At times, such links can provide a critical source of supplementary material and social support (Sudarmadi 1999: 68).

Kletus Wou *Bengu mosalaki* from the Gurusina megalith village provided me with the information that the Ngadha differentiate between two sorts of *kadhi laga* marriages. First the

dii sao/kawin masuk (uxorilocal*)* and second the *pasa/kawin keluar*. These include marriages between persons of *sao* of different *woe* in the same village, marriages between persons of *woe* inside the village with persons from *woe* outside the village, and marriages between persons of *woe* inside the village with people from outside. In the cases of *kadi laga* marriage, it is customary to negotiate bride price payment between the family of the bridegroom and the family of the bride. This negotiation frequently involve an exchange of gifts and in some cases the payment of a substantial amount of wealth. Furthermore, elders from the Gurusina village stress that in cases where a Ngadha man cannot raise the full amount of bride price, he simply leaves his mother's *sao* and lives in the wife's mother's *sao*. Thus, rather than compensating his intended wife's *sao* by payment, he agrees to work for his wife's mother's *sao* as long as he lives. That means he must stay in his wife's family's house and work in their gardens (*dii sao/kawin masuk*). Once this happens, his wife and her family have *mori sao* (a right to control legacy) status and he is just *ana ngodho may* (a worker of his wife and her family legacy). Hence, he does not belong to his wife's *woe* and consequently when he dies, he will not be buried in his wife's village. Instead his wife's family will sent his corpse to his own *woe* (Sudarmadi 1999: 68-69).

My informant, Yakobus Lago, *mosalaki* (expert and knowledgeable man in the performance of rituals) from the *sao saka lobo* called *Mue Zia*, and also the site guardian of Nage megalith village adds the information that in order to support the social and economic needs of this new couple, the headwoman of the wife's *sao* grants them a field on land belonging to her *sao*. Once the right to the garden has been established, the couple moves from the locality of the wife's *sao* and builds an unnamed house in their new garden. As fields held by the descent groups are scattered, opening a new garden usually means moving from the locality of the wife's *sao* to live in a temporary house (unnamed house) in the new garden of his wife. As time goes by, the *sao* of his wife's descent line might die out (if all the female offspring of this *sao* have died). When this happens, the couple can move to the village settlement lay-out and replace the extinct *sao,* as long as the couple has accumulated sufficient items of wealth to do so. On the other hand, when bride price payment is fully paid by the bridegroom's family, a wife must stay with her husband's family (*pasa/kawin keluar*). Thus, a newly married couple attaches its residence to that of the *sao* into which the husband was born. This marriage involves an exchange of gifts and a substantial amount of wealth. The man's family, aided by his *sao*, pays the bride price to the girl's family. The amount of the bride price is an important prestige factor for both families (Sudarmadi 1999: 69-70).

My discussion with the honourable *mosalaki* Hengki Nai, the nephew of the former Ngadha king reveals that the bride price is a great expense for the bridegroom, since he has to contribute *lue nee lawo* (2 females buffaloes and 2 horses), or *maki sao meze* (a big buffalo and a big horse) or *makisaga logo ema nee logo ine* (15 horses) or *Puu sa lie nee roru* (a big first-class male buffalo, a big male buffalo and 2 small horses). Furthermore, to exclude his wife from her *woe* so that she does not have *pasa geti soli moli* (a right to her *woe* legacy), the bridegroom must pay *wae susu nee doa ebu* (2 big top quality male buffaloes). In fact, a man's *sao* wealth decreases significantly when providing a prestigious bride price. In order to keep in touch and maintain a relationship with the bride, her *woe* family presents *tana tere bere* (an acre of garden) and *lawo rida* (a sarong). This garden is her own property and is inherited by any future daughters. Moreover, the garden given to the bride serves to guarantee her economic and social need in her future life. When the couple have their own children they move from the husband's *sao* and erect a new unnamed house in the garden of the wife (Sudarmadi 1999: 70).

Many *mosalaki* from Ngadha megalith villages also added information about bride price exchange They include other offerings made by the bride's family to the bridegroom's lineage like *makisaga* (small valuable animals) such as *tewu* (a small pig); *kue lawu* (animals of average value) such as *pau* (a medium-sized pig); and *puu* (a very valuable animal) such as *puu pau* (a big pig). These serve to guarantee that the bride will not be ill-treated by her husband. However, about a third of the bride price comes back to the bridegroom's *sao* in the form of gifts and land that accompany the bride. Today it has become apparent that in many cases a sum of money may be involved in the bride wealth exchange (Sudarmadi 1999: 70).

In former times, at the top of the Ngadha social hierarchy were *Gae Meze* (the aristocratic great nobility), who claim descent from a long line of ancestors, such as the first great ancestor who migrated to Flores. They are distinguished by sumptuary marks of status, including the right to wear woven cloth with special motifs and colour and a necklace of shells as well as the right to perform ceremonies. Slightly below them are *Gae Kisa* (the middle nobleman and low nobleman). They have less famous ancestors and less authority than the first rank. Nevertheless, they still have the right to assist and advise on all social activities that are conducted by the *Gae meze.* Next are *Azi ana* (the commoners) who lack important ancestors. They do a disproportionate share of the hardest work in all social activities (building houses, during funeral ceremonies etc.), have restrictions on dresses and have very limited input in the social, economic and political decisions that affect the organisation of community life. Lower still are *Ata hoo* (the property-less freemen). These

people lack descendants' genealogy and own very little. They must work as domestic servants in the houses of noblemen, as gardeners and perform other menial jobs. They have minimal participation in social activities. At the bottom of the Ngadha hierarchy are *Hoo* (the slaves), who lack genealogical background. They consist of *hoo puu*, meaning slaves who in the past could be sold. The Ngadha think of them as genetically inferior, rude in manner with meagre intellectual ability and as people unable to hold a normal place in society. Slaves were usually acquired through warfare (Arndt 2009: 23-444).

Each social category has inferior life chances to those ranked above them. Today this social stratification of the Ngadha people is vague since the Indonesian government has introduced new regulations covering civil administration. These differentiate and categorise people on the basis of their technological, social, political and economic abilities. Young people of Ngadha are now able to achieve upward social mobility by education and entrepreneurial activities. The formal social status of Ngadha individuals is still determined at birth and irrevocably ascribed until their death, but they move up or down in the class hierarchy as labourers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, policemen and so on (Sudarmadi 1999: 72) .

Tuademu, a retired officer of the Ngadha Regency Cultural Office told me that the productive unit in Ngadha *woe* is the matrilocal extended family. Such families occupy a house, which is partitioned off into rooms, each occupied by a separate matrilocal nuclear family. Authority within the household rests with the oldest woman of the *sao*. She inherits this *sao* through the female ancestor line. This *sao* head woman is the final authority in all household affairs. She organises garden work, settles family quarrels and decides which man will represent the family on the *woe* council. Usually, she appoints her brother rather than her husband, since the only males who can exert such authority are those from female descent. The brother also has ritual authority in his sister's *sao*: he is *mosalaki* (an expert and knowledgeable man in the performance of rituals). The husband has less authority, because he just comes to live in his wife's house and to do garden work. He does not have ownership rights over his wife's properties. Nevertheless, the husband gains his authority in the household of his sister. To facilitate the exercise of such authority over her children, the wife sends her son to her brother's house. Soon her son will inherit from his maternal uncle and, in turn, pass along his property to his own sister's sons (Sudarmadi 1999: 72-73).

The leader of the *woe* is usually the oldest woman of the direct lineage from the *sao saka puu* (the traditional house of the first female ancestor). She also stays in this *sao* and is sometimes accompanied by her extended family group so she can be cared for by a daughter or granddaughter and son or grandson. If the *sao* head woman has no surviving sister or female lineal descendant, then her *sao* ceases to exist. The *woe* leader is

responsible for supervising the social activities of his clan. These include allocation of the rights of individuals to use lineage-owned property, judging disputes between members, giving permission for marriage and divorce involving members of his matrilineal clan, overseeing funeral ceremonies, and enacting the inheritance rules. Along with the *woe* leader and *mosalaki*, Ngadha have *ketua adat* (village leaders) chosen by consensus among all the ritual leaders. With the assistance and advice of all ritual leaders, it is his responsibility to settle all *woe* disputes, to conduct social activities in village and to promote the *woe* in their economic, social and political relations with other villages (Sudarmadi 1999: 73).

In Ngadha society access to land, forest and livestock are important. Usually, each *woe* has *tana ngadhu-bhaga* (a domain) where *woe* members live. Sometimes a number of *woes* make an agreement to establish *nua* (a village) and to join their lands as a village for their members. In most cases this village only occupies a small part of their total domain. Access to *woe* resources serves as the material basis for economic power and authority, and is therefore of great concern for all villagers. Sub-clan access and rights to land are established and validated with myths concerning sub-clan origin and the founding of domains. Origin myths are by far the most important in accessing *woe* land for they serve as the charter by which land belongs to the *woe* ancestors. Today Ngadha elders still insist that they only occupy land inherited from their *woe* ancestors. They have rights to occupy the land, to cultivate it and to the resulting produce, which can be sold as they please. They may not be removed from the land, nor do they have any right to sell it, nor to determine which of their descendants should get the major share. Both men and women possess individual property that they have made or acquired by their own efforts. Although Ngadha people are matrilineal, in rare cases particular kinds of personal property can also be passed on from father to son, but this must be agreed on by members of the *woe*. All other possessions are *woe* property, including gold pendants, ivories, swords, woven cloth, gold necklace and various heirlooms, none of which can be sold by individuals (Sudarmadi 1999: 176-177).

About 94% of the Ngadha population is Roman Catholic (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Ngadha 2009: 143). Yet their 'recent' conversion has not impacted strongly on their beliefs in and ideas concerning ancestor worship, which is still fundamental to the operation of Ngadha society, to social organisation and to land ownership (Schröter 2010: 147-156). In order to have rights of control over productive resources *woe* members must assert their genealogical authenticity, which can be traced from a founding ancestor. The extent to which individuals have genealogical knowledge concerning founding ancestors and the origin myths will depend upon his/her closely matrilineal relationships. Among the Ngadha *woe* this

genealogical knowledge passes from mother to daughter, but the ritual knowledge relating to this myth passes from mother's brother to sister's son. Because of the importance of genealogies in ownership of land, requests for ancestor blessing are an important aspect of Ngadha ideology, in the life experience of the individuals and the organisation of the community. However, to reaffirm their relation to such power the Ngadha appeal to *Dewa* (the creator) as a witness. This is clearly seen in the Ngadha ritual chant to please them *Dewa zeta* (above) and *Nitu zale* (below) (Sudarmadi 1999: 74-75). Among the Ngadha, *Dewa* is considered the primary source, not only of the Ngadha, but also to their ancestors. It is believed that *Dewa* is masculine and that he occupies the sky. Because *Dewa* lives in the sky, he has a distant and less intimate connection with Ngadha people. In fact, they believe that direct interaction with *him* is harmful and full of risk. Hence, he should not be asked directly for protection and blessing. Instead this is done through the medium of supernatural beings who are an integral part of the identity and continuity of the Ngadha *woe* (i.e. ancestral spirits). *Nitu* (the ancestral spirits) are believed by the Ngadha to be feminine and to inhabit the underworld (below). Usually *Nitu* are regarded as still being *woe* members. They retain the social status they possessed when living and are thought to maintain a keen interest in family affairs and the welfare of the family. *Nitu* dwell in eternal tranquillity but remain available to come to the assistance of their descendants. If they are formally called upon by descendants to supervise and guard them, *Nitu* will usually return to specific places such as ponds, trees and stones: *Nitu leko* is the spirit of an ancestor who lives in a pond, while *Nitu kaju* and *Nitu watu* occupy a tree and stone, respectively (Arndt 1929: 817-818, 823-827).

Today, most of the Ngadha still believe in *Dewa* and *Nitu*. In many cases of ritual performance I witnessed in a Nage megalith village, such as *Reba,* the ritual participants were led by the *ketua adat* chanting their ancestor's name. According to Nage villagers, like most ancestral spirits, if properly worshipped, deceased ancestors can serve their offspring as guardians and guides. If they are angered by their descendants, or the descendants fail to live by established social and ritual rules, the ancestral spirits will inflict punishment by intruding into their living descendant's affairs and by bringing sickness, financial ruin and even death. Not only the Nage villagers, but also villagers in Bena, Gurusina and Wogo believe that to remain on good terms with the ancestors' spirits and to avoid punishment they must meet their obligations to *Nitu* by sharing their goods, by correct conduct of relations within the kin group, by avoiding disputes, by accepting the mediation of senior clan members in disputes and generally by following the ordained rules of suitable behaviour. In short, Ngadha beliefs based on myths of origin not only legitimise land ownership and inheritance and regulate access to knowledge and property, but also determine the way the

people relate to ancestral spirits. Ancestor worship is particularly important in maintaining ethical and moral values, and provides a basis for making judgements and behaviour towards relatives, both living and deceased (Sudarmadi 1999: 75).

The Ngadha believe that maintaining a relationship between ancestors and descendants is crucial. This relation is achieved through various rituals, which involve sacrificing animals, offering meals, calling on specific ancestors, and eating sacrificial meat and food offered to the ancestors. Any neglect and failure in organising rituals will result in punishment. Rituals are conducted by *mosalaki* (the expert and knowledgeable man, who is not actually a full-time priest or spiritual specialist). Rituals associated with individual *sao* are conducted by the *mosalaki* of that household; those associated with *woe* are conducted by the *mosalaki* from the *sao saka puu* (the traditional house occupied by direct descendants of the founding female ancestor of the *woe*) (Sudarmadi 1999: 76).

Only *kaba* (buffalo), *ngana* (pig), and *manu* (chicken) are used as sacrifices, and they are killed in specific locations in specific ways. Buffaloes are killed in *loka* (the courtyard) by having their bodies hacked so the blood spurts, then their throats are slashed, but sometimes the throat is just slashed. Pigs are sacrificed in *vevva* (front yards), *ngadhu* (the representation of the male founding ancestor), *ture* (the grave of famous ancestor warrior) and in front of *bhaga* (the representation of the female founding ancestor), but small pigs are sometimes killed in *one* (inner house). In the ritual sacrifice the head is cloven with machete from the top with one blow. Chicken are killed in *one*, inside *bhaga* and *ture*: the beak is slit or the head is struck against the object. Before animals are sacrificed the ritual leader calls for the ancestor's attention with a chant that invites the ancestor to attend, and describes the animal to be sacrificed and the purpose. After this chant is delivered the animal is sacrificed and its blood is dripped or smeared on the object that embodies the ancestor. It is believed that the blood seals the ancestor spirit in this object and also serves as food for the spirit. Following the sacrifice, a cooked meal or rice, meat of the sacrificed animals and palm wine are offered and placed on the object believed to be inhabited by ancestor spirit. The ritual participants then share this sacrificial meal and so the power of spirit ancestor is transferred to the living (Sudarmadi 1999: 77-78).

The Ngadha Megalith villages

The Ngadha settlement is not only a place to live. The spatial arrangement of megalith structures, traditional houses and the placement of symbols of sub-clan identity in relation to other aspects of Ngadha culture are crucial for understanding the way in which a Ngadha megalith village serves to create, reinforce and maintain Ngadha ideology, social organisation, genealogy and structure of authority. The delineation of the Ngadha megalith

village was based on my ethno-archaeological fieldwork in Bena, Nage, Gurusina and Wogo villages in 1997 and 2010. These four megalith villages were preserved by the Ngadha Regency government and most of the Ngadha people believe that this region was the centre of the Ngadha cultural tradition (Sudarmadi 1999: 39-40). All megalith village plans were drawn by me and revised after my second period of fieldwork in 2010. These village plans represented the spatial map of the Ngadha settlement patterns. In addition the site guardians, *ketua adat*, *mosalaki* and elders from these five megalith villages provided information on the meanings of the motifs of the fauna, flora and human faces that were carved in the houses as the material symbols of the sub-clan. During rituals performances in the Ngadha megalith villages where many elders and *mosalaki* gathered, I usually asked them to divulge their sub-clan myths of origin. In this case, I recorded the map of the Ngadha ideology. I also observed the day-to-day spatial activities in the megalith villages' settlements. Further, I attended several ritual performances such as *Reba* (Ngadha new year's eve celebration), the *sao* (traditional house) roof installation and bride price payment. On such occasions, my informants added information that I needed, particularly on the relationships between human behaviour and their associated material culture utilisation in a specific context of space and time. From this observation and interviews I delineate their social map. Combining the spatial map of the Ngadha settlement patterns with the map of the Ngadha ideology and their social map, I interpreted the way in which Ngadha megalith villages encode meaning that is used to pursue social ends. Nevertheless, I take responsibility for all interpretations constructed.

Yoseph Alosia Diwa and Yohanes Gae, *mosalaki* and elders from Bena village, informed me that founding a new *nua* (village) involves negotiation between the various *woe* (sub-clan). In order to select a good location for the *nua*, all the *woes* agree to conduct *Pai Tibo*. For this, half a coconut shell is filled with water, then half buried at the proposed site. After a few days, the coconut shell is examined and if some of the water has evaporated, it is a good sign of ancestral blessing. On the other hand, if after a few days the water level has not decreased, the search for a suitable location will continue. When a site is found the entrance-exit axis of the *nua* must extend towards the adjacent hill or mountain. However, the specific orientation is determined by local topography. The cardinal directions do not play a part in this choice. Typically, village layout is rectangular in shape and is divided into three main sections, first, *loka* (courtyards) where the material objects of *woe* identity are erected; second, *vevva* (front yards) where the numbers of *sao* (traditional house) are located and third, *logo nua* (outer village) where toilets, unnamed house and pigsties are placed (Sudarmadi 1999: 79-80). (Figure 4.2 and 4.3).
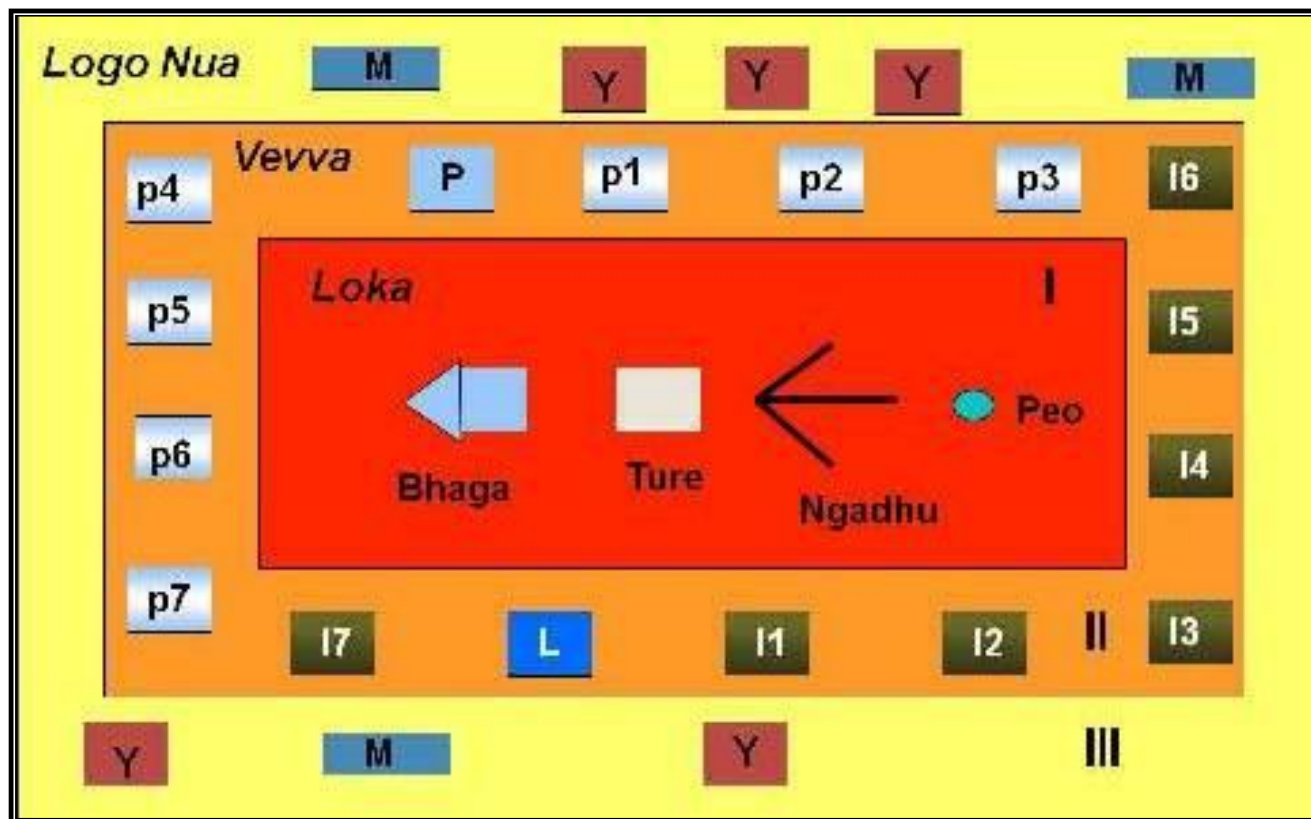
Figure 4.2: The three main section of megalith village in Ngadha region (drawn by Tular Sudarmadi)

Figure 4.3: The Bena megalith village lay-out (surveyed by Tular Sudamadi and drawn by Tular Sudarmadi & Jaap Fokkema)

Loka

Ngadha villages are divided into terraced areas or court yards. Each *loka* (courtyard) is associated with a specific *woe* and ideally it should be flanked by the houses of members of that sub-clan. Usually this courtyard extends from the *nua* (the entrance of the village) towards *eko nua* (the exit). Since most Ngadha villages are laid out along a ridge, the courtyard comprises an ascending series of terraces with stone retaining walls (Photo 4.1).

Photo 4.1: Wogo megalith village court yard (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

In general, the *loka* is the location for large-scale rituals that maintain relations with the *woe* ancestor and involve almost all the people who live in the village. It is a place where the *woe* ancestor and the *woe* members meet each other. Furthermore, material objects of *woe* identity such as *bhaga*, *ngadhu*, *ture* and *peo* are installed in this *loka*. Being a place of great cosmological significance for the *woe*, this *loka* is the central place of *woe* unity (Sudarmadi 1999: 80-81, 140).

Bhaga-Ngadhu

Among the Ngadha, the most noticeable features of *woe* identity are *bhaga* and *ngadhu*. These are material symbols of the founding ancestors of the *woe* and are related to each other as wife and husband. It is worth noting that *ngadhu* as the husband and warrior, is expected to protect his wife from enemies. In this protective role, the *ngadhu* is positioned in front of the *bhaga,* ready for the attacking enemies. Since the *Ngadha* are matrilineal, the *bhaga* is considered older than the *ngadhu*. Thus, the *bhaga* is categorised as the trunk and

Photo 4.2: The *bhaga* at Nage megalith
village (Photo: Tular
Sudarmadi, 1997)

the *ngadhu* as the tip. Moreover, as a symbol of the female founding ancestor of the sub-clan, the *bhaga* bears the name of this woman. Similarly, as representations of the male founding ancestors of the sub-clan, the *ngadhu* bear the name of this man. It should be noted that these symbols of *woe* identity must be paired; neither *bhaga* nor *ngadhu* stands alone in the centre of Ngadha villages. Normally, the *bhaga* is a small-scale version of *sao* (the traditional house), but without outer and inner veranda (Photo 4.2). This *bhaga* is square in form and about 1-2 meters in length. In front of the *bhaga* a *nabe* (flat and ellipsoid stone) is laid close to the door. On the inside, along the four walls are top framing boards. The board adjacent to the door is carved with the motifs

representing *zegu kaba* (buffalo horns). In the corner of the top framing board, above the back wall, a hen and rooster are depicted facing each other. The lower boards are decorated with motifs of *taka* (gold pendants), *jara* (horse) and *bela* (earring). The *bhaga* is covered by bunches of *keri* (tall grass) forming *puse kera* (a raised roof ridge). Three swords made of bamboo are inserted in the left and right ends of the *puse kera* (Sudarmadi 1999: 81-83). The *ngadhu* is a forked post made of *hebu* tree (*Cassia fistula*) wood, with the forks supporting a conical roof structure. To give an impression of a man and a warrior, the tip of the roof is elongated to form the neck, and the top is bound with a piece of cloth representing a headband. Eyes, nose and mouth are

Photo 4.3: The Ngadhu at Bena megalith
..................village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi,
1997)

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carved in the top part of the *ngadhu*. Hands made from bundles of fibre and ropes are inserSted in the thatch roof, and these hands hold a sword and a spear (Photo 4.3). Usually the height of this post is from 2 to 3 meters with a roof diameter around 1-2 meters. The post is divided into three parts: *da kage* (the top/jaw), *da hoza* (the middle/waist) and *da wai* (the bottom/legs) (Figure 4.4). The middle and the bottom of the post are carved with motifs representing human faces, *taka* (gold pendants), *bela* (gold earrings), and *nage* (tamarind fruit) (Figure 4.5). The bottom of the post is planted in the ground. This underground part also has three components: the trunk and two forks. To strengthen this post a large number of small stones are piled around the base (Sudarmadi 1999: 82-84).

Among the Ngadha, the crow of the rooster is associated with the courage and pride of the Ngadha people. Hence, the carving of roosters on the *bhaga* represents the pride and courage of the *bhaga*'s lineage. In addition, buffalo horns, horses, earrings and pendants of gold are items of wealth. Elders also provided the information that the depiction of *nage* (tamarind fruits) on the *ngadhu* signifies reproductive prosperity. Because the *bhaga* represents the ancestral mother of the *woe* and the *ngadhu* identifies the ancestral father of the *woe*, the portrayal of these objects on the *bhaga-ngadhu* is believed to increase the prosperity and wealth of the *bhaga-ngadhu* descendants. The *bhaga* is used in large-scale
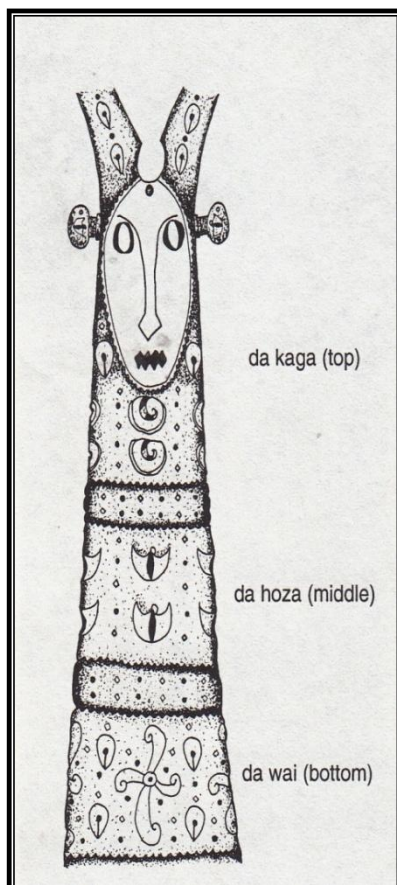
Figure 4.4: The Ngadhu horizontal section (drawn by Budi S.)
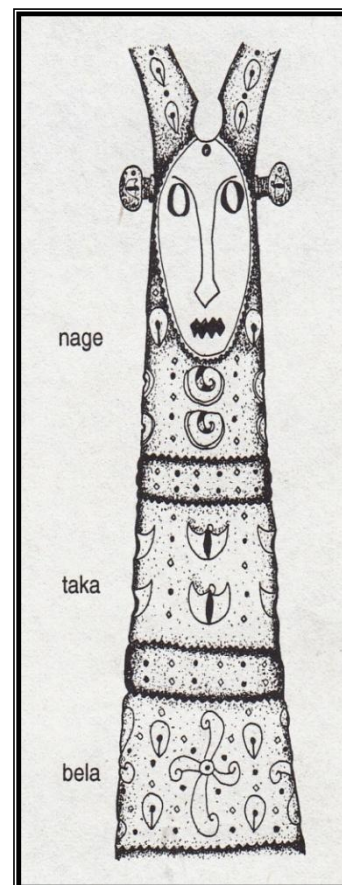
Figure 4.5: The ngadhu motif (drawn by Budi S.)

rituals for making offerings to the ancestors. Usually, the offering is made inside the *bhaga* by the *mosalaki* of the *sao meze* (the big traditional house) of the *woe* and the participants stand in front of the *bhaga*'s door. The *bhaga* is also the gathering place for the villagers who perform dances during the ceremonies. The *ngadhu* also serves for tethering buffalo for sacrifice in many public rituals. At such times *Nitu* (the spirits of ancestors) are invited to come from the *zale* (underground*)* with the aid of the roots of the *ngadhu* post. Similarly, *Dewa* (the Creator) is invited to descend from the sky with the aid of the fork of the *ngadhu* post. Therefore, *ngadhu* represents cosmological unity: it is a post connecting the world of the *nitu* beneath the earth, the human domain on the earth and the realm of *Dewa* in the sky, Since the *ngadhu* connects the earth and the sky, it is also called *tubo lizu* (the sky post) (Sudarmadi 1999: 140-141).

Peo

The *peo* is a rectangular upright stone, which like *ngadhu* represents the male ancestor, but it does not have a specific name. Being made of stone, *peo* is difficult to carve and is undecorated (Photo 4.4).

Until now, the *peo* is used as a post for tying up buffaloes for sacrifice. The animals are first tethered to it and then the rope is lengthened and tied to the *ngadhu*. In the ritual of sao roof installation in Bena megalith village in which I participated the rope was tied over a buffalo's head, but kept loose allowing the buffalo to run around the *loka* while villagers hack at it to bloody the *loka* while it is trying to break free: the buffalo could break the wooden *ngadhu*, hence the use of the stone *peo*. As with the *ngadhu*, the *peo* not only encodes cosmological unity between *Nitu*, humans and *Dewa*, but also signifies the founding ancestral father. Although *peo* are not individually named or decorated, they remind the people that both *ngadhu* and *bhaga* came from a common ancestor.

Photo 4.4: The *peo* at Nage megalith village
(Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

Hence, the descendants of the *ngadhu* and the lineage of *bhaga* must act as brother and sister, and as one (Sudarmadi 1999: 84-85, 141-142).

Ture

The *ture* are constructed of a number of *nabe* (flat stone slabs) and a number of rows of upright stones. Typically, a number of upright stones are arranged in a rectangular outline, while a number of flat stone slabs are laid in the middle (Photo 4.5). Normally this structure is placed between the *ngadhu* and the *bhaga*. It is important to note that the upright stone and the flat stone symbolise the masculine and the feminine, respectively. These kinds of megaliths mark the graves of famous warriors of a particular *woe*. In order to be assured of ancestral blessings and protection, offerings must be placed on the *ture* (Sudarmadi 1999: 85-86, 142).

Photo 4.5: The *Ture tuke lizu* at Old Wogo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

Vevva

The *vevva* is the location for small-scale rituals that maintain a relation between the ancestors of the named house and their inhabitants. It is a place where the *woe* ancestor and the *woe* members meet each other. A number of *sao* (traditional houses) are installed in this section. Generally, the *sao* stand outside and facing the *vevva*. They also symbolise Ngadha social organisation and comprise a cosmological representation (Sudarmadi 1999: 142-143).

Sao

The *sao* are differentiated into three types: *sao saka puu* (the founding female ancestor house), *sao saka lobo* (the founding male ancestor house) and *sao doro* (the descendants of the female/male ancestor house). Sometimes both *sao saka puu* and *sao saka lobo* are called *sao meze* (the big traditional house).There is a direct link between *sao meze* and the *bhaga-ngadhu*. The members of all *woe* are divided into two branches, which are symbolised by *bhaga-ngadhu*. The descendants of *bhaga* inhabit a *sao meze* (the biggest traditional house) called *sao saka puu*, while the descendants of *ngadhu* inhabit a *sao meze* (the smaller traditional house than *sao saka puu*) called *sao saka lobo*. These two types of *sao meze* can be distinguished by their names and physical features (Sudarmadi 1999: 87).

Photo 4.6: The *sao saka puu* at Nage megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi)

Sao saka puu indicates the house of the beginning, the origin, *puu* (the trunk). In other words, this *sao* is associated with the eldest female and the source of *woe*. This association is clearly seen in the name of this *sao*, which is considered feminine. As the house of the *woe* origin, this *sao* must attach *ana iye* (*bhaga* miniature) to the roof (Photo 4.6 & Figure 4.2.P). Since *woe* affairs are managed from the *sao saka puu*, it must be bigger than *sao saka lobo* and *sao doro*. *Sao saka lobo* refers to the house of the tip and is associated with the younger, male and the first branch house of the *woe*. Again the association is clearly seen in the name of this *sao*, which is considered male. Since *sao saka lobo* is related to the *ngadhu*, this *sao* must attach *ata* (a male statue) to the roof (Photo 4.7 and Figure 4.2.L). Although *sao saka lobo* are categorised as *sao meze,* this house should be smaller than *sao*
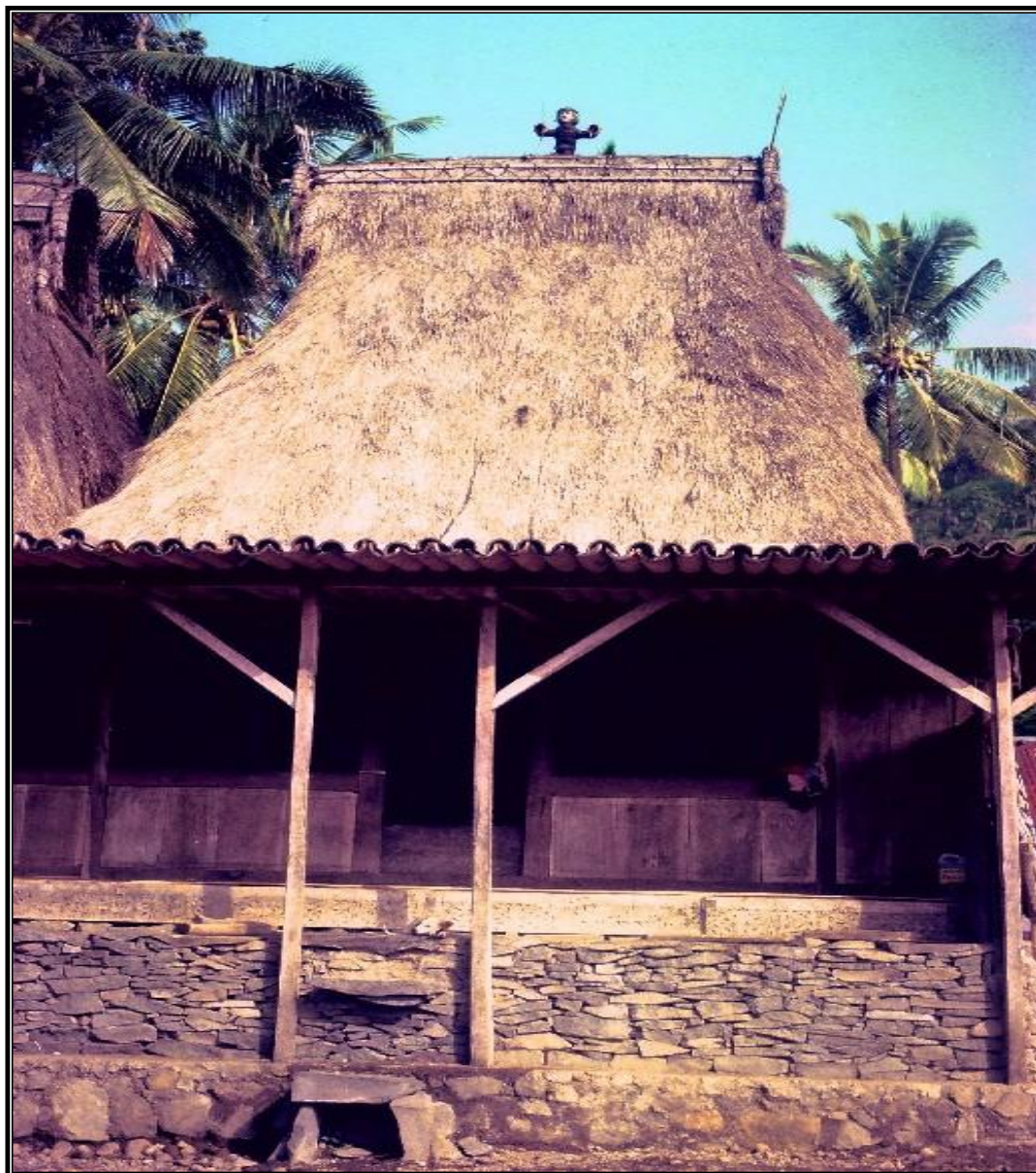
Photo 4.7: The *sao saka lobo* at Gurusina megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

saka lobo. As the population of *sao saka puu* and *sao saka lobo* grows, there is a need to develop more *sao*. Under these circumstances *sao doro*, which originate from *sao saka puu* or *sao saka lobo* are built. This *sao doro* is not an ordinary house because it also encodes the ancestor's name. *Sao doro* is smaller than *sao meze* and lacks any attachment to the roof (Photo 4.8 and Figure 4.2.p1, p2, p3, p4, p5, p6, p7, l1, l2, l3, l4, l5, l6, l7) (Sudarmadi 1999: 88-90).

The *sao* can be differentiated on two levels - horizontal and vertical. On the horizontal level *sao* can be divided into three sections: *teda au* (the outer patio), *teda one* (the inner veranda); and *one* (inside) (Figure 4.6). Similarly, on the vertical level they can be divided

into three sections: the bottom (the house posts); middle (the living space); and top (the raised roof) (Figure 4.7) (Sudarmadi 1999: 143).

Photo 4.8: The *sao saka doro* at Gurusina megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)
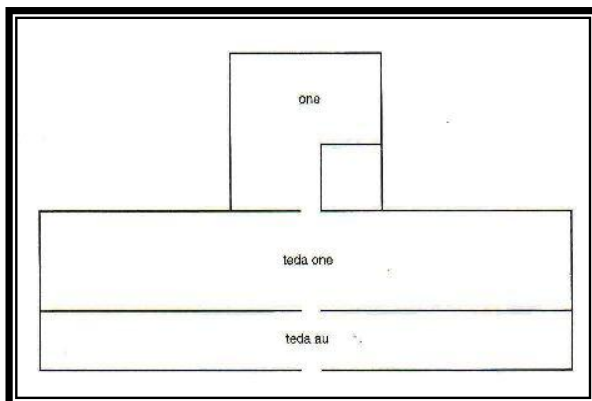
Figure 4.6: *Sao* horizontal level (drawn by Budi S.)
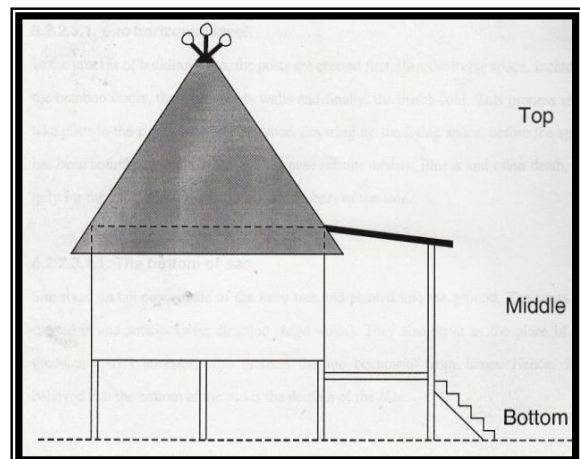
Figure 4.7: *Sao* vertical level (drawn by Budi S.)

Sao vertical level

In the process of building a *sao*, the posts are erected first, then the living space including the bamboo floors, next the board walls, and finally the thatch roof. This process must take place in the right order. For instance, covering up the living space before it has been completely built is thought to cause serious mishap, illness and often death, not only for the *sao* owner, but also for the members of the *woe*. The bottom of the *sao* stands on tall posts made from the *hebu* tree and planted into the ground. The posts are erected in *kago wana* (anticlockwise direction). They also serve as the place of the guardian spirit's ancestor, who protects the *sao* occupants from harm. Hence, it is believed that the bottom of the *sao* is the domain of *Nitu*. The middle of the *sao* is transitional space. Furthermore, it is the actual living quarters, so, it is closely associated with the domain of humans. In fact, this place corresponds to the vertical area of the *sao* since it is divided into three parts, the outer patio, the inner veranda and the inside. The top of the *sao* is marked by *puse kera* (the raised ridge of the thatch-roof structure. Three swords are inserted on the right and left side edges of *puse kera*, as they are believed to guard the *bhaga* from evil spirits. Among the Ngadha, *puse kera* signifies the sky, the domain of *Dewa* (the Creator) (Sudarmadi 1999: 145).

Sao horizontal level

When one faces *teda au* and *teda one* the orientation is towards the back of the *sao* or facing towards the *one*. In contrast, once inside the *one*, orientation is defined by facing towards the front of the *sao,* towards the *teda au* and *teda one*. The outer *sao,* called *teda au,* is a rectangular construction from 5 to 8 meters in length and 1 to 3 meters in width. The *tangi au* (the wooden ladder) is used to enter the *teda au*. In front of *teda au* and located precisely at the base of the outer ladder, a *nabe* (a flat stone) is laid. This is believed to represent the female aspect. It also refers to *Nitu* who protects the *sao* from a spirit *polo* (evil witch). Sometimes lower framing boards in the front of *teda au* are adorned with *taka* and *bela* motifs. The portrayal of these is believed to increase the prosperity and the wealth of the occupants of the *sao*. The

Photo 4.9: The *teda au* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

teda au have half wooden walls on the left and right sides, but do not usually have wooden walls or doors at the front (Photo 4.9). This section is intended for the general affairs of the house, including the reception of visitors, general housework and occasionally the accommodation of male visitors. Since the *teda au* is more open than any other part of the *sao*, only topics that can be known by everybody in the village are discussed here (Sudarmadi 1999: 145-147).

Teda one is a veranda which has walls on the right and left side and is also rectangular – again from 5 to 8 meters in length and 1 to 3 meters in width. On the front side there is a half-wall with a door. Toward the rear wall, *tangi one* (a ladder) provides access to the *penne* (sliding door), which leads into *one* (the inner house). This ladder is made of *hebu* wood and two carved posts depicting female and male ancestors stand on either side. The top of the ladder, which leads to the sliding door, is called *tolo penne.* It is decorated with carved *zegu kaba* (buffalo horns) and *bela* (gold earrings) motifs. At the back of *tolo penne*, a *kawa* pere (a small wood platform) is placed. This is carved with *bela* motifs. *Jara* (horses) are also depicted on both sides of the *penne.* The inner wall of *teda one*, particularly on both right and left sides, is decorated with geometric motifs. This inner wall, especially on both right and left sides of the *penne*, has a square carved with *kata bewa* (hen and rooster) facing each other and sometimes coloured black, white, red and yellow (Photo 4.10). The *teda one* is more highly decorated than other sections of the *sao* and all motifs reflect the *sao* inhabitants' desire for courage, pride, prosperity and wealth. It is designed for family business, since it is a place where family members and close family friends are invited for

Photo 4.10: The carving on the rear wall of the *teda one* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

breakfast, lunch and dinner. Usually household items such as machetes, knives, spears, jerry can, food storage baskets, bags made of tall grass and beds are stored in here. This is also the place where trusted family members, neighbours and close friends sleep during ritual gatherings. Topics discussed are more specific and secret, particularly issues concerning family and *woe* affairs. When such discussions are conducted, *tolo penne* serves as the seat of honour, since only the head woman of the *sao*, *mosalaki* from the *sao* and the newly married couple are allowed to settle on it. In one sense, *teda one* is inside, because it is used by the *sao* members to discuss important matters. Yet in another sense it is still outside, since all important rituals are conducted at *one*. In other words, *teda one* holds an ambiguous significance because it is a transitional place between the female who occupies the *one* (inside) *sao* and the male who lives in the *teda au* (outer) *sao*. Thus, it is clear that *teda one* is associated with neither female nor male (Sudarmadi 1999: 147-150). The centre of the *sao* is called *one* and it has square form of 2 to 4 meters long. A sliding door is installed in the front wall, but there are no windows (Photo 4.11).

Photo 4.11: The inside of the *one* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

The back wall of the *one* is seen as the principal part of the *sao* since it is the centre of the *ulu* (head). The *penne*, in the front wall is called *eko penne* (literally the tail door), because the rear wall is taken as the 'head' of the *one*. The most significant structure of the *one* is *lapu* (the fireplace), where cooking is done. This is placed on the right side of *penne* and occupies the largest part of the *one*. The *lapu* has quite a big post at its left inner back corner and it is made of *hebu* tree. This post is called *duke* and supports a partial ceiling as large as the *lapu* (the fireplace) here corn, meat and firewood are kept to dry (Photo 4.12).

Photo 4.12: The *Lapu* (fireplace) inside the *one* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

The back wall of the *one* is regarded as the main part of the *sao* since *mata raga* (a wooden riple hook) is fastened in the middle of the back wall, each with three prongs. Significant items such as *laja sue* (a magic sword), *bhuja kawa* (spear) are hung on the *mata raga* (Photo 4.13). Furthermore, above the *mata raga* a small raised platform is often built on which valuable items such as ivories, *wali* (man's necklace) made of round and conical sea shells, gold pendants, gold bracelets and old woven cloths are kept. The space beneath the *mata raga* is considered to be honoured since this is where the family elders sit in important meetings and conduct rituals to be performed within the *sao.* In addition, at a funeral, prior to burial, the deceased person must be laid in the *sao* with the head placed beneath the *mata raga*. Indeed, the *mata raga* refers to the ancestor, since the *bhuja kawa* (spear) and *laja sue* (magic sword), which are kept on the *mata raga,* are inhabited by the spirit of the *sao* ancestor (Sudarmadi 1999: 93-95;150-151).

Photo 4.13: The *mata raga* with magic sword (*laja sue*) and spear (*bhuja kawa*)
(Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997).

While the *one* space is used by the extended *sao* family (wife, husband, women and their small children), generally it is inhabited by women. During rituals that involve all *sao* members the women of the *sao* should sleep inside the *one*. At the same time they prepare the meal for the ritual participants. Therefore the *one* is inside and it is dedicated to the women of the *sao*. Being more private than any other part of the *sao*, it is used for the discussion of topics limited to the *sao* family. Moreover, the conversation cannot be divulged outside the *one*, or with other people not present at the meeting. The *one* represents a cosmological unity between humans and the spiritual realm of ancestral spirit and divinity. On most occasions, rituals concerned with the *sao* ancestor are conducted here. Usually, at the base of the *duke* offerings of meat (chicken, pig, and buffalo), rice and *moke* (palm wine) are placed. Then, with the aid of the *duke*, the ancestors are invited to ascend from beneath the ground, and the divinity to descend from above the *sao* roof. Hence, the *duke* functions as a post mediator that links the domain of *Nitu* (ancestral spirits) who reside in the bottom of the *sao*, the domain of the *sao* family who inhabit in the *one*, and the domain of *Dewa* (the creator) who resides in the thatch-roof (Sudarmadi 1999:151).

Logo nua

The backyard or outer village holds less important cosmological significance and it is believed that this area is inhabited by general ancestral spirits. Since the backyard lacks the prime ancestral spirits' protection, it is a dangerous and insecure living area: toilets, garbage dumps and pigsties are located here. Although a number of *ture-nabe* and unnamed houses are erected in the *logo nua* (outer village), they are smaller in size than those inside the village proper. A number of *ture-nabe* are constructed outside the village. While small-scale *ture* exist, these megaliths mostly consist of an upright stone and a stone table. They are named according to their size and their placement. These include the *watu ulu* which is positioned in the entrance of the village, and the *watu eko nua* that is placed in the exit of the village. In addition, *watu ulu nua* marks the beginning of the village land and *watu eko nua* the

Photo 4.14: The *watu eko nua* at Wogo megalith village. (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

end (Photo 4.14). Sometimes a banyan tree (*Ficus benyamina*) is planted close by. When the tree grows large and high, it serves as a marker for these structures that can be recognised from a distance. Approximately at 0.5 km distance from the outer village a *meri* (a small scale standing stone) is installed (Photo 4.15). This type of megalith is built to honour *sao* ancestral spirits and it is also the general ancestral residence. During the *Reba* ceremony, sacrificial meals are offered, especially before the (*soka*) dance is performed. *Meri* is also a place where *mosalaki* discuss the village establishment and is the central meeting place when *mosalaki* from other villages stop to chat. Close to the *meri* is *ngedhu* which consists of a small upright stone and a small stone table. It is usually found in the garden and serves as the gathering place for ancestral offerings at the beginning of garden planting and harvesting (Sudarmadi 151-154).

Photo 4.15: The *meri* outside the Nage megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

An unnamed house can be distinguished from *sao* by the absence of *nabe*, *kawa pere*, *tolo penne* and carving on their board walls. Similarly, their construction is not followed by rituals because they are not occupied by ancestral spirits. Formerly, ordinary houses were placed in the outer circle of named houses, or scattered around the village layout. Today they are positioned within the village plan. As time goes by, unnamed houses are expected to undergo the rituals required to qualify as *sao*. Toilets are also located at the rear of the *sao* and are of variable size, but 1-2 meters in length is typical. They are square in shape and the corners are made from heavy bamboos posts which support light bamboo walls. There is a door at the front and sometimes the hut has a roof of bamboo or thatch. Water is kept in a

bucket and a deep hole is dug for bodily waste. Most have an earthen floor. Behind or parallel to the toilet are the pigsties, fenced rectangular structures made of large bamboo poles. The uprights are interwoven with horizontal lengths, stacked tightly together and bound at each corner of the rectangle. *Lego ngana* are about 50-100 centimetres high and do not have doors (Photo 4.16 and Figure 4.2.Y).
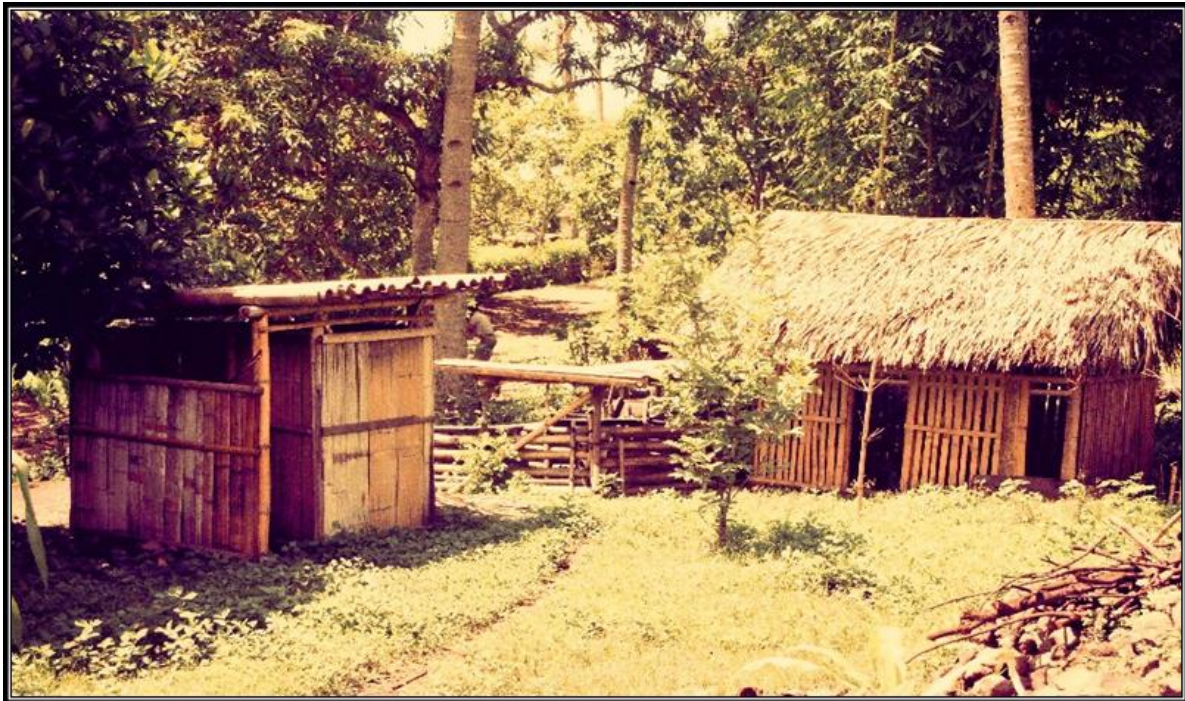
Photo 4.16: The toilet and the logo ngana (pigsty) at Gurusina megalith village

(Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 1997)

In most cases organic garbage such as leaves, left-overs from meals, rotten fruit and bones are thrown into pigsties. Since Ngadha villages are located on the slope of a hill or mountain, the backyards of the *sao* are close to gorges and these are used for disposal of other materials. Sometimes, however, villagers dig small round holes to burn and bury their garbage. Usually, such garbage holes are dug between the pigsties and bamboo forest (Sudarmadi 1999: 95-97, 154).

The social context of Ngadha megalith village

Membership of a *woe* determines an individual's rights and obligation, such as inheritance and access to land, demands in *woe* ritual and maintenance of *bhaga-ngadhu*, *ture* and *sao*. As it is very expensive to take care of these material identity symbols of the *woe*, the land and other income sources that allow maintenance of these objects are fundamental aspects of Ngadha culture. While attending *sui uwi* ritual in a number of *sao* in Bena, Nage, Gurusina and Wogo megalith village, elders and the head woman of the *sao saka puu* provided information that the *woe* in Ngadha villages hold a great deal of land scattered over a large

area. All the *woe* land belongs to the *bhaga-ngadhu* and is called *tana bhaga-ngadhu*. Access to *woe* land is determined in the *sao* of the domain. Mostly, the right to this resource is defined by elder-younger, female-male *sao* relationships. Typically, *woe* land passed along the elder-female of *sao saka puu* is called *lanu saka puu*, while that passed along the younger-male of *sao saka lobo* is called *lanu saka lobo*. With time, descendants might move from *sao saka puu*/*sao saka lobo* and construct their own *sao doro* (the traditional house of the descendant of *sao saka puu*/*sao saka lobo*). The land brought by such a *sao doro* is called *padhi sae*: figure 4.8 illustrates the distribution of *woe* land) (Sudarmadi 1999: 177).
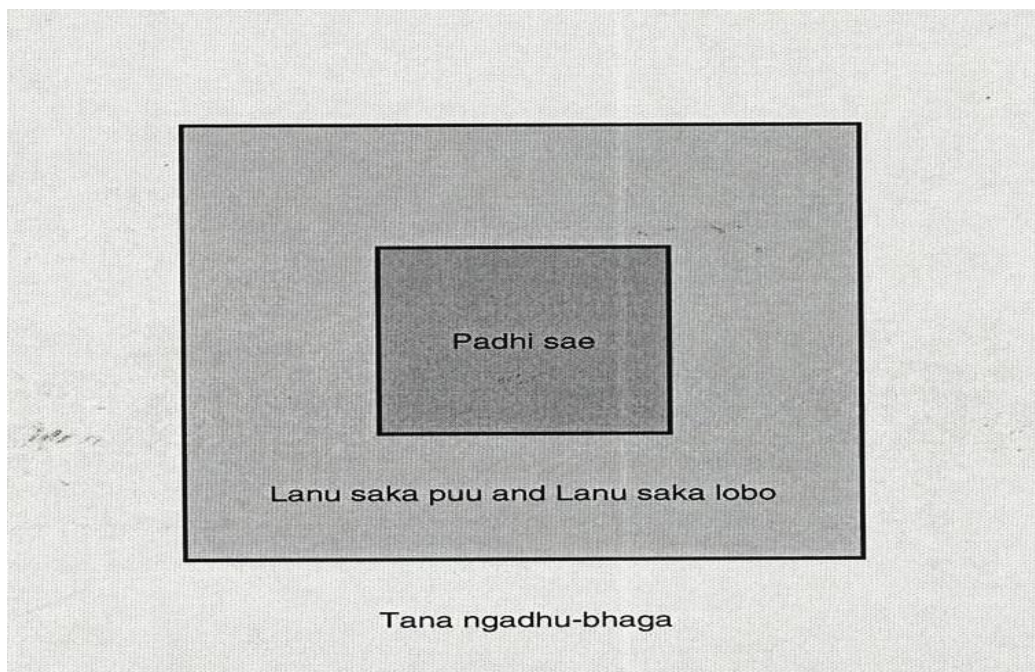
Figure 4.8: The distribution of land (drawn by Tular Sudarmadi)

Legitimation of Ngadha land claims by *woe* is determined by *woe* mythology. Usually, such myths refer to the origin of the *woe* and the way in which ancestors found particular lands. Many of these myths consist of long recitations of the names of the places and the names of ancestors associated with those places. Because each *woe* has their own myth, thousands of such myths are preserved among the Ngadha. The example from Bena megalith village below, illustrates the nature of such myths (Sudarmadi 1999: 179).

According to Emanuel Sebo, the site guardian of Bena megalith village and his elder sister 'Wowu Sebo', the head woman of the *sao saka puu* called *Longa Zia*, the ancestors of *woe* Bena made the journey from Sina and crossed Selo, and when they arrived at *Jawa one*, they stayed and married the women from *Jawa one*. Their offspring migrated to Raba, then to Sumba, where they met women from Sumba whom they married. After that, *Oba* and *Nanga* continued their lineage with the migration to Flores. They stayed a little while at *Do*

village, whence they moved to *Watu ata* and settled in *Mala gisi*. They built *Reda* village and occupied it with their children, *Bhai*, *Mona* and *Toe*. In search of new land *Bhai* found *nua Wolo* and established *woe Bhai*. In the meantime *Mona* reached *Ine Lika* and established *woe Ina Lika*, while *Toe* discovered *nua Naru* and established *woe Toe*. Later *woe Toe* members split up to look for other land. Some of them arrived in *Langa Gedha* and founded a village.

Tena and *Teru*, the greatest warriors among the offspring of *Oba* and *Nanga* lived in *Langa Gedha*. One day they hunted *suy kua* (wild pig), which ruined the garden of *Langa Gedha* people. They chased these animals from their garden down to *Kutu Rapo*. The animals led them on a difficult chase throughout *Bata* and *Suka* hill and down the ravine adjacent to *Suka Tey* village. When the pigs climbed Inerie Mountain these warriors faced a natural obstacle. However, they could trace the path of the animals. After more than a day, they killed them near the village, which was not known to them. Fortunately, they met *Wajo* and *Wijo*, two beautiful women from this village, who explained that they were two orphan siblings from *Bena* village. The hunters married the women and settled in *Bena* village where they established *woe* Bena.

Thus do Ngadha origin myths provide genealogical credentials and ancestral names for land. Their *bhaga-ngadhu, peo*, *ture-nabe* and *sao* which are symbols of their *woe* identity also bear their ancestor's names. By broadcasting these names in public rituals associated with renewing or erecting symbols of *woe* identity, members of the *woe* legitimate their domain and origin. Usually, renewing or erecting *woe* identity objects is accompanied by specific rituals in which animals are sacrificed. As a rule the recitation of *sa ngaza* (calling out the ancestor name) is done before the sacrificial animal is slaughtered. This *sa ngaza* begins with the *woe* identification of the chanter, the names of the chanter's *sao*, *bhaga-ngadhu*, *ture* and other megaliths objects and the famous characteristics of the chanter's ancestor. It ends by mentioning the extent of the chanter's territory (Sudarmadi 1999: 181).

This example of *sa ngaza* given below was part of the ritual *nuka tara wunu* – when a branch of *hebu* tree together with its leaves was brought to the site. I did not witness the ritual but collected accounts from elders and *mosalaki* from Wogo megalith village. When the *hebu* tree is erected as a *ngadhu* post the chant is performed as follows:

Heti e riwu	He, you thousand masses, listen
Jao wi punu ngaza ebu jao	I will declare my ancestor's (female) name
Ebu jao ne Losa	My ancestor's name is Losa
ne Losa ana ne Tawa	Losa is Tawa's daughter
Da bue mea nee sao ngeta Wunulewa	The loner lady with her house Wunulewa
Leda e ngasu	Attention, eee …. Thousand masses

Jao wi pera ngaza go nusi jao	I will declare my ancestor's (male) name
Nusi jao me Pada	My ancestor's name is Pada
Pada ana ne Jawa	Pada is Jawa's son
nee sao ngeta Ghede Ana	His house is Ghede Ana

From this *sa ngaza*, it is clear that the names of the *bhaga*, *sao saka puu*, *ngadhu* and *sao saka lobo* are Losa, Wunulewa, Pada and Gedhe Ana, respectively. Usually, this type of *sa ngaza* is performed close to the structure being erected. Because this occurs in the *loka*, *sa ngaza* are open space performances. Furthermore, they are accompanied by large-scale rituals and attended by a large number of ritual participants. As a result it functions as public means for reaffirming and legitimating the rights and status of individuals in relation to their *weo*. Thus, in the context of erecting *sao*, *bhaga-ngadhu* and *ture*, the act of chanting *sa ngaza* publicly broadcasts the genealogical credentials of the individual erecting the new structure, as well the name and significance of this material symbol of *woe* identity. .It is also worth noting that Ngadha people usually identify themselves by name, but when identifying themselves in hearings concerning claims to *woe* property their name alone is insufficient so they add to the names of their *woe*, their *bhaga-ngadhu* and their mother's *sao*. In other words, the extent to which the members of *woe* in Ngadha have the right to property will depend upon their genealogical authenticity that can be traced from their founding ancestor. As described above, this information is encoded in the *sa ngaza* and in the material expression of *woe* identity (Sudarmadi 1999: 181-182).

The Ngadha differentiate two realms of authority – secular and ritual. Secular authority is centred on and exercised by women. Ritual power is enacted by men. In each village the secular authority, which regulates matters concerning the garden acquisition, *sao* inheritance, marriage and litigation within or between *woe*, is the realm of the women. At the lower levels, this secular authority is exercised by the head woman of *sao doro*; at the higher levels it is held by the head woman of *sao saka lobo* or *sao saka puu*. The authority of the *woe* is held by the head woman of the *sao saka puu*. Her approval is required before the opening of a garden, the distribution of fields and the sale of land. She also makes decisions regarding the payment for the leasing of land and looks after *woe* heirlooms and ceremonial wealth. When the head woman of *sao saka puu* dies she is replaced by her sister, or if this is not possible, by her daughter. In the latter case, all members of the *woe* must give their assent. While elder women in *sao saka puu* may occupy this position, in most cases the position of *sao saka puu* head woman is transmitted from the mother to her daughter. If a deceased head woman of the *sao saka puu* has no living sister or lineal descendants, her *sao saka puu* is considered to be already dead and to have gone into ruin. When this happens, the responsibility for the maintenance of *bhaga* is taken over by the descendants

of *sao saka lobo*. Moreover, one of the descendants from *sao saka lobo*, who occupies an unnamed house and who has accumulated sufficient wealth can move to the village layout and replace the defunct *sao saka puu* (Sudarmadi 1999: 183-184).

Ngadha men bear responsibility for maintaining ritual performances. Any adult man of the *sao* can act as leader in the performance of the rituals of the *sao* under the supervision of the knowledgeable ritual man. In fact, two types of ritual specialists are known. At the higher level are knowledgeable ritual men from *sao saka puu* and *sao saka lobo*. They usually serve as leaders in the performance of the large-scale rituals of the *woe*, such as the *Reba* ceremony (New Year ritual celebration), the installation of the material symbols of *woe* identity, and the burial ceremony of the head woman of the *woe*. At the lower level, ritual tasks are tackled by the ritual expert from the *sao doro*. He is responsible for the execution of small-scale rituals of the *woe* such as *tegge kaju* (the sequence of *Reba* ceremony, which is conducted by each *sao*) and the house members' burial ceremony. It is no wonder that men are also the actors in the political field. For them, ritual is not only an arena for political discourse and leadership, but also a means to power and prestige in the village. Although knowledge of rituals is transmitted from mother's brother to sister's son, a man's genealogy is not sufficient to guarantee that he will become a ritual expert. Ngadhas regard ritual specialists as men whose bodies have been entered by ancestral spirits. Hence, every man in the village can potentially become a ritual specialist. In addition, since the most powerful spirit ancestor resides in the *bhaga* and *sao saka puu*, it is believed that the knowledgeable ritual man from *sao saka puu* is more powerful than other ritual specialists from the same *woe* (Sudarmadi 1999: 184-185).

This chapter has given a brief description of the complexity of Ngadha life, including social organisation, genealogy, ideology, ritual and their significance for control of land. Village settlement patterns reflect some these cultural aspects. In particular, the placement of symbols of *woe* identity, including megaliths, in relation to other structures and areas is crucial for understanding a permanent claim to the use and control of vital resources, the territorially based descent group and political power discourse. It is also evident that understanding the functional relationship between megalith village and other aspects of Ngadha culture is necessary for understanding their meaning in present-day Ngadha life, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. Using a similar approach as to Ngadha ethnography and ethno-archaeology, in the next chapter I turn first to an examination of the Manggaraian ethnography and their megaliths settlement patterns.

Ethnography and ethno-archaeology in Manggaraian megalith villages

Following the ethnography of the Ngadha, this chapter aims to provide parallel information with respect to the Manggaraian. This ethnographic information on the history, location, physical type, economy, social organisation and ideology of the Manggaraian is important to grasp the social context of Manggaraian's cultural heritage as expressed in the living megaliths culture. This ethnography incorporates previous ethnographic work by other authors, and is based on my own ethno-archaeological field research in the megalith villages of Ruteng Puu and Todo It integrates archaeological evidence and ethnographic records, particularly as a means to explain the way in which Manggaraian's cultural heritage functions to validate the cultural order and social action in the megalith villages that are valued and preserved as important sites in contemporary Manggarai.

Locating the Manggaraian communities

Formerly the regency of Manggarai was the widest region on Flores. In the Reformation era, particularly under the *Undang-Undang Otonomi Daerah* (Regional Autonomy Act) Number 22 in 1999 and Number 32 in 2004, it is now expected that the Indonesian government no longer holds central authority, but that a greater degree of autonomy would accrue equally among the regional governments. In order to lessen the Indonesian government's centralisation, many regional government institutions developed (Kementerian Sekretaris Negara 1999; Kementerian Sekretaris Negara 2004). As a result of this decentralisation act the regency of Manggarai was split into three new regencies, West Manggarai and Manggarai, which were formed in 2003, and East Manggarai. The latter is a recent construction. The Manggarai region lies between 119^0 21'BT 45'-120^0.55' East longitude and 08^0.14' - 09^0.00 South latitude (Figure 5.1). It is bounded by the Flores Sea to the North, by the Sawu Sea to the South, by the Regency of Ngadha to the East and by Sape Strait to the West, and extends over 9,749.52 km^2 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai Barat 2009: 5; Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai 2009: 3; Situs Resmi Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2010).

The indigenous Manggaraian or *Ata* Manggarai (Manggarai people) are mainly concentrated in the Manggarai Regency (Le Bar 1972: 81). While in the West Manggarai regency the Manggaraians mix with the coastal people and migrants such as the Bimanese from Sumbawa and the Bajo 'sea people' from Sulawesi, there is no doubt that the Manggaraian

who live in the East Manggarai regency have close affinity with the Ngadha people. Today, Labuan Bajo is the capital of the West Manggarai regency, Ruteng is the capital of the Manggarai regency and Borong is the capital of the East Manggarai regency. The West Manggarai people are mostly Malay in physical type since their hair is black and smooth, their skin is dark brown, they have black eyes, their nose and cheek bones are flat and their jaws less prognathous. The Central Manggarai people are Malay-Melanesian and their hair is black and wavy, their skin is dark, they have black eyes, their noses are flat and broad, their jaws are prognathous and the lower jaw large and strong. The Eastern Manggarai
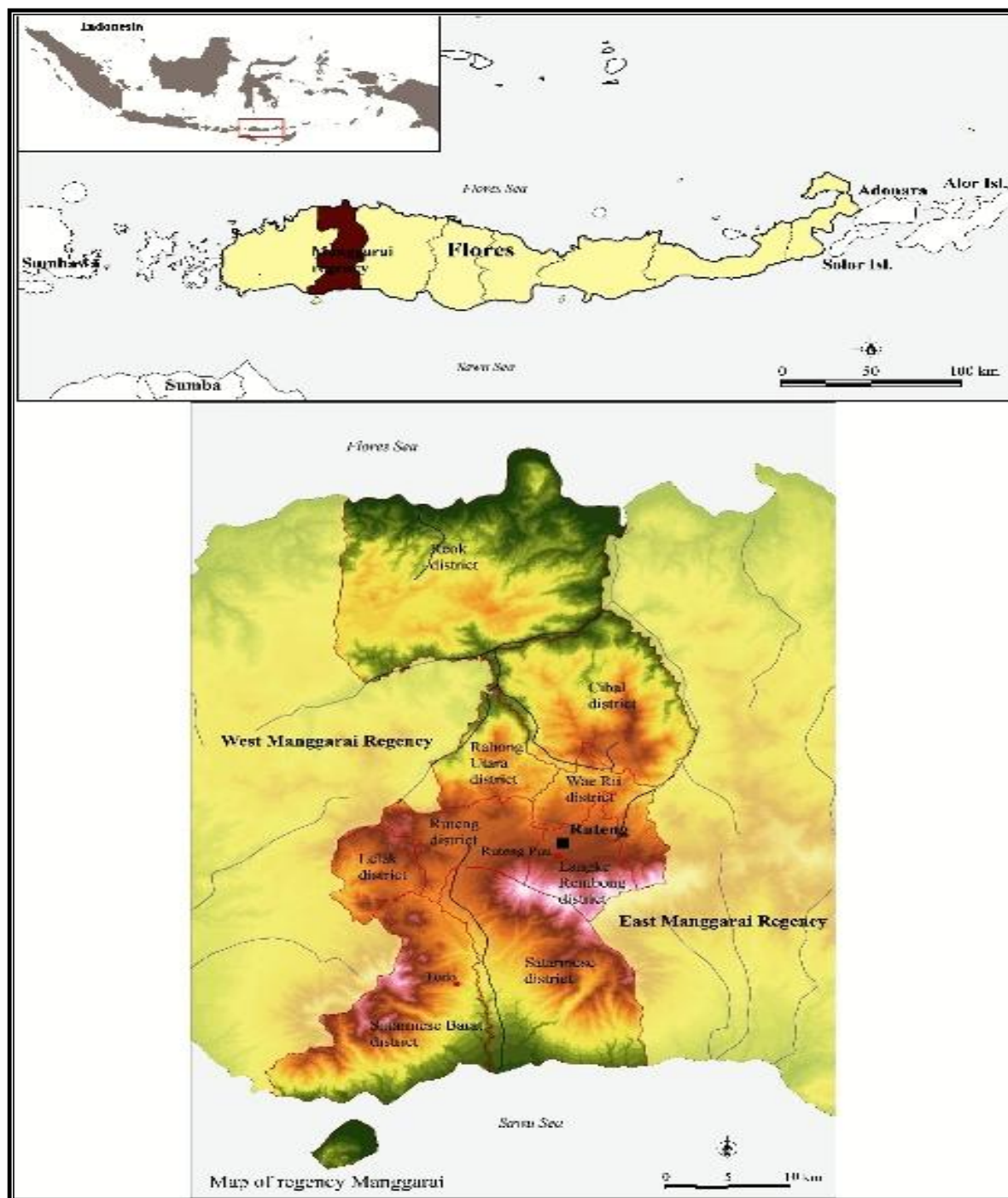
Figure 5.1: The map of Manggarai Region (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

people are Malay-Papua mix and their hair is black- and curly, they have dark skin and black eyes, their noses are flat and the nostrils wide and very prognathous (Le Bar 1972: 80-81; Kunst 1942: 1).They tend to be small (the men average about 1.6 meters and the women under 1.5 meters) and are slight in build.

The inhabitants of Central Manggarai, West Manggarai, and Southeast Manggarai speak different dialects of the Manggarai language, which is generally accepted as a member of the Central Malayo-Polynesian language group (Fernandez 1996: 31, 171). Further, Esser places the Manggaraians language in Bima-Sumba language (Fernandez 1996: 15), referring to the early 17th century invasion in the northern and southern parts of West Flores were by the Bimanese kingdom of East Sumbawa as discussed in Chapter 3 This long-term political domination fits with the close relationship between Manggarai languages and the Bima-Sumba languages (Le Bar 1972: 80). However, Fernandez (1996: 173-174) puts Manggaraian language into Flores language groups, particularly the West Flores language sub-groups. This includes Komodo, Rembong, Ngadha, Lio and Palu'e languages.

Generally Manggarai people still make their living from agriculture, especially from cultivation of dry rice, wet rice, corn, soya beans, groundnuts, taro, cassava, maize, shallots, cucumbers and aubergines. Nowadays rice is largely consumed by townsfolk and the local government encourages the people to plant rice. However maize is probably more important in the average villager's daily diet. The Manggaraian economy is based on both the cultivation of dry land (slash and burn) and *sawah* (wet rice cultivation with irrigation work). In 1930 King Baruk launched the modern wet rice cultivation system. The new *sawah* construction was introduced in the Cancar region and gradually working *sawah* was accepted in Manggarai region. Today innovative *sawah* methods are adopted and huge amounts of Manggaraian land has been converted into *sawah*. As a result, Manggarai has become a famous rice producer in Flores (Lawang 2004). Moreover, in 1990 the Manggarai Regency government encouraged the villagers whose lands are located in undulating, hilly areas with poor soil to plant coffee (*Coffea arabica*/*Coffea robusta*), vanilla (*Vannili planifolia*), cacao (*Theobroma cacao*), coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*), *kapok (Ceiba pentranda)*, hazelnut (*Dipterocarpus sp)*, cinnamon (*Cinnamomum verum*) and cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*). In recent years a few farmers also have started small plantations of coffee, vanilla, cinnamon and *kapok* (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai Barat 2009: 245-246).

The Manggaraian also domesticate animals like goats, cattle, ducks and dogs. Buffaloes, horses, pigs and chicken are kept for the purposes of ritual ceremonies and feasts. Buffaloes and horses represent Manggarai people's wealth, since they are used as gifts, bride price,

restitution, or for payments of any kind. While pigs also contribute to *paca* (bride price), gift and payment, they can be sold in local markets for cash. In the hilly, remote and isolated Manggarai region, buffaloes and horses are still used for transportation. Dogs are used for pet animals and in hunting, mostly deer in undulating and hilly regions and dogs are released to chase the animal. The hunter then follows the dogs and the deer is hunted with wooden spears and swords. Sometimes wild boars and monkeys are trapped by using nets, bamboo stall snares and pitfalls. The coastal people fish with nets, hook and fishing line along the coast.

The social organisation of the Manggaraian villagers

While Ngadha kinship is matrilineal, the Manggaraians trace their origins to the male ancestor. The Manggaraian's megalith villages are occupied by nuclear families and a number of patrikin groups which are called *kilo hang neki.* Usually, these extended families occupy *mbaru tembong*/*niang* (traditional house). When the megalith village population becomes too great and there is insufficient land to provide subsistence to all the extended families, some family members move out to settle elsewhere. As a result new extended consanguineous kin groups (*panga*) are formed and attached to a previous *wa'u* (clan). In fact, the new *panga* and the *wa'u* of origin have a common male ancestor as a fixed point of reference. It is no wonder that the clan of origin provides its family members with land resource, prepares marriages and initiates the members into customary behaviour (Nggoro 2006: 25-26, 29-32; Lawang 2004: 41-55).

Marriage to the Manggaraian is a social arrangement that establishes an expansion of the social group alliance. Given the harsh and arid natural environment of the Manggarai region, this marriage not only brings sharing rights and obligations in their everyday works but also broadens the possibility of sharing natural resources among different clans. Four kinds of marriages are common - marriage between people of different *kilo hang neki* of the same *panga* (endogamy), marriage between people of different *panga* from the same *wa'u*, marriage between people of different *wa'u* from the same or a different village, and marriage with non-Manggaraian 'outsiders'. Of the four usual Manggaraian marriage types, choosing a partner within the same *panga* or *wa'u* of different *kilo hang neki* (endogamy) is preferred, for it involves people marrying within their descent group. However, for this option there is an *adak* (custom) for a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter and a woman to marry her father's sister's son. Such a marriage is called *kawing tungku* and the bride family's is called *anak rona* (bride giver), whilst the bridegroom family is called *anak wina* (bride receiver). In a patrilineal system this is a good way to ensure that the bride will not be ill-treated by her husband, since his wife is a daughter of his respected uncle. Within *kawing tungku*, *paca*

(bride price) is easier to negotiate, it reinforces the patriarchal sub-clan system and it consolidates both manpower and property. Furthermore in case of emergencies such as famine, natural disaster and ancestor-calling rituals, the bride's family as *anak rona* (bride giver) has the right to ask for *sida* (donation) from *anak wina* (bride receiver)

On the other hand, this kind of marriage does not create alliances with *mbaru niang* of different *wa'u*. Such alliances are important because they provide allies to call upon in times of need, provide influence in obtaining government positions, and so on. Today the actual patterns of marriage indicate a preference for *kawing cangkang* (exogamy*). This marriage is most favourable since it develops a new link between the nuclear family and other *wa'u*. This alliance promotes social cooperation, inter-*woe* economic networking and the maintenance of peace. Furthermore, it establishes and strengthens channels in a valuable network of reciprocal ties between kin groups. At times such relationships can provide a critical source of social support and supplementary material (Nggoro 2006: 99-106; Verheijen 1991: 25).

Valentinus Sene, the deputy officer of Culture and Tourism of the Manggarai Regency, Sebastian Jehone, the site guardian of Ruteng Puu megalith village and a number of elders in Manggarai villages provided information on Manggaraian marriage customs. In cases of *kawing tungku* or *kawing cangkang* it is customary to negotiate bride price between the family of the bridegroom and the family of the bride. This negotiation frequently involves an exchange of gifts and in some cases the payment of a substantial amount of wealth. Bride price entails a great expense for the bridegroom since he contributes at least one buffalo and a number of horses. If his prospective wife is beautiful, highly educated and comes from a respected *wa'u*, then the *paca* payment will consist of 4-6 buffaloes and 8-10 horses. In return, other offerings made by the bride's family to the bridegroom's lineage include rice, pigs, woven cloth and sometimes an acre of garden. This garden is the bride's own and serves to guarantee her economic and social needs in her future life. Further, it serves to guarantee that she will be well cared for and the bridegroom will not divorce his wife.

Today the young Manggaraian pay their bride price with money and in many cases the prospective husband pays this in instalments. In other cases when a Manggaraian man cannot raise the full amount of bride price he simply leaves his father's *mbaru tembong* and lives in the wife's father's *mbaru niang*. Thus, rather than compensating his intended wife's *mbaru tembong* with payment, he agrees to work for his wife's father's *mbaru tembong* as long as he lives. That means he must stay in his wife's family's house and work in their gardens. However, according to Agustinus Bandong, *tua tembong* (the head of traditional house) in the Todo village this rarely happens since bride price can be paid on an instalment basis. Indeed in many cases the man's family, aided by his *wa'u,* pays the girl's family. On

the other hand, when the payment is fully met by the bridegroom's family, the wife must stay with her husband's family. Thus, she must leave her *wa'u* and attach herself to her husband's *wa'u*. No wonder women in Manggarai are associated with *ata pe'ang* (the outsider) and the man is referred to as *ata one* (the inside). Normally, a newly married couple attaches their residence to that of the *mbaru tembong* into which the husband was born. In order to support the social and economic needs of this new couple, the headman of the *wa'u* grants them a piece of field on land belonging to the bride groom's *wau*. As fields held by the descent groups are scattered, opening a new garden usually means moving from the locality of the husband's *mbaru tembong* to live in a temporary house or hut in a new garden of the bridegroom. As time goes by, when the husband's father dies, the couple can move to the *mbaru tembong* and if the husband is the eldest son, he will take his father's position.

In earlier times the highest in social hierarchy of the Manggarai people were *tua golo* (the village chiefs), who claimed descent from the great ancestor who first settled in certain areas. They were distinguished by special privileges such as the right to lead the *wa'u* meeting, the right to hold *wa'u* heirloom and ceremonial wealth, as well as the right to dwell in the inner room of *mbaru tembong*. The second social level was *tua teno* who were in charge of stewardship over the land and had the right to conduct ritual matters of *lodok lingko* (clan land property distribution) and other rituals related to agricultural activities. The special privileges of *tua teno* included the right to *sor moso* (the first man to obtain the most fertile and to acquire the biggest part of *lodok lingko*). They had less political power than *tua golo*, but sometimes *tua teno* also held the position of *tua teno*. The third social level was *tua panga* who were chosen to lead the *panga* (sub-clan of *wa'u*). They had privileges, such as the right to lead the *panga* meeting, the right to inherit *panga* heirloom and ceremonial wealth, as well as the right to dwell in the room of *mbaru tembong*. However, their authority was limited to the sub-clan level and they also lacked ritual power with respect to agriculture (Lawang 2004: 76-77). Next, was *ata bora*, the rich Manggarai people who worked hard so they could possess a lot of land and a plenty of livestock. While their wealth was the most significant power in Manggaraian's economic realm, it did not automatically add to their authority in social and political affairs. In fact, they had less authority in the day-to-day life of Manggaraian's political and ritual activities. At the lowest level of the Manggaraian social hierarchy was *ata lengge*, the poor Manggarai people who were unable to gain enough economical resources. In cases where they could not pay a debt, they simply exchanged their debt for their freedom for life. Thus, their creditor could sell them to other people or enslave them. For this reason their rights were very limited and were subject to restrictions in political, ritual and economic activities (Lawang 2004: 97-98).

According to Lawang (2004: 138-174), shortly after defeating the Bima kingdom in Manggarai around 1890, the Todo clan and the 13 *dalu* constructed a new Manggaraian social stratification as follow: at the highest social level were *kraeng* (great nobility), who claimed descent from a long lineage to a Minangkabau's ancestor. They were different from the commoners because they had the right to wear woven cloth with special motifs and colours, the right to put *nggorong* (a number of small bells) around their horses' necks, the right to pass the village gate without getting off the horse, and the right to social and political authority in the Manggarai region. Below them were *dalu*, the middle noblemen who had less power: however, they still had special privileges such as accommodation for official duty trips and housing. Furthermore, they had the right to collect tax, the right to exercise authority in specific Manggarai regions and the right to act as *adak* (judge). Next were the *gelarang* and *tua golo*, the lower noblemen who had privileges i.e.: the right to exercise authority in more limited Manggarai regions – one or more specific villages , and the right to assist and to advise on all social activities conducted by people in the first and second level of hierarchy. Mostly *gelarang* were appointed from *tua* golo. The lower noblemen were *tua teno* and *tua panga*. At the bottom of the social stratification were *leke*, the commoners who were the indigenous Manggarai. They lacked privileges, were subject to restrictions on dress, and had very limited power in the social, political and economic decisions that affected the organisation of community life. Meanwhile, they did an unequal share of the hardest work in all social activities like building houses or during funeral ceremonies. Lower still were *skontu*, *mangkopitu* and *lampang*, who were the property-less freemen. These people had to work as domestic servants in the houses of *kraeng* and *dalu* as gardeners, herders, housekeepers, waiters at parties and in other menial jobs. They had minimal participation in social activities. At the bottom of social hierarchy were *pa'ar* and *mendi* who were the slaves - people who could not pay their debt and slaves acquired through warfare and abduction. In most cases they could be sold by their employers since their privileges were very limited and in daily life they would be unable to hold a normal place in society (Lawang 2004: 153, 161-162). Since the Indonesian government launched its modernisation programme in the 1970s young Manggaraian are now able to accomplish their highest education and pursue professional occupations such as lawyers, physicians and entrepreneurial managers. Moreover, from 1950 the Indonesian government's civil administration system allows the Manggaraian to move upward by social mobilisation. As a result, the Manggaraian's formal social status is not only ascribed at birth but is also achieved through their education and work (Lawang 2004: 260-264).

While the Ngadha social organisation is centred in the matrilocal extended family, it is evident from my ethno-archaeology fieldwork and information from Alexius Tegor, *tua panga*

(head of sub-clan) in Ruteng Puu megalith village in 2003 and 2010, that the male members of the lineage together inhabit a dwelling by right of the patrilineal rule of residence. In that case, these families inhabit *mbaru tembong* (traditional house), which is partitioned off into rooms, each occupied by *kilo hang neki (*a separate patrilocal nuclear family). Authority within the household rests with the oldest man of the *mbaru tembong*. He inherits this *mbaru tembong* through the male ancestral line. Thus, he has *ata one* (the insider) status. His eldest son also stays in this traditional house and brings his wife there. On the other hand, his daughters will leave the house as soon as they are married.

According to Jeremias Tunjuk, *tua panga* in Todo megalith village this *mbaru tembong* head man is the highest authority in all household affairs. He leads garden work, reconciles family disputes and usually acts on behalf of the family on the *wa'u* council. He might be assigned the position of *tua golo* or *tua teno* (an expert and knowledgeable man in the performance of agricultural rituals) by the well-organised *wa'u* council. His wife has less authority because she comes from another *mbaru niang*. She has *ata peang* (the outsider) status which allows her to live in her husband's house and to do household and garden work. She does not have ownership rights over her husband's properties. Nevertheless, the ownership rights will become inheritable from her husband to her son. The leader of the *wa'u* is usually the oldest man of the direct lineage from the *mbaru tembong* (the traditional house of the first male ancestor). He also stays in this *mbaru niang* and is sometimes accompanied by his extended family group so he can be cared for by his daughter-in-law, his unmarried daughter, granddaughter, grandson and his son. If the *mbaru tembong* head man has no surviving brother or patrilineal descendant, then his *mbaru tembong* ceases to exist. The *wa'u* leader is responsible for supervising the social activities of his clan. These include allocation of the rights of the individuals to use lineage-owned property, judging disputes between members, giving permission for marriage and divorce involving members of his patrilineal clan, overseeing funeral ceremonies and enforcing the inheritance rules. The villagers who live in megalith village also have a *tua panga* (sub-clan leader) chosen by consensus among the specific *panga* (sub-clan). With the assistance and advice of all head *kilo hang neki* leaders of this *panga member*, it is his responsibility to settle all *panga* disputes, to conduct social activities in the village and to promote all *hang kilo neki* in their economic, social and political relations, not only with other *panga* but also with other *wa'u*.

In Manggarai society access to land, forest and livestock are important. Usually, each *wa'u* has a domain – land, village and house - where *wa'u* members live. The bond between land and house is expressed by the term '*mbaru/gendang one lingko peang*'. To explain this we must look again at the Manggaraian gender concept. While the man represents *one* (inside)

and the woman symbolises *peang* (outside), man is also connected with *mbaru/gendang* (inside) and woman is related to *lingko* (outside). In many respects, the association between *mbaru gendang-lingko* is extended to the husband-wife unity. In most cases a *wa'u* village only occupies a small part of their total domain. However, the village is an integral part of *wa'u* daily life and also related to land and house. Indeed the village is not only a place to live, but also retains the Manggaraian ideology on ancestor worship, the megaliths structures and a source of *wa'u* origin (Erb 1999: 54-56; Moeliono 2000: 110-111; Lawang 2004: 52, 76-77).

Access to *wa'u* resources functions as the primary ground for prosperity and establishment of authority. Myths concerning clan origin and the founding of domains are used to obtain access and right to the *wa'u* land. No wonder, origin myths serve as the charter by which land belongs to the *wa'u* ancestors. Given appropriate origin myths the head of *mbaru tembong* validated his right to inhabit the traditional house, inherit his ancestor's land and distribute this land to his descendants. While he and his families cannot be displaced from this traditional house and land inheritance, the resources and properties of the *wa'u* such as gold pendants, ivories, swords, woven cloths, gold necklace and various heirlooms are not allowed to be sold by them. However, property that they possess or have acquired by their own efforts can be kept or sold as they please. Usually personal property of the head of the traditional house will be inherited by his son.

The Moslem population is densest in West Manggarai Regency with the ratio being around 25% Moslem and 75% Roman Catholic. However in Manggarai Regency and East Manggarai Regency the Roman Catholic and Moslem ratio is 96%: 4% (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai Barat 2009: 178; Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai 2009: 224). As in the case of Ngadha region, the Manggaraians' recent conversion to Catholicism has not impacted strongly on their beliefs and ideas concerning ancestor worship, which is still fundamental to the operation of the Manggaraian society, to social organisation, and to their traditional village settlement patterns (Erb 1999: 21-59). .

According to the Manggaraian, genealogical authenticity that can be traced from the first ancestor determines who has rights to manage the *wa'u* land and property. Petrus Engki, Alexander Tabur, elders from Todo informed me that this knowledge concerning the origin myths and founding ancestors passed from father to his eldest son. Thus, the closest patrilineal kinship connection asserts the right and authority to acknowledge such origin myths. It is no wonder that women in Manggarai region do not have authority and power relating to the ritual ceremony of ancestor worship. Given the importance of genealogies in accessing the natural resources and properties of the *wa'u*, ancestors become the main

witness and source of the Manggaraians' validation to their properties. Based on their day-to-day experience and their interaction with the community, Manggaraian people reaffirm their relation to such power and request their ancestors' blessings by invoking *Mori Keraeng* (the creator) and their *Empo* (ancestor spirit). This is clearly seen in the Manggaraian's ritual chant to please *Mori Keraeng* and *Empo* (Verheijen 1991: 37-38, 53-54, 78-79, 150, 261).

While *Mori Keraeng* is considered the primary source of the former Manggaraian's ancestors and their descendants, it is believed that *Mori Keraeng* creates and controls the world. He is regarded as a masculine God and occupies the sky. Because *Mori Keraeng* lives in the sky, he is solitary, and lacks interest in the Manggaraians' affairs. Further, he possesses enormous supernatural powers, but it can be dangerous and harmful when people attempt direct contact with such powerful forces. Accordingly, the Manggaraian mediate their relationship with *Mori Keraeng* through lesser divine spirits called *Empo* (ancestral spirits). Rituals that include sacrificing animals, harvest offerings and invoking *Empo* to act as a mediator in requesting blessings and safety are performed to please *Mori Keraeng* (Verheijen 1991: 69-79; 219-222). *Empo,* who are an original source of the identity and continuity of the Manggaraian clan, are believed by Johannes Tabor, elder from Todo megalith village to be both masculine and feminine.

Usually *Empo* are associated with holy ancestors of the *wa'u* and retain not only personality and prestige while they live, but also have magical powers and an honourable name. Given the image of a person, *Empo* can bear any human emotion or characteristic such as anger, happiness, generosity and intelligence. Although *Empo* stay in the afterlife world, they are believed to intervene in *wa'u* members' mundane affairs. In any case of starvation, natural disaster and injustice of *wa'u* members' lives *Empo* can be invoked to ease and help their descendants' problems. As their descendants call upon *Empo* for aid, this sacred ancestor spirit will take the journey from the afterlife world to the living world. For a particular period *E*mpo will stay in the centre of their descendant's village where the megaliths structure called *compang* is installed (Verheijen 1991: 213-218; Lawang 2004: 56-57; Nggoro 2006: 34-35).

The villagers in the megalith village of Ruteng Puu and Todo say that ancestral spirits as the defenders of clan members and protectors of clan properties are treated with respect. If the villagers conform to social customs and fulfil all the ritual care for ancestor worship, then *Empo* guarantee a successful rice harvest, an abundance of livestock, avoid danger and heal epidemic diseases. On the other hand, the most common form of explanation of illness, natural disaster and depletion of food 'caused' by *Empo* is that the villagers did not make proper offerings to their ancestors. In order to maintain a harmonious relationship between

the villagers and *Empo*, certain ritual performances must be executed. These involve sacrificing animals, installing megaliths, offering meals, invoking specific ancestors and eating sacrificial meat and food offered to them. In 2003 when I conducted ethno-archaeological fieldwork, rituals related to agricultural activity were conducted by *tua teno* (the knowledgeable man, a spiritual specialist who was chosen by *wa'u* council). Rituals associated with village and *mbaru tembong* were conducted by the *tua golo*; rituals concerned with *panga* were conducted by the *tua panga* and those connected with *kilo hang neki* were conducted by *tua kilo*. All of these ritual specialists dwell in specific rooms in the *mbaru tembong*.

Comparing my fieldwork observation on the way in which the Manggaraian and the Ngadha people carry out ritual animal sacrifices, it is clear these people use *kaba* (buffalo), *ela* (pig), and *manuk* (chicken) as sacrifices, and they are killed in specific locations in specific ways. In Manggarai megalith villages it is evident that buffaloes are killed around the *compang* (round megalith structure). Pigs are sacrificed in *lodok* (the sacred centre of the round field), but small pigs are sometimes killed in the centre of the front room. Chicken are killed on the sacred stone in front of *compang*, *lutur* and in front of *hang kilo* room. While the Ngadha people allow everybody to participate in the buffalo sacrifice by slashing all the parts of its body, the Manggaraian sacrifice the buffalo by slashing its throat with a machete and this is done by the person who is a specialist in killing buffaloes. Manggaraians also usually slash the throats of buffaloes, pigs and chickens with a machete and knife in the ritual sacrifice. .

On the occasions I attended animal sacrificial rituals among the villagers in the megalith villages of Ruteng Puu and Todo, I saw evidence that a spiritual specialist man who is the patrilineal head of the specific *wa'u* invited ancestral spirits to join this ritual. As the animals demanded by ancestral spirits are slaughtered, the objects that are believed to contain ancestor spirits are fed by the animal's blood. At the climax of this ritual sacrifice a lump of raw meat, a bowl of cooked rice and a bottle of palm wine are offered to the objects. The large parts of the raw meat are cooked and the participants partake of the ritual feast. This includes eating cooked rice and cooked meat and drinking palm wine. By sharing sacrificial meat, drink and meal, the ritual participants recapture the ancestral spirit's power and thereby ensure prosperity and wealth in their future life.

In short, Manggarai peoples' beliefs are based on land possession as heritage from their ancestor that must be kept by the ancestor's heir. Accordingly, people pay homage to their ancestor and keep track of the ancestor who first settled in that region. Through myths of origin and ancestor worship, acquisition of rights to land is established. Moreover, these sacred narratives and ancestor worship rituals serve as a charter for the Manggaraian,

particularly in the way in which they relate to ancestral spirits, maintain ethical and moral values, provide a basis for making judgments and behaviour towards relatives both living and dead.

Beo - the Manggaraian megalith village

The Manggaraian megalith village of the first *wa'u* ancestor is called *beo*. As time goes by, the descendants will spread and build a new village called *golo* (Lawang 2004: 67. In 2003, I carried out my first ethno-archaeological fieldwork in Ruteng Puu and Todo megalith villages, during which time I drew up the site plans of these megalith villages and in 2010 in my second fieldwork I revised these plans. Given these spatial maps of the megalith villages, I interviewed the site guardian, *tua beo*, *tua teno*, head of *mbaru niang* and elders from the two villages. As I showed the megalith village site plan to *tua beo*, *tua teno* and many elders, they provided information about spatial living activities in the settlement, the material symbols of the *wa'u* and their meanings, as well as their sub-clan myths of origin. Given such information I was enabled to depict their ideology map which is deeply embedded in their minds. Further, I attended and participated in many ritual performances, i.e. *caci* performance (whip duel), *tae mata* (death ritual) including *kelas* (the last stage of death ritual) and *sida* (request for funding contribution) from *anak rona* (wife giver) to *anak wina* (wife receiver). On such occasions they added information that I needed, particularly to elaborate their social map. This map structured the relationships between their behaviour and the use of material culture associated with the events at that specific time and place. To this end, I concluded that the *beo* (the Manggaraian megalith village) is not only a dwelling-place. The spatial arrangement of megalith structures, traditional houses and the placement of symbols of clan identity in relation to other aspects of Manggarai culture permeate the Manggaraian ideology. Further, these material symbols function as media to create, reinforce and maintain the Manggaraian belief, social organisation, genealogy and structure of authority. However, I am responsible for the following interpretation with respect to the way in which megalith villages of Ruteng Puu and Todo have encoded the meaning of the myths, which were and still are used to pursue social ends.

Founding a new village involves negotiation between the various *wa'u* (clan) and in many cases Manggarai villages consist of more than one clan. An ideal village is located in a broad and flat landscape, close to a spring and surrounded by a fertile garden (Lawang 2004: 49-67). In 2003, my ethno-archaeological fieldwork showed that typically the village layout is oval in shape and is divided into three main sections: first, *natas (*courtyards), where the material objects of *wa'u* identity are erected; second, front yards, where the various *mbaru tembong* (traditional houses) are located; third, the outer village, where *wae*
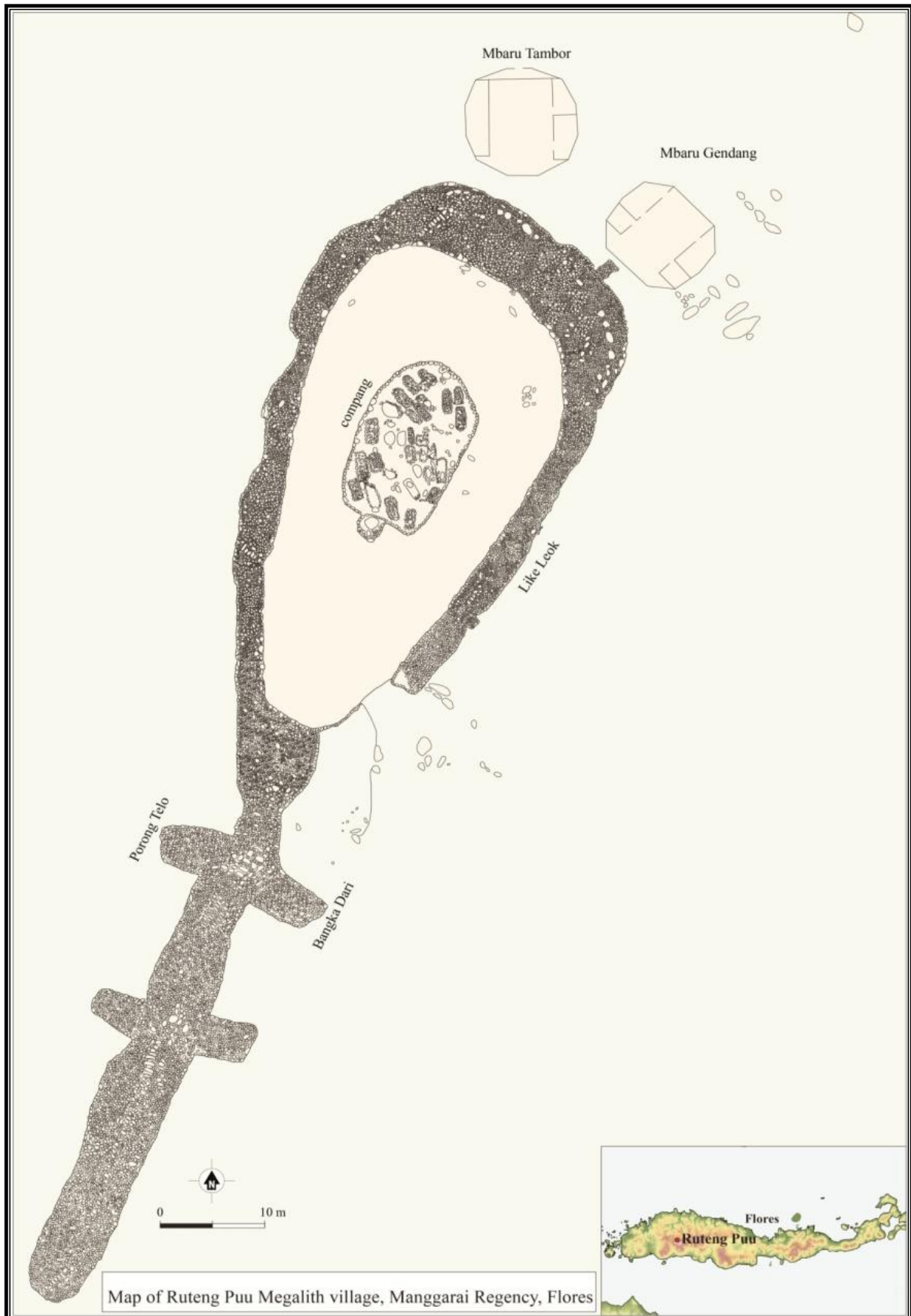
Figure 5.2: The Ruteng Puu *beo* (surveyed by Tular Sudarmadi, drawn by Jaap Fokkema and Tular Sudarmadi)

teku (spring), *boa* (grave yard), modern houses, toilets and garbage dumps are situated (Figure 5.2).

Natas

Manggarai villages consist of a small number of *mbaru tembong* (traditional houses) that are constructed encircling the *natas* (courtyard). Usually this courtyard wall is composed of stones and in front it, *like* (a long and straight platform stone structure) is laid (Photo 5.1). Mostly, the length of *like* is approximately 5 to 15 meters and a number of stone tables are also placed along the straight platform. Usually, the *natas* is the place for large-scale rituals that maintain relations with the *wa'u* ancestor and involves almost all the people who live in the village. It is a location where the *wa'u* ancestor and the *wa'u* members meet each other. In addition, material objects of *wa'u* identity such as *compang* and ancestral graves are installed in this *natas*. Being a place of important cosmological significance for the *wa'u*, this *natas* is the most sacred place of *wa'u* members.

Photo 5.1: The *natas* at Todo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

Compang

Among the Manggaraian, the most outstanding feature of *wa'u* identity is the *compang*. It is round in shape, around 1-3 meters in diameter, 1-2 meters height and constructed from stone boulders. In the centre of the *compang* a banyan tree is planted and a stone table is placed beside this tree (Photo 5.2). Formerly, *compang* also functioned as both male and honoured male *wa'u* ancestor's grave. Thus, the *compang* is a material symbol of the founding ancestors of the *wa'u* and is used in large-scale rituals for making offerings to the

ancestors. Usually, the offering is made on a stone table on top of the *compang* by the *tua*

golo of the *mbaru tembong* (the traditional house) of the *wa'u* and the participants stand in front of the *compang*. This megalith structure is also the gathering place for the villagers who perform dances and *caci* (whip duel) during the ceremonies. Walter Mohon, elder from Todo megalith village, also provided the information that the *compang* represents a woman's genitalia and the banyan tree symbolises a penis. The delineation of these objects in *natas* is believed to represent the sexual union of man and woman that can produce reproductive fertility and prosperity.
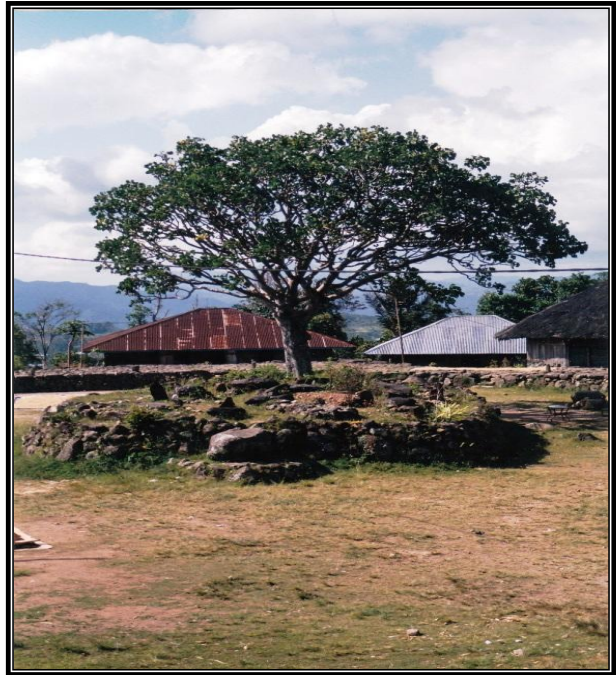
Photo 5.2: The *compang* at Ruteng Puu megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

Ancestral graves

Formerly, the Manggaraian clan used *natas* as a place of *compang* graveyards of their warriors and important clan persons such as *tua panga* and *tua hang kilo*. Their graves were also constructed from stones and sometimes stone menhirs were installed to mark these graves (Photo 5.3). However they were not oriented in any special direction in relation to the village. Today a few of them have been renovated, as can be clearly seen in the fresh stones or cement constructions, and the cross depicted.

Photo 5.3: The megalith grave yards at Todo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

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Beo front yard

The front yard is the location for small-scale rituals that maintain relations between the ancestors of *mbaru tembong* and their inhabitants. It is a place where the *wa'u* ancestor and the *wa'u* members meet each other. A few *mbaru tembong* (traditional houses) are installed in this section. Generally, *mbaru tembong* stand outside and face the front yard. They also symbolise the Manggaraians' social organisation and include cosmological representation.

Mbaru

The Manggaraian traditional houses are called *mbaru* and there are three types - - *mbaru lempang* (the traditional house with a rectangular shape), *mbaru niang* (the traditional house
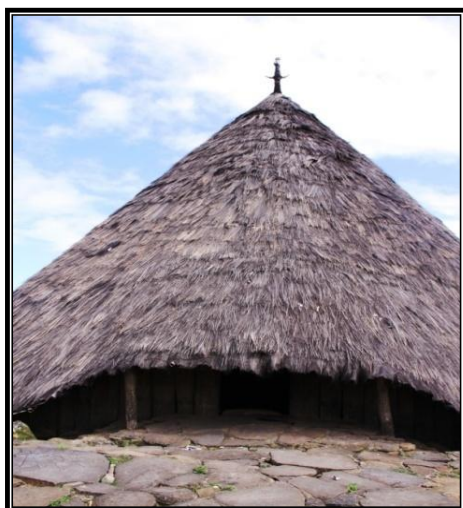
Photo 5.4: The *mbaru tembong* at Todo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

with a conical form) and *mbaru tembong* (the traditional house where all clan regalia are preserved). Thus *mbaru lempang* and *mbaru niang* can also be called *mbaru tembong* as long as these traditional houses retain the *wa'u* heirloom (Coolhaas 1942: 157; Erb 1999: 102-104; Lawang 2004: 50; Nggoro 2006: 29-32). Today *mbaru tembong* in Ruteng Puu and Todo megalith villages are preserved by the Manggarai Regency government (Photo 5.4 and Photo 5.5). *Mbaru tembong* indicates the house of the beginning, the origin. In other words, this *mbaru* is associated with the eldest male and the source of *wa'u*. As the house of the *wa'u* origin, the descendants of the first male ancestor inhabit this house. Since *mbaru tembong* is related to the origin, this *mbaru* must attach a drum in the centre pole of the house (Photo 5.6). Moreover, this *mbaru* must be bigger than others in the village because *wa'u* affairs are managed from it.

Alexius Tegor *tua golo* from Ruteng Puu megalith village added the information that new *mbaru* can be installed to accommodate the population growth of *mbaru tembong* occupants. However, it is not allowed to conduct *wa'u* rituals in this new *mbaru,* but it is allowed to conduct a *panga* and *hang kilo*

Photo 5.5: The *mbaru tembong Tambor* and *Gendang* at Ruteng Puu megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

ceremony. Being categorised as new *mbaru*, this house is smaller than *mbaru tembong*, and lacks *wa'u* heirlooms and the drum.

Photo 5.6: The drum in the *mbaru tembong* center pole (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

The *mbaru* can be differentiated on two levels, horizontal and vertical. On the horizontal level they can be divided into three sections, the bottom (the house posts), middle (the living space) and top (the conical raised roof) (Figure 5.3). Similarly, on the vertical level *mbaru* can be divided into three sections: the outer circle, the inner circle and the centre (Figure 5.4).
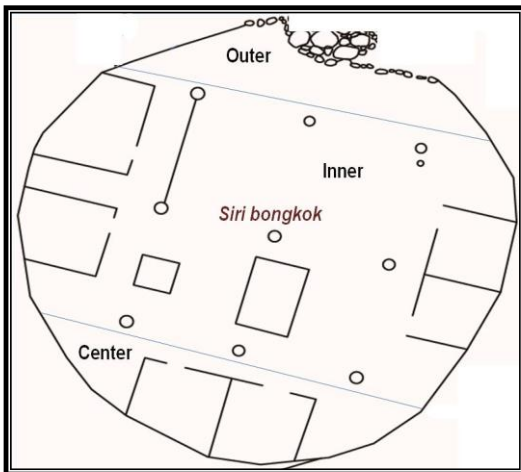
Figure 5.3: The *mbaru tembong* horizontal section (drawn by Tular Sudarmadi)
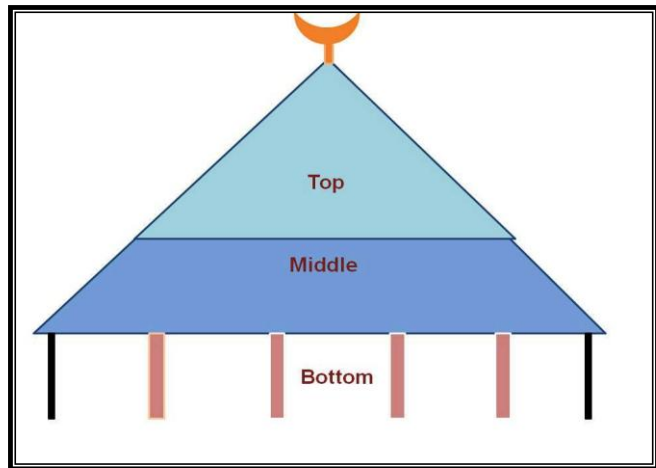
Figure 5.4: The *mbaru tembong* vertical section (drawn by Tular S.)

Mbaru vertical level

Similar to the installation of traditional house (*sao*) in Ngadha region, the process of building *mbaru* is started by installing the posts, then the living space including the wooden floors, next the boards walls, and finally the conical thatch roof. This process must take place in the right order. For instance, covering the living space before the space has been completely built is thought to cause misfortune, catastrophe and often death, not only for the *mbaru* owner, but also for the members of the *wa'u*.

Mbaru stand on *siri ngaung* (many tall posts made of tree trunks and planted into the ground in a circle) with *siri bongkok* (the tallest and the biggest tree trunk) being erected in the centre. Sometimes they also serve as the place of the evil spirits who can harm the *mbaru* occupants. Hence it is believed that the bottom of the *mbaru* is the domain of *poti, jing* and other evil spirits. The middle of the *mbaru* is the transitional space. Moreover, it is the actual living space of the inhabitants and it is always associated with the realm of humans. In fact, this place corresponds to the vertical area of the *mbaru* since it is divided into three parts, the outer circle, the inner circle and the centre. The top of the *mbaru* is marked by the raised part of the conical thatch-roof structure and the tip of *siri bongkok* protrudes through the roof. The *rangga remang* (motif of buffalo horn, snake, chicken's head, broom and cooking pot motifs) is inserted on the top of the *siri bongkok*. The most popular *rangga remang* is the buffalo horn, but in Todo megalith village the *rangga remang* is a combination motif of cooking pot, buffalo horn and broom (Nooteboom 1939: 225-236; Erb 1999: 108-109). Among the Manggaraian, the raised conical thatch roof signifies the sky, the domain of *Mori Keraeng* (the Creator) and *Empo* (ancestor spirit).

Mbaru horizontal level

Where one encounters the outer circle and inner circle, orientation is to the back of the *mbaru* or facing towards the centre of the circle, but once inside, orientation is defined by facing towards the front of the *mbaru,* towards the outer circle and inner circle. The *mbaru* living space is constructed in a circular shape and is from 5 to 8 meters in diameter and 3 to 5 meters in height. In this living space nine pillars are erected to support the conical roof of the *mbaru*. The biggest pillar is placed in the centre and it is called *siri bongkok*. The *siri leles* (eight other pillars) are placed around the centre pillars and form a rectangular shape. The wooden ladder is used to enter the outer *mbaru*. The back entrance, door beams and boards on both left and right side of the door of *mbaru tembong* in Todo megalith village are adorned with various motifs (Photo 5.7) such as *bali belo* (rice plant), *lolo cumbi* (triangle set) and *lebe kakel* (butterfly wings). However the walls, the doors
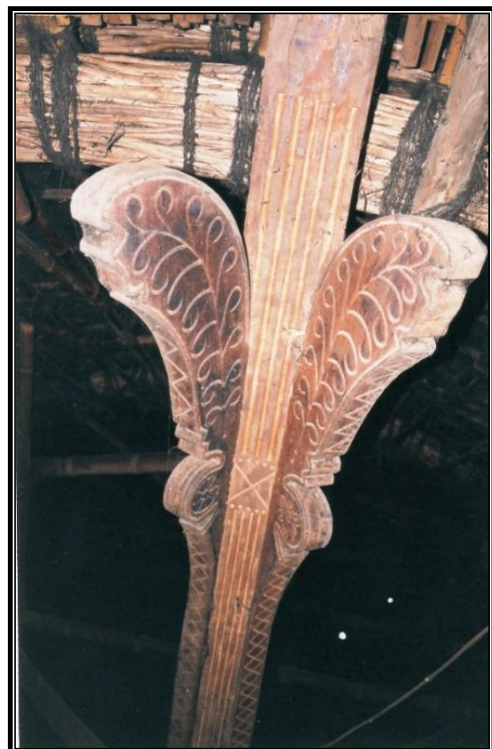
Photo 5.7: Motif *lebe kakel* (butterfly wings) at *mbaru tembong* in Todo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

and the pillars of *mbaru tembong* in Ruteng Puu megalith village are empty of decorations. The Todo villagers believe that the portrayal of these motifs results in the increase of prosperity, unity and the wealth of the *mbaru* occupants (Erb 1999: 104-107).

In 2003, as I stayed for two weeks in *mbaru tembong* in Todo megalith village, it was evident that on the left and right sides of outer *mbaru* there are 1 to 2 rooms. In general, these rooms are square in shape from 2-3 meters length. Mostly these rooms are occupied by the younger male lineage of the *mbaru* ancestor. The rest of the space in the middle of the outer *mbaru* is an open section where guests are welcomed. This section is intended for general house affairs, including reception of visitors, general housework, general *wa'u* meeting, small-scale rituals and occasionally accommodation for male visitors. Since the outer *mbaru* is more open than any other part of the *mbaru*, only topics that can be known by everybody in the village are discussed here.

The inner *mbaru* has 1 to 2 rooms on the right and left side, is constructed in a rectangular shape and is from 2 to 3 meters in length. The most significant structure in the *inner* house is *likang* (the fire place), where cooking is done. This *likang* is placed close to the biggest and central pillar '*siri bongkok*'. Usually household items such as machetes, knives, spears, jerry cans, food storage baskets, bags made of tall grass, and beds are stored in here. Furthermore, the central main post represents a cosmological unity between humans and the spiritual realm of ancestral spirit and divinity. Usually the drum is attached in this post and at the base of the post offerings of meat (chicken, pig, buffalo), rice and *sopi* (palm wine) are placed. Hence, the *siri bongkok* has a function as a post mediator and also symbolises cosmological unity, linking the domain of *poti* and *jing* (evil spirits) who reside in the bottom of the *mbaru*, the domain of the *mbaru* family who inhabit the living space and the domain of *Mori Keraeng* (the creator) and *Empo* (ancestor spirit) who resides in the thatch roof. The inner *mbaru* is designed for female business, since it is a place where female family *mbaru* members cook and close female family friends are invited for breakfast, lunch and dinner. This is also the place where trusted female family members, female neighbours and close female friends sleep during ritual gatherings. Topics discussed are more specific and are particularly about issues concerning female family affairs.

The centre of the *mbaru* is located at the back end of the *mbaru* and has 1 to 2 rectangular rooms that are from 2 to 3 meters in length. The rooms in this centre part are considered an honoured place, since these are where the lineage of the first *wa'u* ancestor and the *tua golo* dwell. Therefore, the centre of *mbaru* is inside and it is dedicated to the oldest men of the *mbaru*. While the centre of the *mbaru* space is used by the *kilo hang tua golo* (wife, husband and their children), overall it is referred to and dedicated to the *tua golo* who is inhabited by

the spirit of the *mbaru* ancestor. While more private than any other part of the *mbaru*, the centre is mostly used for discussion of topics to be limited to the *tua golo hang kilo*. In special cases the *tua golo's* brother and uncle discuss important matters in this space. Such conversations cannot be divulged outside the centre of the *mbaru*, or with other people not present at the meeting. However, the centre of *mbaru tembong* in Ruteng Puu is empty since the nuclear family of *tua golo* prefer to stay in their modern house which is fully equipped with modern household equipment i.e. television, parabolic antenna, home movie theatre sound system and so on.

The outer beo

The back yard or outer village holds considerably less cosmological significance and it is believed that this area is inhabited by evil spirits. Since the backyard lacks the prime ancestral spirit's protection it is dangerous and an insecure living area: *wae teku* (spring), *boa* (villagers grave), modern houses, toilets and garbage dumps are located here. Usually *wae teku* is located outside the megalith village layout and *tureng* (small scale stone structures) are built encircling *wae teku*. However the villagers also plant trees around *wae teku* (Photo 5.8). When the trees grow large, high and leafy these serve to encircle the wall of *wae teku*. Further, a single stone table is placed in front of the trees, wall or *tureng*. Among the Manggaraian water is associated with the origin of life, since water affects the fertility of plants, the success of the rice harvest and ensures the prosperity of the villagers.
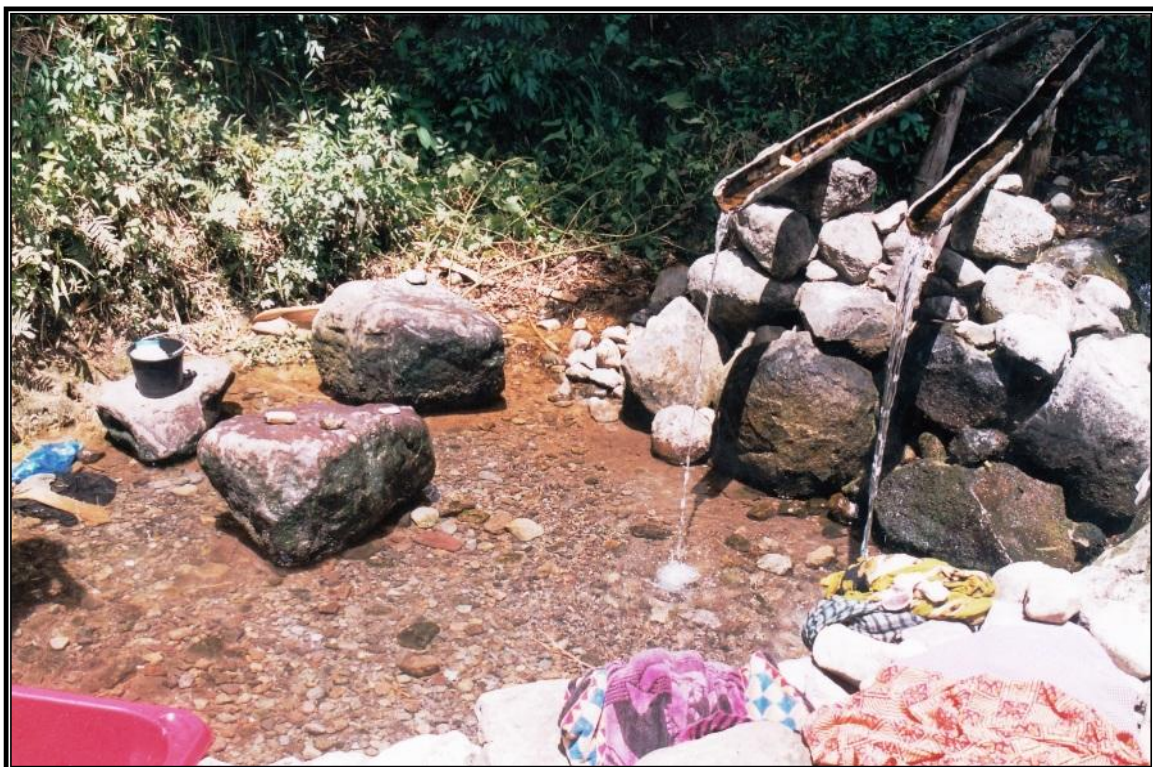
Photo 5.8: *Wae teku* and *tureng* at Ruteng Puu megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

Thus, *wae teku* (spring) holds great cosmological significance in the Manggaraians' belief. It should be noted that without the presence of *wae teku* the megalith village could not be called *beo* or *golo* (Erb 1999: 57; Lawang 2004: 60-64). While *wa'u* ancestor and important *wa'u* members are buried in *compang* or *natas*, the other *wa'u* members are buried in *boa* (villager's grave). This resting place is positioned around the entrance of the village. If the megalith village is occupied by a number of *wa'u* then the *boa* is divided into certain areas according to the number of *wa'u*. However, the corpses are not oriented in any special direction in relation to the village layout.

Modern houses can be distinguished from *mbaru* by the absence of conical thatch roofs. Moreover, these houses are built on the ground, have brick walls, pyramid-shaped zinc roofs and are equipped with windows. Moreover, their construction is not accompanied by rituals because they are not occupied by ancestral spirits. Formerly, modern houses were placed in the outer circle of the named house, or scattered along the village layout. Today they are positioned within the village plan. As time goes by, modern houses are expected to undergo the rituals required to qualify as *mberu*. Toilets are located at the rear of the *mbaru* and are of variable size, but 1-2 meters in length is typical.

The social context of Manggarai megalith village

Membership of a *wa'u* determines an individual's rights and obligation such as inheritance and access to land, demands in *wa'u* rituals and maintenance of *compang* and *mbaru*. As a great deal of expense is needed to take care of these material identity symbols of the *wa'u*, the land and other sources of income that allow the maintenance of these objects are fundamental aspects of the Manggaraians' culture. The *wa'u* in Manggarai villages also holds a great deal of land, dispersed over a large area. All the *wa'u* land belongs to the *mbaru* and is called *lingko randang* (round field) (Photo 5.9). Access to *wa'u* land is

Photo 5.9: The *Lingko randang* at Cara village (Photo Tular Sudarmadi, 2003)

determined in the *mbaru* of the domain. Every *hang kilo* that resides in the *mbaru* has right to a part of the *lingko randang*. They can work on this *lingko randang* but they do not have any right to sell it (Erb 1999: 54; Moeliono 2000: 114-116; Lawang 2004: 75-76).

In order to divide *lingko randang*, *tua teno*, *tua beo/golo*, elders and the leader of each *kilo hang neki* go to the part of *lingko randang* which will be distributed to the particular *hang kilo neki*. In the centre of *lodok* (the part of *lingko randang* which will be distributed) a stick from *teno* (*Melochia arborea*) is planted by *tua teno*. Then a rope is attached to the ground and forms a small circle around the *teno* stick. Next, the leader of *kilo hang neki* measures 1-2 fingers on his rope to mark his *lodok* part. From that finger-mark, he sets up the line to the end boundary of *lingko*. This piece of *lodok* is called *moso* and it resembles a slice of pie. Mostly, the right to this resource is defined by elder-younger, male *mbaru* relationships. With time, descendants might move from their *mbaru* and construct their own *mbaru* in a new village. The new land which belongs to them is called *lingko bon* (Erb 1999: 56, 122; Moeliono 2000: 116-119; Allerton 2001: 187; Lawang 2004: 76-81; Nggoro 2006: 179-186).

Whatever the historical and archaeological facts reveal of the first migration in Manggarai region, the Manggarai people, especially villagers of the megalith villages of Ruteng Puu and Todo keep track of their ancestors through myths of origin. Since land is the basic need of the villagers for their livelihood in carrying out horticultural and agricultural activities, the narratives of migration of their ancestors to find specific land is important to the villagers. Given the knowledge of such myths', the villagers can make claims on land. Accordingly, many of these myths consist of long recitations of the names of the places and the names of ancestors associated with those places. Such myths refer to the origin of the *wa'u* and the names of ancestors associated with those places. Such myths refer to the origin of the *wa'u* and the way in which ancestors found particular pieces of land. As each *wa'u* has their own myth, thousands of such myths are preserved among the Manggaraian. Examples from Ruteng Pu'u megalith village illustrate the nature of such myths.

According to Sebastianus Jehone, the site guardian, and elders of Ruteng Puu megalith village, the ancestors of Ruteng Pu'u villagers made the journey from Sumatera (Minangkabau), Bali, Rinca and they stayed a little while in Warloka. From there they moved to Sanonggoang and when they arrived at Ramut Island, they married the women from this island. After that, Ita Purnia and Nagaparna, of their lineage, split up to search for new land. While Ita and Purnia moved and settled in Todo, Nagaparna continued the migration to Kilor, Pocolikang, Todowalok, Ndosor and reached Ruteng Pu'u. One day, Nagaparna hunted a wild pig and after a long chase he successfully killed this animal. When he was roasting a small part of the wild pig's meat, a number of Runtu clan members whose ancestor came

from Sulawesi, arrived. After Nagaparna and the Runtu became acquainted, they ate the wild pig meat together. The Runtus ate almost all the meat since it was their first experience of eating roasted meat. In fact the Runtus were not familiar with fire and they were not used to roasting or boiling their meal. At the Runtus' request, Nagaparna gave them the fire and as reciprocal kindness the Runtus asked Nagaparna to visit their village. Nagaparna went with them and he was an honoured guest at the Runtu clan house '*mbaru gendang*'. Further, the Runtus asked him to marry a Runtu woman. Nagaparna agreed but he did not stay in *mbaru gendang* and built his own house called *mbaru tambor*. Today, the Nagaparna and Runtu descendants still occupy and live in these houses.

The Manggaraian ancestor myths function as genealogical validation and ancestral names for land. Their *compang* and *mbaru tembong* not only represent ancestor names, but are also symbols of their *wa'u* identity. By declaring these names in public ritual performances associated with *wa'u* affairs, members of the *wa'u* affirm their boundary, origin and authority. In any case, *wa'u* rituals are carried out close to *compang* and *mbaru tembong* (*wa'u* identity objects) where buffaloes and pigs are sacrificed. Viewed from the ritual sequence, the act of calling out the ancestor's name to attend the *wa'u* ritual affair is done before the sacrificial animal is slaughtered. This calling starts with the names of the chanter's *wa'u*, *mbaru tembong* and *compang* ancestors, and the Creator. It also mentions the spring, the village boundary and ends by mentioning the reasons for calling the ancestor.

The following example of such a calling given below was part of the *wa'u* ritual, particularly when the rights for *wa'u* land use and *mbaru tembong* were transferred to other *panga* (sub-clan). I did not witness the ritual, but this was cited in Verheijen (1991: 157-158, 221, 264, 282)'s research publication on the Manggaraian religion and validated by my informants. The chant is performed as follows:

Denge le meu Empo	Hey, all of my ancestors (mentioning their name), listen.
Lawang sangged ceki (de) Kina	All of the deceased from *wa'u* Kina (mentioning their name)
Agu Tara manga meu ceki	And because you (ancestors) were created
Le Jari agu Dedek, Mori Keraeng	By the Creator and the Shaper, *Mori Keraeng*
Itu tara paki laku kaba ho'o	I slaughtered a buffalo
Te takung di'a Mori Keraeng	As an animal sacrifice to *Mori Keraeng*
Denge di'an le meu ceki	Hey, all of my ancestor spirit, listen
Tombo di'a kamping	Told this story, when you were requested to appear before
Morin agu Ngaran	The God and the Author
Jari agu Dedek, Mori Keraeng	The Creator and the Shaper, *Mori Keraeng*
Ho'o de kaba daku	See, this is my buffalo

Denge le Hau, Mori Keraeng	Hey, *Mori Keraeng* listen
Jari Agu Dedek	The Creator and the Shaper
Morin agu Ngaran	The God and the Author
Ho'o de kaba daku	See, this is my buffalo
Ai cau gendang agu tambor	Now, I am having authority of *wa'u* house (mentioning the house name) and the drum (*wa'u* heirloom)
Itu tara caun kaba laku	Thus, I took my own buffalo
Ho'o keta kaban takung di'a	So, see my buffalo as an animal sacrifice to you
Hau, Morin agu Ngaran	Hey, The God and the Author
Jari agu Dedek	The Creator and the Shaper
Wae teku le	The spring (mention the spring name), where we drink in there
Golon ce'e	The village in the hill here (mention the village name)
Ngaung lau	The back side village
Pa'ang olo mbaru ka'eng	The front yard *wa'u* house where we live

Since, *wa'u* ritual assignment occurs in the *natas*, this chant is an open space performance. Furthermore, it is a large-scale ritual and accompanied by countless numbers of ritual participants. Hence, it is intended as a public means of validation and authorisation of the rights and status of individuals in relation to their *wa'u*. Viewed from the context of *wa'u* ritual, the act of calling the ancestor publicly transmits the account of the ancestral credentials of the individual who makes claim to his rights on *mbaru tembong* and *wa'u* property.

It is also worth noting that the Manggaraian as well as the Ngadha usually identify themselves by name, but when identifying themselves in hearings concerning claims to *wa'u* property, their individual name is inappropriate. Thus, they insert the names of their *wa'u*, their *mbaru tembong* and their village. In short, the extent to which the members of *wa'u* in Manggarai have the right to property will depend on the authenticity of their lineage, which can be traced from the male founding ancestor. As illustrated above, this information is embedded in the chanting of the ancestors and in the material objects of *wa'u* identity.

In 2003 and 2010 I observed that two realms of authority – secular and ritual - were organised by the Manggaraian and both are exercised by men. In each megalith village secular authority, which regulates matters concerning *mbaru* inheritance, marriage and a judicial proceeding within or between *wa'u*, is the domain of the *tua golo*. At the intermediate level, this secular authority is exercised by the *tua teno*, particularly on matters of garden acquisition and garden ritual. At the lower level, this secular authority is held by the *tua panga*. The authority of the *wa'u* is in the hands of the *tua golo* (head man of the *mbaru tembong*). In case of the opening of a new garden, the distribution of land and the maintaining of *wa'u* material objects' identity his formal agreement is needed. In a similar

way, he also grants the temporary possession or use of *wa'u* land, and watches over *wa'u* properties and ceremonial wealth. However, in many cases the distribution of fields, opening the garden and rituals concerning agricultural activities is under the supervision of *tua teno* (his younger brother or his uncle or the *wa'u* elder man).

When the head man of *mbaru tembong* has died he is replaced by his brother, or if this is not possible, by his son. In the latter case, all members of the *wa'u* must give their assent. While elder men in *mbaru tembong* may occupy this position, in most cases the position of *mbaru tembong* head man is transmitted from the father to his son. If a deceased head man of the *mbaru tembong* has no living brother or lineal descendants, his *mbaru tembong* is regarded as already dead and to have gone to ruin. When this happens, the responsibility for the maintenance of *mbaru tembong* is taken over by the descendants of *panga* (sub-clan). Moreover, one of the descendants from *panga*, who occupies *mbaru* and who has accumulated sufficient wealth can move to *mbaru tembong* and replace the defunct head of *mbaru tembong*. As I attended *kelas* (the last stage of death ritual) in Ruteng Puu megalith village, such a move must be discussed and agreed between *panga* of *mbaru tembong*.

The role of women in Manggarai megalith village

According to the marriage system, Manggarai women continue to live in the man's residence after marriage. Hence women come from outside and are related to the periphery. It is no wonder that women bear responsibility for maintaining domestic affairs. Mostly, women's day-to-day life is centred on the *likang* (the fire place), which is located in the inner *mbaru* of her husband. They tackle household tasks and during the rituals, which involve all *mbaru tembong* members, women should sleep in the inner *mbaru*. At the same time they prepare the meal for the ritual participants. It is also worth noting that women never act as leader either in the performance of the Manggaraians rituals or in the *wa'u* political arena.

Although men as *ata one* (inside) have reproductive capacity, they cannot reproduce themselves. Thus, women as *ata peang* (outsider) are regarded as the catalysts for the Manggaraian children, just as their labour is needed for maintaining domestic affairs. It is reasonable from this point of view that the marriage of women from the periphery to men from centre is thought to ensure life potential. In addition, it is believed that the most powerful ancestor spirit resides in *anak rona* family. Hence, when a woman dies, she will not be buried in her natal village, but in her husband's village (Erb 1999: 44-45; Allerton 2001: 137-139; Lawang 2004: 84-85; Nggoro 2006: 56-57).

Concluding remarks

Chapter 3 has introduced the geography and history of Flores, whereas Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 have mapped some of the complexities of the Ngadha and the Manggaraians life, in the megalith villages including their social organisation, genealogy, ideology, rituals and their significance for control of land. Village settlement patterns reflect these cultural heritage aspects. In particular, the placement of symbols of clan identity, including megaliths, in relation to other structures and areas is crucial for understanding their function in the ethnographic present and in the archaeological record. The last chapter of Part II will show how in the course of time the Ngadha and the Manggaraian cultural aspects have become represented in the international forum like the Dutch Tropenmuseum, the national context such as the Indonesian National Museum, and the local view as in the Nusa Tenggara Timur Provincial Museum.

Chapter 6

Representation of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian in museums: the Netherlands and Indonesia

This chapter argues that the Ngadha and the Manggaraian cultural heritage in the Dutch colonial perspective became the assembled fragments of cultures legitimising the civilising mission with respect to people regarded as living in lower stages of development. For this reason I discuss the representations of the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' tangible heritage that were displayed in a particular Dutch museum between the 1900s and 1988, displays grounded in the Dutch colonial history. Further, I demonstrate how the Indonesian nation state's project to represent the national homogeneity and conformity in museums at both the national and regional level seems to have inherited this Dutch colonial practice.

Colonial Museum/Tropenmuseum Amsterdam

One of the oldest public museums of the colonial past in Netherlands, the Tropenmuseum, is located in Amsterdam. Supported by the Dutch Society for the Advancement of Industry, the museum was founded in 1864 and it was called the Museum of the East and West Indies Natural Resources. At that time the museum was installed in Haarlem and was officially opened to the public in 1871 under the name "Colonial Museum". The colonial products, especially from tropical Dutch colonies, i.e. home industry of the colonies, cultivated products for export and mining production became the main collection of this 19th century museum. While the Colonial Museum focused on collecting colonial products, Artis, the Amsterdam zoo, began ethnographic collections around the 1850s. The ethnographic collections of the zoo were exhibited to the public in 1861. Later, in 1888, this collection was placed in the museum building "De Volharding". Following the Ethical Policy, the Colonial Museum collection in Haarlem and the ethnographic collection in Amsterdam were merged into the *Koloniaal Instituut* (Colonial Institute) under the Colonial Museum department in 1910. Facing World War I and economic recession, the new building of this Colonial Institute was not completed until 1926, when the new Colonial Museum building was opened to the public by the Queen Wilhelmina. After Indonesia declared its independence both the Colonial Institute and Colonial Museum renewed their names, first to Indies Institute and Indies Museum, but after 1950 into the Royal Tropical Institute and the Tropenmuseum (Legêne and Dijk 2010: 9-10; Legêne and Dijk 2010: 137-138; Legêne 2008: 48-49). As the Dutch Colonial Museum, the collections represent the political, economic, cultural and

ideological contexts of the history of Dutch colonial formation. Hence the Tropenmuseum was the ideal place to research the Dutch colonial collection from the earliest development of modern imperialism till the end of the colonial era. A study of the collection would provide a clear view on the Dutch Colonial imagining of the status, glory and prestige of an European colonial imperium, in particular by observing the way in which the cultural heritage of the 'people without history' was stored, and viewing this subaltern cultural heritage from the perspective of the Dutch colonial metropolis. The provenance formation given below is based on the object documentation in the museum.

In 1916 the earliest collection of ethnographic objects from the island of Flores was deposited in the Colonial Museum storage from the Department of Insular Southeast Asia. The oldest object from Flores was a woven shawl -TM 48-229- that was purchased from Johan Ernst Jasper in 1916. What was interesting was that this shawl had been displayed in the Brussels World exhibition in 1910 and San Francisco World exhibition in 1912. A woven shawl from Ende -TM 77-31- was also purchased from Wijnand Otto Jan Nieuwenkamp and a woven bag from Ende –TM 1329-1- was donated by B.C.C.M.M. van Suchtelen in 1916.

Another interesting object was a shell necklace from Solor -TM 16-595- which was purchased by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from Jakarta around 1915. A noteworthy object was a bamboo fish trap from Larantuka, Flores -TM 15-456- which was exhibited at the Dutch Pavilion in the International Colonial Exhibition, Paris 1931. After the exhibition closed this was donated by the Association for the Founding of a Museum of Asian and Caribbean Studies to the Colonial Museum.

Between 1915 and 1919 Le Roux, an employee of the *Burgerlijke Openbare Werken* (Department of Civil Public Works) in the Netherlands East Indies was sent to Flores for road construction. While he travelled around the island he also photographed the natural environment, the Flores people's customs, their megalith villages, their household equipment, and their day-to-day life. Soon he became more interested in ethnology than in his road construction job. In 1920, after his return to Batavia, he was appointed an adjunct curator at the *Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschap* (Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Science). Following the development of his career as a professional anthropologist, he played an important role in the artefacts collection and photographs documentation in the Netherlands Indies. No wonder in 1927 he occupied the position of a curator in the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam and the National Museum of Ethnology (*'s-Rijks Ethnologisch Museum*) in Leiden (Duuren 2010: 106-107). Under his authority more than a hundred photographs of Flores region were classified and deposited in the Tropenmuseum storage. Further, my examination of Manggarai and

Ngadha regions' photograph collection in Tropenmuseum showed 60 photographs that were taken by Le Roux. The most interesting of Le Roux's pictures of the Manggarai region was of the megalith tombstone in Todo village –TM 10016622-. The other include various Manggaraian *Mbaru* (traditional house) construction –TM 10017619, TM 10017620, TM 10017621-, the Manggaraian *caci* (whip duel) performances –TM 10018008; TM 10018009, TM 10018010-, the Manggaraian megalith village landscapes – TM 10012125 (Photo 6.1),TM 10018288, TM 10017623- and natural environment views of Manggarai –TM 33001002, TM 10017624, TM 10018564-. The most noteworthy of Le Roux's portraits of Ngadha were of their daily life –TM 1001935, TM 10013128, TM 10004898, 1005945-, the Ngadha music and dancing- TM 10004898 (Photo 6.2), TM 10006043-, the Ngadha household and weaving tools –TM 10013904, TM 1006048-,the Ngadha megalith village landscapes –TM 10017615, 10017617, TM 10017618, TM 10017625, TM 10017632, TM 10017721, TM 10017723-, and views of the Ngadha natural environment TM 10018477, TM 60007239, TM 60007241, 6007255, TM 6007257. My thorough examination of Le Roux's photos of Manggarai and Ngadha regions revealed that these images could be approached as artefacts. They have three dimensional forms, can be moved from place to place, and occupy a specific location - the photographic archive of the Tropenmuseum.
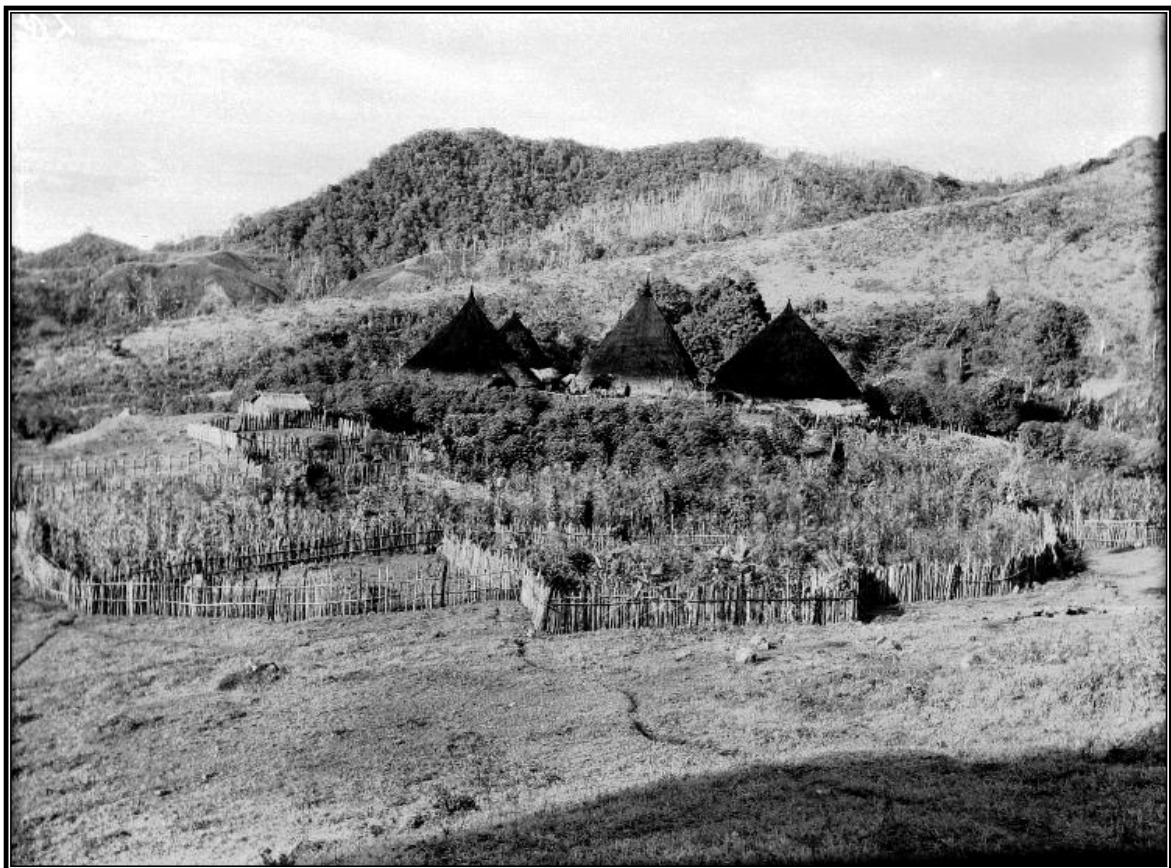
Photo 6.1: The Manggaraian megalith village landscape (Tropenmuseum collection nr. 10012125, Photo Le Roux 1915-1919)

Photo 6.2: The Ngadha dancing at *loka* (court yard) of megalith village (Tropenmuseum collection nr. 10004898, Photo Le Roux 1915-1919)

In that context, they represent an image that has been constructed at a specific time, place and cultural context (Edwards and Hart 2004: 1). Relating to the Tropenmuseum collection policy, it seems these photographs have served not only as a guideline for the purchase of ethnographic collections from Manggaraian and the Ngadha, but also represent artefacts which up to today encode visual cultural references of an ethnography of the Manggaraian and Ngadha.

In 1927, based on Le Roux's photographs of a *caci* performance (whip duel, to be discussed in Chapter 7), the Colonial Museum purchased a *tambor* (a double membrane of cylindrical drum) -TM 379-1-, *sarung* (woven sarong) -TM 379-4- and a complete set of *caci* (whip duel) game attributes from Ruteng, Manggarai, Flores. These included *larik* (whip) -TM 355-1-; *koret* (an arc rattan stick to ward off the whip) -TM 355-2-; *nggiling* (round rattan shield) -TM 355-3-; *panggal* (head cover with buffalo horn ornament on top) -TM 355-4-; *tumi rapa* (an imitation beard of beads) –TM 355-5-; *lalong ndeki* (a buffalo tail ornament that is attached to the waist at the back) –TM 355-6-; *giring-giring* (ring cord attached to the waist) –TM 355-7- and small towel to wipe the sweat and to wave to the crowd –TM 355-8- (see also Chapter 7).

A decade later musical instruments from Manggarai and Ngadha regions of Flores were stored in the Tropenmuseum by Jaap Kunst who purchased such items as a part of his

research on Flores music. This collection comprised of 98 soprano bamboo flutes -TM 1148-1 to TM 1148-98- and 2 alto bamboo flutes - TM 1148-104 and TM 1148-105- which were called *sunding* in Manggarai and *foi* in Ngadha. There were also several types of drums such as *tambor* (a double membrane cylindrical drum) from Manggarai -TM 1148-142a-; with drum sticks –TM 1148-142b and TM 1148-142c-, *laba dera* (a single membrane wide cylindrical drum) or *gendang* in Manggarai language -TM 1148-139- and *laba wai* (a single membrane long cylindrical drum with short leg) -TM 1148-140 and TM 1148-143-. In addition there were *do'u da* (a set of wooden percussion instruments) from Manggarai region -TM 1148-138a to TM 1148-138f and *tinding*/*curing*/*nggri-nggo* (bamboo plucked five to six strings instrument) from Manggarai -TM 1148-125, TM 1148-126- and -TM 1148-127-. These were placed together with *robe* (bamboo mouth harp) from Ngadha -TM 1148-115- and *nentu* (bamboo mouth harp) from Manggarai -TM 1148-117. Later we will return to this collection. At the same time, the Colonial Museum took an active role in collecting the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' production of textile and plaited objects. Among these collections were purchases from B.A.G. Vroklage and they include a complete set of woven clothes for dance performances by men and women from the Ngadha -TM 1139-3; TM 1139-4; TM 1139-5; TM 1139-6; TM1139-7; TM 1139-8 and TM 1139-9-. Two years later, a woven shawl from Manggarai –TM 1296-1- and a woven *sarong* –TM 1296-2 from Ngadha were added to the Colonial museum collection, purchased again from B.A.G. Vroklage. A noteworthy set of two plaited bags -TM 1139-1 and TM 1139-2- from Manggarai were also bought from the B.A.G. Vroklage collection.

In 1951, four *laja sue* (magical swords) –TM 2104-5; TM 2104-6; TM 2104-7 and TM 2104-9- from the Ngadha region were added to the Tropenmuseum collection of Flores Island objects. All of them were purchased from the Amsterdam art gallery Lemaire. A woven head band -TM 1961-1b; a woven waist belt -TM 1961-1c; and goat skin dance bag -TM 1961-1d- from Ngadha were purchased from G. Koster in 1961. These items were added to the Tropenmuseum collection of Ngadha dance costumes.

The Tropenmuseum continued to assemble new collections from Manggarai and Ngadha regions until the 1980s. Using finance from VSB fund, the museum purchased a collection of jewellery from ethnography gallery owner Jaap Polak, who stated that these objects were inherited from his father. These included *taka* (gold pendant) -TM 5787-6; *bela* (gold earrings) (Photo 6.3)-TM 5787-8a/b; *iti bholo* (gold and silver earrings) -TM 5787-27a/b; TM 5787-28a/b- (Photo 6.4); TM 5787-30a/b- from Ngadha and golden ring -TM 5787-23-
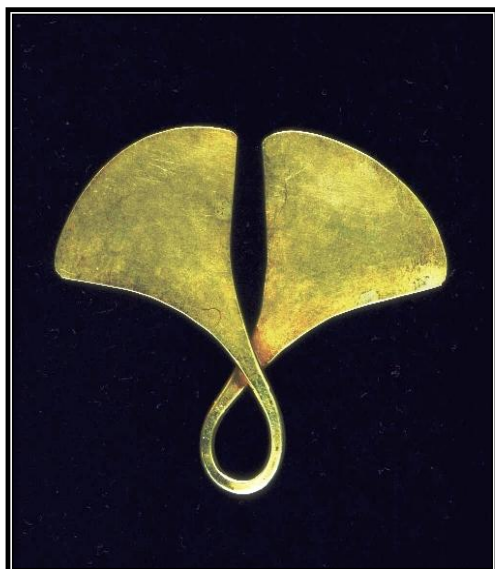
Photo 6.3: *Taka* (gold pendant) from the Ngadha, purchased from Polak's collection (Tropenmuseum collection nr. 5787-6)
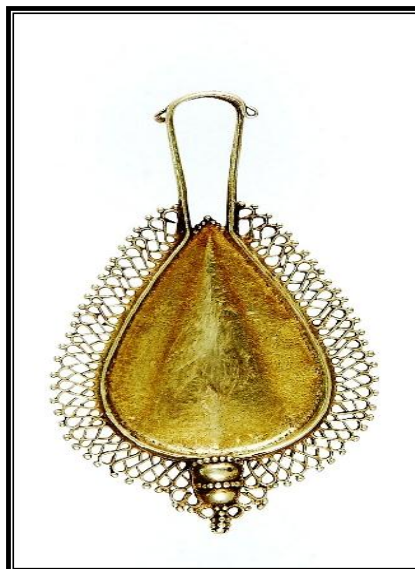
Photo 6.4: *Bela* (gold earrings) from the Ngadha, purchased from Polak's collection (Tropenmuseum collection nr. 5787-27)

Photo 6.5: Gold ring from the Manggarai (Tropenmuseum collection nr. 5787-23)

(Photo 6.5) from Manggarai. Further, the Tropenmuseum holds a large number of plaited items from Manggarai, which were donated by A.H. van Groenendael-Krijger. The items head gear -TM 4797-6; TM 4797-28; TM 4797-29-, a basket and its cover -TM 479-7a/b; TM 4797-8a/b-, rice basket -TM 4797-36-, shoulder bag -TM 4797-9; TM 4797-10-, bag -TM 4797-40-, cigarette case and its cover -TM 4797 11a/b; TM 4797-12a/b; TM 4797-13a/b; TM 4797-14a/b-, small box container and its cover -TM 4797-24a/b; TM 4797-25-, case -TM 4797-41, TM 4797-42, TM 4797-43-, mat -TM 4797-16, TM 4797-49, TM 4797-50, TM 4797-

51-, pillow mat –TM 4797-52 to TM 4797-59- together with water container made from dry squash -TM 4797-15, TM 4797-23, TM 4797-27, TM 4797-46-, water container made from coconut shell –TM 4797-17, TM 4797-18, water container made from bamboo -TM 4797-21-, pottery cooking pot -TM 4797-19, TM 4797-20-, hair comb made of wood and bamboo –TM 4797-37, TM 4797-38, TM 4797-39-, were thus added to the previous Manggarai objects collection. Finally, A.H. van Groenendael-Krijger bequeathed a woven shawl and three woven *sarong* -TM 5544-16; TM 5544-17; TM 5544-18; TM 5544-19 and TM 5544-20- from Manggarai to Tropenmuseum. In brief, between 1916 and 1980, the Tropenmuseum collected objects from colonial administrators like Vroklage, Jasper and Kunst, from art or ethnography galleries such as Lemaire and Polak. In addition it acquired more musical instruments from the young ethnographer Paula Bos, who undertook a restudy of the work by Jaap Kunst (Bos 1999).

It is striking that (except as photographs) no megaliths were collected; most objects were so-called 'extensions of the body' like clothes and jewellery, and musical instruments. To understand the cultural context of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha collections, it is important to address the way in which these collections were removed from the owners in a remote place, travelled through a number of human agencies and arrived in the present Tropenmuseum institution. Soon, these collections became the objects of colonial research. As incomplete material culture assemblages existing of some woven cloths, weapons, jewellery and household utensils that were part of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha daily life, they came to 'stand for' a whole cultural history of a specific traditional non-Western culture (Legêne 2008: 56; Clifford 1988: 220).

When the Colonial Museum in Haarlem opened to the public in 1871 however, interest in the acquisition of tangible cultural heritage from the Flores region was not to be found among these earliest museum administrators. This lack of concern was also related to the 19th century official colonial policy towards the periphery of the Dutch colonial control. From 1815 the Dutch coloniser with the centre of power on the island of Java, gradually expanded control and authority to the Outer Islands. While colonial authority managed to keep security and order in Java, non-interference in the domestic affairs of the Outer Islands was the best policy. In fact, military aggression and maintaining a permanent colonial bureaucracy in the periphery region would cost too much to the colonial Netherlands Indies government. In addition, the Outer Islands were not considered as providing any economic benefit to the colonial government. However this situation changed under the influence both of the imperial rivalry in Europe after 1870 and the onset of industrialisation in Europe (Dietrich 1983: 39).

The introduction of the Ethical Policy in the early 20th century brought about the process of colonial modernisation in Dutch Colonial institutions. Publicly announced by Queen Wilhelmina in her annual royal address to the Dutch parliament in 1901, this policy clearly stated the Dutch government's aim was to promote the development of the Netherland Indies colonial state and the welfare of the indigenous colonised inhabitants (Legêne 2007: 221-224; Locher-Scholten 2001: 120-123; End and Aritonang 2008: 163; Gouda 1995: 24, 51). This ethical consideration was dictated by the ideas of enlightenment and progress, a kind of social policy introduced in European states that emphasised the role of colonial governments in the establishment and maintenance of colonial domination through making official procedures of determining, codifying, classifying, controlling and representing the colony's history, territory and population (Cohn 1996; 4-5; Osterhammel 2002: 33-37).

The colonial domination agenda however, was naturally seen and taken for granted as the task of the people of the Netherlands, a small modern nation, called upon to civilise the traditional Netherlands Indies peoples. In order to accomplish this responsibility, infrastructural facilities like roads, railway and telecommunication were first installed (Gouda 1995: 130; Osterhammel 2002: 36). On 4th September 1888 the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) steamship service owned by the Dutch colonial government provided relatively quick and reliable shipping system of economic export products of the Netherlands Indies to the European market. A new line connected Singapore with Makassar and Nusa Tenggara in 1891. Later, from Makassar the ship went to Buleleng on Bali, Ampenan, Bima, and Waingapu on Lombok, Ende, Maumere on Flores, Kupang and Dili on East Timor (Parimartha 2008: 75; Gouda 1995: 130; Campo 1994: 72-74). Le Roux' roads mapping expedition followed after this opening up of the archipelago. Further, to modernise the colony a four-year elementary school system was introduced at the village level, and a number of secondary schools and three academic institutions – technology, medicine and law - were established on Java. Dutch language was also introduced as the medium of formal conversation in the higher education classes. In trying to raise the indigenous people's living standard, the colonial government's Ethical programs coincided to a large extent with the purposes of the Christian missionaries. Thus, they worked together to publish books and to improve elementary education, health facilities and public hygiene (Legêne 2007: 222-223; End and Aritonang 2008: 163-167).

Accordingly, an expansion of the Dutch Colonial governmental public works in the Outer Islands was unavoidable. Therefore specialist civil servants were recruited and trained in the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam, studying science, trade and industry in the Netherlands Indies, to occupy in educational, agricultural, medical, veterinary positions and so on in the

colonial government administration. In addition, these civil servants' recruitment was based on the policy of enlargement and development of new departments responsible for the Ethical Policy programmes. The Colonial Museum was part of this institution (Legêne 2007: 223; Dartel 2008: 85-86; Furnivall 2001: 141).

The implementation of all these colonial policies raised the colonial government's budget. While it needed more finance to provide funds for the enhancement of the welfare of the Netherlands Indies colonies, an increase in taxes was thought to be an unpopular policy as it would be in contradiction to the benefit of the indigenous people (Houben 1994: 194). At one time the strategy adopted by the colonial government to balance this budget deficit was to invite private enterprises to invest their capital in the Netherlands Indies plantations like sugar, tobacco, copra, coffee, indigo, rubber and mining of coal, tin and oil, not only in Java, but also in the Outer Islands (Lindblad 1994: 94-102; Lindblad 2001: 141). However, the expansion to the Outer Islands, the development of colonial government administration in such regions, the exploitation of natural resources and a shift away from slash-burn cultivation to world market plantation crops were not accomplished without vigorous colonial government control, without social order and without political safety (Locher-Scholten 2001: 122; Lindblad 2001: 137).

The Ethical Policy marked the beginning of the Dutch 'final' military pacification in Outer Islands after the successful military aggression in Jambi (1901-1907), Kerinci (1902-1903), Seram (1904), Banjarmasin (1904-1906), Bone and other regions in south and central Sulawesi (1905-1907). The military expansion did not stop at Bali (1906), but continued to Sumba, Sumbawa, Timor (Doel 1994: 67). Attracted by rumours of mineral wealth in Flores, the Dutch sent a mining expedition led by Van Schelle, a mineral engineer, to the region in 1889, but the Ngadha resistance forced the expedition to withdraw. In 1890 under military protection, the expedition was sent again, but was again defeated by the Ngadha people. As discussed in Chapter 2, finally in 1907 the Dutch, under Captain Christoffel, conquered the Ngadha (Molnar 1994: 14) and at the end of 1917 the Dutch gained complete control over the entire Flores Island: with the *korte verklaring* the local leaders capitulated to the Dutch colonial government. The final phase in the Outer Islands' expansion was marked by constructing a new civil administration under the authority of civil servants, and military rule was gradually withdrawn (Locher-Scholten 2001: 110-111; Molnar 2000: 11-12; Le Bar 1972: 80-90). Le Roux had been instrumental in this development. From this time on, the Dutch colonial territory in the Netherlands Indies was broadened to what is today Indonesia. The more direct Dutch colonial control there also implied more standardisation in administration

and the beginning of political participation and economic trade intensification in new products in the world market (Locher-Scholten 2001; Lindblad 2001; Furnivall 2001).

After the military campaign in Ngadha and Manggarai regions, the Dutch Colonial Ethical Policy - particularly to bring modern Europe civilisation to primitive local people - was carried out by the colonial government and the Catholic missionary Society of the Divine Word (SVD), introduced in Chapter 3. While the Catholic missionaries criticised the colonial administration officers on the way in which they civilised the indigenous people by suppression and without preaching the Gospel, the colonial administrators needed SVD missionaries to manage the Ngadha and the Manggaraian's educational and medical programmes This cooperation also led indigenous people with high social status to embrace Christianity since the compulsory education enabled them to be included in the missionaries programme of conversion (Schröter 2010: 12).

The relocation of traditional megalith villages from upland and remote areas to the flat areas close to the trans-Flores highway (see Chapter 3) also made it easier for the priests to promote conversion to Christianity, and the replacement of traditional houses -which were occupied by all the members of the clan - to modern houses - which were inhabited by nuclear families - actually ruined the local traditional culture and at the same time transferred the power of the local authorities to the missionary authority (Schröter 2010: 139-142; Prior, Jebarus and Steenbrink 2008: 239-244). However, in the process of modernising and civilising the Ngadha and Manggarai people, both the colonial administrators and the missionaries took ambivalent positions. On the one hand they alienated the indigenous people from their cultural roots and relocated them in an environment that was artificial, being Western in both nature and culture. In addition they also moulded these 'uncivilised' people into the Dutch colonial project of domination. On the other hand, they endeavoured to conserve the Ngadha and the Manggaraian's pristine and ancient primitive cultures after removing the 'pagan' cultural practices. From their point of view, these ancient simple cultures were the best example of the evolution theory, in which the retarded cultures of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian were evidence of the lowest evolutionary stage. Since such ancient culture had disappeared from European countries, it was the duty of the colonial civil servants and the priests to collect, record, preserve and become experts of the indigenous people's culture (Schröter 144-147; End and Aritonang 2008: 146-147; Gouda 1995: 137-138).

This concern for the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' culture coincided with the development of the Colonial Institute. In 1912 the Department of Indies Arts and Crafts was renamed the Department of Ethnology (Dartel 2008: 85). It was also around this time that the Ngadha and

Manggaraians' tangible cultural heritage was collected and stored in the Colonial Institute museum. Three artefacts from Flores region in the possession of the Colonial Institute museum - two woven shawls and one fish trap - were displayed in international world exhibitions such as the Brussels Exhibition in 1910, San Francisco Exhibition in 1912 and the International Colonial Exhibition, Paris, in 1931. According to the Colonial Institute Amsterdam's official brochure on the Paris Colonial Exhibition the tangible cultural heritage presented was a representation of Netherlands Indies culture that was more ancient than that of the Western Europeans. Further, the booklet also informed the reader that until recently the ancient cultural legacy was neglected by the indigenous people. While the indigenous people's interest in their cultural heritage had long since faded, the Dutch scholars had performed a rescue operation for conserving this valuable heritage. Following their elaborate and careful research, the prime aim was to safeguard and promote the magnificent and marvellous Hindu-Javanese culture (Gouda 1995: 218).

In fact, the engagement of the Dutch colonial scientists with the Hindu-Javanese culture went much further. While Dutch archaeologists excavated and interpreted the antiquity of Hindu and Buddhist sites in Java, the Dutch philologists deciphered all kinds of ancient inscriptions and old manuscripts from the vanished Javanese kingdom, and Dutch historians revealed the Javan classical history (see also Chapter 2). As a result a large number of scientific publications convinced and supported the cultural history paradigm that the Hindu-Javanese cultural heritage represented a highly civilised ancient Javanese society. Moreover, this culture was associated with the highest level of cultural development in the Netherlands Indies (Krom 1923; Krom 1931). Accordingly, the Outer Islands were associated with the primitive, barbaric, magic-using, infantile indigenous people slowly progressing along the evolutionary path (Gouda 1995: 137).

Clearly, the Dutch Colonial Institute's exhibition booklet and the Dutch colonial government's participation in the International Colonial Exhibition, Paris, are examples of the celebration of the glory of European colonialism in which European empires displayed their colonial identity (Bloembergen 2006: 269-275). Hence, the Dutch colonial exhibition was organised for the purpose of impressing the world with the active scholarly attempt of the Colonial Institute to honour and preserve all the Netherlands Indies' indigenous culture. Further, it was through this study that the Dutch colonial researchers acquired profound understanding of the complexity of myriad local people's culture. This worthwhile knowledge allowed the Dutch colonial administrators to govern different ethnics groups of the Netherlands Indies islands with a more anthropological approach, a better sense of cultural understanding and a greater

mastery of political skills than any other European imperial power in Asia. Djojonegoro 2006: 42; Gouda 1995: 41, 213-218, 220-223).

However, the Dutch colonial propaganda in Paris contained a paradoxical point of view. While the brochure provided the information that (Gouda 1995: 221):

> *'The inherent beauty and accomplishments of the different ethnic groups of the Indonesian archipelago should be allowed to speak for themselves: they should not be encased in flashy colonial packaging'*

It was evident that the Dutch scholars and the Dutch Colonial administrators silenced and suppressed the colonised discourse on their own cultural heritage knowledge. Let us consider the way that the Netherlands Indies cultural heritage was classified, organised, packaged and mastered by the Dutch colonial project of control and constructed coloniser knowledge. In the Paris Exhibition both Java and Flores artefacts were divorced from their original cultural contexts. While the Java artefacts such as Hindu-Javanese stones and bronze statues were classified as highly civilised medieval kingdom culture of the Netherlands Indies, the Flores items such as the bronze axe and stone tools were situated as primitive prehistoric culture. Thus, the cultural history perspective of progress and aesthetic art was crucial to these artefacts. In brief, the simple form and unaesthetic art sense from Flores cultural heritage represented a low level of cultural progress, while the fully elaborated artistic skills of the Hindu-Javanese artefacts mirrored a high level of cultural progress. Finally, the Dutch colonial authorities localised these objects in the Paris Exhibition in a context that annihilated the indigenous people's cultural relations and inserted a new significance and meaning that expressed the Dutch colonial knowledge of other peoples, boundaries, glory, power and authority (Bloembergen 2006).

Predominantly aiming to prove the Dutch colonial superiority and uniqueness among the European imperial powers, scientific research projects to uncover the indigenous cultural roots and to preserve pristine cultural artefacts of the different ethnic groups in the Netherlands Indies were sponsored by the Dutch colonial government. It was also at this time that the Colonial Institute was promoted as a museum of natural resources, colonial industry and artefacts of indigenous people from the Dutch colonies. While efforts to collect and preserve indigenous cultural heritage were intensified after the opening in 1926, the Colonial Institute's museum also functioned as a store for these objects and organised exhibitions, met public information needs and to carried out publication programmes (Dartel 2008: 86). It was in this context that the Manggaraians' *caci* (whip duel) equipment entered the Colonial Institute collection in 1927, especially as an example of a primitive pagan ritual.

The feeling of colonial control also was enhanced by the ambitious project to preserve and research the Netherlands Indies traditional ethnic music. Jaap Kunst - an ethno-musicologist who profiting from the inter-island maritime connections of KPM - since 1918 had studied Netherlands Indies folk music such as that of Java, Sumatera (Batak), Nias, Sumba and Flores. In 1930 he was appointed by the Indies *Volksraad* to lead the Systematic Musicological Research in the Netherlands Indies (Gouda 1995: 221-222). During this year he conducted ethno-musicological research on Flores for one and a half months. Receiving great assistance from the SVD Catholic missionaries, he collected around 100 indigenous musical instruments, archived 35 melodies, recorded 75 phonograms, took a large number of photographs and produced 7 magnificent films of local people's dances and songs (Bos 1999: 19-21). Kunst's research achievements in Flores were also published in his book 'On Rare Flutes and Polyphonic Music in the Ngada and Nage Regions (West-Flores)' (*Over Zeldzame Fluiten en Veelstemmige Muziek in het Ngada en Nageh Gebied (West-Flores*). Further, his ethnic music research in Flores was presented in 'Old Western Song from Eastern Countries' (*Oude Westersche Liederen uit Oostersche Landen*) (Kunst 1931; Kunst 1934).

The economic depression in 1931 forced the colonial Dutch administrators to revise their agenda on colonial glory propaganda. This was clearly seen in their decision to cancel Kunst's second research on Flores music. Moreover, Kunst was no longer in charge of the Systematic Musicological Research in the Netherlands Indies but was posted as a regular colonial officer. In 1934 Kunst went back to the Netherlands and two years later he became curator at the Colonial Institute. His expertise on ethnic music influenced his decision to expand the ethnic music instrument collection. Having limited funding, Kunst corresponded with SVD Fathers and the Assistant Resident of Flores to help him to collect instruments, including those of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian. A year later, hundreds of Flores musical instruments were stored in the Colonial Institute collection (Bos 1999: 20, 26; Legêne and Dijk 2010: 139).

Even while Kunst was working as a curator in the Colonial Museum, he continued to write on Flores musical instruments. In 1942 he produced his greatest book called 'Music in Flores: a Study of the Vocal and Instrumental Music among the Tribes Living in Flores'. Throughout this book, Kunst's idea to record and document the Flores indigenous music that was still in existence before it disappeared under the influence of Western culture, was clearly stated (Kunst 1942). As a cultural history proponent, Kunst also searched for cultural music roots in the Netherlands Indies and their origin.

Kunst's idea of musical instruments as the material expression of certain ethnic groups' norms has been called cultural history or a normative view of culture ((Johnson 2010: 15-17). Further, his concept brings the consequence that cultural heritage is expressions of cultural norms and ideas of the indigenous people. In addition, those norms - which can be reflected in the cultural heritage - are used to measure the level of development of cultural groups. However, this measurement encourages people to particularise and stress the unique, the different and the peculiar forms of cultural heritage, rather than those characteristics that they have in common. For example, Kunst describes the various Flores musical instruments and concludes (Kunst 1942: 109): '*Generally speaking, one may say that the West is richer in instrumental forms than the East'.* Moreover, he states (Kunst 1942:144): '*Thus, Flores and a small region in South America (the domain of the Paricuta in Guyana) are at present the only places in the world where treble flutes are to be found*''. Kunst's works also leads to the concept of unchanging cultures, since the Flores people had inherited ideas on how to play and make musical instruments from their ancestors that were different from the Western people's culture, and had retained it over generations without any modification. Thus it is assumed that culture is always in a static condition. If culture is viewed as unchanging, then the easiest way to explain cultural change is to suggest that it is brought in from outside, particularly by diffusion and migration of people (Johnson 2010: 18). When Kunst investigated Flores music it was clear to him that a Western musical style (related to the Roman Catholic Church) had been absorbed in their music. Such adoption and influences of Western music was assumed by Kunst to result in the disintegration and gradual extinction of the Florenese music (Kunst 1942). Within this framework he insisted that the indigenous people's music should be preserved. This vision of Kunst coincides with the aims of the Colonial Museum, which were to safeguard indigenous cultural heritage and to propagate the Dutch colonial knowledge (Legêne and Dijk 2010: 10; Legene and Dijk 2010: 138, Dartel 2008: 85; Gouda 1995: 71-73, 122).

It was in the context of archiving the multi-ethnic Netherlands Indies cultural heritage, studying their cultural roots and incorporating these ancient primitive cultures into the Dutch colonial knowledge, that the Ngadha dance costumes, woven shawl and two plaited bags from the Manggaraian were also collected in 1937. However, in terms of 'encouraging indigenous people to glorify and to celebrate their cultural heritage', the Dutch colonial government displayed a degree of ambiguity since the indigenous people's cultural progress was always measured against the standard Western knowledge. In other words, collecting the Ngadha and the Manggaraian's cultural heritage expressed the Dutch colonial construction of the Netherlands Indies cultural diversity. While indigenous ancient culture

was promoted, the Dutch colonial administration also imposed Western values of authenticity and hierarchies of aesthetic ethnography on the colonised pristine culture.

The outbreak of World War II and the chaotic situation in the Netherlands Indies at the end of the war hindered the Colonial Museum in purchasing and adding to the Flores artefacts collection. After the Declaration of the Atlantic Charter in 1941 and the United Nations Charter in 1945, the Executive Board of the Colonial Institute acknowledged that the word 'colonial' was incompatible with the articles 1, 2, 6 and 8 of the Atlantic Charter, and Chapter I articles 1 and 2, Chapter XI articles 73 and 74, on the United Nations Charter (United States Office of War Information 1943 poster; Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice 1945: 3-4, 14). Furthermore, to maintain good relations with the Netherlands Indies the name of the Colonial Institute was no longer suitable. As a result, the name Colonial Institute was changed to the *Indisch Instituut* and the Colonial Institute museum became the *Indisch* Museum (Legêne and Dijk 2010: 11; Dartel 2008: 87).

Following the Round Table Conference in 1949, the Netherlands officially transferred sovereignty to the *Republik Indonesia Serikat*, which was later renamed the *Republik Indonesia* (Indonesian Republic). Anticipating the social and foreign political changes, once again the Indisch Instituut changed its name to *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* (The Royal Tropical Institute) and Tropenmuseum. From 1950, the Royal Tropical Institute extended the scope of geographical research and gave more attention to a number of poor and developing countries in the Southern hemisphere, labelled as the Third World (Legêne 2007: 235; Dartel 2008: 87). Meanwhile, in 1951 the Tropenmuseum started to purchase and hold new objects from the Flores region. Thus, the four magical swords, a woven head band, a woven belt and the goat skin dance bag came to enrich the Ngadha dance costume collection. The swords, head band, belt and bag were accessories that must be worn, especially when performing the Ngadha dance. Without these accessories the dance would lose its magical aspect and allow evil spirits to disturb the ritual. Although the Tropenmuseum gradually left colonial themes behind, the Dutch colonial legacy to understand and describe living habits and tradition of the Indonesian ethnic inhabitants continued.

From 1960, encouraged by the Netherlands government, the Tropenmuseum embraced the Third World modernisation process. Around this time, the Royal Tropical Institute became more familiar with tropical agriculture, health care and cultural anthropology programmes. Furthermore, in 1979 the Tropen building and the museum exhibition were renovated with the particular aim of eliminating the colonial image and replacing it with the modernisation view (Legêne and Dijk 2010: 11-13). A year later, A.H. van Groenendael Krijger donated a

large collection of Manggaraians' artefacts such as head gear, a rice basket, cigarette case, pillow mat, pottery cooking pot, bamboo water container, wood comb, woven shawl and woven *sarong* to the museum. The Tropenmuseum also purchased Ngadha gold earrings and gold pendants, and the Manggaraians gold ring. These items were added to the Flores collection and were to be displayed in the exhibition called '*Budaya Indonesia*' (Indonesian Culture).

Budaya Indonesia (1988)

From December 17th to August 21st 1988 the Tropenmuseum put on the *Budaya Indonesia* Indonesian Art exhibition that portrayed Indonesian art from the prehistoric period to recent times. The display was dominated by the Tropenmuseum collection. The exhibition was inspired by the speech of the Minister of Industry at the opening of an International Conference on Crafts in 1985 (Brakel 1987: 34):

> '*Ook bij innovaties of variaties op traditionele motieven dient het etnische karakter van de Indonesische nationale identiteit bewaard te worden. Wanneer nieuwe designs worden geïntroduceerd voor export of toeristenmarkt, moet er steeds een zorgvuldig evenwicht bewaard worden tussen het traditionele en het hedendaagse in onze expressie*'

In brief, the Minister of Industry addressed the issue of preserving the traditional crafts that represented the ethnic character of the Indonesian national identity in the face of the growing need to invent new designs for export or tourist market. At the end, he stressed that a policy should be formulated to maintain balance between the traditional and the contemporary crafts.

There was a similar idea in the De Josselin de Jong lecture in 1935 (Wolf 1999: 318):

> '*Addressing the Indonesian students he recommended to them the study of archaic cultural forms, not as an aim itself, but as a means which would often constitute the only way not to get lost completely in the labyrinth of modern civilization*'

In a comparable way, both discourses clearly mirrored Van Baal's 'salvage ethnography', an ethnography study of the disappearing sorts of ethnic cultural traditions in Indonesia before they were moulded into the Indonesian modern nation state's culture (Prager 1999: 351). Obviously, their conception manifested what Rosaldo (1989: 69-70) called 'imperialist nostalgia', a sense of retrospection in the context of imperialism and colonialism, particularly when the agents of colonialism longed and mourned for the pristine colonised culture that was shifted and altered to colonial needs for modernisation (Prager 1999:348).

Nevertheless, after almost fifty years, a deep cultural history tenet still manifested itself in the Netherlands government's point of view and the Tropenmuseum *Budaya Indonesia* (Indonesian Culture) exhibition as well. A closer examination shows that the Minister of Industry had assumed that the indigenous people's cultural change was due to Western cultural influences that brought about ideas of modernisation from outside. The *Budaya Indonesia* catalogue exhibition's account of the development of Indonesian arts and crafts constructed two approaches. First was the chronological sequence of cultures, i.e. Prehistoric cultures, Tribal cultures and Indo-Java cultures. Second was a fetishist approach, in the sense that arts or crafts came to represent something else (Johnson 1999: 21; Conkey 1993: 8), such as *wayang* (leather puppet) signifying the Javanese ethnic group, megaliths representing the Nias ethnic group, and *tau-tau* (wooden statue) symbolising the Toraja (Meulenbeld 1987: 35-43; Brakel 1987: 55). Each Indonesian ethnic group tended to possess its own distinctive art and craft style. Moreover, the measurement of the overall degree of stylistic similarity and distinction was regarded as a means to express the ethnic group's cultural relationships. Accordingly, given that the arts and crafts were defined in this way and considering that the nature of style being applied was one constructed to note homogeneity and similarities, the only possible thing that could explain the cultural change and development were processes that described similarities, such as persistence, trade, diffusion and migration (Conkey 1993: 8). However, collecting and preserving antique arts and craft styles did not imply a better understanding of the cultural origins, since culture was dynamic and tended to change through time. Thus it would be impossible to trace the roots of cultural tradition through research into antique art assemblages from the ancient past to the contemporary era. Such efforts just added more styles into the never ending sequence of cultural tradition.

The Tropenmuseum's *Budaya Indonesia* may serve as an example of the weakness of the cultural history approach. Although on the one hand it succeeded in describing the development of Indonesian art and craft through chronological order and typology of form, on the other hand, it failed to answer explicitly questions such as 'How can Hindu-Buddhist – Javanese arts have a higher development level than Tribal arts?', 'Does change in art and craft style reflect a gradual, cumulative process or does it come up through the clash of ideas and groups, through conflict and contradiction?' and 'Why were Indonesian cultures able to assimilate Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic art and culture, but faced the danger of cultural loss – at least in the eyes of the ethnographer – through adaptation to Western civilisation?'

Undoubtedly, the *Budaya Indonesia* exhibition and catalogue demonstrated how the cultural history paradigm could reinforce the Dutch colonial scholars' classification of the Indonesian

culture periodisation into Prehistoric, Tribal, Hindu-Buddhist Javanese, Islamic and Modern. It is worth noting that under this categorisation the arts and crafts of most of Outer Java Islands were associated with the 'marginal' Prehistoric and Tribal phase of primitive ethnic groups like the Dayak, the people from Nias, Toraja, Flores and so on, while fine arts and modern crafts both represented the Javanese and the modern Indonesian nation state. This point of view was confirmed by an examination of the arts and crafts displayed in the exhibition. While Hindu-Buddhist Javanese arts and crafts dominated the *Budaya* Indonesia display, the copper alloy ring -TM 1772-2203- from Ende, Flores, was the one and only representation of the arts and crafts of the tribal, 'primitive' Florenese (Brakel 1987: 206, 279).

At the same time, the Tropenmuseum Press Service also released information about the *Budaya Indonesia* exhibition. While this information stressed the antiquity of the Indonesian arts and crafts from 2,000 years ago and focused on the external cultural influences from India, China, Arab and Dutch colonial immigration on the Indonesian arts and crafts development (Aling 1987: 112-118), the mass media publication steered the Dutch public's attention to a sense of exotic, authentic, primitive Indonesian works in the colonial atmosphere. This was clearly seen in the Amsterdam Tourist Office copy brochure in English (Aling 1987: 1):

> '*This ambitious event provides a picture of 2000 years of Indonesian crafts. More than 500 top-quality objects demonstrate the high standard which Indonesian craftsmen have attained over the centuries. Many of them come from the Tropical Museum's collection. They have not been seen by the general public for years, because after the war, the former 'Colonial' Museum shifted its attention from what had been the Dutch East Indies to the Tropics in general. Budaya Indonesia display objects both separately and in their original surroundings. There will be a house altar from Tanimbar, the roof of a Toraya rice barn, a colonial verandah in Tempoe Doeloe (olden times) atmosphere and a Balinese temple with illustrations on the roof of Hindu priests and a decorated cremation ox…*'.

A sense of the magical and primitive was also clearly evident from the Tanimbar altar photograph published by the Amersfoort and Leiden newspapers. By the caption of the Tanimbar altar the reporter mentioned that the Tropenmuseum officer finalised the design of an offerings table in which the skulls of deceased relatives were placed (Aling 1987: 23, 26). Some years later in the semi-permanent display, those skulls were removed after the acknowledgement that they were not culturally related to this altar and, being hampered by the lack of cultural context, the altar with skulls arrangement would manipulate the meaning of the Tanimbar altar (Personal communication from Susan Lêgene)

However, as mentioned in the press release, the Indonesian arts and crafts Tropenmuseum collection had been stored in the depot after Indonesian Independence in the 1970s. Indeed, the political climate between Indonesia and Netherlands around the 1960s and the 1970s made it uncomfortable to put these collections on display. While the Tropenmuseum's '*Budaya Indonesia*' exhibition in 1987 was visited by 178,087 people and each day approximately 715 persons attended this exhibition (Aling 1987: A), it might be that this it opened the door for experiencing the Dutch colonial atmosphere and provided a sense of longing for the Netherlands Indies colony.

Later there was a shift of interests of the Tropenmuseum, from viewing its collection in the light of colonial knowledge to a postcolonial view, particularly that of the Tropenmuseum as a place where the cultural heritage of various ethnic groups is kept, and voices from the owners of that heritage are heard and the ethnic groups' interests in their cultural heritage are negotiated (Pattynama 2010: 161). Thus the objects to be purchased and collected are determined by the Tropenmuseum curator and the ethnic group's representatives in consultation. Since the contemporary ethnic culture is the main focus of the Tropenmuseum exhibition, and the Flores' contemporary culture is marginalised both by the Indonesian government and the Tropenmuseum, it is little wonder the Flores people's contemporary culture is rarely purchased and collected.

Museum Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Museum) Jakarta

The first and outstanding national museum in Indonesia, the Museum Nasional Indonesia, is located in Jakarta. This museum building is also called '*Gedung Gadjah*' by the public, since placed in front of it there is a bronze statue of a standing elephant that was given by Chulalongkorn, the king of Thailand, in 1871. As the Indonesian national museum, it houses a fine collection of 109,363 artefacts in the fields of Archaeology, Anthropology, History, Geography and Visual Arts from 525 different Indonesian ethnic groups inhabiting 17,000 Indonesian Republic islands (Sedyawati and Kartiwa 1997: 11; Djojonegoro 2006: 37-38).

Historically, the Museum Nasional Indonesia has its roots in the Dutch colonial era (see Chapter 3). In 1778, the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten and Wetenshapen* (Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences) was founded. Aiming to study and collect the Netherlands Indies arts and science, this Society began to carry out biological, physical, archaeological, historical, and ethnological research. The immediate result of this programme was the increasing indigenous object collections and research publications. Since the Society needed a place to store, classify and discuss the objects collected, the building on the Kali Besar was found suitable for this purpose. In order to enhance the Dutch colonial self-image

as preserver and protector of the culture of the Netherlands Indies, the Dutch colonial government appointed the Society to take a role as the guardian and keeper of the indigenous people's cultural heritage (Djojonegoro 2006: 42-43; McGregor 2004:16-17).

In 1863 the Society for Arts and Sciences proposed the establishment of a new museum building. After a long process of lobbying, the Dutch King William III met the request of the director of the Society for Arts and Sciences to build an official Netherlands Indies museum in 1862. The first meeting of the Society for Arts and Sciences in this new building, called 'Batavia Museum', was finally held in January 1868. After the Dutch colonial government announced the Ethical Policy in 1901, the Batavia Museum became the central source of the Netherlands Indies culture study. A large number of objects that were displayed in the Dutch Colonial pavilion at the Paris International Exposition were loans from the Batavia Museum (Bloembergen 2006: 308). It was also at this time that the Netherlands Indies' government became more seriously concerned about the study of the indigenous people's culture. As a result, there was a vast growth in the collection of objects and an increase in scientific research activities of this museum. Accordingly, a plan to construct a new building close to the Batavia Museum was proposed (Djojonegoro 2006: 59; McGregor 2004: 17), but the wider impact of the world economic crisis might have forced the Dutch Colonial government to postpone this proposal.

Five years after the declaration of Indonesian Independence, the Society for Arts and Sciences was renamed *Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia* (Institute of Indonesian Culture), and since the new Indonesian government did not have sufficient expertise in museum management, the Dutch museum staff members were allowed to continue to occupy their managerial positions. In 1962 the Museum Batavia was officially transferred from the Netherlands to the Republic Indonesia and it was called the *Museum Pusat* (Central Museum). Once again, in 1979 the *Museum Pusat* was changed to the *Museum Nasional* (National Museum) (McGregor 2004: 17-18). Further, the Society for Arts and Sciences' former plan to occupy a new building was realised in 1996 and this was completed in 2000 (Sedyawati and Kartiwa 1997: 10).

The rich and various *Museum Nasional* collections that can be seen there today were collected from the Dutch colonial period up to now. This museum holds almost all the finest tangible cultural heritage of the Indonesian ethnic groups. Although each Indonesian ethnic group's objects are stored in this museum, the collection is dominated by the collection of Javanese objects. Having limited exhibition space, approximately only a tenth of the museum's total collection is on display. In general, the Museum Nasional collection ranges from the prehistoric era, the classical period of 4th-5th Century to the penetration of Islamic

religion in the 16th Century, the Western colonisation in the early 17th Century, and the recent time. Viewed from the museum collection's classification, these museum artefacts are divided into nine groups - Prehistoric, Classical archaeological of Hindu-Buddhist works, Numismatic and Heraldic, Islam and Colonial Historical, Geographical including old maps, Textiles, Ceramics and Fine Arts (Sedyawati and Kartiwa 1997: 11; Djojonegoro 1997: 27). At present the Museum Nasional holds more than 300 tangible cultural heritage objects from Flores, most of which are in storage. There are prehistoric artefacts, jewellery, wooden statues of ancestors, a large number of woven textiles, everyday cooking utensils, household equipment and various musical instruments. From the beginning, the *Museum*
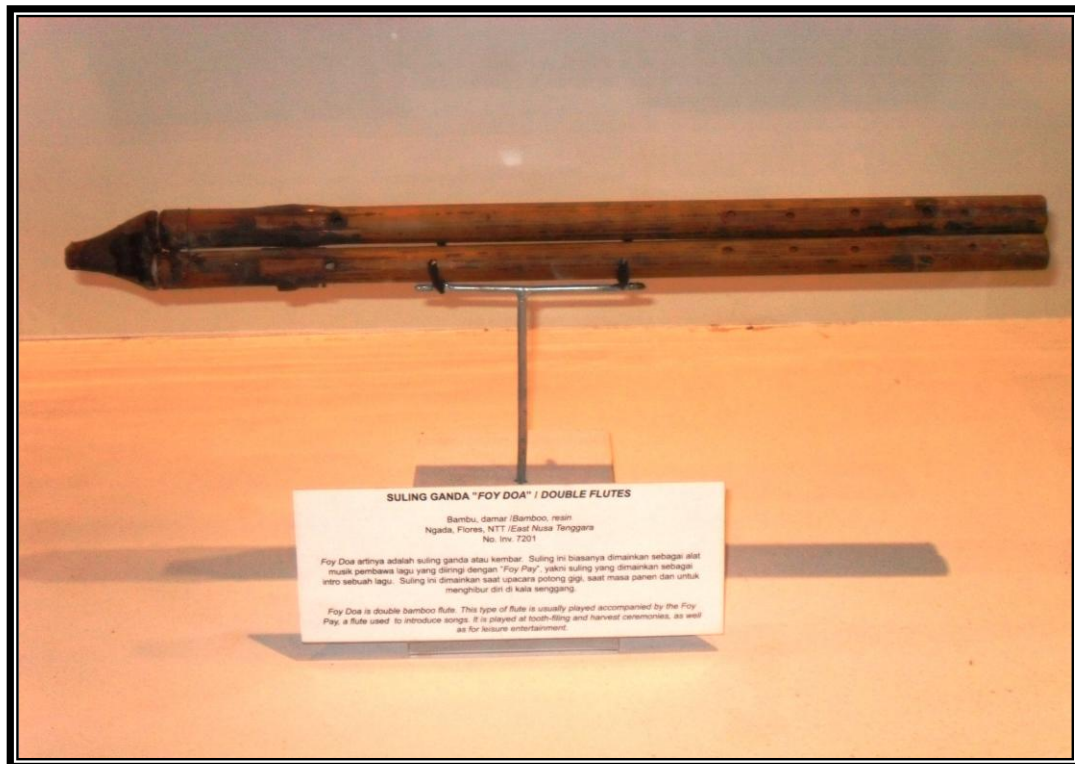
Photo 6.6: The *foi doa* (double bamboo flutes) from Ngadha region (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Nasional's collection of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian tangible cultural heritage is mostly classified under the Flores region and labelled as prehistoric and ethnographic objects. Among the notable collections from the Ngadha on display are jewellery, including *taka* (gold chest accessory) -MNI 1361; gold bracelet -MNI 295a/b and *bela* (gold earrings) -MNI 15045a/b-, woven cloths in the form of two sarongs -MNI 28700; MNI 28703- and the musical instrument, *foi doa* (double flute) -MNI 7201 Photo 6.6)-. In addition, the Manggaraian collection on display includes a cast of *Homo floresiensis* jaws and skull; a model of the Manggaraians' traditional house (Photo 6.7) and two woven sarongs -MNI 28064; MNI 35204-.

From the Dutch colonial time to the present day, the Museum Nasional collection of the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' cultural heritage represents not only the way in which the Dutch colonial state expressed the colonial knowledge construction of 'Imagining benevolent colonial power domination', but also mirrors the Dutch colonial legacy after the Indonesian nation state took control of the administration of the Museum National. In other words,

Photo 6.7: Miniature of *mbaru tembong* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

the Dutch late-colonial state as the custodian and protector of the pristine, primitive Netherlands Indies culture, successfully detached, subsumed, formed, packaged and ruled the indigenous people's cultural heritage. This achievement also conveyed the idea of the Dutch colonial administration to forge central authority among the Netherlands Indies multi-ethnic groups' culture. In the same way, the Indonesian founding fathers realised and took advantage of the Dutch colonial work on Indonesian ethnic cultural heritage, particularly as a means of constructing a new vision of Indonesian nation state identity, uniting the various Indonesian ethnic groups and broadcasting a homogeneous view of the people, state and national political view to others nations (McGregor 2004: 16-24).

While the Dutch colonial scholars who were members of the Society for Arts and Sciences preserved the remnants of the Hindu Majapahit kingdoms and continued to collect more evidence of the Hindu-Javanese culture around the 1930s, it was noteworthy that their works produced a bulk of the Classical period collection of the Museum Nasional and a large

number of publications. Moreover, these Dutch colonial scholars' extensive research provided a resource for the delineation of these kingdoms and fitted with the nation state's projection of the Indonesian nation's glory in the past (McGregor 2004: 23-24).

Indeed, this cultural heritage representation supports the development of the Indonesian nation's collective memory to forge national identity. However, when this collective memory is associated only with the cultural heritage of the major ethnic group – the Javanese -, it marginalises, subordinates, denies and oppresses ethnic cultural heritage diversity (Lindholm 1993: 21-25; Cattel and Climo 2002: 35-36; Colombijn 2003: 338; Graham, Asworth, and Tunbridge 2005: 27). Certainly, the Museum Nasional's Flores collection is a good example of this phenomenon. Thel written source '*Nagarakrĕtagama*' cited before the 14th century and written by Prapanca - the Majapahit kingdom's chronicler - also listed Majapahit's conquered territories including Solot, associated with Solor, Alor, Pantar and the general areas of Flores. However, about 1400 to 1511 the sea trading system, especially the trans-shipment centre in south-eastern Asia was dominated by the Islamic Empire of Malacca, Malay Peninsula. In this trading system Flores Island occupied a peripheral position since it was only recognised as a resource of sulphur (Hamilton 1994:30). Within such a framework, the Flores cultural heritage was never included in the Museum Nasional's display of Classical Period Hindu-Javanese culture. On the contrary, the Flores collection was labelled as primitive culture and displayed in the chamber of Prehistory and Ethnography in the museum.

As the modernisation ideology was embraced by the Indonesian government, such traditional ethnic groups' day-to-day life was considered primitive and unsuited to the standard Indonesian modern life. Since then they have been treated as second class, marginal ethnic communities and included less in the Indonesian nation state's social-political discourse (Persoon 1998: 287-290; Li 2000: 153-155). Thus, it is the Indonesian government's obligation to transform these groups and bring them into the Indonesian mainstream social and cultural life. However, this policy also reflected the paradox of the government's attitude towards the modernisation of Indonesian ethnic groups. While traditional ethnic groups were encouraged to embrace modernity, the Indonesian government also insisted that such traditional cultures must be preserved and protected from extinction (Gouda 1995: 71; McGregor 2004: 20).

Wawasan Nusantara 1993

This vision has been elaborated even more in the New Order era. This was clearly seen in the *Museum Nasional's* exhibition for infusing '*Wawasan Nusantara*' (Archipelago Concept) in the museum visitors. In 1993, in collaboration with the *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan*

Indonesia Indonesia/LIPI (the Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and *Yayasan Sejati* (*Sejati* Foundation), an installation of Pan-Indonesian maritime cultural heritage in which Indonesian ethnic groups share the archipelagic nation, a unitary Land and Water exhibition was put on by the *Museum Nasional*. Focusing on the *Bajau* ethnic group, the iterant sea people of the Indonesian archipelago, as an archetype of the Indonesian maritime community, the exhibition presented *Bajau's* present-day maritime life style as evidence of a life that was quintessentially the Pan-Indonesian maritime embryo. Following the exhibition's storyline, a number of photographs displayed rock paintings of early sea voyages that were found during archaeological research in a cave site, Fakfak, Papua. The next section displayed photographs of traditional canoes of the Asmat people today, which are very similar to the prototype of canoes shown in cave paintings. The following section showed the carving of a vessel from the Borobudur temple relief in Central Java. A text below narrated the Çrivijaya kingdom's reliance on maritime power to unify its territory and expand its economic and political supremacy. At the end the visitors were directed to the *Museum Nasional's* ethnography room where numerous watercrafts of Indonesian ethnic groups, from fishing canoes to inter-island sailing ships, were displayed. The exhibition theme established the time line progress of Pan-Indonesian maritime cultural heritage from prehistory, history to the present. Moreover, it also reinforced the persistence of the Indonesian nation state's concept of *Wawasan Nusantara* by which the unity of the maritime cultural heritage of the Land and Water of the Indonesian archipelago was represented in the Indonesian ethnic groups' diversity in practicing such maritime culture. Ironically, while the present lifestyle of the Bajau people was considered 'primitive', traditional, marginal and in need of development into the Indonesian nation's standard of modern citizenship, the government preserved their life style as a model of the ancient cultural heritage that unified the Indonesian archipelago into one nation (Acciaioli 2001: 4-7).

A similar ambiguity is clearly seen in the displays in the Museum Nasional's ethnography room. The Flores collections are organised in a display of musical instruments, jewellery, cooking utensils and ancestral wooden statues. All these collections are frozen in a certain time, thus fetishised and representing a static culture. Take for example the display of the *foi doa* (double flute) from the Ngadha region This musical instrument is put in a stainless steel rod and below it there is a text saying '*Foy Doa'* or double bamboo flute. This type of flute is usually played accompanied by the *Foy Pay,* a flute used to introduce a song. It is played at tooth-filling and harvest ceremonies, as well as for leisure entertainment'. In fact this information is cited from Jaap Kunst's 1942 book on Flores music. At present it is very difficult to find *foy doa* and my recent fieldwork shows the dynamic context of the Ngadha bamboo flute (see Chapter 7).

It should not be surprising that the Museum Nasional's Prehistoric room exhibits the cast of *Homo floresiensis* skull from *Liang Bua* cave in the Regency of Manggarai. Once again, this representation provides evidence of the human origins in early prehistoric times. Since the human remains were found in Manggarai, the inclusion of this display is attributed to the region of Flores and it strengthens the label of traditional, living 'prehistory' of the ethnic groups of Flores. In fact, throughout the Museum Nasional's display the Flores collection appears to be a representation of the marginal, pristine traditional indigenous people of the Indonesian nation state. In doing so, the state's project of Indonesian unity perpetuates the Dutch colonial imagery of Java as a centre of authority and also as the dominant ethnic group. In contrast, Flores as a part of the Outer Islands is presented as being inhabited by a backward and minority ethnic group who should be guided to attain the status of a modern society.

Nusa Tenggara Timur Provincial Museum Kupang

Under the New Order, the motto '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (unity in diversity) resulted in the reduction, standardisation and homogeneity of regional cultural expressions. As a means of developing a sense of pride in Indonesian national identity, the government selected the core national culture on the basis of the ethnic culture's uniqueness and its 'peak' grandeur representation (Colombijn 2003: 337; Hellman 2003: 15; Dahles 2001: 18; Schefold 1998: 266). Since the Indonesian state used Majapahit or the Javanese kingdom to anchor the collective memory of the Indonesian nation, the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese culture was elevated to the supreme position of modern Indonesian national culture (see Chapter 2). Here, the Dutch colonial scholars' praise of and fascination with the Hindu-Javanese culture was taken as an evidence of the Indonesian nation's high culture achievement. Realising the potential role of a museum in conveying this New Order project of Indonesian national unity, a small national museum was installed in each Indonesian province. Accordingly, the Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) Provincial Museum was established in Kupang on the island of Timur, the capital of Nusa Tenggara Timur, in 1986.

In general, the concept of promoting the Indonesian nation's diverse Nusa Tenggara Timur ethnic cultures and labelling them as primitive, traditional and less civilised than modern Indonesian nation culture underlies the collection policy of the NTT Provincial Museum and the present-day display. As the result, this museum stores an enormous number of prehistoric tools from the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, prehistoric animal fossils, earthenware, ceramics, Bronze-Iron Age artefacts, and ethnographic collections such as ancestral wooden figures, musical instruments, hunting gear, agricultural tools, woven

sarongs, shawls, jewellery, cooking equipment and day-to-day utensils from ethnic groups of NTT province including the Ngadha and the Manggaraian.

Designated as a New Order institution, the display in the NTT Museum in Kupang clearly functioned as a medium to broadcast distinctive *kebudayaan daerah* (local culture) within the framework of unifying Indonesian national identity. To accommodate this objective, the government controlled which local cultural heritage should be included in the display and at the same time highlighted the hierarchy of such specific indigenous artefacts in the Indonesian nation's culture. Applying the strategy of homogenisation and standardisation of Indonesian national culture, the government adopted the same display format for each Indonesian provincial museum.

Following this Indonesian government policy, the NTT Provincial Museum's first display is the map of distribution of ethnic groups in the NTT province, where the Ngadha and the Manggaraians are situated in the central and western parts of the island of Flores. Next, one can find the natural history of NTT province depicted. A number of ancient elephant (*Stegodon*) fossils such as the molars, the jaw, the tusk (Photo 6.8), and the upper-jaw fossil of an ancient pig (*anthracotema*) are displayed. The presence of these fossil remnants is indicative of the earliest occupation on Flores around the Earliest Pleistocene age. In addition to the prehistoric display, the museum shows a serial development of stone tools such as chopper-chopping stone tools typology from Palaeolithic, flake and blade stone tools from Mesolithic and stone adzes from the Neolithic period. The recent display in the prehistoric section is a cast of the *Homo floresiensis* skull from Liang Bua cave, Manggarai (Photo 6.9). In order to emphasise the richness and density of the prehistoric occupation in the NTT province, a map shows the distribution of NTT prehistoric sites. This stone tool exhibition is followed by the Bronze-Iron Age display. A number of ceremonial axes including a replica of ceremonial axe from the Roti region, a swallow-tail axe, *moko* (a small

Photo 6.8: A number of *Stegodon* fossils (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi,

Photo 6.9: Replica of the skull of *Homo floresiensis* (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

kettledrum) and bracelets are exhibited.

In the New Order museum manual, the next display should have been on the Classical Hindu-Buddhist period but this section is completely absent. It is obvious that not a single artefact or replica of classical objects, maps, Hindu-Javanese manuscripts or any other information on the Classical era is to be found. Consequently, from the prehistory section the visitors are exposed to a broad spectrum of NTT region's ethnography. There are various ancestral wooden figures from NTT province, jewellery, including bracelets made of gold and ivory and earrings made of gold (*bela)* from the Ngadha, gold pendants made by the Lio of Ende, household utensils and cooking equipment, musical instruments, a complete weaving loom, traditional hunting gears and tools of slash and burn cultivation. A diorama picturing the origin myth of the Lio and a text describing the Ngadha origin myth are also presented. Drawings of the megalith village in Ngadha, Ende and Sumba region are added, especially to get a complete picture of NTT region's living megaliths tradition.

Next, is a colonial era room exhibition where a number of cannons, miniatures of Dutch colonial ships and bombs and sea mines from World War II are put on display Close to the colonial era, a display case is placed showing ceramics not only from China's Qing dynasty in the 17th -19th century, but also Japanese and Dutch. This case also displays *kepeng*

(Chinese coin), Republic Indonesian currency in the Revolution era, and commemoration medals from the Colonial Dutch period and from the Indonesian Revolution era.

The most outstanding NTT museum exhibition is textiles that display the present *tenun* (woven) sarong and shawl from NTT Province region. Since this *tenun* comes from all parts of the NTT region, there is differentiation of colour, motif and weaving patterns among the various NTT ethnic groups. Towards the museum exit, male and female models wearing ethnic *tenuns* of each ethnic group in the NTT province such as the Ngadha, the Manggaraians, the Lio, the Sikkanese, the Rote and the Timorese, are placed.

Overall, the NTT Provincial Museum represents a miniature version of the Museum Nasional, Jakarta. While the Museum Nasional Jakarta has arranged its collection into

Photo 6.10: The diorama of the myth of origin of the Flores people (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

prehistory, classical Hindu-Buddhist, ethnography, ceramics, numismatics and colonial history phase, the NTT Provincial Museum duplicates such arrangements minus the classical Hindu-Buddhist period. The reason behind the duplication of the display can be

attributed to the New Order's 'top-down' policy. In this way, the provincial museums' displays are incorporated into the New Order's political project on Indonesian nation state's unity. According to this political agenda, the Javanese culture, particularly of the Hindu-Buddhist period, is elevated to manifest the Indonesian nation's glory in the past. Furthermore, every Indonesian ethnic group that lacks the Hindu-Buddhist cultural heritage is classified as traditional and primitive and is marginalised in the New Order's project of Indonesian nation state's unity.

In order to justify and propagate the New Order government policy of unity in diversity, the display in the Museum Nasional Jakarta is used as a model of the origin and formation of the nation's glory from earliest times. However, the display model in the NTT Provincial Museum has also excluded the Ngadha and the Manggaraian in the Indonesian nation's 'civilised culture' term and marked these ethnic groups in a lower cultural stratum than the Javanese. If we take a close look we find that the first section of prehistoric and ethnographic display in the museum, particularly the site distribution, has the kind of prehistoric artefacts, including the cast of *Homo floresiensis* which was found recently, and the existing megaliths tradition. These representations emphasise the prehistoric label of the Ngadha and the Manggaraian instead of their living megalith culture. The diorama of the origin myth in which a half-naked man stands holding a sword in a position to chop off the head of a half-naked woman perfectly portrays the primitiveness of these ethnic groups (Photo 6.10). Moreover, the information given in the text on the bronze swallow-tail axe mentions that 'this artefact was found after the man had a vision from his ancestor during his sleep' and together with the picture of 'slash and burn cultivation' stresses the magic-mythical traditional day-to-day life of these groups. All these backward ethnic labels are legitimised by the complete missing out of the Hindu-Buddhist items and the installation of objects depicting Islamic or Catholic religion. Indeed, the Dutch colonial knowledge legacy, the display model from the Museum Nasional, Jakarta, and the standardisation of the Provincial Museum by the New Order government have all portrayed the Ngadha and the Manggaraians as traditional, marginal and minority Indonesian ethnic groups.

Concluding remarks

During the Dutch colonial rule the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' cultural heritage was presented as evidence of the survival of pristine primitive, tribal culture. Moreover, it was believed that without the Dutch colonial custodianship this cultural heritage would become extinct. Through the Dutch Colonial Museum and International Colonial World Exhibition, the Ngadha and the Manggaraians' cultural heritage was presented to glorify the Dutch imperial pride and colonialism. This romantic point of view encouraged Dutch scholars to search for

the roots of the Netherlands Indies' cultures. Inspired by their imperial history, the research was focused on the remnants of the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese kingdom. These research publications presented the Javanese Island as the centre of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom and from this island it expanded its territory to the Outer Islands. Nevertheless, this concept marginalised and lowered the identity of the Outer Island ethnic groups, i.e. the Ngadha and the Manggaraians.

After the establishment of the Indonesian nation state in 1945, the founding fathers inherited and adopted the Dutch colonial museum scholars' concept to glorify the Indonesian nation's past and to enhance the Indonesian nation state's unity. Consequently, the vision and the museum exhibitions both in Museum Nasional Indonesia and in Provincial Museum mirrored the vision and display of Dutch colonial knowledge. Against this backdrop, in Part III, contemporary heritage dynamics with respect to Ngadha and Manggaraian cultural heritage will be presented.

Part III - On Ngadha and Manggaraian contemporary heritage formation

Local and regional cultural heritage: contemporary discourse and practice

Chapter 2 and 6 delineated the way in which the Indonesian government's heritage institutions were developed by the Dutch colonial authority, as well as the research agenda from Indonesian Independence first in the Sukarno period and the following Suharto period. This chapter analyses how and why Indonesian heritage is being canonised by national and local authorities. Based on fieldwork observations, it argues that the Indonesian government's hegemony in authorising, monitoring and controlling 'top-down' cultural heritage management could no longer be sustained after the Reformation era in Indonesia marked by '*Keterbukaan*' - a significant progress of democratisation, good governance, decentralisation of planning and financing. *Keterbukaan* has resulted in encouraging grassroots movements. This implies a shift from powerful nation state cultural heritage management to the public domain participation in the Indonesian nation's cultural heritage projects.

For this reason, this chapter begins by examining how current Indonesian government laws mark a significant shift from the earlier state custodianship of cultural heritage to the greater freedom of local communities in developing and promoting their cultural heritage. It will become clear that dominant, obsolete, static and unequivocal cultural heritage practices of the local state officers is a serious threat to the production and the consumption of the local community's cultural heritage. The case studies of cultural heritage discourses and practices in Manggarai Regency and Ngadha Regency will serve as an example of the active, dynamic and multi-vocal role of cultural heritage in the everyday lives of people at grassroots level. Throughout these case studies, the way in which institutions and individuals invent, produce and reshape cultural heritage across time and space in order to achieve or to negotiate social ends will be highlighted. My case studies also illustrate that cultural heritage practice is not only in the service of the state, i.e., for constructing Indonesian national identity, but also in the service of the communities. This offers a new insight into 'bottom-up' cultural heritage management.

Applying the new policies of decentralisation

The implementation of Indonesian Government Law number 22 on regional government and Law number 25 on centre-regional financial regulations in 1999 decentralised the government's administrative power. As such, the administration and distribution of financial resources was no longer held by the Indonesian central government, but shifted to the

Regency authority and local constituencies (Booth 2011: 31; Silver 2007: 83-84; Erb 2005: 325-326: Picard 2003: 8; Kementerian Sekretaris Negara 1999a; Kementerian Sekretaris Negara 1999b). In turn, these new regulations led the people outside Java who had been overlooked, to expect improvement in their social, economical, political and cultural status in the Indonesian nation state discourse. At the same time, they considered that the implementation of these new regulations would give them the broad opportunity to participate in the Indonesian nation state's project of national unity, particularly by contributing their local culture to the national identity (Ford 2003; Crouch 2010; Picard 2003; Erb 2005; Silver 2007).

As decentralisation regulation penetrated policy and practices of Indonesian cultural heritage management it transferred the cultural heritage practice from the central government to the regional government. Further, the cultural heritage management policy was made and implemented by various regional administrative councils. Unfortunately, implementation of cultural heritage decentralisation policy on control, coordination and the degree of authority was unclear and ambiguous, because the Indonesian nation state Law number 5 on Cultural Objects Heritage Act of 1992 was still in force: this legalised the role of the Indonesian central government in dominating cultural heritage management. Moreover, there was no specific decentralisation regulation on cultural heritage administration and organisation at the regency and municipality level. No wonder that after 1999 there was a vague cultural heritage organisation structure at the local government level and confusion over the sharing of the cultural heritage management authority between Indonesian central government and local government.

The cultural heritage management organisation structure in the West Manggarai Regency, the Manggarai Regency and the Ngadha Regency provide a perfect case to delineate a more complicated variation of the implementation of the decentralisation regulation, since these regencies are good examples of remote and marginalised regions in the Indonesian nation state's project of national pride. Under the 2008 Ngadha Regency government Law number 6, article 16 on organisation and working procedure of the Ngadha Regency Agencies, the cultural heritage management is carried out by two Ngadha Regency officials. While the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage is held by the Regency Official of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport (*Dinas Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Pemuda dan Olahraga*/PKPO), the cultural heritage development for tourism and the cultural heritage marketing for tourism is run by the Regency Official of Transportation, Tourism, Communication and Information/TTCI (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Ngadha 2008: 12,14). On the other hand, the cultural heritage management in the West Manggarai Regency and

the Manggarai Regency is practiced under the Indonesian government Law number 41, article 22 on grouping of government affairs (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia 2007: 22). Thus, in the West Manggarai Regency and the Manggarai Regency the Regency Official of Culture and Tourism is responsible for cultural heritage management affairs.

It is no wonder that a certain conflict and lack of coordination can be seen with respect to the cultural heritage management practice in the Ngadha Regency. The cultural heritage management in the megalith village of Bena clearly reflects this. It is evident from my field work in 1997 that in an attempt to preserve the megalith site of the village, the PKPO official imposed cultural authenticity by freezing the primitiveness and stressing the backwardness of this megaliths site. However, during my recent field work in 2010, I noted that the TTCI official had cemented the front yard (*vevva*) of the Bena megalith village site. Further, in the megalith village site of Wogo, this official also installed a model of a 'healthy' traditional house (*sao*) with a window and without the inside part (*one*), which was technically constructed with Balinese traditional bamboo house architecture. According to this head official such a development brought these megalith villages under the eye of international tourism, giving comfort, safety and a healthy environment both to the tourists and the villagers. Thus, this TTCI official was now managing cultural heritage by reducing some essential cultural aspects related both to the structure and the making of the house, while shaping heritage for tourist consumption. These opposing examples show the local government's confusion in fabricating, shaping and displaying local cultural heritage. Moreover, the pervasive authoritative domination of the PKPO and TTCI officials potentially could extend the local cultural heritage management conflict.

As mentioned before, the Indonesian government in the Reformation era stated rhetorically that the Florenese, in fact were "*Daerah Tertinggal*" (lagging behind other Indonesian provinces). Thus, their predicate of being 'backward' in respect of other Indonesian ethnic groups was still reiterated (Erb and Anggal 2009: 286). Furthermore, there is evidence that Indonesian local government also reinforces a 'top-down' authoritarian policy in Flores. Such is the case in the cultural heritage management, whereby the local cultural heritage is undertaken and endorsed by the regency government, thereby reducing them to nothing other than local identity image-making that can foster local pride, support the Indonesian nation state's cultural development and promote Indonesian ethnic culture for the global tourism market. In this way cultural heritage becomes the local elite government's resource for capital benefit. Once again this reflects a colonial legacy, particularly an imperial colonial way of thinking, since the new local leaders descend from powerful clans of local kingdom that were established by the Dutch colonial authority, such as clan of Todo and clan of

Runtu. Today, these clans authorise themselves as the legal heirs and take for granted the indigenous cultural heritage as their political and economic investment. A more detailed discussion of this matter will follow below. With this point of view, the local elite officers envision themselves as being the guardians and stewards of local cultural heritage. Due to their natural and long-lasting duty of managing cultural heritage, the local people must appreciate, respect and thank them for their hard work (Benavides 2007: 135-136).

My case studies on the cultural heritage management practice in the Manggarai Regency and Ngadha Regency illustrate how the colonial legacy still imbues the vision and programmes of cultural heritage management. Even now, these local authorities share a similar concept of 'authenticity, preservation and fetishes of the Indonesian ethnic primitive, traditional culture', the legacy of Dutch colonial cultural history and the New Order cultural heritage management as well. No wonder these local governments reduce cultural heritage to 'fine-arts' within what Acciaioli (1985) refers to as 'culture as art' – dance, drama, music, ethnic costume, handicraft and colossal monuments - that can easily attract tourist attention.

In an attempt to preserve, standardise, promote and uphold local cultural heritage, the Ngadha Regency Official of PKPO, the Regency Official of Culture and Tourism in the West Manggarai Regency and the Manggarai Regency conducted the Festival of the Flores Island Art and Culture in Ruteng, Manggarai Regency in September 2010. At this event the Regencies Officials controlled and dominated the festival organisation since they acted as sponsors and organisers. In addition, these officials decided which art and cultural groups would perform and they also selected the kind of art and culture performance displayed. Thus this event was not a grassroots art and community cultural festivity or folk cultural and art competition, but it was merely a local government project on local cultural heritage.

A closer examination of the annual programme of cultural heritage management in the West Manggarai Regency, the Manggarai Regency and Ngadha Regency however, reveals that the planning follows the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism's master plan programme. Accordingly, a number of programmes such as cultural value development, management of multiculturalism, cooperation and development of cultural resource management, marketing tourist objects, and developing tourism destinations are generated from the Indonesian government programme (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan. Kabupaten Manggarai Barat 2010; Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Manggarai 2010; Dinas Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Pemuda dan Olahraga, Kabupaten Ngada 2010). The main difference is the source of funding. The annual programme of cultural heritage in these regencies is funded by the regency government, but the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism's master plan programme is sponsored by the Indonesian government. It is not

surprising that these regencies' annual programmes aim at shaping local cultural identity as a part of a 'big picture' of Indonesian national culture. As such, they reflect the colonial legacy of the authoritarian top-down view, where the local community as the heir of cultural heritage does not participate in these projects and is marginalised under the domination of regional government.

The regency government's hegemony of cultural heritage management in turn triggers the burgeoning movement of local people to claim their cultural heritage sovereignty. The process of more democratisation in the Reformation era, the advances in communication technology that allow instantaneous flow of information globally, the increasing number of educated local people, their bi-national and multinational citizenship status and their common interest in global cultural heritage issues, are stimulating factors that make such grassroots movements more powerful and more empowering (Appadurai 2010: 498-499, 505-507; Li 2000: 163-168; Hodder 1998: 127).

Today, the crucial issue in cultural heritage management in these regencies is more complicated. With the realisation that the Indonesian government in the Reformation era enhances decentralisation and multiculturalism and faces globalisation, the local government's official role in cultural heritage management is challenged and contested by a growing interest, and manoeuvring and claiming of cultural heritage by indigenous people. In the following I will describe a number of specific cases in the Manggarai Regency and the Ngada Regency in which indigenous cultural heritage is re-invented, fabricated, manipulated and contested not only by the local regency officials and local elite leaders, but also by the communities themselves. I argue that cultural heritage discourse in these regencies is dynamic and the result of historical, religious, economic, political, cultural and economic engagement processes between the indigenous people, agents, the local institutions, the current Indonesian nation state, the impact of the Dutch colonial legacies of the past and the International community

The *Bupati*'s (head of regency) campaign in the megalith village of Ruteng Puu

The Ruteng Puu megalith village is situated 2 km south-west of Ruteng, which is the capital city of the Manggarai Regency. It is part of the Golodukal sub-district (*Kelurahan*) and Langke Rembong district (*Kecamatan*). Today this megaliths site is occupied by the Ruteng *wa'u* and the population is approximately 1,000. As is typical of an old Manggaraian village, the Ruteng Puu megalith village is situated close to the spring (*wae teku*), has *wa'u* material identity (*compang*), old graves and two traditional houses (*mbaru*), which are called *Mbaru Gendang* and *Mbaru Tambor*, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Prior to 1990 the Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) province listed this megalith village as a living megaliths tradition and officially preserved and conserved this cultural heritage site. However, in 2003 decentralisation and regional autonomy transferred the authority of cultural heritage management from the NTT province to the Manggarai Regency. As a result, the Manggarai Regency became responsible for the Ruteng Puu megalith village management. While the NTT province managed this site as the representation of an authentic living prehistoric society's tradition, which could be ranked as one of the lower levels of the Indonesian nation state's cultural standard, the Manggarai Regency labelled this site as an example of the Manggaraian first ancestor's way of life, the ancestor's place and the pure Manggaraian tradition.

Given the Manggarai Regency's point of reference, it clearly indicates the continuity of the general tenet of the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage management. That is, the emphasis lies in the colonial setting where the Regency government is eager to control, dominate and monopolise the cultural image of the Manggaraian, particularly in implementing a mono-interpretation policy on the site. An example of such cultural heritage management practice is clearly seen in the campaign of the Manggarai Regency's Bupati candidate in 2010 at Ruteng Puu megalith village.

On May 15th 2010, five days after my arrival in Ruteng, the capital of Manggarai Regency, the Ruteng Puu site guardian informed me that the first round of the campaign of the incumbent Manggarai Regency *Bupati* (the head of Regency) Christian Rotok, and *Wakil Bupati* (the vice head of Regency) Kamelus Deno would be conducted in Ruteng Puu megalith village. This campaign was for *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah*/Pilkada (the direct election for the head of Regency). These two candidates had won the *Bupati* and *wakil Bupati* position in the first *Pilkada* in Manggarai Regency in the middle of 2005. They defeated the former Manggarai Regency *Bupati* Anton Bagul Dagur and *Wakil Bupati* Pius Kandar and these winners became the head and the deputy head of Manggarai Regency from 2005 to 2009 (Erb and Anggal 2009: 283). In an attempt to retain these posts from 2009 to 2013, Christian Rotok and Kamelus Deno carried on a campaign for re-election.

This campaign in Ruteng Puu megalith village therefore, not only provided an insight into the intimate relationship between the cultural heritage site and contemporary dynamics of culture, social, historic, economic and political relations, but also reflected the role of local politicians who systematically manipulate such a megalith village site for their own purposes. With this consideration in my mind, I went to the Ruteng Puu megalith village in the evening of May 15th 2010.

However, I was surprised to see that a knock-down iron construction stage and tent was installed in front of the *mbaru Gendang* and *mbaru Tambor*. In addition, more than 150 chairs and tables were arranged below the tent, so that half of Ruteng Puu courtyard was filled with them. The stage background was dominated by a moderately fancy poster of the head Mangggarai Regency candidate. As usual, on the poster was displayed the pair's photographs, the name of the candidates, the acronym of the candidates' names 'Credo' – Christian and Deno - and the election code number '3' (Photo 7.1). At the left and the right side of stage, four big speakers were placed with a number of microphones and a synthesiser in the middle.

Photo 7.1: Poster campaign displayed the head of Manggarai Regency candidate
(Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

While I spent the rest of the evening in the site guardian's house and discussed the possibility of attending the campaign ritual ceremony in *mbaru Gendang*, our conversation was hindered by loud Western instrumental music that came from the speaker and was mixed with the lively sound of Manggaraian traditional music. As we went to the *tua golo* of *mbaru Gendang* and sat in the inner *mbaru*, I felt that I was in a strange place that was neither in Indonesia nor in a Western country. Shortly after, the *tua golo* appeared and after a short discussion, he permitted me to attend the campaign ritual ceremony.

Around 19:30 p.m. *tua golo*, *tua adat* and Ruteng Puu village's informal leaders went to the entrance of the village where they waited for the *Bupati* candidate's convoy. Shortly after, this convoy of ten cars approached the village entrance and was welcomed by the *tua golo*. Once all the participants were gathered, *tua golo* approached the big stone in front of the

compang where he placed a small cup of *sopi* (palm wine) and small dish of rice as an offering to the ancestor spirits. While he placed the offering, he mentioned the reason for it and called for the ancestors' blessings. As soon as *tua golo* completed the offering ritual, the *Bupati* candidate's party led by all the Ruteng Puu leaders walked to the *mbaru Gendang*. At the same time, the villagers played the Manggaraians *gong* (metal percussion music instrument) and *gendang* (drum), which are their traditional musical instruments. When the *Bupati* candidate party and all Ruteng Puu village leaders entered the *mbaru Gendang*, the villagers stopped performing their Manggaraian traditional music.

Led by *tua golo*, the *Bupati* candidate party and all important persons of Ruteng Puu village entered the *Mbaru Gendang*. Being the head of *wa*'u *Gendang*, *tua golo* sat with his back leaning against the *siri bongkok* (the biggest and central pillar of the house), facing towards the *mbaru Gendang* entrance. At the same time the *Bupati* candidate's party sat on the right side of *tua golo* and all Ruteng Puu village leaders sat on the left side. Once the participants were seated on the inner *mbaru Gendang*, a welcome speech which included the purpose of the ritual, was given by the *Bupati* candidate's representative. As the speech finished, he presented a bottle of palm wine to Christian Rotok as the *Bupati* candidate. Next, Christian Rotok gave a speech on his purpose and asked *tua golo* to bless his request and lead this ritual (Photo 7.2). As a sign that he is the *anak rona* (bride giver), the one who asked for help and led *tua golo* as a leader on this ritual, Christian Rotok presented a bottle of palm wine to *tua golo*. Later, *tua golo* made a speech in which he mentioned the purposes of the ritual, which was firstly to ensure the Christian Rotok's campaign safety in Ruteng Puu megalith

Photo 7.2: Christian Rotok, the head of the Manggarai Regency gave a speech at *Mbaru Gendang* in Ruteng Puu megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

village and secondly to invoke the ancestors' blessings on their *anak rona* Christian Rotok's campaign, so that he could be re elected as a *Bupati* in the 2009-2013 period. Then,

he asked approval from village leaders who sat on the left side of *tua golo*. After a short discussion one of the village leaders acted as their representative and announced that all the village leaders agreed and supported Christian Rotok's campaign. In order to get a more complete agreement *tua golo* went out from *mberu Gendang* and stood on the stage, and once again he asked the villagers for their agreement and again one of the villagers acted as the villagers' representative. He also agreed and promised he would elect Christian Rotok on Election Day.

When the agreement was reached, *tua golo* went back to *mbaru Gendang* and started the ritual to invoke the ancestor's blessing and to invite the ancestor's attendance. As a way of showing not only respect to the ancestor, but also how serious was this campaign, an offering of a bottle of palm wine, a plate with a cigarette, betel leaf, areca nut and lime were placed in front of the *tua golo*. Following this step, a white rooster was sacrificed and its blood dripped on the plate. The rooster blood on the plate was also smeared on the stone pavement outside the *mbaru Gendang* and *compang*. At the same time, a small piece of rice, betel leaf, areca nut, lime and cigarette were placed on a *langkar* (a small woven basket), which was hung close to the *siri bongkok*.

After completion of this ritual sequence, *tua golo* conferred a complete set of Manggaraians' traditional dress to Christian Rotok. Symbolically, *tua golo's* gift affirmed *wa'u Gendang's* (as *anak rona)* support of Christian Rotok's campaign and also an agreement to vote for him on election-day. Meanwhile, a glass of palm wine was served to all ritual participants and ten minutes later a half roasted white rooster was presented to *tua golo*. By using the white rooster's intestines as a medium for divination, *tua golo* determined the success of Christian Rotok on the future Manggarai Regency Pilkada. In order to convince the others of the accuracy of his divination he delivered the white rooster to all Ruteng Puu village leaders and after a minute of close examination of the intestines they also announced the success of Christian Rotok for his second term as *Bupati*. In turn, to show his appreciation of the support and approval from *wa'u Gendang*, Christian Rotok presented all Ruteng Puu village leaders with a sum of money inserted in an envelope. To close this ritual an extravagant dinner was served to all ritual participants and also to the villagers who attended this campaign outside *mbaru Gendang*.

For the Ruteng Puu villagers the campaign meant a free feast and entertainment. So the campaign programme was not designed as a serious political matter, i.e. debate between the candidates, discussion on the candidates' programmes, and facilitating political education for people at grassroots level. It was not surprising that after the dinner was over, the *Bupati* candidate's party went out and took a seat on the stage. Next, the master of

ceremonies announced the sequence of campaign programmes. As the villagers approached the stage, the Manggaraian traditional song was sung by a number of Ruteng Puu elders. After five songs, this group was followed by a solo synthesiser player. This musician then asked the singer to sing a song. Unlike the first group's performance, the singer sang a Western song called 'My Way' and continued with a second song, 'Bridge Over Troubled Water'. I wonder if the villagers knew the meaning of these two songs. However, after the singer finished his songs the master of ceremonies asked the *Bupati* campaign party to participate in this programme. Thus, for more than two hours one by one they dominated the stage. Sometimes they asked the crowd to listen to their campaign programme, but as usual this was full of promises rather than related to actual social facts. In order to give a traditional accent, the master of ceremonies invited a villager to play the bamboo flute and this was the last traditional performance since the solo synthesiser player continued his performance. Around three o'clock in the morning, the campaign festival was over.

The campaign of the incumbent Manggarai Regency *Bupati* and *Wakil Bupati* in the Ruteng Puu megalith village demonstrated the role of the local elite in the local cultural heritage discourse. While this site is recognised as the first village in Ruteng region and the former place of the respectable *wa'u Gendang* and *wa'u Tambor* ancestors, the local elite also attempts to reaffirm their identity based claim to this site, particularly to shape an image as the descendants of such a respectable *wa'u*. So they naturalise and legitimise the idea of the continuation of authority from past to the present.

The local elite of Manggarai Regency's attempt to preserve the local tradition by conducting a campaign ritual there was not purely linked to a call for glorifying the past, but to manipulate tradition for their own sake. In fact the villagers felt that this ritual was confusing and controversial since the incumbent *Bupati* of Manggarai Regency who initiated this event was born in East Manggarai region and not in the West Manggarai, nor the Central Manggarai. His marriage with a woman from *wa'u Gendang* put him and his family in *anak wina* (bride receiver) position whereas his wife and his wife's family held *anak rona* (bride giver) position. According to the Manggaraians' patriarchal lore, *anak rona* is a source of life of the *anak wina* descent. Thus, *anak rona* is honoured and naturally has spiritual power to bless *anak wina*. Having a higher position, *anak rona* can issue *sida* (asking *anak wina* to contribute something for *anak rona* needs). Conversely, *anak wina* can ask for *ngende* (protection, aid and blessing from *anak rona*).

From this point of view, the villagers said that the campaign ritual was very difficult to classify into *ngende* or *sida*, since neither *sida* nor *ngende* were public rituals and the ritual

attendances were limited to the *wa'u* of *anak rona* and *anak wina*. In fact, this campaign ritual was attended by many *wa'u* who lived around Ruteng Puu megalith village. Moreover, if it was *sida* ritual, *anak rona* had to make a speech at the beginning, followed by *anak rona's* gift delivery. However, this campaign ritual started with the speech by *anak rona* followed by his gift to *anak wina*. In case of *ngende*, the representative of *anak wina* – Christian Rotok - had to speak first, followed by presenting a small gift to *anak rona*. Then in response to *ngende* of *anak rona,* a blessing, agreement and material aid were given by *anak rona*. However at the end of this ritual campaign, Christian Rotok also presented an 'envelope', not only to *wa'u Gendang* as *anak rona*, but also to *wa'u Tambor* and the other *wa'u* who attended this ritual campaign. Cynical villagers commented that this campaign ritual was a camouflage for money politic - a kind of bribery in which a sum of money is given as a gift and in return the receivers must vote for the giver. While money politics was illegal in the *Bupati* campaign regulations, such campaign rituals in the traditional way of life, neutralised, manipulated and legalised money politics. This strategy also indeed helped the incumbent *Bupati* Christian Rotok and *Wakil Bupati* to win the Manggarai Regency Bupati election.

Certainly, the local elite manoeuvres on Ruteng Puu megalith village site can be seen as an ambiguous policy of local cultural heritage exploitation. While such sites were maintained and oriented to the Indonesian nation state's cultural character as a modern democracy, the ritual campaign was an attempt to anchor and preserve the stigma of an authentic, traditional and primitive culture of simple people. The fact that such cultural heritage exploitation by the local elite continues to exist, clearly reflects and embodies the fact that certain strata of the former New Order elite are in search of their roots and are reclaiming the past and preserving cultural tradition authenticity for their social purposes (Pemberton 1994: 148-196).

Further, it seemed that this phenomenon was intimately tied to the Dutch colonial policy of supremacy and domination practices, particularly in the way in which the Dutch colonial administration had produced a monopoly of the colonial officer's high level position, the authority hierarchy where indigenous people were subordinated and had to be civilised, and shaping the colonial mentality in which corruption, collusion and nepotism were maintained (Fasseur 1994: 33-34; Gouda 1995; Stoler 2009: 57-102,).

However, more '*Keterbukaan*' (openness) in all aspects of indigenous life, in turn gives more freedom and opportunity to challenge the local government's control and authority over the indigenous people's cultural heritage. This tendency was clearly seen in the campaign of the other Manggarai Regency *Bupati* candidate in Ruteng Puu megalith village. Two days after

the incumbent from Manggarai Regency conducted his campaign in Ruteng Puu, Ferdinandus Lehot and Herman, Manggarai Regency's *Bupati* and *Wakil Bupati* candidates who had the acronym 'Firman' as their joint candidate name, and the election code number '1', also ran a campaign on this site.

The guardian of Ruteng Puu site told me that Ferdinandus Lehot came from *wa'u Tondol*, which was less respectable than *wa'u Gendang*. Thus, Ferdinandus Lehot had an inferior lineage position to that of Christian Rotok. Moreover, his *mbaru* was made of bricks covered by a zinc roof and was installed close to *mbaru* Tambor. As the site guardian provided more information, I noticed that there was no stage installation in the village and it was difficult to get an atmosphere of campaign preparation. When I asked the villagers about this matter, they responded that the campaign ritual would be conducted at the Ruteng Puu site, whereas the campaign programme would be performed in the Manggarai Regency Bupati office courtyard.

Around eight o'clock in the morning the campaign ritual was started in *mbaru Tondol*. The sequence of rituals was not very different from the previous campaign rituals in *mbaru Gendang*. However, *wa'u Tondol* members claimed that this ritual was purer than the campaign ritual of the incumbent *Bupati* Manggarai Regency. The ritual procedure followed exactly the Manggaraian's patriarchal lore sequence since it was conducted internally by the members of *wa'u Tondol* and the *Bupati* candidate just asked the *wa'u Tondol's* blessing. The members also insisted that no money politics occurred because the campaign ritual was arranged on the initiative of *wa'u Tondol* members. Once the campaign ritual finished, the participants went out from *mbaru Tondol* and joined the other supporters of the *Bupati* candidate. At ten o'clock they went together in a big convoy towards the Manggarai Regency *Bupati* office courtyard to perform the campaign programme.

While the Manggarai Regency local elites manipulated the site's authenticity and constructed history by controlling and producing the meaning of Ruteng Puu megalith village site, the villagers, in response to the local authority's power and intervention, formulated a simulacrum meaning production that claimed and contested not only their own ancestor history, but also their authentic traditions. It seems the campaign ritual organised by *wa'u Tondol* might represent the grassroots movement for challenging the local government's cultural heritage policy. However their strategy was unsuccessful in helping him to take the *Bupati* position since he was defeated by the incumbent. However this movement provided them more space for celebrating their own cultural heritage and changed their role from passive marginalised indigenous people into active participants in the cultural heritage discourse.

Reinventing *Caci* (Whip Duel) in the Manggarai Regency capital of Ruteng

Caci is a traditional Manggaraian game in which two half naked men, wearing trousers but no shirt, stand facing each other. One of them holds a whip made from buffalo hide fastened upon a rattan stick handle, while the other holds an elliptical shield of buffalo hide. In a timed series the man who holds the whip lashes out at his opponent who instantly blocks this attack with his shield. By turns they shift their roles from the attacker to defender (Photo 7.3). This whip duel arena is usually located in *natar* (the village courtyard) and close to *compang* (megalith village structure). Usually, this whip duel is performed during special events such as *penti* (village thanksgiving), *randang lingko* (opening of a new garden) and *tae kawing* (as a part of marriage ritual). It is believed that the human blood that drips on *natar* from the *caci* players' bodies cleans and purifies not only the occasion of the ritual, but also increases the prosperity of the village. As a product of patriarchal society games, *caci* is also associated with bravery, toughness, courage and chivalry. No wonder *caci* is a masculine game and the only roles of women are as spectators and musicians who beat *gendang* (drums) and *gong* (metal percussion music instrument) during the game.

Photo 7.3: *Caci* in Manggarai photographed by Le Roux in 1915 (Tropen Museum Collection nr. 10018009)

In 1970, the Indonesian nation state launched the cultural heritage policy under which all Indonesian Provinces and Regencies had to select their best artistic culture to be represented as an example of the Indonesian government's ethnic *Puncak-Puncak Kebudayaan* (see also Chapter 2 and 3). In conformity with the Indonesian nation state's effort to implement this agenda, the Manggarai Regency government organised a workshop

to seek and identify the elements of *caci* that made this game unique and worth preserving. The workshop, lasting two weeks, took place in Ruteng in 1976. However it was not a grassroots initiative, but a completely top-down designed workshop. *Caci* players, *Caci* game rule experts and *caci* custodians from 17 Manggarai districts were invited to the workshop but the Manggarai Regency officer responsible for cultural heritage practice completely controlled and dominated the workshop process. At the end of the workshop, with strong intervention by the Regency government, the workshop participants declared the standardisation of the *caci* game rules. From that moment, *caci* was officially considered as Manggarai Regency's cultural heritage and it was performed once a year there at the commemoration of the Indonesian nation's Independence Day (Erb 2001: 11-13). Thus, *caci* was detached and alienated from its indigenous cultural context. Further, this game was preserved, standardised, modified and inserted by the Manggarai Regency government into the Indonesian nation's mainstream cultural representation. While the Indonesian State Law on regional autonomy in the Reformation era reduced the Indonesian government's centralisation of power and authority, this did not bring about more democratisation and grassroots movements in the cultural heritage discourse in Manggarai Regency. In fact, the Indonesian government's common cultural heritage practices, i.e. the centralised control of cultural heritage sites, the domination in the cultural heritage discourse, and the ways in which cultural heritage issues were tackled in the service of the state, were transformed and copied by the Manggarai Regency government.

Take for instance the *Caci* Independence Day Tournament in Kabupaten Manggarai Regency. Since 1976, this tournament has been regularly conducted in a routine procedure each year in the month of August. This repetition would lead to freezing the specific and authentic Manggaraians' cultural tradition. The reason was that the *caci* was considered as a representation of the Manggaraians' highly noble values which had to be preserved and reshaped to suit the modern Indonesian nation's cultural values. With this in view a *caci* workshop was carried out on 27th-28th of May 2010 at the office of the Manggarai Regency Official of Culture and Tourism, Ruteng.

Having been invited by the head of this office, I attended the *caci* workshop. What I found interesting was a repeated attempt to formalise *caci* performances by imposing references to the past, and if necessary inventing and constructing the past references in recent times. Similar ideas were also found in the European empires around the early 19th Century (Hobsbwam 1988: 263-307). The workshop aimed to prepare a *caci* tournament on 18th-19th of August 2010 and to formulate the game's attraction as the Mangaraian culture's point of reference. Further it involved standardising, developing, modernising and preserving *caci*

tournaments. As a strategy through which the workshop's aims could be disseminated and the Indonesian nation state's slogan of 'Unity in Diversity' could be carried out, all Manggarai district representatives of *caci* players and coaches were invited. Facing the difficulty in conducting this in a small room in the Manggarai Regency Official of Culture and Tourism's office, the workshop committee officers scheduled a two days *caci* workshop. The first day was attended by *ngara golo* (the host) group from Reo district, Cibal district, Wae Rii districts and Langke Rembong district. The second day of the workshop was intended for *mekalandang* (the guest) team from Satarmeze district, West Satarmeze district, Lela district, North Rahong district and Ruteng district. Both groups consisted of 20 *caci* players and 5 *caci* coaches.

Despite the *caci* workshop's aims with respect to glorifying the past in the present, the workshop programmes were dictated by the Manggaraian Regency government's authority and run in a top-down manner. This tendency was clearly seen in the opening speech by high level officers of the Manggarai Regency Official of Culture and Tourism (Photo 7.4). The main point of this was an announcement of the *caci* tournament, which would be officially held by the Manggaraian Regency and that a Manggarai government official certificate of

Photo: 7.4 Opening speech of the *caci* workshop (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

caci player would be conferred on the *caci* players and *caci* coaches who participated in this tournament.

After the *caci* tournament the Manggarai Regency would have 40 licensed *caci* players and 20 licensed *caci* coaches. They continued, promising that the *caci* tournament would be performed again next year and more *caci* certificates would be issued. Thus in future the

Manggarai Regency would have a huge number of certified *caci* players and *caci* coaches. By fabricating *caci* players and *caci* coaches, they believed that the game would be preserved ever after. Next, they stressed that the *caci* player championship was held and authorised by the Manggaraian Regency, which implied that the regular village *caci* competitions were not acknowledged as official competitions.

The next workshop session was a speech laying down *caci* rules and guidelines by three senior Manggaraian *caci* experts. They addressed workshop participants by turns and focused on the right manner of playing *caci*. The *caci* ritual, *selek* (*caci* player costume), game rules and criteria of *caci* champion valuation were also presented. In short, they attempted to standardise and formalise *caci* tournament performances. At the end of their presentation, a participatory discussion was held. It seemed as if the grassroots approach was being applied, but this discussion was no more than directions and orders given by the *caci* tournament committee members to the workshop participants (Photo 7.5). Many workshop participants also had several questions on the *caci* ritual performance, the welcoming ritual for the *mekalandang* team, the starting point to carry out *ronda* (walking and

Photo 7.5: The discussion session of the *caci* workshop (Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

singing together by a group of men who had the task of picking up the *mekalandang* team) and *dende* (a group of *ngara golo* or *mekalandang* supporters who danced and sang in a circle). These questions were very difficult for the committee members since the tournament location was installed in the Manggarai Regency courtyard that did not have the material objects of *wa'u* (clan) identity or *compang,* and in fact the *ngara golo* team did not have a

'real' village since this team's base camp was in Ruteng, which was not their capital village. In searching for the best solution the committee used its power and authority to force a consensus between the workshop audiences, particularly in tackling these issues. After more than two hours all problems were solved and the discussion was closed. Finally the workshop participants had lunch and after a number of *caci* players demonstrated *dere nenggo* (solo vocal) during a *caci* game, the workshop was officially closed. Before the high level officers of the Manggarai Regency Official of Culture and Tourism left the workshop, I approached them and thanked them for their office's support for my field work in Manggarai Regency. In turn, they invited me to attend the *caci* tournament scheduled to be held on the 18th-19th August, 2010.

A month later I travelled to West Manggarai Regency and worked on my excavation project in Warloka site. During my excavation work I also attended a *caci* event in the megalith village of Todo, Manggarai Regency. However, I did not stop by at the Manggarai Regency Office of Culture and Tourism. On August 13rd, at the end of my excavation programme I went to Labuan Bajo and made a telephone call to the head of this office. In a short conversation we discussed the *caci* tournament preparations and I confirmed my attendance at this event. Three days later, I came back to Ruteng by public transport and stayed at the Rima motel.

On the evening of August 17th, I visited the Manggarai Regency Office of Culture and Tourism. While I met the secretary of this office, one by one the members of *ngara golo* group arrived there. After I made the acquaintance of this team, the secretary told me that they would occupy the workshop room for two days and the *mekalandang* team would stay in the Manggarai Regency Office of Religion. By 7 o'clock that evening we had dinner and after a light conversation with the *ngara golo* team, they asked me to participate in the *ronda* procession the next morning. Feeling a sense of indebtedness to them and also to the secretary for their kindness, I agreed to their request. I said goodbye and went back to my motel.

In the morning of 18th August, I walked from my motel to the Manggarai Regency Office of Culture and Tourism. As I walked my mind was considering the way in which the *caci* tournament committee was compromising the caci tournament ritual, since there was no 'real' *golo* (village), an absence of *compang*, and a lack of ancestor blessing. Suddenly, I heard the Manggarain's song accompanied by *gong* sounding across the way. Walking hurriedly, I entered the entrance of this office and lined up in the *ronda* procession.

Shortly after, the *ronda* procession left the Manggarai Regency Office of Culture and Tourism and moved towards the Manggarai Regency office courtyard. I was excited by the police motorcycle escort and the sudden emptying of the road of the dense traffic. After fifteen minutes this procession entered the main gate of the Manggarai Regency office. As they stood on the front yard a Manggaraian elder who led the procession approached the stone table which was laid under the banyan tree. As he laid an offering on this stone, he started to chant and asked the blessing of the ancestor. Once the ritual was completed, the *ronda* procession circled the stone table three times and went out of the Manggarai Regency office. Later, reflecting on this *ronda* ritual, it seemed to me that such a ritual was a 'culture invention' by the *caci* tournament committee and served to validate the new fabrication of the *ronda* ritual for the *caci* tournament on the Indonesian Independence Day in an urban setting.

From the Manggarai Regency office the *ronda* procession marched towards the Manggarai Regency courtyard. While the *ronda* participants stopped in a dilapidated iron construction tent, the *gendang* and *gong* music was played by the musicians who were predominantly Manggaraian women. The musicians remained in the middle of the courtyard on the ceramic floored stage that was covered by a canvas roof. Half an hour later the *ronda* procession from the *mekalandang* group entered the courtyard. They marched to the other broken-down iron construction tent that was installed adjacent to the tent of *ngara golo* group. Following this, the leader from the *ngara golo* group and the leader from the *mekalandang* group met and discussed the *caci* game sequence on the first day tournament. At the same time, snacks and drinks were distributed to the musicians and *caci* participants.

By ten o'clock that morning, most of the VIP guests, including fifteen tourists, had arrived to witness the tournament. While they sat on the viewing stand, the vice-*Bupati* of Manggarai Regency with high level Manggarai Regency officers arrived and took the front seats of the tribune. They were welcomed by the master of ceremonies, who then announced the opening of *caci* tournament and asked the head of Manggarai Regency Office of Culture and Tourism to deliver his speech. The official explained the tournament's purpose and stressed that such events not only preserved the Manggaraian cultural tradition, but also showed off the glorious Manggaraian identity to the national and international public. At the end of his speech he insisted that the *caci* tournament would attract international tourists to Manggarai Regency. After he finished his speech, which was held in the Manggarai language, he bowed before the vice-*Bupati* of Manggarai Regency, waved to the crowd and went back to his seat.

In the speech delivered by the vice-*Bupati* of Manggarai Regency, he addressed the role of tourism in contributing significantly to the rapid economic growth in West Manggarai Regency, especially from the visits of Komodo Island tourists. In 1991 the Komodo Island and the Rinca Island, together with the surrounding seas, were registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List. While Komodo and Rinca National Parks were among the first World Heritage sites in Southeast Asia, the conservation policy of the Manggarai Regency towards these parks reflected the Dutch colonial interest in the natural heritage of the Indonesian archipelago. Imbued by this colonial perspective, the Komodo National Park, which is home to the Komodo dragon (*Varanus komodoensis*), the largest lizard in the world, and its surrounding territories, was perceived as an exotic remote distant tropical island of primitive cultures and unique wildlife that demanded protection, preservation and conservation. Moreover, the long term agenda of this conservation policy was that it would gain global recognition and reputation for the Indonesian government's care of natural science and the promotion of the unique Komodo dragon species to global tourism (Barnard 2012: 85-89, 95-96).

Giving this example, he fully supported the *caci* tournament as a way of asserting and creating the unique and authentic Manggaraian cultural identity, which would easily attract tourist attention. After a short pause, he finally spoke that such events, if managed properly would become a part of the international tourist agenda and could be marketed to the international tourist world. It took me a long time to comprehend his speech and put it within

Photo 7.6: Tourist participation in *caci* game at the Ruteng official regency courtyard (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

the framework of the event, particularly his ideas about enhancing Manggarai Regency tourism, since his speech was delivered in the Manggaraian language. Concerned with

creating an authentic traditional atmosphere, this *caci* tournament also instructed the participants to speak in Manggarai language. Due to the minimal attendance of local guides, I wondered how the tourist guests could understand his speech and the purpose of this event. Observing this event for two days, I concluded that *caci* tournament was not intended to promote the visit of tourists.

The tourists, as honoured guests, were given the chance to interact with *caci* players, especially to act as aggressive attackers (Photo 7.6). However only two tourists were selected by the *caci* committee to participate in this programme and they were put at the end of it. It seemed to me that this was intended more to reflect the hierarchy of the local authority because the first opportunity to take the role of an aggressive attacker was given to the Manggaraian *tua adat* who led this *caci* tournament ritual, then to the vice-*Bupati* of Manggarai Regency, next to the lower official position and so on. In fact, after the vice-*Bupati* and his party left this event, the *caci* committee members completely neglected the tourists and no further programme was arranged for their in the tournament.

Caci and the priest in the megalith village of Todo

Todo is a village located 40 km East of Ruteng, the capital of Manggarai Regency. It is situated in West Satar Meze district (*Kecamatan*) and the population is approximately 1,255 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Manggarai 2009: 61). For the Manggaraian, Todo village is well known in local history as a domain of *wa'u* Todo. The first king of Manggarai was the offspring of this *wa'u* and he was born in this village. Around 1990 the Todo megalith village was listed in the Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) province as a cultural heritage site. However, not until the end of 1993 was the renovation of the Todo megalith village completed by Todo villagers and Father Stanislaw Ograbeck SVD (Erb 1999:16-18).

In May 2010, during my fieldwork in the Manggarai Regency, the Todo megalith village guardian informed me that his nephew would be ordained as a priest on 16th of July in Ruteng and after the official ordination he would be brought back to Todo by his family. Furthermore, *caci* would be performed in Todo to celebrate his ordination as a priest. I became aware of the importance of this event when I heard that the church supported the *caci* that was organised by the villagers and was conducted in this well-known traditional village. Considering my excavation project scheduled for early July and which would be conducted 150 km away from Todo, I soon realised that it would be difficult to reach Todo on July 15th, the date I would have to leave, due to the lack of direct communication via home phone and mobile phone, in addition to difficulties with public transport. However, I informed the Todo site guardian my detailed schedule for July, and promised to attend this event.

One morning in early July 2010, my excavation team left Labuan Bajo and started excavation work at Warloka site (see Chapter 8). While the motorboat slowly moved towards Warloka, I phoned the Todo guardian site and briefly explained my plan to travel to Todo on July 15th. He confirmed that the *caci* event would be performed on 16th and 17th of July. In the morning of July 15th after breakfast I left for Todo village by public motorboat after requesting my assistant to take temporary charge of the excavation programme. In agreement with the excavation team, I was accompanied by the third member of it. Around 11 o'clock we arrived at Labuan Bajo and booked two seats on public transport for our travel to Todo. With very little time to have lunch, we hurriedly went to the restaurant and asked the public transport driver to pick us up from there. The sun was over our heads when the driver picked us up and went straight to Ruteng. He dropped us in a place called Narang and from there a public transport truck brought us to Todo village. As the truck came off at the asphalt road, 200 meters away from Todo, we quickly jumped down from the back. Suddenly I saw the Todo site guardian. We shook hands and I introduced my assistant to him. He then took us to his house where a large number of people were seated. After greeting them politely we sat down and several minutes later a glass of coffee was served to us. The Todo site guardian introduced us to his family members and informed us that many of his nephews/nieces studied in Java and since July was a school semester break, they could come back home to participate in ordination of the priest. He added that every *kilo* (nuclear family) in the Todo village who was related to the *wo'e* (clan) of the new priest held some responsibility in the celebration and at least a sack of rice and a jerry can of *sopi* (palm wine) would be contributed by each of them. A rich *kilo* and a family close to the priest would donate a pig. Such contributions would ensure the sufficiency of food during this event. During this informal meeting that lasted several hours and was filled with friendship and hospitality I obtained a great deal of valuable information including the *caci* schedule performance. Later dinner was served and we all ate together. Finally, around 12 o'clock at night we slept in an open room together with more than 20 people.

Early the next morning, after my bath, my assistant and I were served breakfast of coffee, rice and meat. At 9 o'clock I went to *mbaru Wowang* where the *caci* game ritual would be conducted. After a while, the *mekalandang* (guest) *caci* players from Cancar region came. While they walked through the *natar* (courtyard), the *gong* and *gendang* were played by the women musicians who resided in the *mbaru Tekur*. When all *caci* players had entered *mbaru Wowang* the music stopped and shortly after the *caci* opening ceremony started. After the opening speech by the leader of the *ngara golo* (host) *caci* team, a jerry can of *sopi* was presented to the *mekalandang*. The leader of *mekalandang* gave a speech and later the leader of *ngara golo* and the leader of *mekalandang* discussed the *caci* game rules. While I

was observing this meeting, the Todo site guardian informed me that his nephew would come from Ruteng after the official ordination in Ruteng church.

Half an hour later, I heard a police alarm and the sound of a motorcar and saw a police car in the front of the convoy of cars. A priest stood in the police jeep on which there was a blue light. When the jeep stopped close to the place where we awaited the convoy's arrival, the priest stepped down. At the same time, three girls wearing traditional Manggaraian dresses welcomed the priest and escorted him to the place where *tua golo* and Todo elders stood. Before the welcoming ceremony was conducted, a cup of *sopi* was offered by *tua golo* and the priest drank it. Next, *tua golo* gave a speech and to honour the new priest a cup of palm wine was served to him. The new priest drank it and gave a speech of thanks to *tua golo* and Todo elders. When he had finished his speech, the *ronda* procession started to escort him towards the Todo chapel which was located around 200 meters towards the south of the Todo megalith village. Along the way, the new priest smiled and waved his hands to the villagers who had lined up along the mud path. As the *ronda* procession reached the chapel entrance, the sound of their song and music vanished. While the new priest walked alone to the chapel, the Todo church committee welcomed him. Once again an official priest ordination ceremony would be conducted by the Todo parish committee in this chapel.

Photo 7.7: The new priest's participation in *caci* performance at Todo megalith village (Photo: Anisa Febianti, 2010)

I was still sitting in the chapel when I got my assistant's SMS on my mobile phone informing me of the beginning of the first round of the *caci* game. Thus the second ordination of the priest was conducted simultaneously with the *caci* game performance, which might be the reason that I found only a small number of youngsters and children attending the priest's ordination. Approximately one and a half hours later the ceremony, which was conducted in the Manggaraian language that I could not understand, was over. From the chapel the new priest walked out and approached the *ronda* procession which still stood in the chapel entrance. Once again, the new priest and the Todo parish committee were escorted by the *ronda* procession all the way to *mbaru Wowang*.

Within a quarter of an hour, the procession passed the Todo megalith village and stopped in the courtyard where the *compang* was installed. It soon became apparent that the schedule in which the highly respectable members of Todo and the church committee took a part in the *caci* game would be performed. Following this schedule, *tua golo* was given the first chance to demonstrate his *caci* attacker's skill. Next, the new priest took the role as *caci* attacker (Photo 7.7). This *caci* player demonstration continued from the highest level respectable persons to the lowest level. However, I could not judge their skills as *caci*

Photo 7.8: Performing *caci* in Todo megalith village (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

players, since this was my first experience of seeing the *caci* game. Shortly after the last respectable person had taken his turn and completed the ceremonial combat with the *caci* player, they entered the *mbaru Wowang*. After all the participants were seated in this traditional house, the last ritual was conducted. This started with a welcome speech by *tua golo* in which he expressed appreciation of the church's contribution to the priest's ordination. He further stressed that *wa'u* Todo was very proud of the new priest's achievements. As a part of this ritual, *tua golo* presented a white rooster to the new priest. The new priest also gave a speech, but the rooster was not sacrificed and its intestines were not used as a medium for divination. After this ritual was completed, palm wine and a meal were served to all participants.

While the ritual participants relaxed and chatted in *mbaru Wowang*, the *caci* game continued to be played (Photo 7.8). Since this game did not aim at competition, no winner was announced and no certificate was officially issued after the two day *caci* game. In addition, the *caci* game was integrated with the priest's ordination. Reflecting on this phenomenon, I realised that this was a way the church reshaped the Manggaraians' tradition within the context of the Catholic religion and fitted it into the structure of Catholic ritual. In turn, the *wa'u* Todo's young generation who temporary stayed in Indonesia's biggest city to continue their education accepted such an enculturation. Further, under the church's protection, they created more space to manoeuvre along the local government's cultural heritage mainstream construction and had more freedom to celebrate their cultural heritage event.

Indonesian modernity and *Foi* intangible heritage in Ngadha

On April 2010, during my field work in the Ngadha Regency, I found a number of things that gave evidence of the 'top-down' approach to cultural heritage management by local government. At the same time, the Ngadha people have lost the 21th century faith that the local government can solve all problems in heritage practices. They called for more democratisation in heritage management. The situation in Ngadha portrayed the government's rhetoric policy 'We know what is good for them', and demonstrated that the 'top-down' approach served to marginalise the Ngadha from national plans and enabled them to reap but few benefits from state policy.

My last case in this chapter illustrates that to some extent cultural heritage is dynamic and the meaning and representation of this cultural heritage is negotiated by local people and the Ngadha government in the social, cultural, political, economic and globalisation contexts. In addition, I will argue that cultural heritage practice that is based on bottom-up or community development is more sustainable, both in terms of heritage preservation and of community development than top-down practice since it encourages more freedom for the community to

appreciate their cultural heritage and allows them to share the benefit of the cultural heritage capital. Given this concern, I will focus on a specific case - the inheritance of a *foi* musical tradition, handed down from a father to son, who then developed this legacy in his own way, thus negotiating between cultural heritage politics and artistic development in the specific socio-cultural context of the Ngadha region.

This *foi* musical instrument is made of bamboo and it has five to seven consecutive holes to produce a range of five interval sounds. In general, the *foi* can be divided into bass flute (*foi meze*) and soprano flute (*foi*). *Foi* music uses the diatonic tone-system like Western musical instruments, unlike other Indonesian ethnic music that normally use the pentatonic tone system. In Ngadha *foi* is always played in a flute orchestra, which consists of 10-12 players (Photo 7.9). The melody is in a simple musical style and without distribution of major and minor (rhythms) chords. The *foi* music orchestra mainly plays the popular elaborate epic songs of the Ngadha ethnic ancestor. According to Jaap Kunst, *foi* music is performed only at very rare occasions like the filing of the teenagers' teeth, or at a coming of age ceremony (Bos, 1999).

While Javanese and Balinese traditional musical instruments are well-known in the Western world, the traditional music from outer Indonesian islands is much less known. As indicated in Chapter 6, Jaap Kunst who worked for the Archaeological Department of the Netherlands, East Indies Government had published books and articles on music and dance in the archipelago outside of Java, including Flores Island. He was also in charge of the Institute of

Photo 7.9: The Ngadha girls performing *foi* orchestra (Photo: Father Th. Verhoeven)

Musicology, founded by the Indisch Instituut in 1930 for the study and recording of music in the colonies and in Holland (Bos 1999). It is no wonder that he collected a large number of Ngadha *foi* musical instruments. Today his *foi* collection is kept by National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Recently Paula Bos (1999) re-studied this tradition of the Ngadha Flores musical instruments, particularly *foi* instrument, as well as the biographies of their collectors – Jaap Kunst and Father Pe Rozing. She also spent five months (December 1993 – April 1994) in this region and collected mostly *foi* music instruments for the Tropenmuseum. As a result, this museum has now a collection of approximately 300 *foi* musical instruments, which is probably the largest collection in the world.

Today, the foi music orchestra is regarded by the Ngadha Regency authority as of great significance for the intangible cultural heritage and needs to be preserved and protected. The Ngadha government strategically selects this music, since it is a sign of cultural authenticity which can perfectly legitimise Ngadha's ethnic position in the Indonesian nation's slogan '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*'. Further, this living cultural tradition's authentication on the basis of an unchanging past is evidently supported by colonial officers' writings, Western anthropologists' research, publications and museum collections. Once again, the *foi* music orchestra's designation by the Ngadha government as an intangible cultural heritage and a standard of local Indonesian culture has naturalised the Ngadha ethnic culture in a slot of what Li (2000: 149) calls indigenous and tribal people. Regarding the *foi* music orchestra as an exotic intangible cultural heritage that marks the Ngadha ethnic pride and recognising the cultural capital of such music that can be consumed by tourists, the Ngadha government facilitates its preservation and management. Under the supervision of the Ngadha Regency Office of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport (*Dinas Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Pemuda dan Olahraga*/PKPO), an officer was appointed to register all *foi* music orchestra groups in the Ngadha region. As a result 13 groups have been officially listed in the PKPO data base. In order to preserve and to protect these groups from extinction, PKPO provided funds to each group each year. However, in many cases, PKPO funds were used by the *foi* players for non-musical activities such as buying rice seed and undertaking small economic enterprises. While activities like agricultural organisation and small enterprises were not within the jurisdiction of PKPO, the bankruptcy of such enterprises organised by the *foi* music orchestra groups could raise internal conflict. Thus, PKPO needed to monitor these funds to ensure that they are used only for enhancing the *foi* orchestra groups' performances and musical professionalism in their day-to day activities.

In managing the *foi* music orchestras' authenticity, PKPO set up a standard performance on the basis of an unchanging past. These groups were not allowed to create new songs, and the *foi* players were dominated by elders who made a living as farmers and rarely rehearsed *foi* music. In fact, PKPO held strong authority and control over the *foi* music orchestras. Once these groups tried to break the PKPO's control but suddenly they lost PKPO's funds. Since these *foi* music orchestras have never renewed their players, they played a minor role in Ngadha's ethnic rituals and only a small number of tourists were attracted to *foi* performances. It is no wonder that this music has lost its popularity among the younger generation of Ngadhas and will be gradually forgotten.

As time passed, the younger generation of Ngadha called for more democratisation in heritage management approaches. Despite considerable lobbying by the young Ngadha musicians, PKPO officials retained their *foi* orchestra preservation guidelines and claimed control over this intangible cultural heritage. While the UNESCO convention for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage (2011: 9-10) article 11 (a) stated that the government '*take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory*' and 11 (b) '*among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations*'. It is important also to note that in article 15:

> '*Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management*'.

Following these articles, it is clear that preservation and conservation of intangible cultural heritage has to be pertinent to its community, endlessly reproduced and disseminated from one generation to the next. Indeed, in such processes it is possible that a number of components of intangible cultural heritage could become extinct. However, safeguarding this cultural heritage allows for dynamic change and avoids an effort to freeze and fix former static intangible cultural heritage forms. As indicated in these articles, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage must be dedicated to and aimed at the advantage and involvement of the public and community. Accordingly, safeguarding priority is stressed for intangible cultural heritage that provides a sense of continuity, represents the identity of the community and is recognised as theirs (UNESCO 2012: 4).

According to this UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage convention, it is evident that PKPO shows their tendency to hold the centralising authority over formal heritage institutions.

Facing oppression from the power of PKPO heritage institutions, feeling their marginal status with respect to *foi* elder players, and lacking the opportunity to share economic benefits from *foi music* orchestra performances, the young Ngadha musicians finally had the vision to reinvent their *foi* music orchestra heritage.

A new genre called 'Ngadha ethnic pop' music, which has deep roots in *foi* music orchestra, was proposed by the young Ngadhas. Bonney Zua was the central figure in the reinvention of this *foi* intangible cultural heritage. He was born in 1985 at Were village, Bajawa, Ngadha Regency. Born in the sub-clan Bajawa, his father was a member of a *foi* music orchestra. From childhood Bonney learnt not only the bamboo flute (*foi*), but also traditional Ngadha guitar and traditional Ngadha drums. As a teenager he attended junior high school, where he had the chance to practice Western musical instruments with his friends. After finishing his senior high school, he did not enrol in college since he lacked funding and had little financial support from his parents. Feeling helpless because of the PKPO's financial support to his father's *foi* music orchestra, he left his father's music group. .

By 2001 Bonney had embarked on a solo music career. With the help of his friends and funding from Ngadha music producers he released his first album on a Video Compact Disc (VCD). This first album showed a move away from the monotonous *foi* music towards modern Indonesian pop music. Using a synthesiser to produce *foi* like sound, accentuating with some Western musical instruments to align with Western harmony, and adopting country and reggae genres to reflect modern pop music, Bonney's music reached a high level of popularity among the Ngadha. Through this VCD album, a successful profit-making venture was established, since this album sold around 3,000 copies, generated employment for 10-15 Ngadha people, a cast and crew of 30 were villagers especially for dance performances, and reaped a profit of Rp. 30,000,000.

According to Hogget and Bishop (1986: 40-42), this new kind of grassroots movement in intangible heritage can be characterised by self-organised institutions conveying various heritage interpretations (artistic, written, spoken, visual), where these interpretations are viewed as a product of this institution that can be consumed (Ashworth 1994: 16-18). Most importantly, Ngadha ethnic pop music also reflects the struggle to secure a place in the Indonesian national identity. Bonney's VCD album provides an example of such a struggle. Since the Ngadha's intangible cultural heritage is associated with *Kebudayaan Daerah* (local ethnic primitive and traditional culture), the Ngadha people see themselves as a marginal ethnic group within the Indonesian nation state. To eliminate such a status and to include themselves in the Indonesian national discourse, they must achieve a relatively high modernity level and enhance their Ngadha ethnic unity and pride. As we shall see, Bonney's

song from his VCD album called '*Mosa Ngadha*' (Ngadha Leader) brilliantly raised such issues.

Mosa Ngadha
(Ngadha leader)

Mai masa kita wi podhu padhi
Let's sit together
Papa mazi le madhi wasi
Meeting and finding solution
Papa laka ne'e mosa Ngada
Helping Ngadha leader
Watu tana ata wi ma'e laga
Defend our boundary

Mai si kita wi dutu penga dulu
Let's assemble together
Su'u kita bodha le papa suru
Sharing our burden
Su'u sa'a bodha le papa laka
Heavy or light it must be shared together
Mai masa kita isi Ngada
Come on, all of Ngadha society

Seboge kita nga riu roe
Although we only have a loaf of meat, we must share it
Kita bodha dulu dhowe dhowe
We have to share together

Sekepo kita nga nari neto
Although we only have a handful of sweets, we must share it
Mai masa kita penga to'o
Let's stand together

Kita loga ne'e da Golewa
We have to share (everything) with Golewa people
Raba kita ma'e papa bheka
In order that we will not be separated
Ma'e rera ne'e da Maronggela
Never, exiled Maronggela people
Isi Ngada ma'e bheka data
In order, Ngada ethnic will not be scattered
Mai masa kita wi podhu padhi
Come on, let's sit together

This message is strengthened by the visualisation of a red-white Indonesian national flag, Ngadha ethnic costume, and the Ngadha Regency leader (*Bupati*)'s dance. Although this

song is dominated by a noticeable mainstream style and simple rhythmic *foi* music, the pop taste is constructed through the warm tone banjo sound similar to a country genre style, produced by the electronic synthesiser. In addition, modernity is manifested by influences of Western music genres and the use of technological innovations of Western musical instruments.

However, at the same time the Ngadha concerns go beyond frustration, hopelessness and worry, since they feel that the local government looks down on them and ignores them and they suffer from the local government's practice of inequality in cultural heritage. This song clearly demonstrates the Ngadha's complaint against the Ngadha Regency's policy and their protest against the Ngadha government's unfulfilled promises.

Moza Ngadha
Ngadha Leader

Moza Ngada bodha lama baga
The Ngadha leader must visit
Azi ana dia ge nua tana
The people who stay in the Ngadha villages
Mosa Ngada lama tei ngia
The Ngadha leader lets present
Magha dia dhele gubu gaba
To the Ngadha who face confusing problems

Pu'u olo da ngodho dhele punu go molo
Previously, wonderful promises were announced to us
Kami dho'o sai dhu sadho
We successfully supported your wonderful promises
Kami dho'o nga fadho
We successfully supported these promises
Pota dhu dhapi tebo
And sacrificed our body to bring about these promises
Soro kami dhele lau alo
However, our hopes was just thrown to the river

Denge pata da bhasi
Listening to the uttering of wonderful promises
Gote ne'e uza angi
Although, in the middle of rain and wind
Peju masa dhapi go ngo ngani
Leaving all activities
Jaji ma'e ka'e azi ne'e pata bila rai
Promising promises to the relatives with the wonderful words
Bila rai leka dhano boa go mazi
But it is only wonderful promises

Zala oto noa tama
Recently, car road which is officially functioned
Dia moe poma kaba
It is looks like buffalo mud hole
Azi ana mona pata apa
Our relatitves cannot do anything
Pu'u lese na lese azi ana da dara
Our relatives just wait for promises to promises
Lese lese boa tau meze ate
Promises just to encourage our hopes i

Zala oto noa kono
Recently, car road which is officially used
Dia moe rongo joro
It is looks like the road of the goat herd route
Lama wado wi papa pango
Please hurry home to see it
Azi doa idi pata
Our relatives report this matter
Boa le zenge bheka
However, it is only promise to solve this matter and never has been done
Pame ema dhano bha'l tei baga
The elders who are supposed to help have never appeared

Photo 7.10: A number of VCD the Ngadha ethnic pop music (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Currently, Ngadha ethnic pop music is not primarily marketed for local consumers and the Ngadha people who work as distributors have created links and a network to distribute such VCDs globally (Photo 7.10), particularly among their relatives and friends who have migrated to big cities in Indonesia and abroad. It is not accidental that the issue of being cosmopolitan and retaining local ethnic pride is represented in Ngadha pop music VCD as follows:

Buku Reba
(*Reba* Ritual)

Mali nga la'a loza
If you will migrate
Loza loza ge ota ola
Migrating to elsewhere places
Lama wado dhegha buku reba
Be back soon, to remember *Reba* ritual
Adha kita wi ma'e bheka
So that our tradition will not be extinct

Mali nga la'a ezo
If you migrate
Ezo ezo ge wolo leko
To migrate passing mountain and river
Lama wado dhepo buku reba
Be back soon to attend *Reba* ritual
Adha kita wi ma'e rebho
In order, our tradition will not be forgotten

Buku reba si lama baga
Reba ritual will come soon
Hiwa se deka wi papa mu'a
Once a year we will meet together
Be'o ngia ne'e ka'e doa
So that to be acquainted with our relatives

Buku reba si lama mai
Reba ritual be back soon
Hiwa se wa'i wi papa sai
Once a year to meet each other
Tei ngia ne'e ka'e azi
Face to face with our relatives

This song was introduced in the VCD album *Peu Pado* (arranging activity) and launched by an SVD Father in Bajawa with Bonney Zua as the guest star (Photo 7.11) (Sudarmadi forthcoming). These Fathers are well-educated, intelligent and able to negotiate their

multiple identities - indigenous Flores ethnic group, Florenese, and Indonesian. The lyrics of the song *Buku Reba* represented their life experience as a member of a marginal ethnic community and also a modern citizen of the Indonesian nation. This representation was also strengthened by the singer who wore Ngadha traditional ethnic dress and stood under the *ngadhu* structure against a backdrop of Ngadha villagers dancing in the Bena megalith village court yard during the *Reba* (new years) ritual. These visualisations raised a sense of longing for the Flores migrants who rarely go back home and visit their traditional villages.
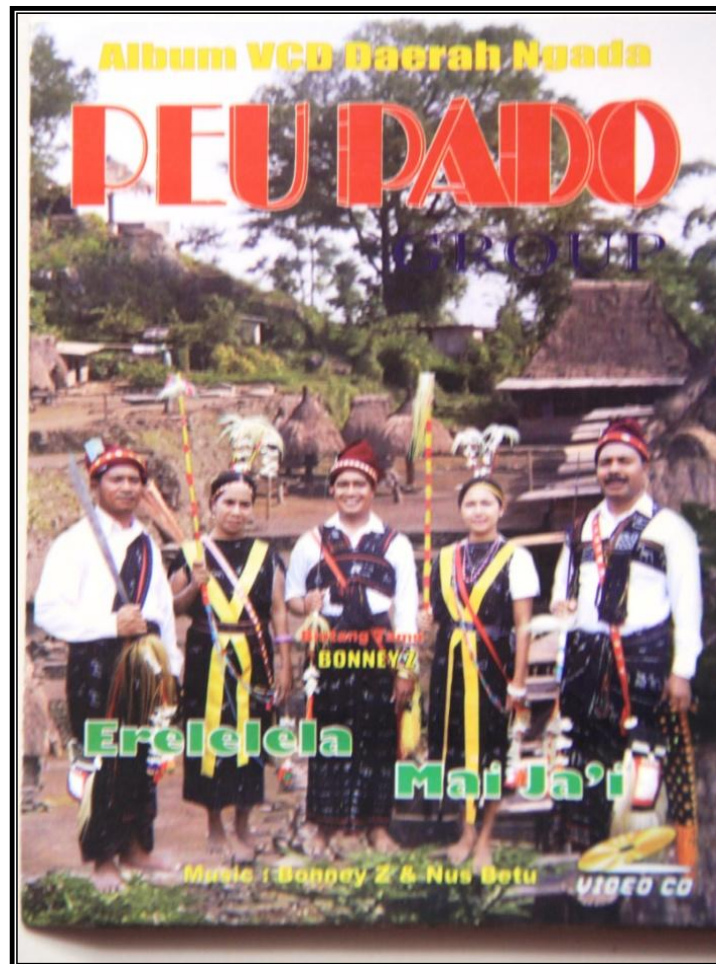
Photo 7.11: VCD Cover of *Peu* Pado an Album of the Ngadha ethnic pop music (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

While the *Peu Pado* VCD album achieved the highest sales in Flores and Nusa Tenggara Timur region, the Ngadha ethnic pop music project offered a potential model for community access and involvement in heritage management by inviting local people to participate in the background dance, using their megalith village as a shooting location and introducing the villagers' everyday life to various local, regional, national and international Ngadha ethnic music pop consumers. According to Byrne (2008a: 162-163) who observed the cultural heritage grassroots movement in Western countries, this bottom-up approach addressed the social significance of heritage and reflects the idea that people and communities are not only

passive inheritors of heritage, but are also active owners and agents of heritage change. In a similar way, my case study on the *foi* traditional music in Ngadha reflects a bottom-up approach of cultural heritage management. The shift from the Indonesian centred government in the New Order to the era of regional autonomy in Reformation did not bring a fundamental change in the cultural heritage management practice of the Indonesian government's cultural heritage institutions 'in the service of the state'. As I illustrated through my case studies in Manggarai Regency and Ngadha   Regency, local   government continues to hold on to the   concept of top-down approach. Accordingly, it is part of the elite local government's obligation to guard, fabricate and domesticate their cultural heritage, which exemplifies unique and authentic ethnic tradition characteristics. Further, by detaching and excluding them from their cultural contexts, the Manggarai and Ngadha governments standardise such cultural heritage into the mainstream Indonesian nation and place them as symbols of the Manggaraian's and the Ngadha's identity. By promoting this cultural heritage to the international stage, the local government also uses it for tourist consumption. It also reflects the colonial legacies, especially in the way in which local governments fabricate local people's cultural heritage as a part of 'imagining' a national culture which is not based on what indigenous cultural tradition in fact is at present, but in what local governments could potentially construct, or what local governments could shape for their own benefit. However, in the '*Keterbukaan*' transparency era the Manggarai and Ngadha governments' actions in turn trigger the Manggaraians and the Ngadhas to officially claim ownership of their cultural heritage.

It is for this reason that I argue that decentralisation would transfer the Indonesian central government's authority on cultural heritage management at the local level. Following my case study on cultural heritage management in Manggarai and Ngadha region, I argue that cultural heritage is not only interpreted in terms of its value to display national identity, but is also interpreted in terms of its value to the public and significance to people who are culturally or historically linked to the resource (ethnic value). Furthermore, when this concept is applied, the cultural heritage management practices are more dynamic and democratic since they allow bottom-up approach. This concept is fundamental and will be fully demonstrated in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 8

Searching for ancestral origins: experiences with a grass-root heritage approach at Warloka

Ngadha and Manggaraian cultural heritage is both tangible and intangible with stories that are believed to be handed down from the first Ngadha and Manggaraian ancestor to the current generation who tells the stories and gives meaning to the tangible heritage. As anchor-points for collective memories, such heritage has great significance as territory marker (spatial map) symbols of ancestral continuity (ideology map) and ethnic identity (social map). However, although the present generation has an intimate relationship with its cultural heritage in their everyday lives, it does not mean that their heritage is constant, static, fixed and inherent. In fact each generation views its heritage in its own way. It does so by, reinterpreting traditional features and assigning new significance to these features and by inventing new practices. These new practices however, are currently believed to be traditional features, i.e. invented tradition. Indeed, Ngadha and Manggaraian villagers play an active role in the social construction of their heritage. As discussed in Chapter 7, they fuse new values to their heritage and thus create emotional connections to specific remembrance and commemoration practises by selective inclusion and exclusion of tangible and intangible heritage. This engagement also implies contestation among themselves with respect to their heritage.

In this chapter, using my ethno-archaeological field work in Ngadha and Manggarai region and the results of my excavation at the Warloka site, West Manggarai, Flores, I will explore such issues and will also outline the ways in which the Ngadha and Manggaraian villagers with whom I interacted create, invent, produce and select their myths, ancestral monuments and ancient places with the aim of attaching identity, accessing land, legitimising social position and asserting power and authority. To this end, my case studies are pilots for a bottom-up approach to cultural heritage management in which social dialogue, public participation and grassroots democratisation are stimulated. The following account will explain that this also involves a discussion on the role of the expert archaeologists. While their excavations reveal new data regarding material cultures of the past, their interpretation of such data might result in the new historical narrative and intervene in collective memory construction.

Warloka origin myth

While megalith villages, land and sacred landscapes in the Ngadha and West Manggarai Regencies are closely related to ancestral legacy, the establishment of ancestor lineage ties, and the maintenance of rights and access to such heritage are legitimised through the myths of origin. No wonder thousands of myths of origin have persisted, consisting of long recitations of the names of places, megaliths structure and ancestor's credentials associated with these locations and stone monuments. These myths are performed annually and intended for large-scale and public attendance, such as the *Reba* (new years) ceremony in the Nage megalith village, Ngadha Regency, which has been recorded by Sudarmadi (1999). Of all the stories considered "myth of origin", this chapter will focus on the myth of origin of the Manggaraian from Todo megalith village, and of the Ngadha from Bajawa town. These two ancestor stories mention a more or less identical lineage of descent, refer to the same sacred place of origin and each narrates a migration journey route that starts outside of the island of Flores.

According to the Manggaraian myth of origin, the Mashur clan – the ancestors of the Manggaraian - shipped out from *Bonengkabo*[1] towards the east in search of a new land. One day they landed in *Warloka*, where they met the indigenous people there. *Mashur* and his clan then bought pigs, built houses and stayed on there. As they constructed their houses from stone pillars (menhirs) and stone blocks (dolmens), their pregnant pigs ran off from the pig-sties towards the east. *Mashur* accompanied by his friends chased these pregnant animals. Three days later they found the pigs wandering at *Lale Lombong*. Facing a natural obstacle in bringing the pigs back to Warloka and being afraid of expulsion by the *Warloka* people, they decided to establish a new settlement at *Lale Lombong*. As time went by, their houses at *Warloka* fell into ruin, i.e. megalithic monuments (Bekkum 1944: 147-148). After some time *Mashur*'s pigs again ran away and went further east. Fortunately, *Mashur* with his servants could trace the path of his pigs and caught them in *Kilor*. From there, *Mashur* crossed the hill *Weri Ata* and brought his pigs to a place called *Todo*. Finally, he asked his family and friends to settle down and build a village in *Todo* (Bekkum 1946: 65). Later, Mashur also married a local woman from Todo and settled in a village, which at present is called Todo megalith village site. The Todo descendants' reputation soared in 1890 when they defeated the Bima Sultanate in Manggarai. Furthermore, Alexander Baroek from the Todo clan was crowned as Manggarai king by the Dutch colonial authorities in 1930 (Erb 1997: 70-74; Lawang 2004: 112-115,138, 180)

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[1] Most Manggarains associated *Bonengkabo* words with Minangkabau, a Malay ethnic group who live around West Sumatera today.

Elders from Bajawa and the village of Jawameze narrated the myth of the journey of the Ngadha ancestors who came from *Sina*[2] and crossed *Selo*. According to the myth, when they arrived at *Jawa One*, they married the native women there and stayed for more than a generation. Then their offspring started to migrate to *Raba* and went straight to Sumba. From there, *Jawa meze,* their leader led the migration to Flores. When Jawa meze arrived at Ngadha, Flores, he was accompanied by his seven daughters (*Ngadha*, *Naru*, *Vatu*, *Lodo*, *Gisi*, *Siga* and *Rani*), and seven sons (*Ratu Jawa*, *Bima*, *Jati Jawa*, *Todo*, *Dara*, *Sama* and *Faga*). After a while, *Jawa meze* and all his sons returned to Jawa One, but all his daughters stayed in the Ngadha region. Today, *Ngadha*, *Naru*, *Vatu*, *Lodo*, *Gisi*, *Siga* and *Rani* are the names of sub-clans (woe*)* in Bajawa Regency (Arndt 2009: 348-388)*.*

The above ancestor stories are examples of myths of origin that are based on the concept of colonisation since they entail the exploration of new places and the subsequent conquest of the land that was occupied by indigenous people. It is not surprising therefore that such myths started with the migration of *Bonengkabo* (Manggaraian ancestor) to a place called Warloka and *Sina* (Ngadha ancestor) to a land where they met indigenous people, married the women and stayed on afterwards with their descendants. Further examination shows that these myths also picture people from the west as the conquerors of Manggarai and Ngadha regions. This view is also strongly embedded in the Ngadha basic social kinship structure. For the Ngadha, the Manggaraians are elder brothers since Todo's sisters' moved from Manggarai to Bajawa and generated new clans.

One of the most important places mentioned in these myths, particularly as a starting point of the ancestral migrant to explore Manggarai and Bajawa regions, was Warloka. While in the ancestor myth Warloka was mentioned, its place on the map and general knowledge of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha has long been recognised. Located on the western bay coast of West Manggarai Regency, this place is administratively part of *Kelurahan* (sub-district) Kenari, which has three villages: Kenari, Cumbi and Warloka (Figure 8.1). While Warloka village is situated close to the beach, Cumbi village consists of lowland areas and Kenari village is located in the hilly region. The Kenari sub-district is also heterogeneous in population and religion. Warloka village is mostly inhabited by the Sumbanese who are Moslems, while Cumbi and Kenari villages are occupied by the Manggaraian, who are Catholics. Today Warloka has a population of approximately around 530 and they make a

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[2] According to Henky Nai my informant, *Sina* is known as China today, he also relates it to the existence of many Ngadhanese woman who have light skin like Chinese women.

living as fishermen. From the archaeological point of view, this village has been long and inarguably identified as a potential site where remnants of megaliths structures and a huge number of artefacts such as fragments of porcelain, bronze, iron and stone tools are easily found in the surrounding areas (Bekkum 1944; Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984).

Fascinated by the fact that according to both early observations (references) and my own fieldwork Warloka is documented in the oral history of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha, the Warloka site raised my interest. Work experience confirmed that an archaeological site that is prominent in collective memories, leaves considerable evidence buried deep underground like stone tools, pottery, ceramics, grave goods and human bones. The Warloka villagers
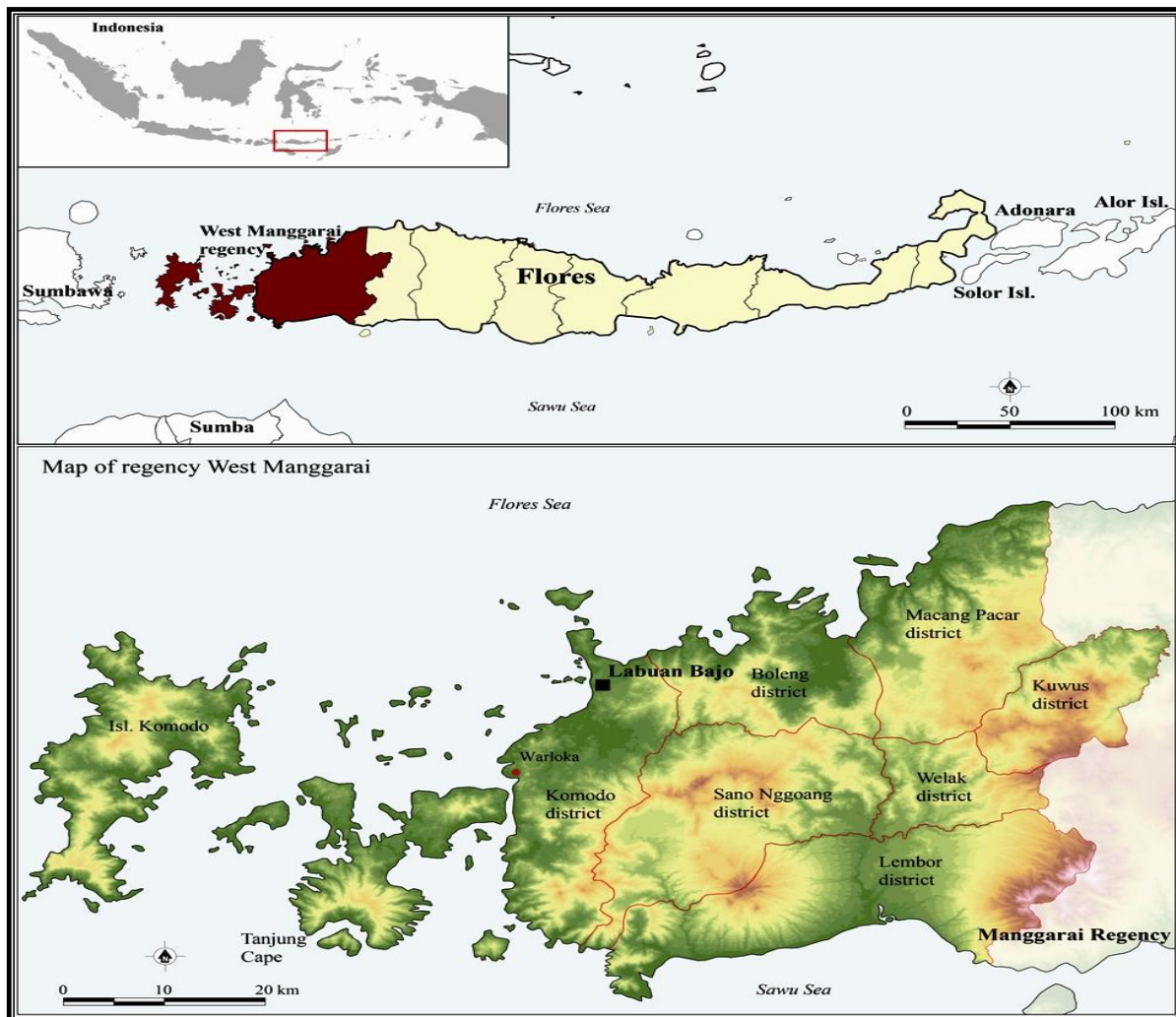
Figure 8.1: The Warloka site location (drawn by Jaap Fokkema)

narrate the story of organised gangs of tomb looters who dug up and damaged megalith structures in search of buried treasure around the 1970s. Erb (1997: 72; 1999: 66) also reported a story told by Warloka villagers of a tomb robber who found a human skeleton wearing golden necklaces and bracelets along with Chinese porcelain from the Sung, Yuan and Ming period. Today the Manggarai Regency keeps in its office at least ten porcelain

objects from China and Thailand obtained by arresting tomb robbers and confiscating their booty (Photo 8.1). In 198, a team from the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research (*Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional*) carried out a field survey and excavation in Warloka. The field survey focused on systematic recognition, identification of artefacts and recording monumental structures on the surface of the Warloka landscape, i.e. shores, hill slopes and hill tops. When dense concentration of artefacts and visual stone constructions were found on the surface, these were defined as archaeological sites (Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984: 1-3).

The field survey identified nine sites around the Warloka village. One site was located close to the beach, six sites were discovered on the slopes of the hills and the remaining sites were found on the hill tops (Figure 8.2). However, many of these sites had been damaged and ruined as result of tomb looting for the illegal trade in antiquities. This was done by criminals who came from outside the community. As a result of this, excavations were carried out at two sites – *Bea Warloka* and *Tonggong Wai Jawa* - which showed minimal disturbance of the archaeological context. The test pit excavation method was used to discover archaeological remains. Such a method allowed the examination and fast assessment of the potential of the site within a limited time and with limited funding (Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984: 4-7).

Photo 8.1: Ceramics from Warloka site which are kept at West Manggarai Regency office (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)
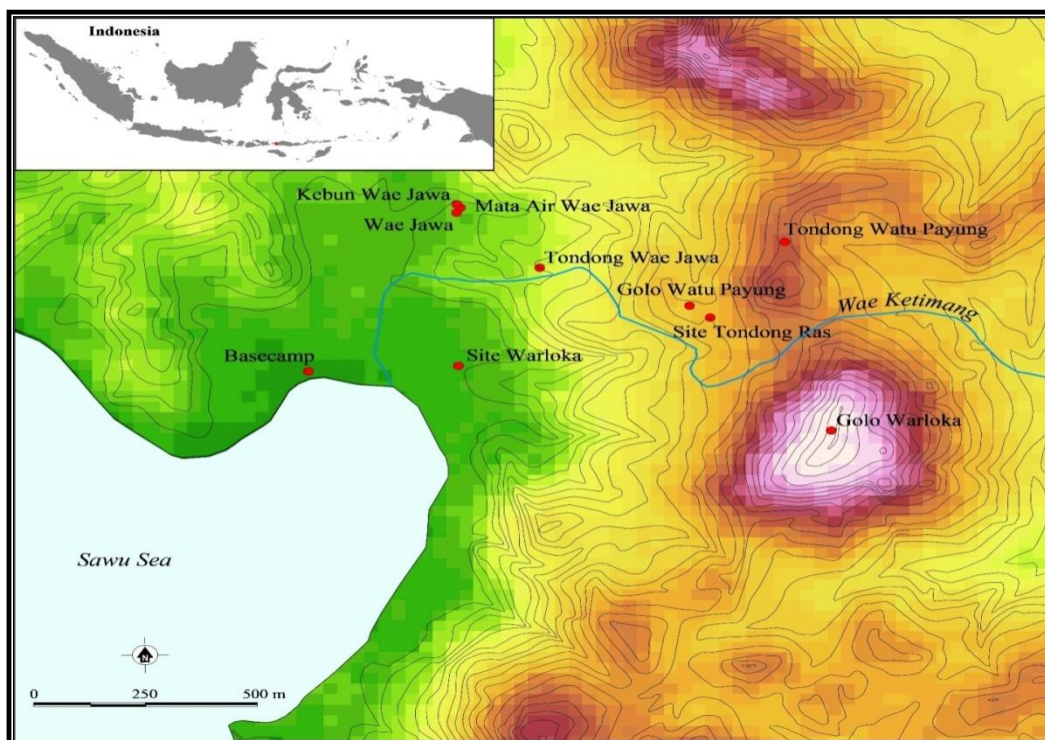
Figure 8.2: Site distribution at Warloka village according to the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeology Research (drawn by Jaap Fokkema and V. Ngesti Wahyuono)

Once the surface survey and test pit excavation were completed, more than 5,000 fragments of artefacts and megalith structures – menhirs and dolmens – had been recovered. Most of them were pottery fragments such as bowls, plates, cooking pots etc. In addition, stone tools were also recovered, i.e. chopping tools, flake, blade stone core and stone debris, and stoneware fragments, i.e. jars, jugs, plates and bowls which were of the Sung (10th-13^h Century), Yuan (13th-14th Century), Ming (14th-17th Century) and Qing (17th-19th Century) dynasties of China, Vietnam and Thailand (Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984:9-19).

Archaeological evidence from the surface survey and test pit showed that the Warloka site was both a habitation centre and a place of worship. Based on relative chronology the site has been occupied since the prehistoric era, Palaeolithic 900,000 -800,000 years ago, Mesolithic 40,000 – 30,000 years ago and (with no Neolithic finds so far) Bronze-Iron Age artefacts 10,000 – 2,000 years ago - to the historical period from the 10th to the 19th Century AD (Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984: ix, 11-12, 20). All the artefacts from Warloka excavation were transported to Jakarta and kept in the store of the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research, Jakarta. A number of publications on the Warloka excavations were also sent to the Manggarai official Regency.

This archaeological excavation reflected the Dutch colonial legacy of cultural heritage practices (see Chapter 2). The archaeologists from Java, as the guardians, protectors and stewards of past material culture, discussed the finds only among themselves and did not share the archaeological knowledge. As scientists and Indonesian government officials of tangible cultural heritage, their office was situated in Jakarta, the capital, metropolis, and the centre of the Indonesian Republic. Possibly in the 'Jawa One' to which the Ngadha ancestor myth refers, this Java centrism resonates. From the centre the experts explored remote indigenous people or ethnic cultural heritage, collected indigenous cultural heritage, and detached these objects from the cultural context. They brought them to the metropolis and did not document or analyse the information and cooperation of the indigenous population concerned with these objects. Finally, archaeologists from Jakarta stored such indigenous cultural artefacts in their institutions and infused them with new meanings inspired by their own perspective. In Chapter 2 I have argued that this perspective somehow keeps the current inhabitants of the megalith villages in an a-historical distant past.

The dominant role of the Indonesian central authorities from the Indonesian National Archaeological Research Centre, in survey, excavation and reporting compelled me to question the role of indigenous people in the cultural heritage management discourse. Moreover, such questions also haunted my archaeological views and fuelled my desire to visit Warloka village. In 2003, participating in my MA supervisor Mike Morwood's archaeology and paleontological project in Liang Bua, Flores gave me the opportunity to stay in Warloka village for a week from the 7th to the 15th of June.

Accompanied by the Warloka site guardian, I explored all the places that were mentioned in scientific journals such as *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi* and *Cultureel Indie*. At that time Warloka village, together with Cumbi village and Kenari village, were already included in the Kenari sub-district. While the fishermen of Warloka were migrants from Bima, Cumbi village was inhabited by migrants from the Manggaraian Cibal clan, and Kenari village was dominated by indigenous Manggaraian who claimed to be the descendents of the first inhabitants of Warloka. Who were these 'first inhabitants'? In order to answer this question, my search began with becoming acquainted with the Warloka tangible heritage and I soon realised the significance of the megaliths, their position in the Warloka landscape and their social context. Three Warloka sites were situated close to Warloka village and the remaining sites were scattered along the way from Warloka village to Kenari. During initial efforts to relate these megaliths to Warloka early settlers, I revealed the Todo myth of origin to the Warloka villagers and I asked whether Mashur was really their first forebear. They commented, however, that their ancestor was not Mashur from Minangkabau but that Mpu

Mboring from Bima was their ancestor. Since many Warloka villagers stressed that they had no knowledge of the Warloka site myth of origin, they guided me to the elders who knew this story. This is what one of the elders told me in 2003.

According to the story narrated by Muhammad Hassanudin, one of the Bimanese Warloka elders, a deity named Skota Lalo Garam travelled from his place in the west towards the east where the sun rises. As he continued his journey, he felt tired and met an old couple who had no children. Being afraid that nobody would take care of them, especially when they became so old they could no longer work in their garden, the couple adopted Skota Lalo Garam as their son.

There was a well close to Skota Lalo Garam's house and each month at midnight on a Thursday he heard water sprinkling, and women giggling and laughing. One day he asked his foster father Umpur Wai who took a bath in that well at midnight on a Thursday each month. His foster father answered, "My son, seven beautiful fairies come down from heaven and take a bath in our well on a Thursday at midnight each month." One Thursday at midnight Skota Lalo Garam was awakened by the noise of fairies laughing and when he crawled to the well, he saw that seven nude fairies were taking a bath. Enchanted by their beauty, he decided to marry one of them. He then took away the clothes and wings of one of the fairies. After bathing one of the seven fairies could not fly away to heaven because she had lost her clothes and wings. When the sun was almost up six fairies flew to heaven leaving her alone. She started crying and Skota Lalo Garam approached her. He asked her to stay with him and married her.

As time went by, Siti Nderlawang – Skota Lalo Garam's wife- became pregnant. During her pregnancy, she had a craving for red deer meat. She told her husband, who went to hunt the deer. While her husband was out chasing the deer, Siti Nderlawang gave birth to a daughter called Siti Bidi Radabia. In the meantime Skota Lalo Garam chased the deer towards east. The animal led him on a merry chase. Facing several natural obstacles, he sat down to take a rest and while he was resting he met an old man. Actually, the old man was the King of the sun and he asked Skota Lalo Garam to visit his palace. The old man had a daughter named Puteri Menurung and Skota Lalo Garam fell in love with her. After a week Skota Lalo Garam married the daughter of the King sun. Nine months later, she gave birth to a son called Mas Tatanegara.

Not until the end of his childhood did Mas Tatanegara ask his father's permission to travel towards the west. Before he left the palace, his father told him that he had a sister named Siti Bidi Radabia. She stayed with her mother, grandfather and grandmother in a house

close to the well. She was easily recognisable since she had a scar on her head. In search of his sister, Mas Tatanegara followed his father's past journey path. Year after year he walked the hills and crossed ravines. One day, he met an attractive girl who was drawing water from a well. He then asked her if he could take a rest in her house, she answered that she lived alone in a house not too far from the well. At this very moment they fell in love and shortly afterwards they married. Somewhat later, Mas Tatanegara discovered a scar on his wife's head. When he asked his wife the names of her father and mother, his wife told him that her father's name was Skota Lalo Garam and her mother's name was Siti Nderlawang. As soon as they discovered that they were brother and sister, they divorced. Then, his ex-wife Siti Bidi Radabia went towards the west but she could not cross a big river. With her supernatural powers, she transformed herself into a little tiny boat (*ndekar*). As she plunged into the river in the form of *ndekar* she was washed away and floated downstream.

At the same time, Mpu Mboring, a fisherman from Warloka village, fished with a casting net around Warloka's shoreline. He fished for almost three days but he had only bad luck since he only caught ten tiny sea fishes and a *ndekar*. He went home and put the *ndekar* on his table. Early the next morning, he pushed his boat into the sea and tried to catch some big fish with his casting net. When he went home he was surprised to find many kinds of delicious food on his table. The next day again he fished around the shore and when he returned home, once again he found plenty of delicious food on his table. Wondering who was cooking all the food the next morning he pretended to take his boat out to the sea, but came back to his house a minute later. Peeping inside his house through a hole in the wall he saw a beautiful woman with a huge number of servants coming out from the *ndeka.* They then started to cook delicious food. Being afraid that he would lose them, he ran into his house and broke the *ndeka* into little pieces. When her secret could not be concealed anymore, Siti Bidi Rabadia told Mpu Mboring that her mother was Siti Nderlawang, a fairy who previously lived in heaven. Soon Mpu Mboring asked Siti Bidi Rabadia to marry him and she agreed to marry him as long as he did not eat tiny sea fish anymore.

After their wedding Siti, with her magic power and with a little help from her servants, built a stone palace in Warloka, and although Mpu Mboring became a rich and honoured man, sometimes he fished around the Warloka beach. One day he caught a few tiny sea fishes but he could not withstand eating them. However, when he got home, his wife saw a trail of tiny sea fish stuck on his moustache. A year later, Siti caught Mpu Mboring eating tiny sea fish again. Finally, Siti left Mpu Mboring after she came to realise that he ate tiny sea fish. She travelled towards the south and stopped for a moment in Nampa Bako – a place on the island of Rinca. When she knew Mpu Mboring could trace her path, she kicked Nampa Bako

land until it flew away and landed in the sea far away from Flores Island separated by Molo strait. She then continued her journey and took rest in Nonto Mori – a cape towards West Komodo Island - where she gave birth to a son. Still having the magical ring from heaven, she was able to transform her son into the magical ring. Then she asked a dolphin to swallow the magical ring and swim to Bima Island, where his grandfather and grandmother waited for their grandson's arrival. It is believed by Warloka villagers that Siti Bidi Rabadia's son later became the ancestor of the Bimanese Sultan.

Upon my return from Warloka, I was intrigued by the immediate questions from Manggarai people[3] living in Todo and Ruteng Puu. The questions that they asked were: what did Warloka megaliths look like? Were Warloka megaliths similar to our *compang*? Did Mashur build Warloka megaliths? Did you find goods from our ancestor's grave?...and so on. All these questions were about facts and evidence that could support the Manggaraian myths of origin. As I began to answer these questions, my mind went back to my previous research on Warloka site. However, I realised that there was not much clarity or enough evidence from Warloka archaeological research to answer the Manggaraians' questions about their ancestor. Furthermore, the Warloka myth of origin about the Sumbanese migration, which is different from the Todo and Ruteng Puu myth of origin, also needed further explanation. Suddenly, I envisioned an archaeological project in Warloka which might provide evidence and information about the Warloka villagers and the existence of Manggaraian ancestors.

While designing my future archaeological project, I attempted to move away from the way the Indonesian archaeologists practiced colonialist tenets in their research (see Chapters 1 and 2). Thus, my project was not aimed to be a study of artefact classification of simple technology of indigenous ancestral products versus the highly elaborate technology in the Indonesian nation's ancestral products, but to tailor dialogue, collaboration and partnership with the Warloka site descendants, particularly to construct on-going meaning and values of their cultural heritage. Through such an approach the Warloka site might have a specific meaning in their identity formation and for this reason they should be awarded stewardship of the Warloka site.

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, more than 5 years passed since I proposed an archaeological project in Warloka, West Manggarai Regency, Flores, Nusa Tenggara Timur

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[3] Warloka village is not far from West Manggarai Regency and Manggarai Regency, but the lack of asphalt road and no public transport service to Warloka village make this village very difficult to visit.

(NTT) Province, Indonesia, because of problems of obtaining funding. In 2009 my desperation to realise the Warloka project vanished since I became part of the PhD project 'Sites, Bodies and Stories' through Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In conjunction with my affiliation to this collaborative project, I was sponsored by Yayasan Asri Djojohadikusumo, (YAD) which allowed me to conduct my field work around Flores, to organise excavations at the Warloka site and also to stay in Amsterdam while writing my PhD thesis.

On 7th of April 2010, after obtaining permission from Kupang, NTT Province office of *Kesejahteraan Pembangunan dan Perlindungan Masyarakat*/*Kesbanglinmas* (Welfare Development and Public Protection) and West Manggarai Regency office of *Kesbanglinmas* to excavate a site at Warloka, I conducted my excavation by the bottom-up approach. This 'community development' approach intended to combine indigenous perspectives and experiences with archaeological practice. In short, my excavation encouraged collaboration, partnership and participation with Warloka site stakeholders. Furthermore, all excavation planning was discussed with the Warloka villagers and the excavation procedure also demanded the approval of the Warloka villagers. Additionally, in the day-to-day excavation we had to pay attention to, and obey the Warloka people's lore. This approach thus shifted the archaeologist's roles from the protector and guardian of the cultural heritage to the stimulator and facilitator of the community's cultural heritage development and practice.

Preparing the excavation at Warloka site

On 20th of June 2010 I left Labuan Bajo port in a motorboat accompanied by two officers from West Manggarai Regency who worked in the Culture and Tourism Bureau (*Kantor Dinas Budaya dan Pariwisata*/Disbudpar) and Komodo District Office (*Kantor Kecamatan Komodo*). As the motorboat moved along the shoreline of the West Manggarai Island and slowly reached the place where there was no satellite connection for mobile phones, our conversation focused on the recent issues of social-economy and politics in Warloka village. To a great extent we discussed the recent conflict between Warloka village and Kenari village, while Cumbi village took a neutral position. Most of the conflict was centred on the Warloka village chief's election a year before. Both the officers advised me not to get involved in this conflict and to keep in touch with their office during my excavation project.

When we arrived at Warloka bay in the evening, we immediately walked to the Warloka village chief's house. After waiting for fifteen minutes, my tension was relieved by the chief's arrival. As we started our conversation, I recalled my earlier visit to Warloka village in 2003 and the names of the villagers whom I had met and asked if I could meet them again. However, most of them had passed away, including the elder who told me the Warloka myth

of origin. When the time came to discuss my arrival, the two officers spoke on my behalf and explained my aim of excavating the Warloka site. They also stressed strongly that my research proposal was approved by the *Bupati* (the head) of the West Manggarai Regency. Further, they recommended the value of my research to increase tourist interest and to

Figure 8.3: Poster of my Warloka site excavation project (drawn by Hari Wibowo)

develop the Warloka villagers' economic diversification. I further added that I had come back to Warloka village to excavate the site in an effort to search for their ancestor's history. At the end of the discussion, the Warloka village chief insisted on holding a meeting with the villagers in his house after we had dinner.

As my accompanying government officers and I were preparing research presentation materials, one by one the Warloka villagers entered the chief's house. Around midnight the chief officially opened the meeting, which was attended by 20 men, including village elders, and the important persons from Warloka village. Once again, I explained my research aim and used my poster (Figure 8.3) as a visual example of my research activities. Further, I stressed the aim of my project which was to strengthen their connection with their ancestor's land held by them and to gain new perspectives on cultural heritage management at the local level for the Indonesian government.

What struck me following the discussion session was not only the suspicion of Warloka villagers, but also their reluctance to participate in my excavation. These reservations seemed due to the fact that their poverty and lack of education fuelled their eagerness to get

short term economic benefits from my research project. In fact the region was suffering from severe social and political problems. On the one hand the unpredictable weather prevailing at that time was a major obstacle for them for earning their livelihood as fishermen, while on the other there was intense political tension and dispute concerning the winner of the village head's election. No wonder what they understood of my project was that it was not only a means to search for evidence of their ancestor, but was also a way to lay claims on, take control over and to obtain capital benefits of their site. Meanwhile I announced that I had some funds that could be used to hire Warloka villagers to work in my excavation project. After a long dialogue and discussions between themselves, the participants in the meeting announced that they would like to be employed in my project as long as I paid Rp. 60,000 a day to each worker. At that time, *Upah Minimum Propinsi*/UMP (the Provincial standard minimum wage for labour) Nusa Tenggara Timur was less than Rp. 30,000 (Petrix 2010) and so they were demanding wages that were twice those of the Province Nusa Tenggara Timur UMP. In addition they also demanded that all workers in the project would be taken from the Warloka village. When I insisted that villagers from Cumbi village and Kenari village must be involved, the Warloka village chief said that they had not been invited to the meeting that was taking place at that very moment. At the end of meeting I agreed to pay Rp. 60,000 a day on the condition that all people from Cumbi village, Kenari village and Warloka village could participate in my excavation project. The Warloka village chief also announced that he would invite people from the other two villages to attend a meeting the next day.

The next morning, an open air meeting was conducted close to the Warloka village chief's house. This second meeting was aimed at informing a bigger meeting with a larger number of participants about my excavation project and to settle the participation of all three villages in the excavation work. The meeting started around 11 am but there was a low attendance of villagers from Cumbi village and Kenari village, only five men in total from these two villages came. My government officer friend also informed me that the '*Tua Golo*', the informal elder Warloka village head, who resided in Kenari village, was not present at the meeting. Once again we went on to discuss the preparations for starting my excavation. It was only in the afternoon of the meeting that I gained the Warloka villagers' promise to cooperate and to participate in my excavation. On my side I also promised to carry out the ritual ceremony before starting my excavation, and to visit Cumbi village and Kenari village to make the acquaintance of *Tua Golo*. However, after the meeting was over and my government officer friends left me alone in Warloka village, I sensed a lack of goodwill in the Kenari village to my excavation work. As an Indonesian, I knew the lore that acceptance by Warloka village and Cumbi village did not automatically imply acceptance by Kenari village, as was shown by the absence of *Tua Golo* in the second meeting.

Since I wished to gain some insight into the Warloka villagers' perspective of my excavation project, I determined to participate in the day-to-day village life and present details of my excavation project in the atmosphere of the villagers' daily life. I therefore asked the Warloka village chief and the Warloka site guardian if I might employ two villagers, preferably elders, to assist my Warloka site survey. During the survey, which lasted almost a week, we crossed the ravine, climbed the hill and traversed the steep pathway inside the village. Although I had a map from the previous research report of the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research, it was difficult to immediately recognise the megalith ruins since they were covered and nearly hidden by bushes and thick branches of trees. In order to make the megaliths visible, my assistant, along with the Warloka site guardian, worked hard to slash and cut all the bushes and the tree branches. I realised that they were stronger than me and had more endurance than I had. On the other hand, they knew that I had mastered their ancestor story, knew their customs and had knowledge of their megalith ruins. From that moment onward, our relationship improved greatly. As I worked with them and with their values and customs that were so different from my own culture, they explained to me that I surprised them with my appreciation, compassion and tolerance of them. In the same way, they also acknowledged that in their view my work and my attitude were trustworthy and sympathetic, and also that I was an expert on their ancestral heritage as follows:

> *'Bapak ini orang dari kota Jawa, makan sedikit tapi kuat berjalan jauh naik turun bukit hanya untuk menjenguk kubur nenek moyang kita. Dia juga tahu cerita asal usul nenek moyang kita dan mengerti pecahan-pecahan keramik ini berasal dari Cina dan Belanda. Dia juga sabar dan tidak marah meskipun tergores-gores duri akibat kita tidak bersih membersihkan semak-belukar yang menutup jalan menuju puncak bukit'.*

Furthermore, late each evening after I had had dinner, my assistants and their friends visited me not only to discuss our survey results, but to gossip about the daily affairs in Warloka village as well. While they exchanged the local news I absorbed all the information and from them I sensed a strong rivalry between Warloka villagers and Kenari villagers. The key issues of this rivalry were power and authority. Each of these settlements wished to be the most important the administrative centre of the Kenari sub-district.

Historically, a Manggaraian *Dalu*, the head of the administrative hierarchical structure imposed by the Bima Sultanate to administer and control a number of villages, ruled and owned all the land in the Kenari sub-district. As time went by, his descendants started residing in Kenari village as *Tua Golo*. When the fishermen migrants from Bima and migrants from Cibal, Manggarai, arrived in Kenari village, they asked to settle in Warloka village. *Tua Golo* permitted them to stay in Warloka village and Cumbi village. Being the home village of the land leader, Kenari village was perceived as the residence of the Kenari

sub-district chief. For more than half a century the position of the Kenari sub-district chief was held by villagers from Kenari. In 2009 however, the Kenari sub-district chief's election proved to be a turning point as a person from the Warloka village won the democratic election. The Kenari villagers felt that they were defeated by migrants who actually had no right to access the Warloka village land without the consent of Kenari's *Tua Golo*. Thus they were not willing to participate in the Kenari sub-district hierarchical authority structure that was legitimised by the Indonesian government, since the position of head of the Kenari sub-district was held by someone from the Warloka village.

While I was considering how to deal with the Warloka villagers' political conflict in my relationship to the people of Kenari, I decided that the field survey was all but completed. The following day was assigned for discussing the survey results with the purpose of cross-checking the number of sites, the local site names, and the specific distribution of artefacts and megalith remnants at each site. Using my fieldwork notes and the research report of the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research, I mentioned the site names -from west to east- as follows: Beo Warloka, Wae Jawa, Tondong Wae Jawa, Tondong Mbrarat, Tondong Ras, Golo Meja and Golo Warloka. After a long discussion with the site guardian and the elders I found many mistakes and inaccuracies in the Centre's report, especially on Warloka site names and number of sites. For example, the Centre reported nine sites in Warloka, ((Nanik, Ambary and Awe 1984) whereas my survey identified four group sites. The first group consisted of Kebun Wae Jawa, Wae Jawa, Mata Air Wae Jawa and Tondong Wae Jawa. The second group were Golo Watu Payung, Site Tondong Ras and Tondong Watu Payung. The third group was Golo Warloka and the fourth group was Site Warloka (Figure 8.4). I argued that such differences might be caused by lack of local knowledge by
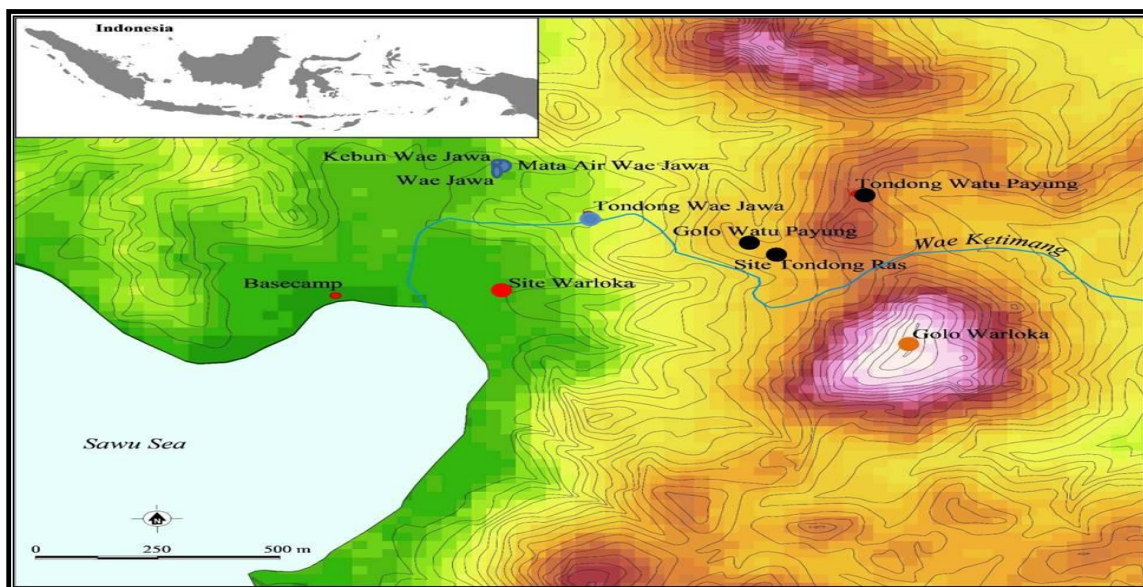

Figure 8.4: Four groups of Warloka village sites. The first group with blue dot, the second group with black dot, the third group with orange dot and the fourth group with red dot (drawn by Jaap Fokkema and Tular Sudarmadi)

the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research[4.] At the end of the discussion, '*pemuka masyarakat*' – informal leaders of *dusun* Warloka - came up to me and talked seriously about my survey results. The elders and the informal leaders told me that the people from Kenari village had challenged my excavation project and were refusing my project. Frustrated by the Kenari villagers' refusal to participate in my excavation project, I decided to visit Kenari village and meet *Tua Golo*. Although I was doubtful about my physical endurance for this strenuous and adventurous journey to *dusun* Kenari[5] which entailed walking through the steep pathways, climbing the hill and crossing the ravine for almost 6 km, I convinced the elders and the informal leaders that I would be safe as long as the site guardian and my assistants accompanied me on my journey.

After two and a half hours of walking, we arrived at the *Tua Golo* house. While we took a break to recover from our tiredness, coffee was served and after a while the *Tua Golo* came from inside the house. After some talk, we soon embarked upon the main aim of our visit. He demanded that I explained what my excavation project and the project benefit was about. I was sympathetic to his straightforward attitude and began to explain my project in detail. Further, I also asked him to lead the ritual ceremony for launching the excavation project. After I finished he spoke frankly of his objections to my excavation. He said that he was afraid that my project would not only harm the environment and exploit and sell hidden treasure, but would also increase the poverty of the Warloka villagers. Once again I tried to explain my project to him, but his suspicion and lack understanding of the archaeological method of excavation, made him reluctant and prevented him from understanding what digging an archaeological site actually meant. Finally he told us that a number of Warloka and Kenari villagers had asked the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*/DPRD (General Assembly) of West Manggarai Regency directly to prohibit my excavation project. He advised me not to get angry and he also informed me that the next day the protesters of the

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[4] The Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research site classification is based on topography, such as plains and hilly areas. However, Warloka villager site classification is based on the relation of megaliths and the context story. Soon, I realised that two different site names of the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeological Research report can be clustered by local people into one, such as Tonggong Mbrarat and Tonggong Ras was clustered into Tondong Ras. Further, the Centre of Indonesian National Archaeology Research misspelled the local site name, ie, *bea* and *Tonggong*. Elders told me there were no *bea* and *tondong*, but *beo* –the village- and *Tondong* –the hill slope-.

[5] Walking is the only mode of transportation from *dusun* Warloka to *dusun* Kenari, since the West Manggarai Regency government has not built asphalt road to connect these *dusun* to Labuhan Bajo, the capital of West Manggarai Regency.

two villages would attend the DPRD hearing on my excavation project. I tried to control my frustration and after several polite exchanges with him about various cultural heritage topics in Kenari village, when we felt it was impossible to change his mind about my project, we said goodbye and left his house.

As we walked back to Warloka village I felt hopeless as there was nothing I could do. I had not anticipated such political moves from the villagers who apparently kept close contact with each other about my activities and requests. I had met with minor opposition from the Warloka villagers and major opposition from the Kenari villagers. When we returned to the Warloka village, the village chief, elders and informal leaders welcomed us. We discussed briefly the meeting with Tua Golo. When I had finished my report, the Warloka village chief told me that when he went to Labuan Bajo – the capital city of West Manggarai Regency - he got an SMS[6] from the head of the Disbudpar West Manggarai Regency. The SMS was to inform me that I was expected to attend the DPRD hearing the next day. I decided to do so even though I was not sure how and why the DPRD had taken my case. The Warloka village chief, the elders and the informal leaders advised me to hire a motorboat and reach Labuan Bajo that very evening then in the morning before the hearing, I should meet the head of Disbudpar West Manggarai Regency informally. Accepting their suggestion, I departed from Warloka village by motor boat around 7 pm and after reaching Labuan Bajo around 9pm. I went to my lodging to rest.

In the morning I visited the head of Disbudpar West Manggarai Regency and we spent an hour discussing my archaeological survey result. Following the discussion, we planned the DPRD's hearing strategy, i.e. visiting the head of DPRD West Manggarai before the hearing, presenting my archaeological survey and my future excavation project, and avoiding conflict with the protesters from Kenari and Warloka villages. After we reached an agreement on this strategy, we went to see the head of DPRD. On meeting him he shook my hand and said 'I am so sorry that Kenari and Warloka people were troublesome and did not welcome you'. He continued to say that they were illiterate and easily provoked. In order to defend my case the head of Disbudpar informed the head of DPRD that my research was officially permitted by the Government of Nusa Tenggara Timur and the West Manggarai Regency and also submitted a copy of my research permission document to him. Further, he insisted that my

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[6] In 2010, there was no mobile phone or phone signal in Warloka village. Indeed, most Warloka villagers have mobile phones and use them to communicate with someone else, especially when they visit Labuan Bajo or use their motor boat to approach areas where they could get a mobile phone signal.

research would be useful in increasing the income of the Warloka villagers as it would attract tourists and encourage them to prolong their stay in West Manggarai Regency. After listening to us the head of DPRD appreciated my research as he agreed that it might be used to develop tourist interest in the region. Before leaving his room I asked him if I could record the hearing with my video camera as proof of success or failure of my excavation project. Fortunately, he permitted me to record all the hearing sessions. Then the head of Disbudpar, West Manggarai Regency asked me to wait for the hearing in the lobby of DPRD meeting room.

Soon, the DPRD secretary announced over the loudspeaker that the hearing would be conducted. When I entered the meeting room, I was struck by the high attendance. Almost 50 persons were present, illustrating the serious and complicated case that I had to face. After the opening speech by the head of DPRD, he called the Kenari sub-district chief to give a speech concerning my research. In his speech the chief explained that my excavation project would not loot any hidden treasure and endanger the Warloka environment since he and the Warloka site guardian had also supervised and participated in my archaeological survey. Then the head of DPRD called the Kenari and the Warloka protesters. The protestors came up one by one, stating that first my excavation project was illegal since the head of West Manggarai Regency did not sign my research permission document. Second, my excavation would bring to light hidden treasure and I would take it to Java, which would make the Kenari and the Warloka villages lose their precious heritage. Finally, my excavation would release their ancestor curse not only to the Warloka village, but also to Cumbi village and Kenari village and as a result the contagious disease cholera would exterminate the entire population of the Kenari sub-district. After the protestors had completed stating their case, the head of DPRD called my name and asked me to stand up and address the audience. In short I presented my credentials and informed my research purpose, particularly to complete my PhD thesis. I stressed that my excavation project was not a mining project but was purely academic and had the underlying aim of developing a community-sponsored cultural heritage management project. Further, I informed them that I would bring 5 students from the Department of Archaeology, Gadjah Mada University, to which I was attached, to assist in my excavation project. If I were to get permission for my project two of my assistants would write undergraduate theses to obtain BA degrees using the excavation results (Ariadi 2012; Rahmayani 2012). Following my address the head of DPRD asked the DPRD members to comment upon and to judge my excavation project. Overall they welcomed and supported my project and further advised me to re-socialise it in Warloka village.

After receiving such good news, I asked my excavation team from Yogyakarta to be in Labuan Bajo a week later. When they arrived in Labuan Bajo, I asked them to organise a re-socialisation programme in Warloka village. However, in the programme, which was also attended by the officer from Dipbudpar and the officer from *Kecamatan* Komodo, we faced another dispute between the Warloka village chief and the informal leaders from Kenari village. Since Tua Golo from Kenari refused to lead the ritual ceremony of starting the excavation we had to postpone the excavation. This dispute forced our excavation team to return to Labuan Bajo and wait for the Warloka village chief to make efforts to arrange the ritual ceremony on a new date. After a week we received the information that we could stay in Warloka village and thus we started the excavation project.

We arrived in Warloka village on the scheduled day 9th of July 2010 and the village chief guided us to our base camp where we would stay for a month. While we organised the excavation equipment around there, the chief explained the preparations for the ritual ceremony. In the absence of *Tua Golo*, the ritual would be performed by the elder from Warloka village. He discussed the payment for the service of the elder to lead this ritual and the compensation payment to the land owner where the excavation would be conducted. At my request, the chief accompanied us to the Warloka elder's house and the house of the land owner of my excavation site. When we arrived in the house of the Warloka elder, I told

Photo 8.2: Warloka site ritual before excavation was conducted (Photo: V. Ngesti Wahyuono, 2010)

him I appreciated his service and gave him the service payment. In the same way, we visited the land owner's house, asked his permission to excavate his land, gave him the money and invited him to the ritual ceremony.

Since the ritual ceremony was not being performed by the *Tua* Golo and having the idea that my excavation would release their ancestor's curse on the Warloka village, the villagers were reluctant to attend the ritual ceremony of my initial excavation. The people who finally attended this ritual were the elder, the informal leader, the excavation workers and their wives, and my 5 students. As the ritual leader started the ritual process, a goat was sacrificed and a cock was freed, and then a small part of the goat flesh was put on the most sacred spot of the excavation site. In return, their ancestor ensured the safety of the excavation and assured his blessings on the success of the excavation. The goat was then cooked and, with rice was shared by all the ritual participants (Photo 8.2). In the evening, after completion of the ritual ceremony, all the participants agreed to start the excavation the next morning and then they went back to their houses.

Report of the excavation: Warloka and Tondong Ras

The excavation site was situated 100 meter to the east of Warloka's traditional market and close to the Warloka community health centre (coordinates: S8° 36' 06"; E119° 48' 41"). The preceding surface survey had shown the presence of a huge number of fragments of pottery, lithic artefacts and menhirs. Thus, a 2 X 2 square metre excavation Warloka unit 1 was delineated around the menhirs and adjacent to the sloping pathway. 12 meter to the southeast of Warloka unit 1, another 2 X 2 square metre area was delineated on the surface having a concentration of artefacts and it was called Warloka unit 2. Later an extension of 1 X 2 square metre adjacent to the west side of unit 1 was excavated and it was called unit 3 (Figure 8.5). Our excavation at Warloka units 1, 2 and 3 had the purpose of recovering evidence of human occupation and determining the early settlement pattern of the Warloka site.
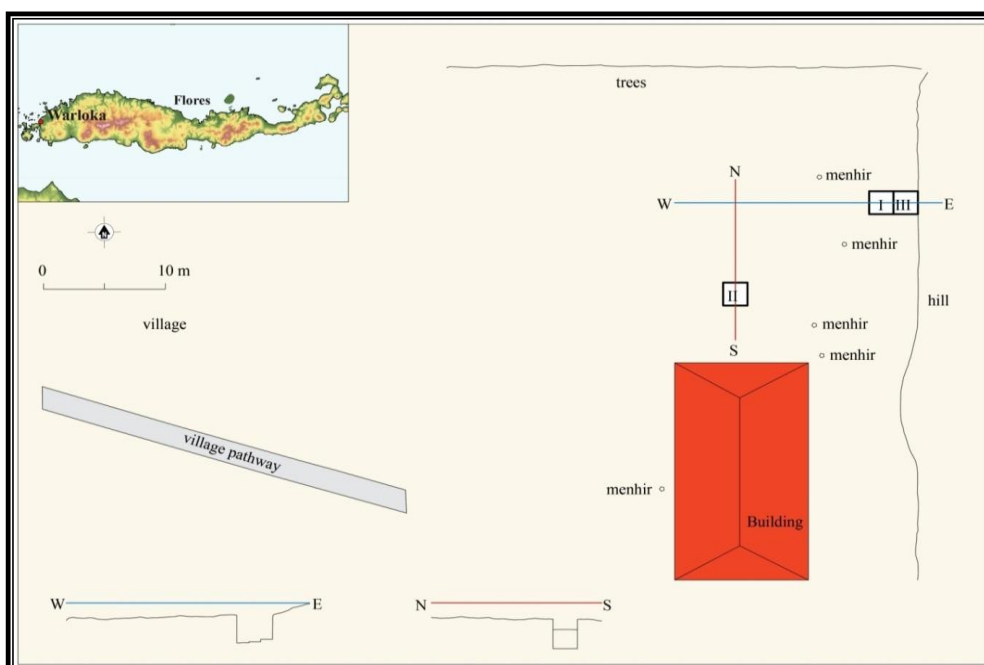

Figure 8.5: View of Warloka site excavation (drawn by Hari Wibowo and Jaap Fokkema)

In order to gain an idea of the human occupation and early settlement pattern of the Warloka hill slope, 'Tondong Ras' site was also excavated (coordinates: - S8^o 36' 01"; E119^o 49' 00"). The two main factors in selecting this site for excavation were the myth that a golden pot was buried here and the local story about the sacred character of the site. Because we had difficulties in obtaining permission from the owners of the property to dig the land, the site excavation was carried out a week before the excavation project ended. Tondong Ras unit 1 was 2 X 2 square metres and was situated in close proximity to the largest menhir structure in this site. Tondong Ras unit 2 was (1 X 1 metre square) was situated 25 m to the East of unit 1 close to the small rock-shelter (Figure 8.6).
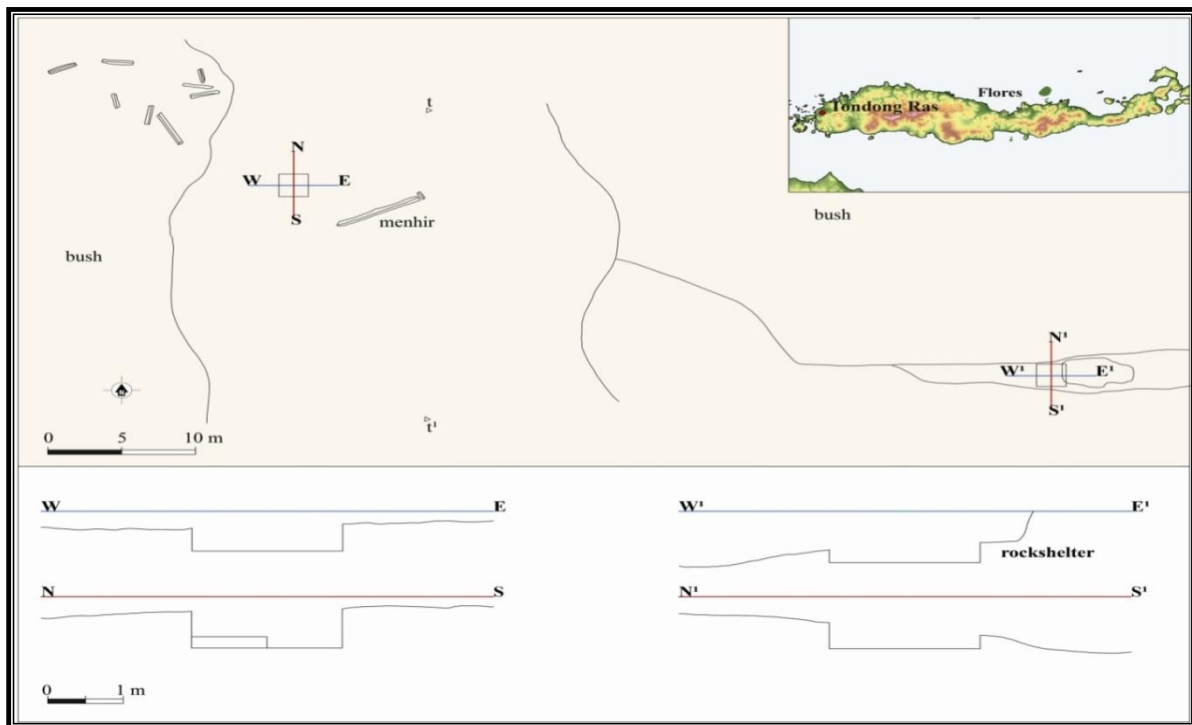

Figure 8.6: View of Tondong Ras site excavation (drawn by V. Ngesti Wahyuono and Jaab Fokkema)

After finishing the excavation programme, which included 2 X 2 metre square excavation Warloka unit 1, 2 X 2 square metre excavation Warloka unit 2, 1 X 2 square metre excavation Warloka unit 3, 2 X 2 square metre excavation Tondong Ras unit 1 and 1 X 1 square metre excavation Tondong Ras unit 2, the squares were covered with plastic and filled with earth. This was mainly for safety reasons, both to prevent someone from falling into the deep hole and to protect the sites from looters who might dig into the deeper stratum.

Stratigraphy

Overall, the Warloka site stratigraphy indicated a sediment pattern of sea water accumulation. In addition, the section of Warloka unit 1 and unit 3 displayed very similar

stratigraphies, since these were close to each other (Figure 8.7). However, Warloka unit 2, which was closer to the contemporary shoreline, showed strong activity of water, particularly on strata 1 (Figure 8.8). However the Tondong Ras site, which was situated on quite a different landscape – a hill slope with many rock-shelters- the pattern of sediment deposition changed slightly. In fact, a layer of clay silt with intrusion of gravel limestone was found in the strata 1 of Tondong Ras unit 1 (Figure 8.9) and unit 2 (Figure 8.10). All units were excavated in artificial 10 cm levels and where the delimitations between the strata was clearly seen, the units were excavated in a stratigraphical way. In general, strata descriptions were as indicated below:

Warloka Unit 1 and Unit 3 Layer I

Greyish brown mixed topsoil with amounts of modern garbage, roots, grass and disturbed by human activities. The topsoil layer was approximately 30 cm in thickness.
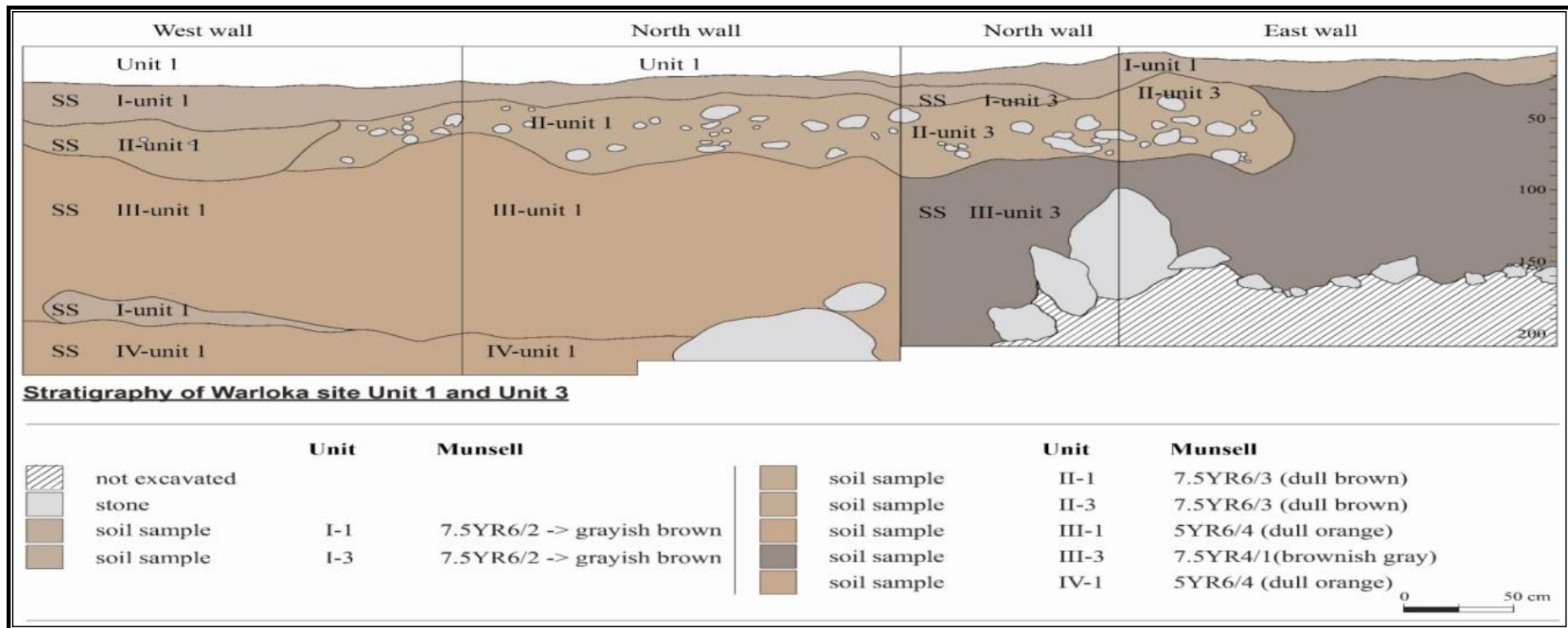
Figure 8.7: Stratigraphy of Warloka site unit 1 and unit 3 (drawn by Dian Nisa and Jaap Fokkema)

Warloka Unit 1 and Unit 3 Layer II

Stratum of dull brown upper medium sand mixed granule was deposited on a gently sloping surface in almost a half area of unit 1, followed by pebbles and cobbles of coral rock that formed a pavement up to half of unit 3. Strata II varied in depth from 30 – 60 cm below the top soil layer.
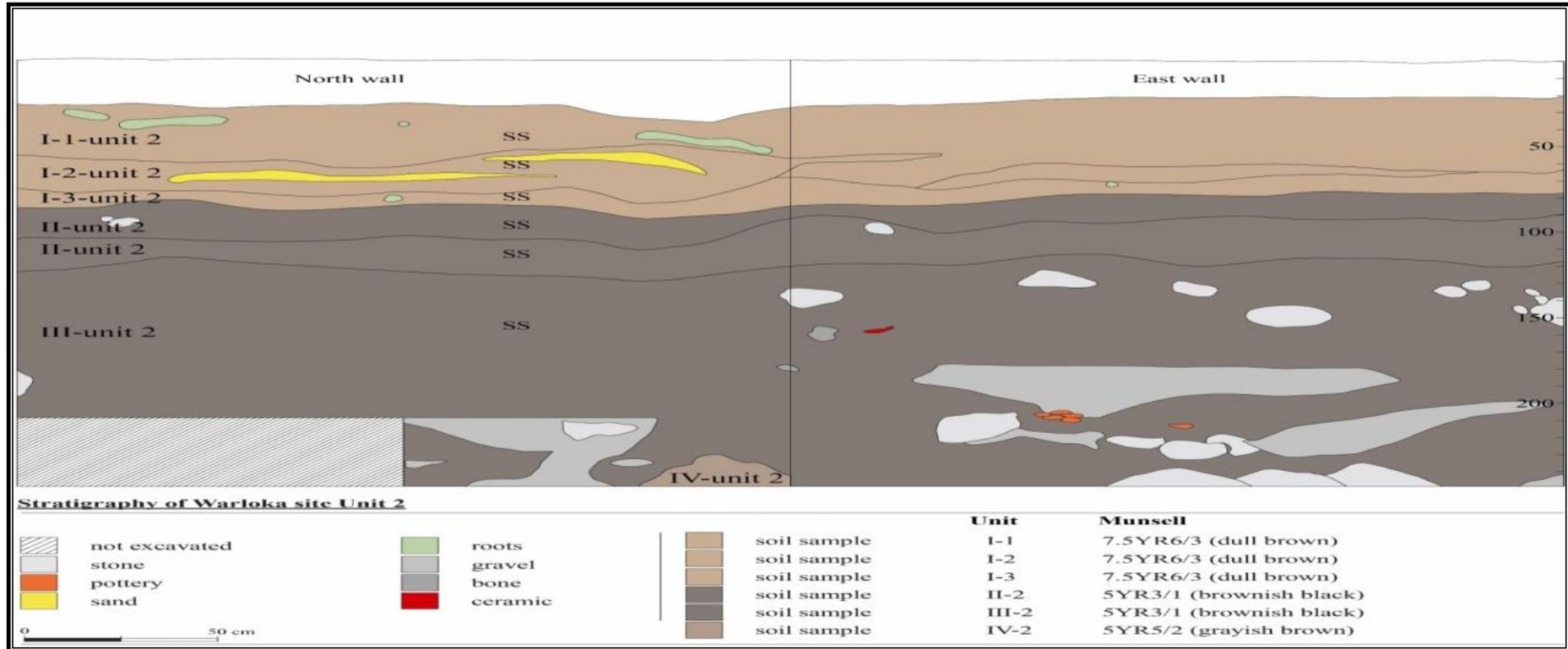

Figure 8.8: Stratigraphy of Warloka site unit 2 (drawn by Anisa Febianti and Jaap Fokkema)

Warloka Unit 1 and Unit 3 Layer III

A brownish grey layer of upper medium sand and a thin lens of greyish brown clay were found in unit 1. Dense boulders and cobbles of limestone mixed with brownish grey upper medium sand appeared in unit 3. Layer III started at 90 cm depth and ended at a depth of 180 cm.

Warloka Unit 1 and Unit 3 Layer 1

A dull orange layer of very fine sand dominated the unit 1 strata IV and a compact layer of boulders and cobbles still existed in Unit 3 strata IV. Excavation was finished at this stratum at 210 cm depth. However, we did not reach the bed rock strata. Mixed topsoil and lower medium sand containing roots, grass, modern litter and disturbed by human activities (50 cm depth) was found in this stratum.

Warloka Unit 2 layer I

Mixed topsoil and lower medium sand containing roots, grass, modern litter and disturbed by human activities (50 cm depth) was found in this stratum.

Warloka Unit 2 Layer II

Brownish black lower medium sand dominated this stratum. However, a thin and dense granule layer also existed in the upper part of this stratum (20-50 cm).

Warloka Unit 2 Layer III

A brownish grey layer of upper medium sand and a lens of brownish dark colour which consisted of dense granule also occurred at the end of this layer. In general, stratum III had 100 cm depth below the stratum II.

Warloka Unit 2 Layer IV

Dull orange upper layer of very fine sand and a small number lens of brownish dark and dense granule still persisted in the upper layer. Excavation was ended at this stratum. But the bed rock was not reached.

Tondong Ras Unit 1 Layer I

The top layer was a disturbed strata having brownish black topsoil of upper medium sand with roots and grass. The stone artefacts were deposited in the upper layer (20-60 cm depth). Below this cultural deposit layer, a compact dense layer of cobbles and boulders of coral rock was found. Excavation was stopped at this stratum due to lack of time.

Tondong Ras Unit 2 Layer I

This was a disturbed strata having very dark brown topsoil of upper medium sand with roots and grass. The stone artefacts were deposited in the upper layer (20-60 cm depth). Below this cultural deposit layer, a compact dense layer of cobbles and boulders of coral rock was found. Having a week's time limitation, further layer excavation was impossible.
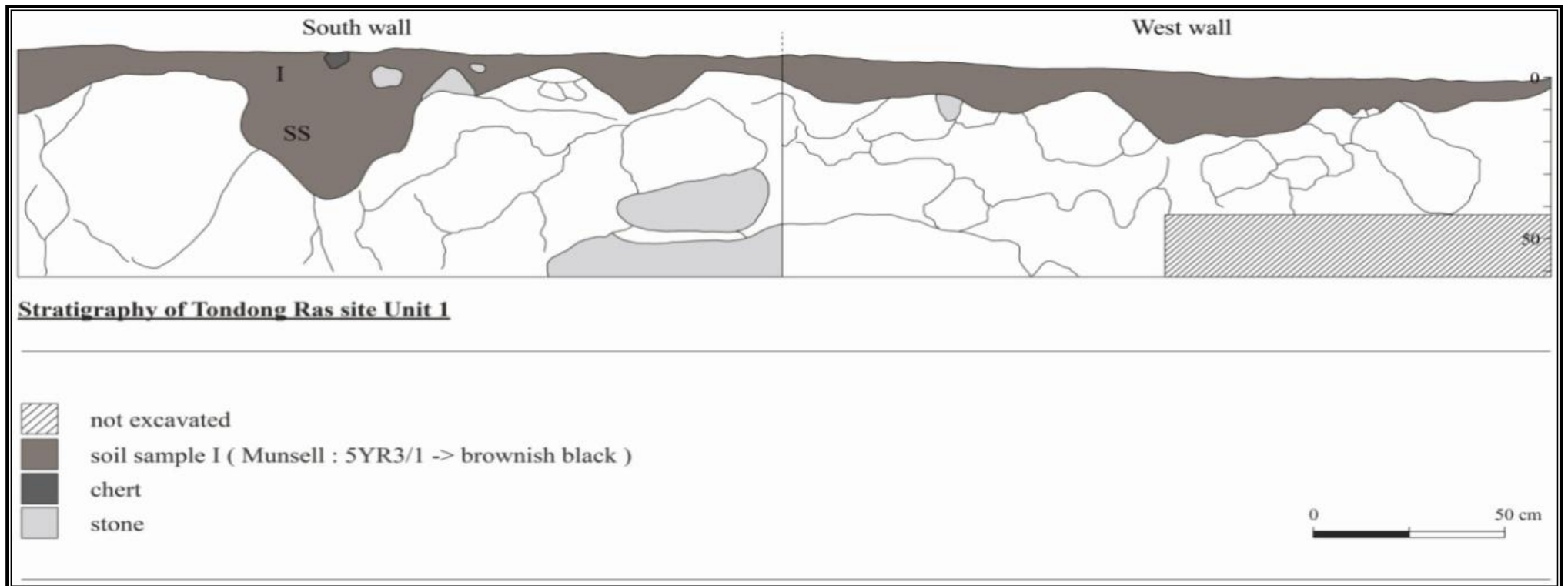
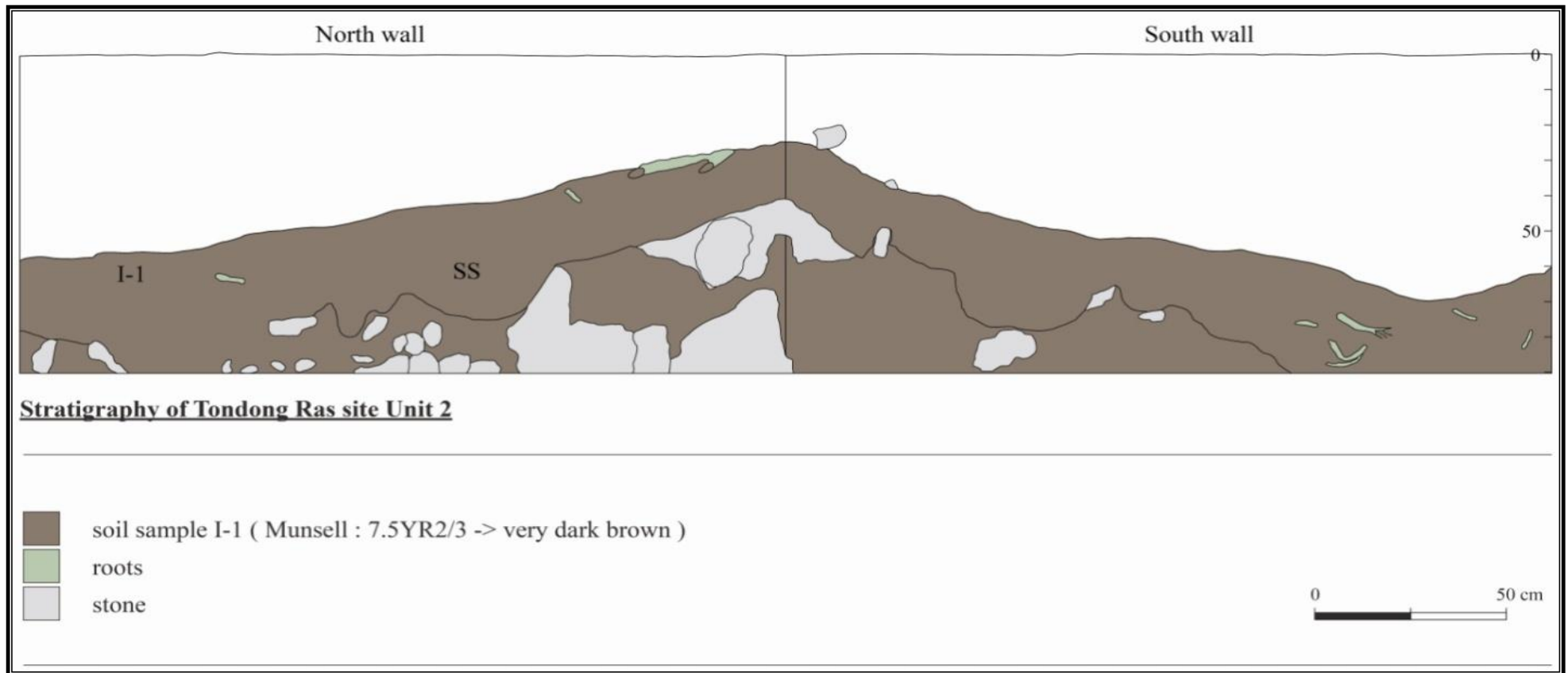Figure 8.9: Stratigraphy of Tondong Ras site unit 1 (drawn by Adianti Putri and Jaap Fokkema)

Figure 8.10: Stratigraphy of Tondong Ras site unit 2(drawn by V. Ngesti Wahyuono and Jaap Fokkema)

Artefacts

It should be noted that artefacts finds from Warloka sites unit 1, 2 and 3 stratum I all came from recently disturbed soil. For this reason it was unreliable and unnecessary to relate these artefacts to any particular cultural context. However, artefacts from Tondong Ras site units 1 and 2 stratum I were found in an undisturbed layer and therefore it was reasonable to connect these artefacts to a specific cultural context.

Warloka Site Unit 1 and Unit 3

Fragments of locally manufactured wheel-made pottery that were reddish, undecorated and produced at high temperatures, a plastic rope, fragments of modern porcelain, fragments of blue and white ceramics and brown glaze ceramics, small fragments of bones, a stone flake and a small number of rock corals were found in the topsoil of unit 1 and unit 3.

Deposits found in layer II contained small quantities of white ceramics from the early Song dynasty, some dark brown glazed stoneware and some plain reddish pottery. Fragments of iron, blade, flake and a number of stone chips/debris were also found (Photo 8.3). In general, these artefacts were found in connection with the concentration of coral rock cobbles which formed a pavement covering the entire unit 1 stratum II at a depth of 40 cm - 70 cm. After the removal of the coral rock cobbles, many objects were recovered. Among these were fragments of stone pole, red ochre, fragments of big shells, fragments of iron, fragments of dark brown glazed stoneware, dark brown stoneware dating from the Song dynasty, green glazed Yuan stoneware and a high concentration of fragments of pottery such as the rim, the body and the base, both plain and decorated, incised, raised and stamped, which were both built/ hand made and thrown/wheel-made were recovered. However, locally manufactured brown and reddish pottery was dominant in stratum II of unit 1 and unit 3.

Photo 8.3: Flake (A and B), blade (D) and stone debris (C, E and F) (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Strata III contained varying amounts of stone tools – core, scraper, flake, blade and flake debris/chips- made of chert. Rim, body and base fragments of stone ware, a white plate of Song dynasty stoneware, a base of white glazed stone ware, a fragment of a small pottery jar, some fragments of decorated pottery (Photo 8.4), fragments of a pottery pipe (a part of tea pot), rim of a large pottery jar and an assemblage of undecorated pottery fragments were found. Three stone poles as a grave yard marker were also found (Figure 8.11). A small sized stone pole was found standing in the corner of unit 1 (Southeast wall), the middle small pole was located in the corner of unit 3 (Northeast wall) and adjacent to the large stone pole (the corner of Southeast unit 3 wall) (Photo 8.5). Two stone pillows to support a corpse were

Photo 8.4: Fragments of decorated pottery (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Photo 8.5: Stone pole as grave yard marker (Photo: Hari Wibowo, 2010)

found underneath the skull of a human (Photo 8.6). The most outstanding finds in stratum III were an assemblage of grave goods. These consisted of beads made of glass, which was called *mutisalah* (Francis 1991: 224). (Photo 8.7) and gold (Photo 8.8), bronze bracelet (Photo 8.9), a bronze pendant necklace (Photo 8.10), bronze earrings, (Photo 8.11), a white stoneware dish of the early Song dynasty (Photo 8.12) and a small green glazed dish of Yuan stoneware (Photo 8.13).
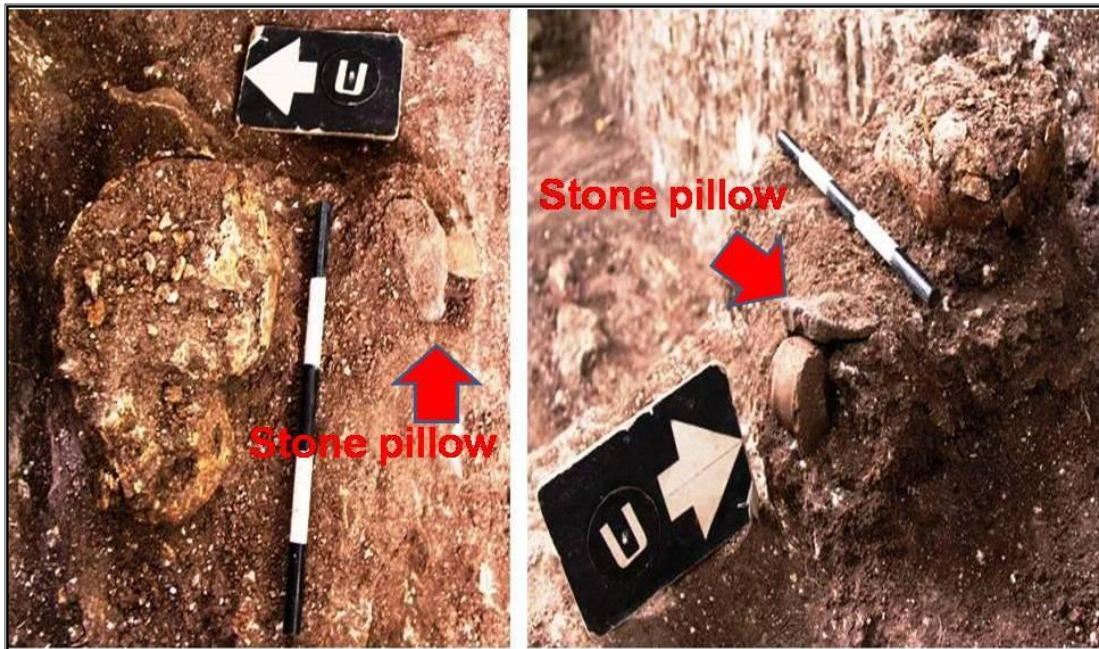
Photo 8.6: Stone pillow to support the skull of the dead (Photo: Hari Wibowo, 2010)

Photo 8.7: Red, black, green and yellow beads called *mutisalah* (Photo: Adyanti Putri)

Photo 8.8: Beads from gold (Photo Adyanti Putri)

Photo 8.9: Bronze bracelet (Photo: V. Ngesti Wahyuono)

Photo 8.10: Bronze pendants necklace (Photo: V. Ngesti Wahyuono)

Photo 8.11: Bronze earrings (Photo: V. Ngesti Wahyuono)
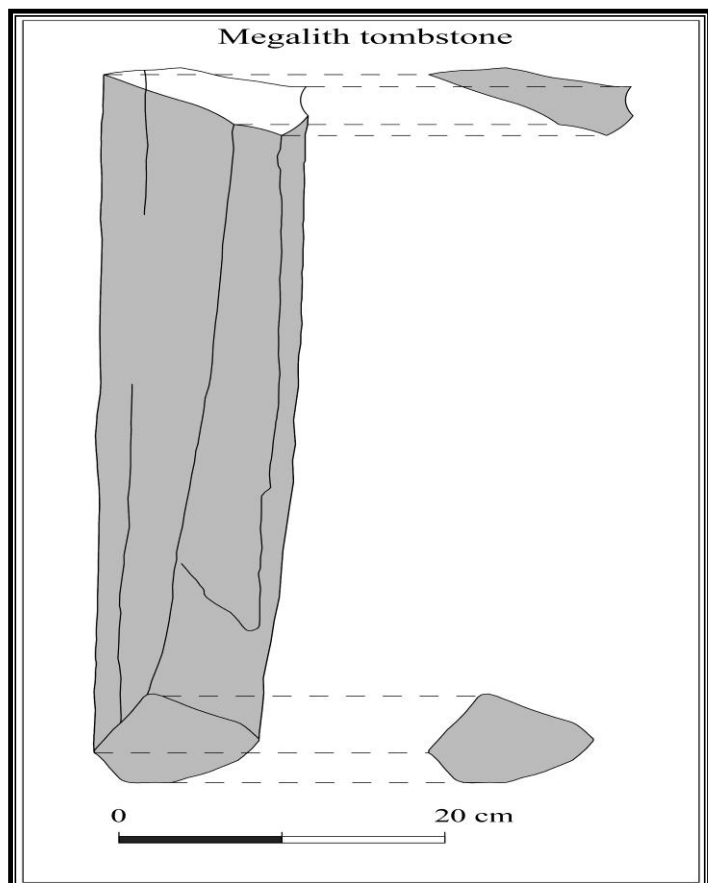
Figure 8.11: The megalith stone pole (drawn by Dian Nisa and Jaap Fokkema)

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Layer IV contained amounts of handmade plain pottery fired at low temperatures, a number of flakes, cores and debris/chips made of chert. Stoneware and other types of ceramics were not found in this stratum.

Photo 8.12: white stoneware dish of early Song dynasty

(Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Photo 8.13: a small green glazed dish of Yuan stoneware (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Warloka Site Unit 2

This stratum was completely disturbed by human activity and all artefacts in this stratum had lost their archaeological context. A very large number of pottery fragments, blue plastic rope, a modern plate of green ceramic, a fragment of green glazed Swatow stoneware, flint and flake made from chert were found all over the first layer.

Layer II contained a huge amount of plain pottery fragments – base, body, rim and shoulder, a few decorated pottery fragments, fragments of dark brown glazed stoneware and flake debris/chips.

Layer III produced varying amounts of fragments of plain and decorated pottery – base, body, shoulder, neck, rim, spout and handle. Of these the majority were found in an area stretching from the south-west corner of Unit 2 to the east-north corner of Unit 2. These pottery assemblages were recovered from a depth between 1.17 m and 1.83 m, and the rim of a big pottery jar was found at the bottom in the deepest part of layer III. Fragments of green glazed Yuan stoneware, fragments of white ceramics from the early Song dynasty, fragments of a stone paddle and anvil, fragment of a stone pole as a graveyard marker, stone pillow to support a corpse, core, varying amounts of stone tools - flake debris, scraper, flake and blade made of chert, fragments of coins and coins from the Song dynasty, and iron fragments were also discovered.

Layer IV yielded an assemblage of plain pottery fragments which were concentrated in the north-west corner of Unit 2. Fragment of the rim of a big jar, fragments of iron, beads made from chert, and glass, stone flake debris and core were also recovered.

Tondong Ras Site Unit 1

Varying amounts of stone tools – core, scraper, flake, blade and flake debris/chips - made of chert were found immediately below 10 cm of the top soil. Moreover, a small number of plain pottery fragments – base, body, rim - coin fragments and a number of fragments of ceramics were recovered in stratum I.

Tondong Ras Site Unit 2

Layer I contained varying amounts of stone tools – core, scraper, flake, blade and flake debris/chips- made of chert, fragments of coins, a few fragments of plain pottery base, body and rim, and fragments of ceramics.

Faunal remain

In Tondong Ras site Unit 1 and Unit 2 layer I no evidence of faunal remains was found. However, a diverse and dense concentration of faunal remains was found in Warloka site Unit 2, especially in layer III (1.5 m – 1.9 m depth). The excavation also yielded relatively few animal remains from Warloka site Unit 1 and Unit 3.

Warloka Site Unit 1 and Unit 3

Faunal remains from layer II and layer III were shellfish, cattle (*Bos sondaicus*) /buffalo (Bos *bubalus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*) (Photo 8.14), maxilla of pig (*Sus scrofa)* (Photo 8.15) and dog (*Canis*).

Photo 8.14: the skull of pig (*Sus scrofa*) (Photo: Tular Sudarmadi, 2010)

Photo 8.15: maxilla of pig (*Sus scrofa*) (Photo: Adyanti Putri, 2011)

Warloka Site Unit 2

Faunal remains from layer II were dominated by shellfish, but rodent and buffalo were also found. In layer III animal bone fragments were found in the same context as an assemblage of pottery and charcoal. A few of the animal bones, particularly cattle/buffalo, showed evidence of burning. Faunal remains of other small and large animals like tortoise (*Cheloniidea*), deer (*Cervidae*) and pig (*Sus scrofa*) were also found.

Human remains

Site Warloka Unit 1 and Unit 3 layer III contained the remains of three human and in Unit 2 a skull was also found. All these human remains were deposited in layer III and approximately at 1.5 m – 1.8 m depth. No human remains were found in Tondong Ras site Unit 1 and Unit 2.

Warloka Site Unit 1 and Unit 3

In Unit 3 layer III the skull of a girl approximately 17-18 years old was recovered at a depth of 1.50 m (Photo 8.16). However, the girl's other bones had not survived. Below this skull, at 1.8 m, more human remains were recovered. Body 1 was an adult male, aged 40-50 years; he was buried in the stretched position with his head facing to the north and his body was oriented to east-west. Approximately 50 cm to his left side a child between 8-10 years old had been laid to rest on the coral rock cobbles. The body of the child was oriented east-west

the head facing the north (Ariadi 2012: 66-76) (Photo 8.17). A small white ceramic plate dating to the early Song dynasty was placed on his/her upper head and a small plate of green glaze 'celadon' ceramic from the Yuan dynasty was placed between the chin and chest. The child wore a golden necklace with a bronze pendant and a necklace consisting of beads around the neck and bronze bracelets around the wrists.

Photo 8.16: The skull of Austromelanesian girl (Photo: Rusyad Adi S. and D. Bayu Murti, 2011)

Warloka Site Unit 2

Incomplete skulls with fragments of backbone were recovered from Unit 2 in the same layer as the human remains from Unit 1 and Unit 3. However the remaining bones were absent due to rapid weathering process in humid tropical climate. The grave goods that appeared to belong to this burial were a number of coins, a large fragment of white ceramic dating to the early Song dynasty, a stone pillow to support a corpse and beads were recovered and associated with this skull.

The remnant of the child

Skeleton of an adult man

Photo 8.17: Skeleton of an adult male and a child (Photo: Hari Wibowo, 2010)

Sites chronology

Chronology at Warloka site was determined by using absolute dating and relative dating methods. Having difficulty in finding charcoal samples and also due to a lack of human remains, the chronology of Tondong Ras site was determined by relative dating. Radiocarbon dating C-14 was used to determine the age of the human remains in Warloka site Unit 1 and Unit 2. Furthermore, fragments of ceramics, stoneware and coins were used in order to establish the dating of the human occupation at the Warloka site and Tondong Ras site.

Warloka Site Unit 1 and Unit 3

The bottom of layer II consisted of fragments of brown glazed Sawankhalok, Thailand from 14th -16th century AD and fragments of green glaze 'celadon' porcelain from Song dynasty 10th – 13th century AD. The upper part of layer III also consisted of fragments of brown glazed Sawankhalok, Thailand from 14th -16th century AD. The lower part layer III included a small white ceramic plate of early Song dynasty in the 10th -12th century AD, a small plate of green glazed 'celadon' ware and fragments of green glazed 'celadon from Yuan dynasty in 13rd -14th Century AD. Radiocarbon dating of the man's remains in layer III suggest that he lived around 641 ± 25 BP (around 1259 AD up to 1359 AD) and that the child in layer III lived around 634 ± 20 BP (around 1276 AD up to 1356 AD).

Warloka Site Unit 2

Layer II contained fragments of white ceramics from the Song dynasty in 10th – 13th century and fragments of brown glazed Sawankhalok, Thailand from 14th -16th century AD. Strata III contained an abundance of ceramic fragments such as white ceramics of the early Song dynasty in 10th -12th century AD, green glaze 'celadon from the Song dynasty in 10th -13th century AD, blue and white ceramics from 14th – 15th century Vietnam and brown glazed Sawankhalok from 14th -16th century Thailand. In addition, more than five Song dynasty coins (10th to 13th century) were recovered from the middle and lower part of layer III.

Interpretation of the Sites

Archaeological excavations at the sites of Warloka and Tondong Ras reveal that proto-historical traits from the Bronze-Iron Age were present in variable proportions in the artefact assemblages in the various layers of all sites from 13th to 16th century. The artefact assemblages included fragments of a stone paddle and anvil, pottery displaying a Sa Huýnh motif, a number of gold beads, bronze bracelets, and faceted beads. The most interesting find, a fragment of pottery footed bowl from Warloka had similar style and form to fragments

of pottery from the Tomu site and the Hatusua site in Central Molucca (Rahmayani 2012: 66-69; Latinis 2002: 103-113, 136-174, 180) (Photo 8.18), (Figure 8.12), (Figure 8.13).

Photo 8:18: decorated footed bowl view from front, middle, and back (Photo: Dian Nisa, 2011)
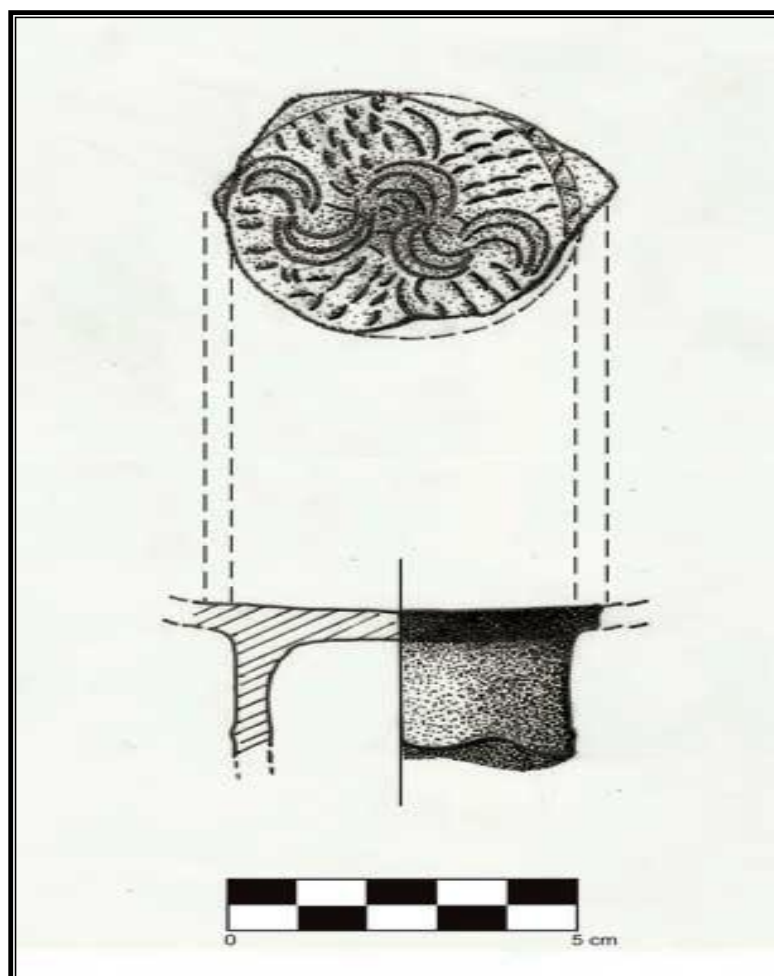

Figure 8.12: projection of decorated footed bowl from Warloka site (drawn by Dian Nisa)

Scholars also have reported proto-historical sites in Southeast Asia with similar artefact assemblages. Bellwood also excavated a Proto historical site in a cave of Leang Buidane on Salebabu Island in the Talaud groups of north-eastern Indonesia. According to his absolute and relative dating, this site was occupied around 700-1200 AD (Maceda 1974; Bellwood 1997: 269-307, 295-301; Solheim 2003). It can hardly be doubted that stone tools such as scraper, flake and blade of the Mesolithic and Neolithic types as well as pottery and ceramics were still used at Warloka site during this period. In form and type these stone tools resemble Mesolithic stone tools excavated from the Matamenge site, Liang Momer, Liang Toge and Liang Bua in Central and West Flores (Verhoeven 1952; Verhoeven 1953; Glover and Glover 1970; Heekeren 1972; Poesponegoro and Notususanto 1983a; Morwood, et al. 1998; Morwood et al. 2004; Morwood, et. al. 2005).

Among the artefacts recovered from the Warloka and Tondong Ras sites were Chinese Song dynasty coins from 10th to 13th century AD, a variety of Chinese Song ceramics dating to the 10th to 16th century AD, Vietnamese ceramics dating to the 14th to 15th century AD and Thai ceramics dating to the 14th to 16th century AD. These coins and ceramics are evidence of long-range contact and foreign trade networks. Thus, initial contact between the inhabitants of these sites and foreign traders was started at the very latest at around the 10th to 12th century.
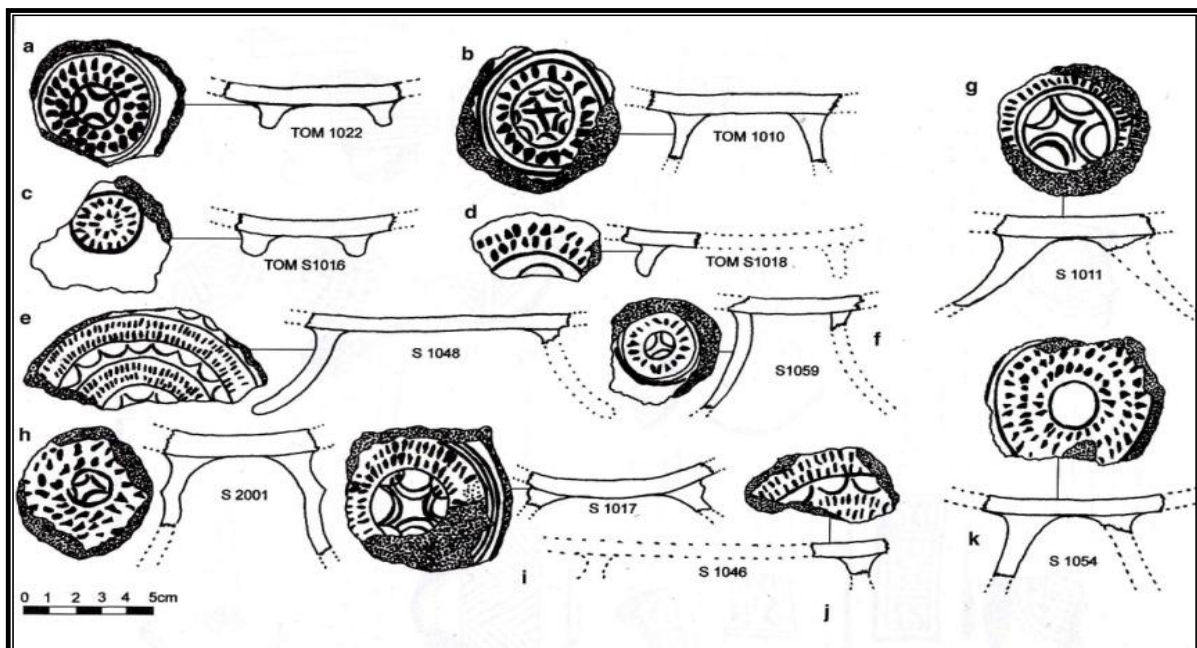

Figure 8.13: Fragment decorated footed bowl from the Tomu site (a-d) and the Hatusua site (e-k) in Central Molucca (taken from Latinis 2002: 180)

Although the food remains in Warloka site were dominated by shellfish, it was unlikely that Warloka site inhabitants lived entirely on molluscs. It was evident that the diet was a combination of sea creatures like tortoise and fish, and large mammals, like deer, buffalo and pig, as demonstrated by the faunal remains found in the Warloka site. The most obvious feature of the Warloka site was a burial practice with a grave pole, and a small megalith stone 'menhir' as a marker of the grave. The body was oriented east-west; the individual was buried in a stretched position and was accompanied by grave goods. Such burial practices tie in with the burial traditions of Austronesian speakers in the prehistoric period. Moreover, the excavations at Warloka site also revealed that an individual corpse was singled out for special treatment. This child was laid on the plain coral-rock boulder along with his/her grave goods consisting of Chinese ceramics, and his/her precious accessories like gold necklace and bronze bracelet. The practice of burying individuals, giving them special treatment, indicates that by 13th century certain persons in the Warloka population had achieved high social status. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that a well structured social organisation has existed at the Warloka site around the 13th century AD.

Exhibiting Warloka excavation results

Several days after we started excavation work, our base camp and the Warloka excavation site became a favourite meeting place for villagers since they could see the progress of the excavation and could chat with their friends who were participating in the excavation and discuss the artefacts found. Thus our base camp and excavation site became a gathering place for Warloka villagers. Meanwhile we got the chance to visit Cumbi village and Kenari village. Moreover, a week before the excavation finished, we were invited by *Tua Golo* to attend his son's wedding. From then on our relationship with Kenari sub-district villagers was far better and we won their trust, which we had not done before.

At the end of the excavation programme we organised a function to exhibit the excavation results to the public, the head of West Manggarai Regency, the head of DPRD West Manggarai Regency and school students. Surprisingly, the Kenari sub-district villagers supported and encouraged our idea. We also discussed the way in which their cultural heritage in the form of the excavation findings would be presented to the West Manggarai public. The next evening they waited for us to finish our dinner and then gathered in our base camp to discuss our exhibition plan in detail. We had held the meeting without any formal invitation and there was a greater sense of friendship and understanding between us and the participants from Warloka village, Cumbi village and Kenari village. At the end of the discussion an exhibition committee was formed comprising mostly of young Warloka villagers, assisted by my students.

This committee played a key role in organising a low-budget exhibition of excavation findings in Warloka village. This was clearly reflected in its own decisions regarding exhibition

Photo 8.19: The *Bupati* of the West Manggarai Regency and tourists visited the exhibition (Photo: Hari Wibowo, 2010)

pamphlet, invitation letters, selection of finds, making the texts, and setting up the exhibition in the open place close to the excavation site. The exhibition was very simple in conveying the meaning of the Warloka site since it just gave information about the different kinds of artefacts found, the number of human remains found and the preliminary delineation of the ancient settlement pattern of the Warloka village ancestors. Viewed from cultural heritage management practice, this exhibition was the product of bottom-up approach or community based development. A day before we departed from Warloka village, the exhibition was opened by the Bupati (head of Regency) of West Manggarai Regency. The exhibition was a great success because more than 200 people from Warloka and Komodo Island, school students, high school teachers from Labuan Bajo, high ranking officers from West Manggarai Regency, a number of tourists, and local and national mass media attended the opening ceremony (Photo 8.19). After the opening speech by the Bupati (Photo 8.20), a dialogue forum was conducted between the Warloka heritage stake holders, the local government and the public. While a number of villagers from Kenari village objected my aim to bring these excavation findings for further analyses in Yogyakarta and Jakarta, the Bupati, the representative of DPRD (General Assembly) and other high ranking officers of the West Manggarai Regency negotiated and helped me to solve this disputed goal. As a result of the dialogue, the West Manggarai Regency proposed to build a small museum in Warloka village. According to the new Law on Cultural Heritage (*UU Cagar Budaya*) which was implemented in November 2010, I was allowed and approved by the West Manggarai Regency government to take the human remains and a number of artefacts finds for further analysis using Radiocarbon dating to Yogyakarta and Jakarta. However I was obliged to

return this cultural heritage to the West Manggarai Regency government after six months. That promise I could not keep, since the research has taken longer and took place partly in the Netherlands, far away from Warloka. However, I regularly send emails and send photographs of the human remain analysis via Pius Baut's Face Book account, the secretary of the Culture and Tourism office Bureau (*Kantor Dinas Budaya dan Pariwisata*/Disbudpar) in West Manggarai Regency. Further, I stress again and again that in the end they will indeed be returned.

Photo 8.20: The head (*Bupati*) of West Manggarai Regency delivered speech (Photo: Hari Wibowo, 2011)

Through this one day exhibition, the experiences of community collective spirit and the Warloka cultural heritage histories were announced to the public and rather than being neglected, the entire programme has become an embryo of the global cultural heritage community movement aimed at creating a better future for the community. Indeed, this exhibition was an example of a local community taking control of the fabrication of a history of their own cultural heritage, especially as a means of enhancing respect and understanding of marginal villagers who were almost forgotten in the Indonesian nation state's project of national unity. It has left me, as the ethno-archaeologist with a dual responsibility, towards both the villagers and towards the academic world, to discuss the preconditions and practices for a sustainable archaeological grassroots movement in Indonesia.

Finally, my excavation project in Warloka site has shown the way in which Warloka villagers played an active role in contesting their cultural heritage, almost without knowing the significance this has for other megalith villages in Ngadha and Manggarai. My case study proved that at the local level such a contestation was already potentially conflict-laden, since it involves individual or community power and authority in the process of selection, negotiation and agreement over what kinds of cultural heritage might be represented and what might be erased. The bottom-up approach that I used in my excavation project yielded a good result, especially in increasing awareness among the Warloka inhabitants of their worthy cultural heritage and in raising the sense of pride associated with their cultural heritage. Since my excavation project was a preliminary phase of the bottom-up approach, in future it would involve more participation from the people of Todo and Bajawa who relate themselves to Warloka.

<div align="center">**Conclusion**</div>

Flores in the Indonesian cultural heritage formation, representation and future discourse

In the following, the findings and arguments of the separate chapters will be brought together in one analytical frame. First is the notion of 'map', as explained in the introduction and Chapter I. There I argued that cultural heritage dynamics can be analysed in terms of spatial, ideological and social maps. However, these three 'maps' should not be separated. A constant interaction takes place between spatial, ideology and social dimensions of heritage formation. In the case of Flores cultural heritage discourse, it is clearly seen that a constant widening and narrowing of concepts of ancestor worship through the megalith village representation in local, national and global geographical space are negotiated, invented and fabricated. In turn, this negotiation changes social interactions and the manner in which the Floremese relate to both contemporary society and the past. Next to this notion of maps, these dynamics can be located in three historical 'circles' connected to external colonialism, national history and the specific local context of Manggarai and Ngadha in Flores. This historical approach to spatial, ideology and social dimensions of heritage formation will answer the question raised in the introduction to this thesis concerning the position of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage in the project of Indonesian nation state formation. In that respect, these conclusions also touch upon future perspectives.

Cultural heritage in Flores' past and present representation

In Chapter 3 we have introduced the Island of Flores, geographically situated in the East Indonesian archipelago and a part of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The outstanding feature of Flores is an immense arid landscape stretching out from inland savannah through rocky mountainous regions to a coastal plain with a number of tiny offshore islands. We have discussed its prehistory, since around 900,000 years ago the first settlers, '*Homo erectus*' arrived. Through millennia of serial migration the island was occupied by various ethnic groups with a slash and burn cultivation lifestyle. For more than a thousand years they practiced traditional agricultural methods to maximise the resources of the dry and harsh natural environment. Increasing population led to more long-term, intensive, frequent repetitive usage of and a permanent relation with the land. This progress also became a major social concern among the Flores population. The longer and more continuous production, with its greater investment of labour, solid organisation, clearly bounded territories and land inheritance also created a need of formal symbols to establish fixed relationships between resources, social groups and descendents.

It is in this context that we have introduced the notion of the social and ideology maps, connected to the installation of megaliths and creation of myths of origin by corporate landowning groups in fixed places. The megaliths, solid constructions in a spatial map, might have established social, economical, cultural and political links. Accordingly, megaliths and myths of origin would have functioned as important symbols of group identity, sharing collective memory, validating indigenous descent, as territorial marker and for legitimating access to and use of the land. Further, as a spatial map, megaliths facilitated the Manggaraian and the Ngadha population to construct new space, manage and transform the association between culture and nature, or customary culture, by making these material cultures a part of the landscape. As an ideology map, megaliths have been infused by the story of the ancestral migration to Flores and finding a new place. It is in this respect that today we approach contemporary society as a 'living megalith culture'. Narrated in public ritual where megaliths are erected, this ideology map has registered and organised the Manggaraian and the Ngadha collective memory, related to the legitimation of control of resource by reference to the ancestors.

Today megaliths are called *pusaka* and it is believed that the ancestor spirit resides in these objects. Indeed, for their descendents *pusaka* embody ancestor magical or supernatural power. Moreover, such a magical object is believed to supervise the affairs of their descendants. If megaliths are periodically served with offerings and animal sacrifice, in return they will bring welfare to the people, fertility to the crops and protection from disease. The essential value of megaliths then comes from its relationship with a certain ancestor and the symbiotic mutualism of maintenance between the living and the dead. From this point of view, megaliths are placed in an active, dynamic relationship of people's day-to-day lives. As sacred objects and animated by ancestor spirits, megaliths maintain their prime function of ancestor worship and regularly use in the ongoing cultural traditions. Accordingly megaliths are not separated from their cultural context. They became the cultural property of the Florenese domain. So how does this living megalith culture fit in the Indonesian nation state?

As discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 6, Florenese cultural heritage practices relating to megaliths as *pusaka* were encountered with the advent of European colonial empire, particularly the Dutch colonial power. Being inspired by the Enlightenment paradigm of the 18th century, the Dutch mercantile middle class and subsequent colonial rulers held a belief in Dutch imperial progress. In a way, the Enlightenment doctrine of progress served as an ideology map by envisioning themselves – the mother country in Europe- to be the agency of 'bringing civilisation' to the primitive society. Thus the Dutch also arrived at Flores.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the ideology map and spatial map of the Dutch colonial construction would be elaborated through the social map of museum installation, the World Fair and cultural heritage management. The Dutch imperial metropolis was considered the best place to keep 'orphan' cultural heritage from its colony, which generated a social map that illustrated the flow of cultural heritage between the colonised and colonising countries.

The 'broadest' spatial map of colonial relationships with respect to Flores was drawn in the 1931 Dutch Colonial Pavilion at the International Colonial Exposition in Paris. Being framed in spectacular architecture that stressed industrial, agricultural and cultural anthropology performance, the World Fair spatial map impressed the people with the Dutch colonial dream of the future, imperial progress and global trading. Further, this World Fair demonstrated the relationship between scientific progress, technological innovation, world trade networks and backward culture of the 'Other' in a modern world. Imposing its own vision of lineal time, the Dutch colonial authority positioned the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese remains in a higher stage than the ethnographic material culture from Flores and other islands of Eastern Indonesian

Since it was considered that progress would give rise to the extinction of monuments of the past and to the degradation of the natural environment, then the sense of stewardship, protection and inheritance triggered Dutch colonial authority awareness of caring for and passing on cultural heritage to future generations and protecting the authentic culture of the indigenous people from extinction. This brought about cultural heritage programmes of excavation, preservation and conservation of indigenous ancient monument remains and objects. Focusing on the Javanese medieval culture, the megaliths in the East Indonesian archipelago were not listed in the Dutch colonial government inventory for more than twenty years after the launching of Monuments Ordinance.

Deeply embedded in the Dutch colonial project of colonial state formation of the Indonesian archipelago was also the Dutch colonial notion of the civilising mission and the 'Western people's responsibility'. Formulated under the Ethical Policy, the Dutch marked the purpose of promoting the welfare of the colonised population. However, the Dutch colonial government in the process of modernising the Florenese, especially the Ngadha and the Manggaraian, were ambivalent in their control and domination. Through urbanisation and missionary activities they alienated the Ngadha and the Manggaraian from their cultural day-to-day life. This project of modernisation contrasted sharply with the efforts of the same Dutch colonial officers and missionaries to protect and preserve the Ngadha and the Manggaraian authentic, primitive, pristine and exotic prehistoric culture. By keeping this structural concept of static culture versus modernitation and progress, which turned a blind

eye to the dynamics of the living megalith, the Dutch as an external colonial authority enabled the measurement of progress in terms of their own ideology, spatial and social map.

After Indonesian Independence in 1945 the Indonesian founding fathers in the effort to develop national unity and national identity contemplated an 'imagined community' of what was actually 'Indonesian'. They realised that this ideological concept was needed to regain the new national pride after the humiliation by the Dutch colonial power and to catch up with Western modernisation. Emphasising the past Golden Age, the root of national unity and the future of the nation's achievement as a theme of collective nation building, the first Indonesian Republic president, Sukarno formulated a time line model of the Indonesian narrative. Starting with an ancient and glorious past of the Çriwijaya Kingdom and Majapahit Kingdom around the 7th to 13th century, followed by the dark ages during the colonial subjugation, and ending in the liberation struggle, this model constructed the ideology map of Indonesian national pride and unity.

Later, the Indonesian founding fathers realised that the Dutch project of colonial state formation of the Indonesian archipelago could support the new Indonesian nation motto '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (unity in diversity). Under Muhammad Yamin and Sanusi Pane, the Dutch project of glorifying imperialism and colonialism was elaborated on the main Sukarno's time line framework of the origin and the formation of the nation. As Muhammad Yamin led the project of Indonesian national unity historiography, the legacy of Dutch colonial knowledge shaped the image of nation building by an adoption of the evolutionary linear development from primitive prehistoric tribe to the stage of civilised modern society. Accordingly, the Indonesian nation formation time line started from the prehistoric time, continued in the medieval period and ended in the Indonesian people liberation from the Dutch Colonial government.

In 1968 the historical path that led to the inauguration of Suharto as the new Indonesian president strengthened the notion of centralising the authority of Indonesian archipelago cultural heritage management. While Suharto perpetuated Sukarno's perspective of nation building to weld and unify the Indonesian nation state, he also transformed the Dutch authority legacy to marginalise the people of the Outer Islands. Claiming the justification of *Wawasan Nusantara* (Archipelagic Outlook concept) that unites Indonesian Archipelago into '*Tanah Air*'- a unity of Land and Water, Suharto envisioned a pan-Indonesian cultural heritage that was rooted and anchored in traditional Javanese culture. As the New Order's objective was to maintain order and stability, the national doctrine of '*Wawasan Nusantara*' was developed into the Indonesian nation state as a single political, social, economic and defence unit. The obsession with maintaining order and stability was narrated through the

Indonesian National History text books. In accordance with the ideology map of stability and harmony it was necessary to design distinctive *kebudayaan daerah* (local culture) within the formula of merging to form Indonesian national identity. A small national museum was installed in each Indonesian Province, with the same display format for each Indonesian Provincial Museum. Following the Indonesian state spatial map, the Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT Provincial Museum represents a miniature version of the Museum Nasional, Jakarta. the display and story line in the NTT Provincial Museum locates the Ngadha and the Manggaraian in a spatial map of the traditional, marginal and minority Indonesian ethnic groups who lived in a remote, outer Indonesian archipelago.

Given Java as the mainstream of Indonesian cultural development, the spatial map of the government positioned this island in the centre of the pan-Indonesian cultural heritage. As the centre, it was provided with the artificial small-scale representation of all Indonesian regions' cultural heritage, through Suharto's wife Siti Hartinah's ambitious project of *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Beautiful Miniature of Indonesia). Almost as a mirror image of the external colonialism's global map drawn at world exhibitions, the miniature of Indonesian archipelago ethnic groups, situated near Jakarta at the centre of Indonesian government, was intended not only for shaping national unity of the metropolis' citizens and Indonesian people, but also purported to attract tourists. Flores was represented to them by just two miniature houses. As such, this Indonesian nation state ideological, spatial, and social map was imbued with the colonial legacy of authoritarian top-down views, where local people as the heirs of cultural heritage did not participate in this project and were marginalised under the domination of the Indonesian government.

Cultural heritage in Flores' future management

It is partly the richness and diversity of ethnic culture that make the Indonesian nation so interesting and important. Ethnic culture gives identity and cultural manifestation, and both the physical and non-physical aspects and the historical legacy are passed down along a chain of owners and bequeathed to individuals or a group of closely related people. Without respect and appreciation of what is being valued so deeply by the communities there is a chance that ethnic cultural heritage will lose its human meaning and understanding for the Indonesian nation. Ironically, little attention is paid by the Indonesian government to the raising of sensitivity and appreciation for this marginal ethnic cultural heritage. We learn about the world's great Borobudur cultural heritage, and the Çrivijaya Kingdom and Majapahit Kingdom, but our teachers in early schooling rarely give lessons on Flores megaliths, Flores prehistory and Florenese local ethnic kingdoms. Sukarno's house of exile in Ende has been completely forgotten and erased from the official Indonesian History text

books. In fact the Indonesian government considers this monument as mirroring the collective shameful memory of Dutch colonial subjugation of the Indonesian nation. Along with this, it feels that the location of this cultural heritage at the edge of the Indonesian state boundary where traditional society is still practicing its prehistoric ancestor's customs cannot glorify the Indonesian nation's identity.

To level up from the lowest human evolutionary progress and to be incorporated in the Indonesian nation mainstream project of nation unity, the Florenese invented local history and inserted new meaning in their cultural heritage. An example is Kolit's history book '*Pengaruh Kerajaan Majapahit atas Kebudayaan Nusa Tenggara Timur*' (Chapter 3) which narrates the tale of the warrior from Majapahit Kingdom who married a Sikka woman. Kolit also investigated the toponymy of Bajawa town in Ngadha Regency, archaeological evidence and oral history. At the end he concludes that the descendants of the great warrior from Majapahit Kingdom were spread all over Flores regionWhile the Indonesian government gave the Florenese a chance to include their history in the Indonesian Independence history, these projects were carried on by the NTT Province project of regional history. As a result, the textbooks '*Sejarah Perlawanan terhadap Imperialisme dan Kolonialisme di Nusa Tenggara Timur*' by Kopong (1983) and '*Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur*' by Widyatmika, et.al., (1979) were published. Yet, the modern history of the Florenese was fabricated by the Indonesian state and such history was only the Indonesian state official version of the Florenese in an epoch of the Indonesian Independence.

In 1998, after the fall of the New Order era under Suharto, the domination of the national and regional government was reduced by the Indonesian State Law on Regional Autonomy no 22 and 25. At the same time, the Florenese considered that these new regulations would give more democratisation and more participation in the Indonesian nation state's project of national unity, especially by attaching their cultural heritage to the national identity. Further, the Florenese followed the 2003 UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage convention that stated that preservation and conservation of intangible cultural heritage must be devoted to and purposed for the benefit and participation of the public and community. These Indonesian government regulations and UNESCO convention in turn triggered the blossoming of a movement of local people to claim sovereignty over their cultural heritage. Being stimulated by the advances in information technology, the growing number of educated Florenese, their multiple citizenship status and their general concern in global cultural heritage discourse, such a grassroots movement constructed a bottom-up cultural heritage management. Through these heritage dynamics the Florenese spatial, social and

ideology map linked the people to local, national and global developments. However, my ethno-archaeological field work on the cultural heritage management practice in the Manggarai and Ngadha Regencies as discussed in Chapter 7 illustrate how the colonial legacy of a 'top-down' authoritarian policy to a large extent still determines the perception and aims of contemporary cultural heritage management practices.

My fieldwork has shown how this discourse stresses an obsolete ideology map of 'authenticity, preservation and fetishes of the Indonesian ethnic primitive, traditional culture' that seems to rely in New Order cultural heritage management ideas. As regional autonomy transforms the authority from the centre to the periphery, the spatial hierarchy of cultural heritage is also rearranged by the Indonesian government. Previously in 1990, the Ruteng Puu megalith villages represented an authentic living prehistoric society's tradition of the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province. In 2003, this site of megalith villages is linked with the Manggarai Regency ancestor's settlement and the original Manggaraian culture. Thus, the spatial map hierarchy of the Ruteng Puu megalith villages was altered from the broad space of the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province to the narrow space of the Manggarai Regency. In a similar way, the social map legitimises their powerful and permanent respected role in managing cultural heritage. While the local elite officers regard themselves as being the keepers and stewards of local cultural heritage, the local people in turn, must value, honour and praise them for their expert works.

This research encountered how the Florenese concerns over their active role in the celebration of and participation in cultural heritage have reached the far side of dissatisfaction, desperation or uncertainty, since the loca government still holds and controls authority over it. Nevertheless, it noticed that more democratisation in all aspects of Flores people's lives in turn contributes to more independence and chances to take exception to the local officers' domination proramme of cultural heritage. This trend is clearly seen in the campaign of the Manggarai Regency and the preservation of *foi* musical tradition in the Ngadha Regency (see Chapter 7). Contemplating this phenomenon, I conceive that to some extent Florenese cultural heritage is dynamic and discourse of this cultural heritage is negotiated by local people, Florenese mgrants in Java and Malaysia, UNESCO, Catholic institutions and the local government in the social, cultural, political, economic and globalisation contexts.

To understand these dynamics was the main reason that I initiated the excavation pilot project for a bottom-up approach to cultural heritage management at Warloka site, West Manggarai Regency, Flores (Chapter 8). In this project I made an effort to turn away from the Dutch colonial legacy of cultural heritage and the New Order cultural heritage practice in

the service of the state. Accordingly, my project was not intended to homogenise the Florenese cultural heritage with national pride and identity or as a fixed representation of events in the past. However, my aims were to tailor social discourse, accommodate local people's engagement and encourage Warloka villagers' grassroots movement. Through such project the Warloka site could function as a cultural heritage media for envisioning and relating Warloka villagers with their hereditary past, constructing collective memory and consciousness, empowering their dignity and developing social identity in the present.

To a great extent my excavation involved Warloka villagers from the beginning of the excavation up to exhibiting the excavation findings to the West Manggarai Regency public. It is also important to note that my excavation in Warloka site unveiled proto-history culture from the Bronze-Iron Age from 13th to 16th century. This ancient cultural deposit contained human skeletons and demonstrate the prominent feature of a burial custom with a grave pole and a small megalith stone 'menhir' as a marker of the grave. While such burial practices related to the burial traditions of Austronesian speakers in the prehistoric period, artefacts included fragments of a stone paddle and anvil, pottery which showed a Sa Huyn motif, a number of gold beads, bronze bracelets and faceted beads were found. In addition, Chinese Song dynasty coins from 10th to 13th century, varieties of Chinese Song ceramics from 10th to 16th century, Vietnamese ceramics from 14th to 15th century and Thai ceramics from 14th to 16th century were also discovered. These coins and ceramics are manifestation of long distance contact and foreign trade networks. Further, the evidence of burying individuals with particular treatment shows that by the 13th century certain persons in the Warloka areas had achieved high social status and that early structured social organisation existed. At the end of this excavation I asked to exhibit these excavation finds to the West Manggarai Regency public. As a matter of fact, the villagers from Warloka, Kenari and Cumbi who were involved in this project supported the idea and were eager to help in organising a low-budget exhibition. A one-day exhibition was opened by the Bupati (head Regency) of West Manggarai Regency, and attended by local people, students, tourists and high ranking local government officers. Moreover, a brief dialogue was launched between the Warloka site stake holders, the head of Western Manggarai Regency, the public and me, as a project leader. The dialogue resulted in a plan to install a small museum in Warloka village. In a more specific way, my pilot project reflected from the beginning to the end the bottom up approach in which the grassroots movement is facilitated. Given this approach, Warloka site cultural heritage is being treated as a resource to enhance humanity, strengthen identity and raising a sense of tolerance.

I consider that my pilot project in Warloka probably also leads to a new construction of the ideology map, spatial map and social map. For instance, rather than incorporating my excavation findings and interpretation in the ideology map of mono-narration of the Indonesian state project of nation unity, it has been connected to myths of origin narrated by the Ngadha and the Manggaraian, thus contributing to a historiography of Flores which also influences the Indonesian national historiography. Constructing the Manggaraian/Ngadha-Warloka ideology map is more focused on maintaining respect and acknowledgment for the Florenese 'Other' who were excluded and neglected in the mainstream project of Indonesian nation unity. As a spatial map therefore, the Warloka site findings provide empirical evidence to unfold a new chapter in the history of Indonesian nation formation. This new interpretation of Warloka site findings contrasts dramatically with the official Indonesian National History text books. While in the Indonesian National History it is narrated that Flores was subjugated by the Majapahit Kingdom around the 12th- 13th century, artefacts from Warloka tell a story that Flores was not remote, isolated and border Island. As the Warloka origin myth recites the ancestor sea journey, settlement in Warloka village and installation of megalith monuments around the 10th -16th century, it is likely that a world sea trading network linked Warloka region to the world powers, such as China and those of Europe via the eastern sea trading route – Asia, Philippines, Sulawesi, Molluccan Islands and Flores Island. Chinese and European commodities, i.e., ceramics, coins and metal equipment were exchanged for Flores Island products, such as sandalwood, bees' wax and spices.

I would like to conclude with the following. Viewed from the spatial map around 12th to 16th century, there were two centres of civilisation in the Indonesian archipelago. In the West Indonesian archipelago, Java represents the centre of a world trading network via the western sea route, whereas in the East Indonesian archipelago Flores dominates the world trade via the eastern sea route. Addressing the social map, it is evident that Indonesian nation formation is constructed by social agents – by people and by their cultural heritage formation -in the present time. Yet, my excavation project illustrates the serious and complicated ways in which Warloka villagers, my pilot project, West Manggarai government, national and international funding negotiate Warloka site for their interests, which also impacts ideology maps related to historical understandint. To this end, my excavation project as a bottom-up cultural heritage project might provide more significant insights into the dynamic relationship between cultural heritage formation, the Florenese and the Indonesian nation state in the global context that we now can project back into Flores 'proto-history' and in which the megalith villages play an ever changing role.

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Summary

This PhD thesis has been researched and written from 2009 to 2013 thanks to a fellowship from Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo (YAD). It has been part of the project 'Sites, Bodies and Stories: The Dynamics of Heritage Formation in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands' (SBS) of VU University, which was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) research programme on 'Cultural Dynamics'. Within this SBS project this book focuses on the meaning and care of cultural artefacts and landscapes in the Indonesian archipelago from before the Dutch colonial rule to the present day, as well as on contemporary cultural management discourse. It investigates the ways in which Indonesian heritage were acquired, produced and communicated in the past. Through the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage project to strengthen the notion of national unity in a wider social, economic and political context, it explores whether and how Indonesian cultural heritage management is imbued with the colonial legacy of cultural heritage practices. This is studied with a special focus on one specific case - cultural heritage on the island of Flores, the small island in East Indonesia. The umbrella theme of 'Sites, Bodies and Stories' is translated into ethno-archaeological research, which combines archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches to cultural heritage formation in contemporary society. In order to engage in the day-to-day practices of the Florenese with respect to their cultural heritage, I undertook my ethno-archaeological research in certain villages of two present day ethnic groups, namely the Ngadha of Central Flores, and the Manggaraian of West Flores. This focus on the process of heritage formation in these Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages, allowed me to explore the way in which the people are making their claims about their ancestors, managing their dynamic identity and constructing a new understanding about themselves in the local, national and global domain. The conclusion projects these cultural dynamics on three interrelated maps which indicate spatial, social and ideological relationships. These maps are not fixed; they change over time and in geographical scope. Heritage management politics move on these maps.

A central notion throughout this thesis is that of Unity in Diversity, which is seen as the characteristic unifying feature of the Indonesian state ever since Independence. So what are the nature and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage within the Indonesian nation's project of national unity? What is the position of Manggarain and the Ngadha cultural heritage in such a project? This thesis shows that concerning the temporal (chronological) and social context of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage, the way in which cultural heritage of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha are managed, the Indonesian government's project of national unity or its top-down heritage management

approach seems inappropriate for more freedom to these people and their cultural heritage. It explores alternatives in terms of a bottom-up heritage management approach, to allow for more space for Ngadha and Manggaraians' democratisation in respect of their heritage and more flexible participation in heritage management. In the future will the Manggaraian and the Ngadha be able to position their cultural heritage in the global, national and local heritage discourse that they encounter?

The discussion of these fundamental questions approached here is based on ethno-archaeological fieldwork and oral history in various megalith village sites, on historical research on moveable artefacts and colonial ethnographic records, and on an archaeological excavation. This has resulted in rich and varied kinds of data that potentially support the integration of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage into the colourful pictures of the Indonesian state heritage management discourse. It is important to note that archaeological methods furnish representations of residues of human activities in the distant past as well as to the archaeological site modifications that affect social and cultural interaction. Using historical methods this ancient human daily life is filtered and compared with archival and oral history to view change and continuity in a framework of a longer-term time-line. Finally, anthropological method enables an examination of the production, fabrication and invention of past history in the present.

Further, the Manggaraian and the Ngadha tangible and intangible heritage, such as of archaeological sites, megalith villages (Sites), human remains, dance, music and ritual performance (Bodies), portable artefacts, myths of origin, local histories (Stories) are integrated as a data entity. It is expected this data integration might open dialogue between archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches. While this cultural heritage is found in museums outside Indonesian, in national museums and in most parts of the Manggarai and Ngadha region, comparison between the different representations and the ways in which such heritage was represented can yield important results. In this case, this representation mirrors the dynamic process of inclusion and exclusion with respect to Manggaraian and Ngadha cultural heritage. Through fieldwork living cultural heritage sites have been documented and explored in terms of the ways in which these heritage sites are utilised by the government, non-governmental institutions and the local ethnic communities to achieve social purposes. Therefore by observing the ways in which the Manggarai and the Ngadha cultural heritage are used for social ends (i.e., cultural capital, commodification, social and political), the nature of the contestations has been analysed and ways are discussed in which various interest groups can negotiate their 'stake' in cultural heritage

policies at a local, national and global level. This is explored in eight chapters and divided into three parts, as follows:

Part 1 provides the general background and historical context of this study, which reaches far beyond the scope of the case study of Manggaraian and Ngadha heritage formation in Flores. Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical framework of how archaeology is related to cultural heritage management. As Hodder, Tilley, Johnson and Smith provide the major concepts of archaeological knowledge and heritage management discourse in a changing, historically situated social practice and in specific cultural contexts, this chapter also explains the rationale for ethno-archaeological research and semiotic analysis to reveal the information embedded in Flores cultural heritage. To this end, archaeology and cultural heritage management concepts are positioned as contemporary social knowledge constructions which generate discourses on the way in which the past and the present interact between social, political and cultural contexts.

Chapter 2 gives an extensive periodisation of the cultural heritage policies and archaeological practices in Indonesia. In a historiographical overview based on an extensive body of literature and primary sources, it focuses on three periods: 19th-20th century under Dutch colonial rule, after 1945 under Sukarno, and after 1965 under Suharto. (The changes in the discourse after the fall of Suharto are discussed in chapter 7.) This chapter argues that the emergence of cultural heritage institutions is bound up with not only with socio-economic state policies (like the ethical policy, the guided democracy and the five year plans) but also with the historiography on the Indonesian nation. Starting from the notion of 'Colonial archaeology', which refers both to archaeological institutions established under Dutch colonial rule and to academic practices and discourse with respect to archaeology, it investigates how Dutch and Indonesian archaeologists like Krom, Brandes, Stutterheim, Soekmono and Soejono have positioned themselves within these events and the impact of decolonisation.

Part II introduces the island of Flores and its people, the Ngadha and Manggaraian in particular. Chapter 3, which partly is based on earlier fieldwork conducted between 19th century and 20th century, presents the natural setting of the island of Flores and its environmental features. The varieties of ethnic groups, languages, general cultural heritage, ethnic group distribution, their history and previous research on archaeology, anthropology are mentioned. Such a description offers insight into the ways in which the Florenese people deal with multiple identities, related to their ethnicity and clan affiliation, to their being known outside of Flores as Florenese, and their Indonesian citizenship, with its contested history under the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building and unity.

Chapter 4 and 5, mainly based on fieldwork, provide a more detailed ethnography and ethno-archaeology of the cultural heritage of Ngadha and Manggaraian with the focus on the megalith villages. It describes the spatial distribution of these villages in the Ngadha and Manggarai regions, their site plans, chronology, ethnic affiliation and social organisation. Related to these spatial and social maps, the coalescence of ethnography and ethno-archaeology information presents a more detailed ideology map of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage construction.

Chapter 6 enlarges the spatial map and focuses on the representation of the natures and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage, which are found and preserved in the collections of a former Colonial Museum in the Netherlands, the National Museum in Jakarta and the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province Museum in Kupang. Referring to the extensive literature on colonial objects, classifications and hierarchies as elaborated by authors like Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Kreps and McGregor, it argues that these three museums each in a different way, still struggle with the collection practices from colonial times, and the implicit cultural hierarchies attached to the objects collected from people whose living megalith culture was and is understood as primitive, with a connotation of being backwards.

Part III focuses on contemporary heritage dynamic. In Chapter 7 I question the role of Indonesian government's cultural heritage institutions in practicing cultural heritage management 'in the service of the state', especially in the context of the decentralisation policies in the Reformation era. How do those policies affect the Manggaraian and the Ngadha in their day to day and formal dealing with their cultural heritage, do they affect their decision-making, and signifying practices – cultural, social, historical, economic, ideology and political – with respect to their tangible and intangible heritage? Fieldwork reveals two sides to these questions, related to the top-down approach of government heritage institutions and the negotiation of the people at the local level regarding everyday perspectives on the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage.

Chapter 8 demonstrates that the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage are produced through the social actor's manipulations. Given my own excavation results at Warloka site, Manggarai, West Flores it shows the participation of the people in all the processes, from decision making through to the management of heritage resources and how they are used to construct and pursue of social ends. My fieldwork principle includes both public government and private enterprises at the national and international levels. Further, in this chapter two important issues are addressed. First, I argue that heritage practices are dynamic, fluid and continuous which include, creation, recovery, invention and commemoration. Second, based on my study I offer suggestions for a bottom-up cultural

heritage management practice, which has emerged as critical response to top-down heritage management.

The last part of this thesis states the conclusions drawn from its research and places them in the recent framework of Indonesian cultural heritage studies. It summerises the spatial, social and ideology maps that can be drawn with respect to the prehistory of Flores, the colonialism of the Dutch colonial state and the centralising policies of the Indonesian nation state. It then considers the relevance of this research for other practices of cultural heritage in Indonesia. As such, this thesis aims to shed more light on a new understanding of the cultural heritage management discourse, not only for academics in archaeology, prehistory, history and anthropology, but also for stake-holders of cultural heritage management in the local, national and global arena.

Samenvatting

Tussen koloniale erfenis en grassroots bewegingen: Een onderzoek naar de praktijk van cultureel erfgoed in de regio's Ngadha en Manggarai op Flores in Indonesië

Het onderzoek voor dit proefschrift werd van 2009 tot 2013 uitgevoerd met een fellowship van de Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo (YAD). Het vormt onderdeel van het project 'Sites, Bodies and Stories': the Dynamics of Heritage Formation in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands (SBS) van de Vrije Universiteit dat werd gefinancierd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO) in het kader van het onderzoeksprogramma 'Culturele Dynamiek'. Binnen dit SBS project ligt de focus van dit boek op de betekenis en de zorg voor culturele artefacten en landschappen in de Indonesische archipel, van voor de Nederlandse koloniale heerschappij tot heden, inclusief het hedendaagse discours over cultureel erfgoedbeheer. Het onderzoekt de wijze waarop in het verleden Indonesisch erfgoed werd verworven, gemaakt en gecommuniceerd. Door een analyse van het cultureel erfgoed beleid van de Indonesische natiestaat, dat tot doel had de nationale eenheid in een bredere sociale, economische en politieke context te versterken, wordt onderzocht of en zo ja, hoe, de wijze van beheer van cultureel erfgoed in Indonesië is bepaald door de koloniale erfenis.

Dit alles wordt bestudeerd met bijzondere aandacht voor een specifieke casus: het cultureel erfgoed op Flores, een klein eiland in Oost-Indonesië. Het overkoepelende thema van 'Sites, Bodies and Stories' wordt in dit proefschrift vertaald in etnoarcheologisch onderzoek dat archeologische, historische en antropologische benaderingen van cultureel erfgoed productie in de hedendaagse samenleving combineert. Om me te kunnen verhouden tot de dagelijkse praktijk van de mensen op Flores ten aanzien van hun cultureel erfgoed, heb ik etnoarcheologisch onderzoek verricht in verschillende dorpen van twee etnische groepen, namelijk de Ngadha in Centraal-Flores en de Manggarai in West-Flores. De focus op het proces van cultureel erfgoedvorming in deze dorpen stelde mij in staat om te onderzoeken hoe de mensen een rol voor hun voorouders creëren, hoe ze hun dynamische identiteit beheren en zichzelf heruitvinden in een lokaal, nationaal en mondiaal domein.

De conclusie toont deze culturele dynamiek op drie, onderling samenhangende , 'kaarten' die ruimtelijke, sociale en ideologische relaties laten zien. Deze kaarten zijn niet gefixeerd, ze veranderen in de loop van de tijd en in hun geografische reikwijdte en laten zien hoe de politiek van cultureel erfgoed zich beweegt.

Een centraal begrip in dit proefschrift is de notie van Eenheid in Verscheidenheid, de slogan die sinds de onafhankelijkheid wordt beschouwd als het unificerende idee achter de

Indonesische staat. Hoe past het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha binnen dit project van nationale eenheid van de Indonesische staat? Dit proefschrift laat zien dat de wijze waarop dit erfgoed wordt beheerd door de Indonesische overheid en de top-down benadering van cultureel erfgoed beheer niet passend lijkt in het licht van (het geven van) meer vrijheid aan deze mensen en hun cultureel erfgoedbeheer. Het verkent alternatieven in vormen van een bottom-up benadering van erfgoedbeheer, die meer ruimte geven aan de democratisering van het erfgoed van de Ngadha en Manggarai en een meer flexibele participatie in erfgoedbeheer. Zullen de Ngadha en de Manggarai in staat zijn om in de toekomst hun cultureel erfgoed te positioneren in het globale, nationale en lokale erfgoed discours waarin ze zich bevinden?

De discussie over deze fundamentele vragen wordt gevoerd op basis van etnoarcheologisch veldwerk en oral history in een aantal dorpslocaties, historisch onderzoek van artefacten, koloniale etnografische bronnen en op basis van een archeologische opgraving. Dit heeft geresulteerd in een rijke en gevarieerde verzameling van data die in potentie de integratie van het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha in het cultureel erfgoed discours van de Indonesische staat kan ondersteunen. Het is belangrijk om daarbij aan te tekenen dat archeologische methoden veranderingen van de archeologische sites bewerkstelligen en representaties produceren van menselijke activiteiten in het verleden die ook de hedendaagse sociale en culturele interactie beïnvloeden. Door Het dagelijks leven uit dit verre verleden werd gefilterd en vergeleken met archieven en oral history om veranderingen en continuïteit op een langere termijn te beschouwen. Tenslotte maakt de antropologische methode het mogelijk om de productie, samenstelling en de geconstrueerde verbeelding van het verleden in het heden te onderzoeken.

Vervolgens zijn het materiële en immateriële culturele erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha, zoals archeologische sites, megalithische dorpen (Sites), menselijke resten, dans, muziek en rituele gebruiken (Bodies), artefacten, oorsprongsmythen en lokale geschiedenissen (Stories) geïntegreerd als data input. Naar verwachting zal deze data integratie de dialoog tussen de archeologische, historische en antropologische benaderingen mogelijk maken. Terwijl dit cultureel erfgoed te vinden is in musea buiten Indonesië, nationale musea en in de Manggarai en Ngadha regio's, kan een vergelijking van de verschillende wijze waarop het erfgoed wordt en is gerepresenteerd, belangrijke resultaten opleveren. In dit geval laten de representaties het dynamische proces van in- en uitsluiting zien ten aanzien van het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha. Door middel van veldwerk zijn levende cultureel erfgoed sites gedocumenteerd en onderzocht vanuit het perspectief van de wijze waarop deze erfgoedsites worden benut door de

overheid, niet-gouvernmentele organisaties en de lokale gemeenschappen om ieder hun sociale doeleinden te bereiken.

Door het observeren van de manier waarop het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha voor maatschappelijke doeleinden (o.a. cultureel kapitaal, commodificatie en sociale en politieke doeleinden) wordt gebruikt, zijn omstreden aspecten geanalyseerd en de manieren bediscussieerd waarop de verschillende belangengroepen over hun aandeel in het cultureel erfgoed beleid kunnen onderhandelen op lokaal, nationaal en globaal niveau. Dit alles wordt onderzocht in acht hoofdstukken die vallen onder drie delen, zoals hieronder wordt aangegeven:

Deel 1 geeft de algemene achtergrond en historische context van deze studie die meer omvat dan alleen het kader van de case study van erfgoedvorming van de Manggarai en Ngadha op Flores. Hoofdstuk 1 beschrijft in het theoretische kader de verhouding van archeologie tot cultureel erfgoedbeheer. Hodder,Tilley, Johnson en Smith leveren de belangrijkste concepten over archeologische kennis en het discours over erfgoedbeheer in een veranderende historisch gesitueerde maatschappelijke praktijk in een specifieke culturele context geven. Daarnaast verklaart dit hoofdstuk ook de rationale voor etnoarcheologisch onderzoek en semiotische analyse. Archeologie en concepten over cultureel erfgoedbeheer worden hierbij gezien als constructies van sociale kennis die in de loop van de tijd discoursen genereren waarin het verleden en het heden met elkaar interacteren tussen sociale, politieke en culturele contexten.

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een uitgebreide periodisering van cultureel erfgoedbeleid en archeologische praktijken in Indonesië. In een historiografisch overzicht, gebaseerd op een uitgebreid corpus aan literatuur en primaire bronnen, wordt de nadruk gelegd op drie perioden: de 19^e- 20^e eeuw onder Nederlands koloniaal bewind, de periode na 1945 onder Sukarno en de periode na 1965 onder Suharto (de veranderingen in het discours na de val van Suharto worden besproken in hoofdstuk 7). In dit hoofdstuk wordt gesteld dat de opkomst van cultureel erfgoed instellingen niet alleen verbonden is met het sociaal-economisch beleid van de staat (zoals de Ethische Politiek, de Geleide Democratie en de Vijf Jarenplannen) maar ook met de historiografie van de Indonesische natie. Beginnend met de notie van 'Koloniale archeologie' die zowel verwijst naar de archeologische instellingen die werden opgericht tijdens het Nederlandse koloniale bewind als naar de academische praktijk en discours met betrekking tot archeologie, wordt onderzocht hoe Nederlandse en Indonesische archeologen zoals Krom, Brandes, Stutterheim, Soekmono en Soejono zichzelf hebben gepositioneerd ten opzichte van deze gebeurtenissen en ten aanzien van de gevolgen van de dekolonisatie.

Deel II bevat een introductie van het eiland en de bevolking van Flores, in het bijzonder de Ngadha en de Manggarai.

Hoofdstuk 3, dat deels is gebaseerd op reeds eerder verricht veldwerk dat tussen de 19^e en 20^e eeuw werd uitgevoerd, presenteert de natuurlijke omstandigheden van het eiland Flores en zijn omgevingskenmerken. De variaties in etnische groepen, talen, algemeen cultureel erfgoed, verspreiding van etnische groepen over het eiland, hun geschiedenis en bestaand onderzoek op het gebied van archeologie en antropologie komen hier aan de orde. Een dergelijke beschrijving biedt inzicht in de manieren waarop de mensen op Flores omgaan met meerdere identiteiten, in relatie tot hun etniciteit en clan affiliatie, in relatie to het feit dat ze buiten Flores bekend staan als Florinezen, en hun Indonesisch staatsburgerschap met zijn betwiste geschiedenis.

Hoofdstukken 4 en 5 zijn hoofdzakelijk gebaseerd op mijn eigen veldwerk en geven een meer gedetailleerd etnografisch en etnoarcheologisch beeld van het cultureel erfgoed van de Ngadha en de Manggarai, met een focus op megalitische dorpen. De ruimtelijke distributie van deze dorpen in de regio's van de Ngadha en de Manggarai, de structuur van de sites, de chronologie, de etnische affiliatie en de sociale organisatie worden hier beschreven. In relatie tot deze ruimtelijke en sociale plattegronden, vormt de samenvoeging van de informatie van etnografie en etnoarcheologie een meer gedetailleerde ideologische plattegrond van de constructie van het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha.

Hoofdstuk 6 gaat verder in op de ruimtelijke plattegrond en richt de aandacht op de representaties van de aard en de vormen van het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha zoals die te vinden zijn en bewaard worden in de collecties van het voormalige Koloniaal Museum in Nederland, het Nationaal Museum in Jakarta en het Nusa Tenggara Timur Provinciaal Museum in Kupang. Met verwijzing naar de uitgebreide literatuur over koloniale objecten, classificaties en hiërarchieën zoals die is uitgewerkt door auteurs als Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Kreps en McGregor, wordt beargumenteerd deze drie musea, ieder op hun eigen wijze, nog steeds worstelen met praktijken rondom collecties die hun oorsprong hebben in de koloniale periode en de impliciete culturele hierarchieën die toegekend werden aan de objecten die verworven werden van mensen wiens levende megalitische cultuur werd en wordt beschouwd als primitief, met de connotatie 'achtergebleven'.

Deel III heeft als focus de hedendaagse erfgoeddynamiek. In hoofdstuk 7 zet ik vraagstekens bij de rol van de cultureel erfgoedinstellingen van de Indonesische staat en de manier waarop cultureel erfgoed beheer in dienst van de staat plaatsvindt, in het bijzonder in de context van het decentralisatiebeleid in de tijd van de Reformasi. Op welke wijze heeft dit

beleid gevolgen voor de Manggarai en de Ngadha in hun dagelijkse en formele omgang met hun cultureel erfgoed, welk effect hebben ze op hun besluitvorming en betekenisgevende praktijken – cultureel, sociaal, historisch, economisch, ideologisch en politiek – met betrekking tot hun materiële en immateriële erfgoed? Mijn veldwerk laat zien dat er twee kanten zijn aan deze vraagstukken: de top-down benadering van cultureel erfgoedinstellingen van de overheid en de onderhandelingswijze van de bevolking op lokaal niveau..

Hoofdstuk 8 laat zien dat het cultureel erfgoed van de Manggarai en de Ngadha wordt geproduceerd door handelingen van sociale actoren. Mijn eigen archeologische resultaten bij de Warloka site in Manggarai, West-Flores, tonen de participatie van de bevolking in alle processen, van de besluitvorming tot aan het beheer van de erfgoed middelen en de manier waarop ze worden gebruikt om sociale doelen vorm te geven en na te streven. Daarnaast komen in dit hoofdstuk twee belangrijke zaken aan de orde. Op de eerste plaats beargumenteer ik dat erfgoed praktijken dynamisch en flexibel zijn en een continue karakter hebben en dat ze ontwerp, creatie, ontdekking en herdenking omvatten. Ten tweede, geef ik op basis van mijn onderzoek suggesties voor een praktijk van bottom-up cultureel erfgoed beheer die een kritisch antwoord is op het top-down erfgoed beheer.

Het laatste deel van mijn proefschrift bevat de conclusies van mijn onderzoek en plaatst deze in het kader van cultureel erfgoedstudies in Indonesië. In drie delen behandelt dit proefschrift de ruimtelijke, sociale en ideologische plattegronden die getekend kunnen worden met betrekking tot de prehistorie van Flores, het externe kolonialisme van de Nederlandse koloniale staat en wat ik het interne kolonialisme noem van de Indonesische natiestaat. De relevantie van dit onderzoek voor de praktijken bij ander cultureel erfgoed in Indonesië wordt in ogenschouw genomen. Verder worden onderwerpen die nog onopgelost blijven door dit onderzoek en de richting voor verder onderzoek beschreven. Daarmee kan mijn proefschrift meer licht werpen op een nieuw begrip van het discours over cultureel erfgoedbeheer, niet alleen voor academici in archeologie, prehistorie, geschiedenis en antropologie, maar ook voor stake holders van cultureel erfgoedbeheer in de lokale, nationale en globale arena.