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Research Article

Exploring The Function and Philosophy of The Mbaru Gendang: The Cultural House of Manggarai, Flores, NTT

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia has thousands of local wisdom. One of them is the Mbaru Gendang. Mbaru Gendang is the cultural house of the Manggarai community. The Mbaru Gendang has a beautiful Indonesian philosophy. Therefore, the focus of this paper is to explore the philosophy of the Mbaru Gendang as a characteristic and purpose of life for the Manggarai Community. This paper aims to explore the philosophy of the symbols, functions and forms of the Mbaru Gendang. The author uses the method of observation and literature study. This study found that the shape and symbol of the Mbaru Gendang hold very strong cultural and philosophical values. This paper contributes to the high philosophical values in the Mbaru Gendang as a reference and purpose of life for the Manggarai people. In addition, this paper is an attempt to explore the Mbaru Gendang as a characteristic and main value of Manggarai culture.

Keywords: Culture, Manggarai, Mbaru Gendang, Philosophy

Introduction

Indonesia in miniature can be seen by its cultural products. Cultural products, according to Ki Hajar Dewantara, are expressed in the symbol system as results of the imagination and creativity of the human mind, and the Mbaru Gendang of the Manggarai people should be used as an example of a system of cultural identity symbols that are full of philosophical values (Laksono, 2022).

Mbaru Gendang is the cultural house of the Manggarai people, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Mbaru Gendang is the parent of the culture of the Manggarai people. Mbaru Gendang has very deep philosophical values. Getting to know Mbaru Gendang means getting to know Manggarai culture. Etymologically, the word mbaru is a combination of two words, namely mbau which means shelter and the word ru (self) which shows ownership (Widyawati, Lon, Ungkang, & Jaya, 2022). Literally mbau ru

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means one's own shelter. The shade that is meant here is where people live or take shelter. Home is a place for people to protect themselves from wind, rain, heat, and from attacks by animals or other parties. For the Manggarai people, mbaru does not only refer to the house as a shelter, but also refers to the placenta. Verheijen said mbaru or house also has a relationship with the fetal membranes or placenta which is where the fetus is sheltered. Placenta is mbaru or home for the baby while in the womb. Mbaru has protective and life-giving properties (Gunavan, 2021).

In the Manggarai Language Dictionary, the word gendang means Gendang which is a traditional musical instrument of the Manggarai people which is played by being hit (Jemali, Banawiratma, & Udasmoro, 2021). The Gendangs in Manggarai are made from local types of wood (haju ara, haju namut, and so on) and goat skin. Gendang is a traditional musical instrument that will be used in various rites or traditional ceremonies which are very sacred in nature. Therefore, the Gendang used is also considered holy and sacred. The Gendang is seen not only as a musical instrument, but also as an instrument for worship. Gendangs are used in summoning ancestral spirits and instruments to accompany worship dances. Therefore, the Gendang is seen as a sacred and sacred tool. It is this sanctity that makes the village's main Gendang cannot be placed anywhere. The cultural house or Mbaru Gendang is the most appropriate house for storing Gendangs. So the cultural house of the Manggarai people is called Mbaru Gendang or gendang house (Jama, Ardika, Ardhana, Setiawan, & Menggo, 2020).

Everything contained in Mbaru Gendang has philosophical values. These philosophical values become the compass and purpose of life for the Manggarai people. For example, the Mbaru Gendang roof has a spider web-like shape. This form has the meaning of unity and solid unity. This unity does not only occur in Manggarai but also in overseas lands. Manggarai people are directed to always unite. The philosophical values contained in Mbaru Gendang can be explored from various perspectives, for example from a religious perspective, a national point of view and so on. This can be

seen from previous research (Setiawati, Dewi, & Santoso, 2023).

Vanesvaria, Kinashib, and Suryadi in 2022 conducted research on the Mbaru Gendang entitled, "Ethnomathematical Studies on the Mbaru Niang Cultural house in Wae Rebo" (Beeh, 2017). This research is studied from the perspective of history and mathematical activities in cultural houses in Wae Rebo. This research makes a new discovery, namely that there is a fundamental mathematical activity in the Mbaru Gendang, such as counting which can be seen in the mathematical terms of measurement in the Manggarai language, such as *depa*, *ciku*, *pagat*, and others (Kroes, 2003). Research on the Mbaru Gendang was also carried out by Gabriel, Ndoen, and Prisarti in 2019. Their research was entitled, "Roko Molas Poco Ceremony in the Manggarai Ethnic Community in Compang Laho Village, Poco Ranaka District, East Manggarai Regency". The focus of this research is on one of the rituals during the construction of the Mbaru Gendang (Darong, Guna, & Beda, 2022).

These studies illustrate that Mbaru Gendang has very high philosophical values and can be a compass in the behavior of Indonesian people in general and the people of Manggarai in particular. The philosophical values contained in the culture of the Indonesian nation can become a shield against the decline in the life of the nation and state that is currently rife at this time (Hasyim, 2020). Such as the phenomenon of religion which denies tolerance, low respect for civilized human values in public policies, democracy which tends to be reduced to the concept of win-lose, majority and minority so that social justice for all Indonesian people falls into mere slogans (Pesurnay, 2018). Therefore the uniqueness of this paper is to explore the philosophical values contained in Mbaru Gendang as the mother of culture and life goals of the Manggarai people. The goal is that the philosophical values contained in the Mbaru Gendang become one of the compasses for the civilization of Indonesian society, especially the people of Manggarai (Amir, 2013).

Methods

This research is a qualitative research with data collection techniques through observation

and literature study. Researchers made direct observations of Mbaru Gendangs in Wae Rebo, West Satar Mese sub - district, Flores, NTT on 20 June-25 June 2021 and observations at the Gendang Todo-Satar Mese Utara house, Flores, on 2 July-5 July 2021. The author witnessed first-hand the lives of the Manggarai people. The writer is a son born in Manggarai and a member of the North Todo-Satar Mese Gendang. This makes this research reliable. This research was officially researched from June 20-June 25 and July 2-5, but because the author was born and raised in Manggarai, the research has been carried out for a lifetime (Sadakah et al., 2020).

To increase the author's knowledge about the philosophical values contained in the Mbaru Gendang, the author uses literary sources which are the fruit of previous research on the Mbaru Gendang. The author compares the observational data with the results of literature research originating from literary sources. At this stage, the author obtains a clearer picture that Mbaru Gendang has very high philosophical values. The values contained in the Mbaru Gendang are the beauty of Indonesian philosophy and can be applied in the daily life of the Indonesian people.

The author describes the research results in three parts namely; first, it provides a brief overview of Manggarai culture and the social life of the Manggarai people, Flores, NTT. Second. Describes the Mbaru Gendang function. Third, describes the philosophical values contained in the form and structure of the Mbaru Gendang which is a very beautiful presentation of Indonesian philosophy and can be a compass for the daily life of the Indonesian people in general and the Manggarai people in particular.

Result and Discussion

Outline About Manggarai

Manggarai is an ethnic group that inhabits the western part of Flores Island, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). The area of Manggarai reaches 7,106 km² or almost 50% of the area of Flores Island which covers about 14,250 km². Manggarai is the name of the area, the name of the language, the name of the tribe, and politically it is the name of a regency-level government area. Manggarai which includes three

districts , namely Manggarai district with the capital city of Ruteng, West Manggarai Regency with the capital city of Labuan Bajo, and East Manggarai district with the capital city of Borong (Suprpto, Prahani, & Cheng, 2021).

The Manggarai people adhere to a patriarchal cultural system. Men and parents have a dominant role. Parents and men arrange life together. In social life, the structure is known as *tu'a golo* (village head), *tu'a teno* (which divides the land). This structure is headed by a man. In terms of leadership, Manggarai people pay attention to the aspect of age.

Agriculture is the leading livelihood in the Manggarai community. The Manggarai people were introduced to rice fields in the 1930s. In addition to working the rice fields, the community grows coffee, corn, vanilla, candlenut, cloves, and various types of commercial plants. The community also raises livestock such as cows, buffaloes, horses, pigs, dogs and chickens.

The Manggarai people are a religious tribe. This tribe already knows its own belief system before world religions enter. Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism and other world religions entered in the early 20th century. Before that, the people of Manggarai already knew God as *Mori Kraeng* . *Mori Kraeng* is the highest reality in human life. Belief in the highest being is emphasized by J. Meerburg, Piet Heerkens, A. Burger, and W.Ph. Coolhaas. JJ Verheijen, a Catholic missionary, conducted a special study on the beliefs of the Manggarai people and said that the Manggarai people adhere to monotheism, namely recognizing the existence of a divine power that overcomes human life. This divine power is called *Mori kraeng*, *Mori agu Ngaran* (God of Owners), or *Jari agu Dedek* (Creator and Former).

Mbaru Gendang is the center of the government system of the Manggarai people. Traditional elders occupy the Mbaru Gendang as a place for deliberations and solving various problems together. Therefore, Mbaru Gendang becomes cultural center and symbol of community government. It has a very important existence for the Manggarai people, because it determines the social, cultural and religious life of the community. The welfare and harmony of the life of a village can be seen from the beauty

and aura that emanates from the Mbaru Gendang of the village (Hakim, Kim, & Hong, 2009).

Mbaru Gendang function

Turner describes three functions of the house, namely as : 1) supporting family identity, 2) supporting the development of family social and economic life, and 3) security support . The functions of the house that Turner describes are identical to those of the Mbaru Gendang which is believed by Manggarai people. However, the Mbaru Gendang function exceeds these functions. Apart from being a place to live (bate kaeng), the Mbaru Gendang also has a social function (bate lonto leok, an economic function (bate sor moso), religious function (bate wura agu Ceki), security function (bate Mbau) political function (bate tu'a golo), aesthetic function (bate gong agu gendang), and ecological function (bate Ceki). In this section, we will explain in more detail the various functions and benefits of the Mbaru Gendang for the Manggarai community.

Bate ka'eng (place of residence)

Initially, the Mbaru Gendang became the main and shared residence of the villagers. But the increasing number of villagers made the Mbaru Gendang unable to accommodate them. Therefore, the policy and tradition of the Manggarai people to regulate this is to provide a special room for clan representatives. This representative makes the feel of Mbaru Gendang as a shared residence still felt. Everyone has an obligation to take care of the Mbaru Gendang which is a shared house.

In the past, the large Mbaru Gendang could accommodate all the villagers. Villagers living under one roof is something that is hard to

imagine nowadays. Manggarai people have local knowledge in managing residents, so that their lives are more harmonious. All citizens have aspects of justice and respect. Husband and wife occupy a simple room to maintain the privacy of intimate relations, while the children of many couples and other family members sleep together in the main room. The times have changed the way of thinking of the Manggarai people to build their own house. It was also influenced by the teachings of Catholic missionaries who came from Europe. They advised the Manggarai community to build their own homes so that children's health and education could be implemented properly (Ferdawan & Putra, 2013).

Bate Lonto Leok (place of deliberation)

Lonto leok comes from the word lonto, which means to sit, and leok, which means to go around or circle. Lonto leok can be interpreted as "sitting in a circle". In the context of Manggarai culture, the concept of lonto leok refers to meetings or meetings as well as traditional ceremonies attended by villagers to solve problems in the village. In that meeting, everyone has the same right to participate in expressing opinions. In lonto leok, there is a process of deliberation towards consensus. The circle is a symbol of local democracy, where every individual has the same rights. Weakness of lonto leok is not involving women. This is understandable because the Manggarai social system is thick with patriarchy. Women are often not involved, questioned, and not taken into account in making village decisions , including decisions related to the women (A. Salahuddin, Hasanuddin, Thahar, & Asri, 2019).



Figure 1. Lonto Leok

The shape, structure, and elements of the Mbaru Gendang clearly illustrate the essence of the unity and togetherness of the villagers. Mbaru Gendang is the center of shared life, because there are meetings (lonto leok) related to living together.

Manggarai people have a motto about lonto leok, namely neki weki rangan manga kudut bantang pa'ang olo ngaung musi (gathering together for one village deliberation) which can be interpreted as the principle of involvement or participation. The Mbaru Gendang is a gathering place for all villagers for deliberations and a place for events involving all villagers.

Bate Sor Moso (place of receiving land distribution)

Literally, bate sor moso means a place to get (receive) garden division. The main room or lutur Mbaru Gendang is where the garden is legally divided, although concretely it will be implemented in the garden itself. The division of land was the result of negotiations held at Mbaru Gendang. This function reveals that Mbaru Gendang also as a symbol of land ownership. Verheijen (in Tohri, Rasyad, Sururuddin, & Istiqlal, 2022) notes that Manggarai society is agrarian. Prior to 1938, the Manggarai people earned a living from planting corn, tubers, vegetables in dry fields. New paddy fields were introduced since 1938.

The land was divided by a tu'a teno. Tu'a teno also presides over all his work and parties. The weakness of the distribution of land is that women do not get a share, because patriarchy is a culture that is very strong in Manggarai. Only sons receive inheritance, including land from their parents. Daughters legally do not have rights to land and other parental inheritance. The Manggarai people have the notion that a daughter will receive land from her husband.

Bate Wura agu Ceki

Verheijen writes that the Manggarai people respect the spirits of their ancestors. Wura agu ceki is a term for spirits or ancestral spirits. Other names are empo, or pa'ang be le and many more. The expression wura agu ceki also refers to all the spirits that govern the lives of

people who are still living in this world. Implicitly, the Manggarai people believe in the existence of God (Mori Kraeng) as the ultimate reality (Abdullah, 2019).

Mbaru Gendang as bate wura agu Ceki means the abode of spirits, including Mori Kraeng (God). Mbaru Gendang is not just a physical building for the Manggarai people but also a place for spirits to live. Meerburg writes that the Manggarai people believe in a Highest Being called Mori Kraeng (Mori = master and kraeng = king). So Mori Kraeng (Puang Raja) is the ultimate reality. He is the one who gives life and makes death. He has power over souls whose fate no one knows.

In his research on the Mbaru Gendang in Todo, Erb discovered the concept of belief and worship in God and ancestral spirits in the shape and physical structure of the Mbaru Gendang. Each element of the Mbaru Gendang, such as ranga kaba (buffalo horn), siri hunchback (main pole), and so on, contains a symbolic meaning of God's presence in the Mbaru Gendang. The Manggarai people also believe in the Mbaru Gendang as a symbol of the union between humans and God, and between the living and the dead. This can be seen from the Mbaru Gendang being the place where various religious rites are carried out. Mbaru Gendang plays a religious function, namely the place where humans meet God and the spirits of their ancestors. In other words, the Mbaru Gendang is a house of worship for the Manggarai people. However, it must also be admitted that the arrival of Catholicism in this region eroded the religious role of the Mbaru Gendang.

Bate Gong (Nggong) Agu Gendang

Literally, this expression means that the Mbaru Gendang is the place where Gendangs and gongs are stored. Gendang and gong are traditional musical instruments of the Manggarai people. Janggur said that the types of traditional Manggarai art tools include nggong, Gendangs (tutung and oreng), Gendangs, holes (sunding tongkeng), mbetung (tinding or complicated), krontong, violin and ntough. Among these instruments, the gong and Gendang are the traditional musical instruments which play the most roles in traditional ceremonies

(Zubaidah & Arsih, 2021). The Gendang that is hung on the humpback siri states that the authority of the Gendang does not only cover social aspects but also socio-cultural aspects.



Figure 2. Gendangs and Gongs

Globalization affects the cultural function of the Gendang. Many young people prefer culture from the outside. This affects the role and authority of the Mbaru Gendang as an art center is reduced. Although there is much appreciation for young people for their creativity in modifying songs and dances as well as Manggarai weaving. However, these roles have been played and supported by individuals, schools, government elements, and non-traditional institutions. Art and cultural galleries only receive attention from parties outside the main circle of Mbaru Gendang.

Bate Tu'a Golo (village chief's residence)

The gendang house is generally inhabited by tu'a golo (village head), tu'a teno (person who divides the land), tu'a panga (eldest person from a clan). As a leader, the old golo or village head is in charge of organizing and leading the order of life together. The tu'a golo also often doubles as the Gendang tu'a. With that, he has the right to Gendangs and gongs as instruments for traditional ceremonies. In Manggarai culture, a tu'a golo is seen as a wise person.

The presence of the tu'a in the Mbaru Gendang shows the Mbaru Gendang as the center of power. It is they who hold the reins of power. Janggur refers to them as general responsibility in a village. This is similar to Anton Bagul's

statement. Bagul said that at the beginning of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, tu'a golo played a role in helping the government. He is in charge of mobilizing the community, leading the cleaning of public facilities, working on highways, building schools, resolving disputes, except taxes (Lon & Widyawati, 2017).

Bate Ceki (taboo)

In the previous section, Mbaru Gendang was explained as bate wuar agu Ceki meaning Mbaru Gendang as the abode of ancestral spirits. The checks discussed in this section are different from the checks previously described. Manggarai people believe in something that is considered taboo (taboo). Manggarai people call something that is taboo with Ceki or Ireng. Ceki or ireng is something that should not be done at all.

Mbaru Gendang as bate Ceki means Mbaru Gendang as a checkmark for the community. The tribe that inhabits the Mbaru Gendang has the duty to maintain respect for the Ceki belonging to their clan. Ceki owned by a clan can be different from other clans. The task of the Mbaru Gendang authorities is to tell their offspring about their ceki. Everyone must comply with these prohibitions. if there are men who are getting married and living far away, they

are also reminded that their wives and offspring may not violate their checks. A woman follows her husband's checks as well as her own checks. Verheijen noted: *ine wai hitu pakka lut Ceki de Ronan* (the woman must follow the taboo rules of her husband).

Structure, Elements and Philosophy of Mbaru Gendang

Each building has a structure and its constituent elements. Some are made based on the function and purpose desired by the owner. These aspects are reasonable to be taken into

consideration. Making cultural houses is usually based on the philosophical concepts that are lived by the community. This concept is the main consideration of other aspects. For the Manggarai people, the structure, shape, and elements that make up the Mbaru Gendang do not just support the establishment of a physical building but have certain cultural and religious meanings. The Manggarai community provides meaning, meaning, and interpretation of the Mbaru Gendang structure and each of its constituent elements.

Basic Structure: Three or Five Levels



Figure 3. Mbaru Gendang Structure

The physical design of the Mbaru Gendang has its own philosophy. The Manggarai people have a rational explanation behind the structure and design of the Mbaru Gendang. In terms of structure, the Mbaru Gendang consists of three main levels: the lower level (*ngaung*), the middle level (*lutur*), and the upper level (*lobo*). But there are also those who differentiate into five levels, namely the lower level (*ngaung*), the middle level (*lutur*), the upper level (*lobo*). *Lobo* is divided into three parts, namely *lobo mese*, *lobo koe*, throw *raehekang code*. The five-level Mbaru Gendang shows fundamental and cultural values (Payong, 2023). Manggarai people consider the number five as a symbol of perfection. Sutam emphasized that the number five shows the five components of the world which are intact and inseparable. So, Mbaru Gendang with five levels is more meaningful even though it can be implied to just three.

Noble (Lower Level)

The lowest level of a Mbaru Gendang is under it (*ngaung*). *Kolong* or *ngaung* is the space under the floor of the house. *Kolong/ngaung* is a symbol of the underworld, the evil world. This level describes the bad and scary side of human life. The *ngaung* level reminds the people of Manggarai that life is not always marked by kindness. *Ngaung* can also be interpreted with lower class people who are usually called *mendi* or slaves. This interpretation is seen from its function which supports the entire building of the house, like a *mendi* supporting the life of its master (Aninda & Sihombing, 2022).

This room has many functions, namely a place to store wood, hunting equipment, farming equipment, and other household equipment that cannot be placed in the house. *Ngaung* can also be used as a place to raise chickens, pigs and dogs. For children, *ngaung* or

kolong is a favorite place to play because it protects them from rain and sun. One of the important elements of ngaung/kolong is the series or pillars of the house. The strength of the Mbaru Gendang is largely determined by the series or wooden supports. The Manggarai people use the best wood from the forest to make siri.

A Mbaru Gendang is supported by nine series or wooden supports. The Manggarai people have a philosophy behind the selection of nine supporting woods. The nine wooden supports remind the Manggarai people of the nine months in the mother's womb. Furthermore, the nine pillars are arranged in three rows. The series or pole that is located in the middle is called the humpback series. The humpback series has a very fundamental role in a Mbaru Gendang. The difference between the humpback siri and the other siri is that the other siri support the Mbaru Gendang to the floor of the house, while the hunchbacked siri connects three or five levels of the Mbaru

Gendang. The author will discuss the philosophy of the hunchback series in a separate section (Sahertian & Rustan Effendi, 2022).

Lété Wa/Lété Lawo (Middle Level)

The second level of Mbaru Gendang is lété wa or lété lawo. This level is identical to the human world. Manggarai people carry out activities at this middle level. The elements that make up this level are lutur, loa'ng, sapo and para.

Lulu (living room)

Lutur is the front room which is quite wide and is used as a place for carrying out all human activities such as traditional ceremonies, a place for deliberations, a place to lay the body, a place to receive important guests, a place for rituals, a dining room and a joking room. Lutur is a public space that can be utilized by all villagers. In this place all official activities and decisions are carried out.



Figure 4. Living Room

From a structural point of view, lutur is actually the floor of a house which can be made from wooden planks or chopped bamboo in the form of planks. Even though several families live in one gendang house, the lutur is shared property and there are no space restrictions on the lutur. In fact, lutur also belongs to all villagers. Lutur is a symbol of community involvement and participation in a joint event in the village. Lutur léwé involves the involvement of every citizen, even though they are not physically present at lutur Mbaru Gendang. Mukese said involvement and participation is an important matter for the

Manggarai community. This is expressed in the word lonto léok (deliberation) or go'ét "nai ca anggít tuka ca léléng" (one heart and faithful companion) (Niman, 2022).

Lutur is one of the symbols of togetherness among the Manggarai people. The lutur is used as a living room and also a bed for children and guests. In general, the lutur has an area of more than half the size of the Mbaru Gendang. Lutur can accommodate villagers when there are traditional ceremonies or meetings. In general, lutur covered with mats. Thus it becomes warmer, cleaner, and appropriate to be a place to sleep or sit for Mbaru Gendang residents or

for guests. Because in ancient times, do not have chairs and tables (S. Salahuddin, 2023).

Lo'ang (Room)

Element of the middle level is lo'ang. Lo'ang can be called molang. Lo'ang is a private space. Lo'ang is a sleeping space for each family and is private. The number of lo'ang is adjusted to the number of clans owned by the tribe in that village. But as time goes by, many people build their own homes. This reduces the number of people living in Mbaru Gendang. Thus, the number of lo'ang is not adjusted to the number of clans but adjusted to the number of families who occupy the Mbaru Gendang. For example, the Mbaru Gendang in Nege has two lo'ang because there are only two families living there. But there are also other Mbaru Gendang that adjust the number of lo'ang to the number of clans. For example, Wae Rebo has five lo'ang because there are five main village clans that inhabit the Mbaru Gendang (Rustan Effendi, 2020).

Lanur wrote that there are principles in Manggarai society that differentiate people based on age and seniority. In the family, an important position is given to the person with the highest age. People who are young, will not be given an important position. This affects the election of the tu'a golo or village head. Tu'a golo will be given to the person who is the oldest of the eldest offspring. The Manggarai indigenous people believe that people who are born first have more wisdom and knowledge than others. Society gives them the power of social leadership and rituals. They will also be given a special lo'ang in the Mbaru Gendang.

Sapo (Fire Furnace)

Another element found at the middle level is sapo. Sapo is a firebox which is part of the kitchen of the Mbaru Gendang. Originally, the sapo was located in the middle of the Mbaru Gendang not far from the humpback siri, the center pillar of the house. In sapo there are watu likang (stove stone) which are divided into two types: likang lesa which is interpreted by Verheijen as the main hearth stone and ordinary likang. Likang lesa is a stone hearth that is in the middle and has a function as a place for ordinary likang to rest. While likang

usually represents each family living in the Mbaru Gendang. Likang lesa represents the leader who is in the middle and is the foundation of all families in the village.

Sapo is a space for every family to cook and warm up. Each family has its own sapo or stove, but they are tightly packed together to form a single unit. So there is nothing hidden in terms of consumption. The welfare and economic level of the families living in Mbaru Gendang are on average the same, so what is consumed is often the same. Each family can eat food that has been cooked around the sapo or on the lutur (Pasi, 2021).

The habit of sharing is inherent in the Manggarai people. If there is an event that is public or private and requires a lot of sapo, then all sapo will be used together. Sapo can also be a kind of women's room. Therefore, sapo is a symbol of women who bring life and give light and warmth. Sapo is identified with the domestic and feminist elements of a house. Sapo is the most comfortable place for women to live after giving birth. The traditional Manggarai people see the sapo as a comfortable and warm place for mothers and babies. So after giving birth, mothers and children are not allowed to sleep in the room. Both sleep near the sapo. Sapo can be juxtaposed with an incubator in today's medical world.

Para (Door)

One of the elements of the Mbaru Gendang's middle level is the para or door. Para or door is access in and out of the occupants of the house. In ancient times, Mbaru Gendang generally had one. The door used has its own philosophy. In Todo, the Mbaru Gendang door is decorated with carvings with a lolo cumbi pattern, namely two triangles that complement each other up and down. This carving is seen as a symbol of ema éta endé wa or awang éta tana wa, an expression that states the presence of God who controls the heavens and the earth. Besides that, it symbolizes the Supreme Reality which is complementary, masculine as well as feminine.

Pintu depicts gender equality between women and men. Because the door is the only access in and out of the house for women and men. There is no distinction of access and

status. However, the emergence of a back door to a house makes a difference between men and women. For the Manggarai people, it is considered inappropriate for women to pass through the front door of the house. Women are more polite and polite if they enter the house through the back door. This is closely related to carrying domestic goods, such as food, which is played by women. The front door is synonymous with honor which is the world of men. In this case women have less space.

Lobo (High Level)

Lobo is the highest level of a Mbaru Gendang . This level represents the upper world, the world of spirits, ancestors, Supreme Beings. These Spirits and Ultimate Reality transcend human life, direct and determine the destiny of a community. The Supreme Reality or Being governs fortune and disaster, prosperity and misfortune, curses and blessings. So, human life must be directed upwards. Humans should make the best offerings to these spirits and place them on the top or human space. This philosophy illustrates that for the Manggarai people, the Gendang is a link between the physical and metaphysical worlds.

Lobo is a space high above human habitation. Structurally, lobo has a few more levels. There are Mbaru Gendangs that have two levels and there are also three levels. About these parts, there are various versions. There are those who call and distinguish them: lobo mésé, lobo koé, plus lémpa raé combined with hékang code. There is a difference between lobo and lémpa raé and hékang code. In principle, at the top there is lobo, lémpa raé, hékang code. This is an element of space that

when viewed from the interior (Laurentius, Hartono, & Situmorang, 2020).

In addition to the element of space, lobo is part of the roof of a house. So besides the space element, the other elements in the lobo part are the ridges or ngando and many kinang or catfish series that are connected to each other. Furthermore, when viewed from the outside, the lobo has several important elements. The following describes these elements.

Lemparaé (Place of Offerings)

Lempa is a special place in the highest attic that is used to offer offerings to God and the ancestors. Lempa-rae etymologically means big red rat. In the context of the three worlds contained in the Mbaru Gendang element , lempa rae is believed to be the abode of the Supreme Being who is the owner and source of all things. Lempa-raé not only symbolizes the presence of God but also represents the ancestral world, the upper world, the spirit world or the metaphysical world.

Antony Bagul emphasized that the religious dimension of the Manggarai people can be seen in the elements of the lempa raé which is an altar where offerings and respects to Mori jadi dédék, (God the Creator). Apart from that, the lempa rae is also a place to store ceca (heritage items) or ancestral relics which will be displayed at certain ceremonies (Gumono et al., 2022).

Rangga Kaba Male (Buffalo Horn)

Another element found at the very top of the Mbaru Gendang is the male buffalo horn (rangga kaba). Anton Bagul emphasized that the buffalo horn symbolizes.



Figure 5. Rangga Kaba

The virility of the Manggarai people. The buffalo horn placed on the top of the cultural house symbolizes the Manggarai people's vision of a strong and tough identity. Manggarai people have to be strong and hardworking like buffalo. This hope is expressed in the expression "putty wuku tela toni" (blunt nails, cracked back). This expression describes a work ethic that emphasizes craftsmanship until nails become dull from scratching the ground and backs crack from the hot sun. The buffalo horn at the top of the Mbaru Gendang represents the human hand that worships God as the creator of nature and everything in it. This opinion is based on the sound of some of the prayers of the Manggarai people: Suju Mori, Hiang Hia te in parn awon, kolepn salén, ulun lé, wai'n lau, sor monggong ngélak nata (prostrate before your Lord, who raises the sun in the east and controls its setting) in the west, ruler of the universe from upstream/ south to downstream/ north, stretch out your hands, raise your palms). On the other hand, the buffalo horns symbolize the two open human hands asking for blessings from God and extending their hands to Him. The buffalo horn contains a religious symbolic meaning, namely an attitude of life that always presents God in all of His existence. The buffalo horn is also a reminder to the villagers of the presence of a Supreme Being who protects them.

Wuwung (crown)

Wuwung is one of the elements in the lobo Mbaru Gendang . Wuwung means a conical fontanel that covers the entire roof of the top of the house. Wuwung symbolizes togetherness and unity which is solid and strong and inseparable among the villagers as expressed in go'ét (a wise proverb of the Manggarai people): kopé olés todo kongkol; néka behas neho kena, néka koas niho kota (united together like machetes, allied plants; don't fall apart like a wooden fence, don't take it apart like a stone fence). This expression contains a message to maintain and maintain togetherness and unity for the sake of survival together. Besides being associated with

strength and unity, wuwung is also associated with maturity. In young children, it is often called toé di ra' um wuwungn, meaning that the fontanel is not fused yet, is still soft, and vulnerable. If an adult behaves like a child, then that sentence is also conveyed to him, his fontanel has not yet joined which indicates he is still childish, immature. If the fontanel is united, it means that it is considered strong enough and is no longer vulnerable. Mbaru Gendang must have a strong wuwung so that it is not prone to breaking.

Ngando (House Roof Easel)

Ngando is the top of the ridge of the house and the roof trusses meet. All kinang (horses) support reeds or palm fibers to help the roofs of houses meet one another. Kinang is often seen as a symbol of the messenger of the panga or clan who resides in the Mbaru Gendang . Kinang tied with palm fiber to ngando is a symbol of unity in deliberations. Mukese said that Manggarai people don't like to be alone. They are an agrarian society that emphasizes togetherness and unity. This is reflected in the expression "ema agu anak neka woleng bantang, ase agu kae neka woleng tae" (Fathers and children may not differ in opinion, brothers and sisters may not differ in words .

Anton Bagul emphasized that the cultural house displays two principles of life for the Manggarai people, namely reje lele bantang cama (the principle of deliberation to reach a consensus) and kope oles todo kongkol (struggle together to achieve social welfare). The end of the ngando towards the top of the house ridge is a symbol of loyalty to the leader, especially obedience to the Highest Reality or Mori Kraeng. This is emphasized by the ngando and kinang which rely on the main pole of the Mbaru Gendang , namely the hunchback series. In this case, the hunchbacked siri symbolizes the presence of God.

Hunchback Series (Main Pole)

The humpback series is the main pillar or pillar of the Mbaru Gendang.



Figure 6. Humpback Series

Siri Bongkok is not just any wood. The humpback series is a strong, long pikihan wood. The humpback series is a permanent symbol of strength. This is seen in the go'et "Pateng wa wae, worok eta golo" (resistant in water and firm on land). Siri hunchback is also a symbol of upholding justice and prosperity. The hunchback series connects and unites all the lower, middle and upper levels of the house. The hunchbacked Siri stands firmly from the ground to the roof of the Mbaru Gendang. Thus, the humpback siri became a symbol of unity.

The Manggarai people consider the humpback siri to be sacred and sacred. Because siri hunchback unites the underworld/evil world, the middle world/human world and the upper world/spirit world. In fact, hunchbacked siri is seen as a divine symbol. On the other hand, hunchbacked siri is seen as letang temba, laro jaong, mu'u furnace (connector) between the physical world and the metaphysical world. This belief is strengthened by the fact that siri bongkok is a place for storing offerings to the Highest Being and the spirits of the ancestors. All offerings are brought or led by tu'a golo and cannot be separated from siri bongkok.

Siri lélés (Companion Pole)

Siri leles is a support or siri that flanks the humpback siri. The word leles means to bear or work together. Siri leles is a symbol of tu'a-tu'a which represents each family. They faithfully accompanied and helped tu'a golo in leading the village. In today's government hierarchy, siri leles is a symbol of ministers who assist the president's work. Siri leles can be interpreted

in the context of leadership, namely in carrying out leadership duties, tu'a golo is not alone but always together with representatives from each panga or clan.

Tu'a golo is often accompanied by a tu'a teno who specifically deals with land affairs. Thus, the leadership system in Manggarai culture is not authoritarian but collegial. Collegial leadership is a leadership model in which leadership authority and responsibility reside in a group of people. A group of people is chaired or coordinated by one person. In the context of Manggarai culture, collegial leadership is tu'a golo leadership assisted by tu'a representatives from the panga in making decisions or policies. In addition, tu'a golo does not carry out leadership duties alone. He was assisted by his ministers, namely representatives from various panga. This leadership model can be seen in the go'et "neka gege leles neka marok ngando" (the pillars don't shake and the main pillar doesn't tilt). This go'et describes the unity of leadership between tu'a golo, tu'a teni and the representatives of the Panga.

Conclusion

Mbaru Gendang is a cultural house of the Manggarai people which contains very high philosophical values. Mbaru Gendang is proof that the Manggarai people already have a concept of relating to God and others. Through Mbaru Gendang, the Manggarai people show their identity as an ethnic community that has nobility of rationality and very strong relationships with others, nature and the Creator. The

structure, function and symbol of the Mbaru Gendang are the fruits of the Manggarai people's philosophy of life.

Mbaru Gendang is another form of Pancasila. Pancasila reminds Indonesian people of God, others, unity, justice. The Mbaru Gendang philosophies contain elements of Pancasila. Loving and carrying out the values contained in the Mbaru Gendang means upholding Pancasila. In the past, Manggarai people did not understand Pancasila, but they already practiced Pancasila values. Exploring the philosophical wealth contained in the concepts, symbols and functions of the Mbaru Gendang is a form of appreciation and pride for the richness and beauty of the Manggarai culture so that it can be actualized in everyday life. Specifically for the appreciation of life as Manggarai people who uphold the values of togetherness, unity and kinship. The philosophies contained in the Mbaru Gendang are the life goals of the manggarai people. The Manggarai people direct their lives to the Mbaru Gendang symbols.

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