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PREFACE

The Seminar of 'Warisan Nusantara 2' (2nd Heritage Archipelago) which is held on December 18, 2012 at the State University of Semarang is an annual or biennial seminar, especially in collaboration with Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) and several universities in Indonesia and Malaysia. The first seminar of 'Warisan Nusantara 1" (1st Heritage Archipelago) was held in UMS in 2011.

The topic of the seminar is "Preservation and Development of the Cultural Archipelago through Arts and Languages". It is organized to open a broader perspectives to all speakers, experts, humanists, and academics from different disciplines to share about the issues related to the topic.

Alhamdulillah, this seminar has received a very wide responses from many institutions and individuals. It is noted that there are 138 comparative speakers coming from 45 institutions (universities and other institutions), one keynote speaker, six speakers from five countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, French, and Japan. They will contribute for the completion of the proceedings of the seminar, as well as the academic accountability for the seminar committee.

Hopefully, the proceedings completed in such a short time can satisfy the expectations of its users. Thank you.

Semarang, December 17, 2012

Chairman of the Committee
The Seminar of "Warisan Nusantara 2"

Prof. Dr. Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi, MA

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THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE (*RUMAH GADANG*) THE NEGLECTED CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MINANGAKABAU¹

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Abstract

The traditional house also called *Rumah Gadang* or *rumah adat* is one of Minangkabau cultural heritage. The construction of the *Rumah Gadang* has characteristic features showing differences from the other traditional houses existing across Indonesia. This cultural heritage is a stage like house whose floors lie ranging from 2.5 to 3 meters from the ground level. The roofs are buffalo horns shaped, pointed. The outersides of the wall are tilting out forming an angle wider then Dinding-dinding bagian luar berdiri miring kearah luar membentuk—sudut besar dari 90 degrees so that principally the traditional house looks like unsymmetrical rectangle raises up wider. So that such construction causes the upper space will become wider than the one of the lower part, causing the air circulation frier. The house construction uses no nail but rather by chislling or tying the building material one another: usually the larger material is chislled, and the small ones are tied to one another.

At the beginning the function of rumah gadang is as a house to live and a lace in which the customary ceremonies are held. As a common living house, the rumah gadang preserves particular rules. A married woman lives together with her children in the rumah gadang. Specilly for an adult man (balligh) is not allowed to spend the night in the rumah gadang, they are permitted to go to bed at a small mosque (Surau) belonging to respective community within the clan where they belong to. As a place where the consultation is held, the rumah gadang is a building of activity center of all clans in discussion their common concerns. As a place where the customary cerimonies are held the rumah gadang becomes important in positioning their ranking of dignitary level (Clan member) in a "proper" position, and the appointment the adat leader (penghulu) is there. Nowadays, the rumah gadang has been abandoned and it does not function as a living house of the clan member anymore. Somewhere else, probably the rumah gadang stil function as a facility in which the ceremonied of adat are held such as matrimonial and the appointment the Penghulu, however, somewhere else it has

¹ Papers, introducing discussion, presented in "International Seminar Archipelago Haritage 2012", held by Fakulty of Letters and Arts- Universitas Negri Semarang, Desember 18-19 2012

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become an abandoned building, and even many of them have deteriorated and are flat to the ground without any attempt of renewal and maintanance.

This papers tries to discuss the matter of *rumah* gadang as a cultural heritage, either its material in relation to the surrounding nature or the form of its architecture, its function, as well as the reason such a heritage starts to undergo the functional degradation, and abandoned by its supporting society.

Keyword: Rumah Gadang, function, customary, ceremony, sustainability.

Introduction

Nowadays, the *rumah gadang* in Minangkabau is already out of use as it should be. There are not so many *rumah gadang* standing intactly and most of which are deteriorating to wait for their ends and even, a lot of them are flat to the ground. In general, the rumah gadang has experienced its primary functional degradation for it is not made use by the people of Minangkabau as it functioned initially namely as the living house of the clan community, as a place in which the matrilineal traditione is inherited, as place to hold a traditional ceremony such as the ceremonies of wedding, the appointment of *Penghulu*, the *adat* consultation the clan level and so on related to the sustainability of the clan. At the presenter are many traditional houses become vacated without occupant, and they are only used for a certain time so it make sense many of them are out of order and even many of which fall ruin and even they are flat to the ground.

In this paper, we will see that the rumah gadang as a traditional cultural heritage of Minangkabau is the adapted result of the Minangkabau people to the ecosystem in the context of Minangkabau cultural loyalty. This papers will see how the ties of social and ecosystem changes toward the existace of rumah gadang in Minangkabau now. How is the Minangkabau social system at the present causing the functional degradation of rumah gadang? Is there a correlation of the rumah gadang functional degradation to the condition of of ecosystem surrounding Minangkabau which also has undergone changes and it does not support the existence of the rumah gadang anymore anylonger.

Topography and People of Minangkabau

The topography of Minangkabau intermontonous and lot of hills through which sometimes there flows a stony and rapid current river. Some of the high mountains are mount Merapi, Mount Singgalang, Mount Tandikat, Mount Bungsu, an Mount Talang belonging to the ridges of *Bukit Barisan* in Sumatra.some of which are active vulcanos emitting vucanic smoke, though several of which are not active any longer. Since the better part of topography of

Minangkabau consist of high mountains, therefore, occasionally the wind blows severely and is followed with torrential rain.

Here and there, especially, on the slope and on the feet of the mountains runs a vast forest which was reviously full of big trees and high enough, but now the trees are becoming the object of illegal logging and the beeter part of which is made farm plantation. Long ago, there roamed wild animals in the forest such as boar, tapir, tiger, snake, bird and so on, for the forest and its environment still can keep their system of living. Today, however, lot of their habitat have been robbed for the need of farm and plantation, therefore, most of the animals migrated on to find their new habitat, and even they unreluctantly enter the pople settlement.

The people settlement are scattered in the areas situated between the mountains and the hills, and along the river bank which the fertile area for agriculture of growing rice both dry and wet fields. On the slops of the hill or on the height there stand the buildings of rumah gadang well ordered forming units of settlement. Then the units of the settlement form *Nagari*_namely a tradisional village of Minangkabau.³ A number of nagaris still preserving the building of rumah gadang and up to now they can be found such as in the *nagari* of Balimbiang, Regency of Tanah Datar (Izzati cs, 2002), *nagari* Muaro Labuah and Abai in the Regency of South Solok (Nur and Herwandi, 2009).

Nagari is the smallest ethnographic territory in Minangkabau and is an autonomous territory. Nagari is also a cultural unit territory distinguishing one nagari from another for each nagari has its own adat-istiadat showing the identity of nagari, although it is still in the sense of Minangkabau customary. In the past,, nagari is governed by an institution namely the Assembly of Nagari (Kerapatan Adat Nagari), based upon the principle of democracy whose member consist of Penghulus of each clan prevailing in the Nagari (Kato: 1977, 43). The Assembly of Nagari is truly an institution adat which has run since long time ago. In the previous papers, Herwandi (2010) stated that the Assembly of Nagari is an institution carrying on the role called open stage medan nan bapaneh di Minangkabau. The institution of medan nan bapaneh is an democratic institution which has appeared since the era of neolithic-megalithic in Minangkabau. Materially, this institution consists of a number of ordered menhir being functioned as a stone chair, then, a number of the stone chairs were ordered in such a way to form letter U or in other formation. The function of medan nan

³ In the era of precolonial it is assumed that the number of nagari reached 600 inMinangkabau (Graves, 1981, 14). In 1911 noted 541 nagaris in 1920 about 567 nagaris, after some years later it was likely to happen a significan rduction, for in 1931 it was noted bout 531 nagaris prevailed in Minangkabau (Oki: 1977, 27). It seemed to happen because the Dutch started to organize its territory inMinangkabau, including simplifying numbers of nagaris in the colonial era. In the era of Independece nowadays is noted as many as 498 nagaris (Effendi, 2006). About nagari, see also, Dobbin (1983: 13).

Sometimes, such a function is added as the arena in which the performance shows took place or the performance art of the local people. The function of *medan nan bapaneh* as a democratic institution is carried on by the Assembly of Nagari usually holding the activity of making consultation in the House of Assembly (*Kerapatan Adat Nagari*) (Herwandi, 2010). Nowadays, the House of Assembly is just a complement in carrying out the administration of Nagari fot the nagari itself is structurally headed by The Head of Nagari (Wali Nagari) and such a term of wali Nagari is not recognized in the traditional adat of Minangkabau.⁴

The people of Minangkabau belong to Matrilinial parentage baed upon motheral descendant, prevailing in an umbrella of clan geneology unit consisting of some wombs (paruik), and each womb divided into a unit of community (kaum). The clan (suku) is lead by one or more Penghulus; the Womb (Paruik) womb is lead by an uncle – mother's brother a Tungganai or called mamak rumah (Kato, 1977: 38, 44), and community (Kaum) is lead by a Mamak the head of kaum. In the past, the role of mamak was predominant and decisive in the Minangkabau society but now the situation is quite otherwise there occurs a great degradation. The mamak is not decisive anymore in the family of Minangkabau people. Instead, the mamak's role has taken over by the father of the whole lives.

In a traditional people of Minangkabau there is a quite complex familiar relationship tradisional, however, such a familiar relationship may become a meaningful social asset to empower the social strength within the Minangkabau people. In such a kinship relation there are are terms such as *niniak*, *gaek*, *amak mamak*, *kemenakan*, *bako*, *anak pisang*, *sumando*, *pasumandan*, *ipa*, *bisan*. In the past such a kinship relation already strengthened the social network as well as strengthened the social resilient in Minangkabau but now such a social network has weakened and even tend to cease.

In the traditional people of Minangkabau the principle of communal order has deeply planted in their behavior except those who have been damaged by negative external values. The principle of community does not mean to reign the freedom of the clan member to act creatively in a permissible restrictions along with the adat rules. It means the people of Minangkabau prioritize both individual

⁴Wali nagari was introduced in Dutch colonial era at the beginning of 19 century, corresponding to the beginning era of colonial Dutch imposed its power in (Herwandi, 2012).

⁵ Niniak is the mother of mother or sister of mother amak, whereas gaek is the brother of mother, amak (one generation obove mother). Amak is a term of expression to mother. Mamak is the brother of mother. Kamanakan is the son of ancle sister (mamakan bako is the family of father side. Anak pisang is the chil of brother. Sumando is the husband of sister. Pasumandan is the mother of husband of our daughter. Ipa husband/wife of brother/sister of wife (Kato 1977: 72)

person and communal society. One has a full capacity as an individual person and is deeply realized by the communal people and the individual in person, but on the contrary, an individual person fully realizes how important the society is. Principle of community in a certain respect is beginning to be disturbed since the tradition ("Alam Minangkabau") collided with other cultural values such as Western culture so that the community in a certain viewpoint has switched to the individual values.

The Rumah Gadang Construction: Result of Adaptation and Local Wisdom "Earth Quake Proof"

The traditional house (Rumah Gadang) is the one having particular characteristic and showing differences from other traditional house construction across Indonesia. The house is a stage like (Junus, 1971: 251), whose floor ranges 2.5 up to 3 meters from the ground level. Its roof is acute formed, pointed. The outside walls stand tilting out to form an angle of larger than 90 degrees so that if the the basic is seen, the *Rumah Gadang* looks like an unsymmetrical rectangle raising up. Such a construction causes the upper space wider than the lower one. The construction of this house uses no nail but by chisling or by tying one material to another: usually the larger material is chisled and the smaller one is tied.

The room/space in *Rumah Gadang* is usually called *lanjar* and *ruang*; *Lanjar* is the space from the fron to the back of the house and is screend by columns and the most back lanjar consists of series of rooms whereas two or three *lanjars* at the front part of the house just the vacant rooms being functioned on certain occasion; *the room* (*ruang*) is a serial room running from left to right also screened by columns – usually the room and space have no screen in the front part, it is called a space as a whole.

Though commonly a *rumah gadang* has a ladder at the front of the house just exactly at the middle space, there are some places showing the difference with prevalence such as in the region of *Limapuluh Koto* part of which are located at the back of the house as in Agam it is located in the front left.

The kitchen is located differently. Sometimes, it is particularly made and located on the right of the entrance aand sometimes it is located in a special room at both end of the house. Anyhow, sometimes it is made separately from the Rumah Gadang and is connected with a special bridge to the main building.

The traditional rumah gadang of Minangkabau is a cultural product of Minangkabau and is result of social interaction of the people to their ecosystem. At the beginning, materially, the nature provides the material for the construction of the *Rumah Gadang* such as column, floor, wall, and materials for roof, and

ladder. The clumn is made of iron wood (Kato 1977, 49) which is big and long enough whose diameter is more than 30 cms and the length is more than 20 up to 25 m. the ladder is made of wood, the floor is made of wooden plank or bamboo, wall is made od wooden plank and the roof is made of wine-palm mane. As a further development, at the present there is other material replacing them such as the column and roof (the column is made of concrete, and the roof is made of ccorrugated iron). This is truly due to several factors namely: Firstly, the area surrounding the home settlement does not support it any longer for s better parts of land surroung the village has been exploited in such a way for the sake of rice growing farm and plantation so that the nature does not provide enough tree any more tome housing material Rumah Gadang: the living tree is limited, there is almost no tree reaching the diameter of 25 up to 30 cm, if any, it grow in a deep forest far away from the the people's reach so that it hard for the people to have the building material tersebut. Similarly, the palm wine mane for roof for the tree producing the mane is now scarcely growing and hard to find around the people settlemen and if any it is quite limited. Secondly, the technological system and the knowledge of people about modern techology that the have recognize modern technology. The people have known the concrete technology for column making and corrugated metal technology using nail to fasten the roof though the knowledge of the technology is still limited. The technological system and the knowledge of modern technology owned by the people are much more practical rather than the traditional one so it enables them to use it and switch to the new technological system. Thirdly, the easier transportation to reach the resident settlement enable the people to have the building material such as ferro concrete, cement, and so on needed by the new system of technology they have.

The construction *rumah gadang*, forming a stage house for its floor lies far from the ground (Junus, 1971: 251), lavitated 2,5 - 3 ms from the ground showing there is adaptation of the Minangkabau people to the biotic environment primarily animal. It means the higher range of the floor to the ground, besides functioning as a domestic animal enclosure it also reflect the fear of the people from the wild animal to themselves or to their domestic animal.

The tilting roof and wall constructions of *rumah gadang* reflect the people adaptation to weather of Minangkabau topography running on the tropical mountains in which the change of seasons frequently occurs. In the rainy, the rain drop runs severely so the tilting roof fit to the torrential rain to anticipate such a weather condition that the water running down on the roof quickly foll down to the ground without being absorbed by the roof. Where as in the sunny, the tilting roof functions as to ban the sunshine from falling on the roof to form 90 degrees angle that the floor of the *rumah gadang* in such a way that the temperature in the house do not grillⁿ. Meanwhile, the wall construction of the *rumah gadang*

tending to tilt and form the angle of 90 degrees with floor is also to reflect the adaptation of Minangkabau people to their surrounding environment, mainly, the wind blow and mountains surrounding. Since the *rumah gadang* is located on the hilly area and the slope of mountains, probably the wind blow always goes swiftly. Therefore, the tilting wall construction of *rumah gadang* is very much helping to blocking the wind blow. Yhe wall larger corner which is larger than 90 degrees may switch parts of wind blow when there is fast wind storms the body of the *rumah gadang*. Such a wall corner is to weaken the wind blow from outside for the wall directs wind blow more to the ground preventing the wind from coliding to the wall frontally. As for the wall tilting outward wil make the inner space of the *rumah gadang* wider. This situation very is very condusive to the air circulation inside the house. The air coming into the the house immediately experiences rotary process since it does not come across any significant block inside the *rumah gadang* because the wall tending to form the angle larger than 90 degrees is very much helpful.

In general, the Rumah Gadang is located on the slope of mountain, within the *ring of fire* of course there frequently occurs earthquake (hypocenter). Though there is still no research on it, it can be taken for granted that the *rumah gadang* tilting construction, vertically unsymetrical is a reflection local indeginous (Syukri, 2009), having thought of the earthquake effect (Wimra 2009), for the stronger the shake of the earthquake does not make the *rumah gadang* collapse even it just true strengthen the construction of *the rumah gadang*.

Functional Degrade: An Abandoned Rumah Gadang

Initially, the function of the *rumah gadang* is as a living house and a place in which the adat ceremony is held. At the beginning of 19^{th} century a *rumah gadang*, according to Dobbin is occupied by 60 - 80 members of clan. Even, according to him, as he cited from Rafles, a *rumah gadang* at Simawang was occupied by 150 of community members. The number depended on the quantity of the clan group member (Dobbin, 1983, 13-14).

As common living house, the the *Rumah Gadang* preserves particular rules. Each married woman occupies one room. The youngest woman occupies the most front roo and the eldest one's room is next to the kitchen. Wheresa the juvenile woman occupies other room. Particularly, the adult men are not allowed

⁶ According to Eko Alfares, Don of Architecture of Faculty of Civil Engineering and Planning University of Bung Hatta (UBH) Padang, the architecture of rumah gadang Minangkabau, in building the rumah gadang, it actually shows that since long time ago the Minangkabau people has for a long time adopted the building technique of an earth quake proof house (http://www.harianhaluan.com).

to to go bed in the *Rumah Gadang*, they are permitted to have a sleep at a small mosque (*surau*) belonging to each kaum in their clan. As a place for making consultation, rumah gadang is a building of activity center of of members of the kaum in discussing a common concern.

As for a place in which the adat ceremony rakes place, the *rumah gadang* is becoming important in positioning the degree of their dinitory (the calan member) in a proper position "*beradat*" and there the appointment of the *Penghulu* takes place. The rumah gadang is also functioning as a place in which the sick family member is treated, in such a case the *rumah gadang* plays a role as a hospital for all members of the clan including the men who spent the night away from home or stayed in the *rumah gadang*. In this respect, if a man is supposed to approach his inevitability, therefore he will be taken to the *rumah gadang* for treatment till he recovered died.

Usuall, the *rumah gadang* the number of rumah gadang rooms is usually odd starting from 3. The common number of the room is seven but there is also a rumah gadang that has as many as 17 rooms as found in *nagari* of Sulit (Junus, 1971: 251). The traditional house whose rooms are the most now found in the nagari of Abai in South Solok as many as 21 rooms (Nur and Herwandi 2009:20).

Certain rooms in *rumah gadang* has particular function: the room is usually small with the size 2x3 ms, it just carries one bed, one cupboard or chest and a little room to move so the room is only use for sleeping and dress fitting. It is impossible to use it for other activity. The vacant rooms in front of the room are used for special room for the room occupant as a place for drink and waiting for a guest. The lanjar or unoccupied room in front of the room located in the middle part is also used to wait and to serve the guest of the room occupant living in the room. The rooms are also used for the room occupant to relax and play for fun among them. The function switches a little bit when in the rumah gadang therer is held an adat ceremony so the closest room is the one used to serve the adat leaders of rumah gadang including the guests, meanwhile the members of the rumah gadang occupants and men of the same clan together with them sit together sit at the most front, almost next to the front wall of the *rumah gadang*.

The rooms of the-ruangan rumah gadang is a mirror of the community principle of Minangkabau people liking to live communally in the family, *paruik*, clan, and so on. The rooms are also to symbolizes the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the people, it means the clan, on one hand is a homogenous social organization, however, the family existence in the clan shows the heterogeneity in the clan for the family existence and person are recognized so far.

As it now develops, certain parts have undergone changes. The function of rumah gadang as a living house does not occupy a dominant position any more. The people do not use the Rumah Gadang as their living room.

In one of his papers, Umar Junus assumed that *rumah gadang* will disappear shortly for it can be said that there is nobody build a new *rumah gadang* any more (Junus, 1971: 251). Hamka also stated the *rumah gadang* has been abandoned by the Minnagkabau people, the house has no more dignity in the society of Minangkabau. In a poetic word, it was stated by Hamka how the rumah gadang has become a building abandoned, it has lost the spirit. "lah lengang rumah nan gadang, Jenjang tidak berluluk lagi." (Hamka, 1984: 69).

Such a matter is truly due to the people of Minangkabau has tended to live in a nuclear family – eternal triangle: Mother, Father, and, Child(ren) in which the full responsibility is full held by the Father (Husband). The mother's brother does not play a dominant role any longer in raising hisniece and nephew. All the needs of the children is taken over by the father/husband. This is immediately strongly supported by the rapid development of individual value which is deeply rooted in the people of Minangkabau caused by the collision of its culture with the other one either Islamic or western culture. Besides, such a situation is also worsened by the rapid development of clan members population causing the *rumah gadang* is not able to accomodated the clan members any more live there.

Furthermore, since the value system developing in such a way causes the *rumah gadang* does not function as it did before, however, it function just as a symbol of clan and is used in a given time such as on the occasion of adat ceremony, for example, the ceremony of the Penghulu appointment and matrimonial ceremony. It means, on current days the *Rumah Gadang* becomes "vacant house", lonely, useless exept just only in the ceremonial moment.

Closing

The Rumah Gadang is the result of adaptation of Minangkabau people with their ecosystem. At initial phase, actually all material of Rumah Gadang was provided by the environment, however, due to the ecosystem exploitation, the environment is not able to provide the building material for the *rumah gadang* in an adequate limit so that to maintain. The rumah gadang is difficult enough though there are alternative material such as ferro-concrete and corrugated iron.

The rumah gadang become the heritage further abandoned in step with the changes occur in the social system in the Minangkabau people making the function of *rumah gadang* switches that is it just looks like a symbol and emblem of the clan existence used only in a given ceremonial even.

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