

Symbols in Mbaru Gendang, A Traditional House in Manggarai-Flores-Indonesia: What do They Mean?

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Abstract

This article mainly focuses on examining and exploring the symbols in mbaru gendang along with their meaning, a traditional house in Manggarai-Flores-Indonesia. It is an interesting phenomenon to be investigated as mbaru gendang is one of the local wisdoms which is rich with symbols and still maintained by Manggaraian people. This investigation was done under a descriptive qualitative study. It had been conducted in four traditional villages in Manggarai-Flores-Indonesia, especially in Langke Rembong Subdistrict. The data was collected by observation and interview. The observation was done to find the symbols in mbaru gendang. The interview was conducted to examine the meaning of symbols in mbaru gendang where four traditional elders involved in the interview process. The study confirms that the structure and elements of mbaru gendang are rich with symbols. They are ngaung, lutur, lo'ang, para olo, para musi, sapo, siri bongkok, rangga tagi, gong, gendang, panga, wuwung, mangka, and rangga kaba. Those symbols indicate darkness, strength, unity, brotherhood, power, togetherness, and cooperation.

Keywords: symbol, semiotic, mbaru gendang.

Introduction

Traditional architecture's existence confirms the life of a certain community as it is built based on the needs of the community. It is a cultural product where meaning can be understood by studying it as a cultural system, a sign system, through which people recognize their environment (Moustafa, 1988). One of the traditional architectures is the traditional house. The traditional house is a house that is built and used from generation to generation. Mostly, they are constructed based on the physical and social conditions of the environment. It is the representation of culture possessed by a group or a community. It symbolizes values such as social, cultural, religious, and so on (Hermansyah, 2016). For that reason, the structure and elements of the traditional house tend to remain unchanged from generation to generation.

As a mirror of cultural values, the traditional house is constructed carefully through its structure and elements (Dariwu & Rengkung, 2012). One of the traditional houses is mbaru gendang. Mbaru gendang is a traditional house in Manggarai, Flores, NTT,

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Indonesia. The mbaru gendang belongs to Manggaraian people who live in three regencies in NTT-Indonesia, namely Manggarai, West Manggarai, and East Manggarai Regencies. This house is built to show the territory or customary rights to the surrounding area. The existence of mbaru gendang confirms the existence of the Manggaraian people as the Manggarai “Manggaraian people”.

The mbaru gendang has a special structure and elements which differentiate it from other traditional houses in Indonesia. Through its structure and elements, the mbaru gendang communicates the way of life of the Manggaraian people. It is supported by Adeyemo et al. (2022), Hermansyah (2016), and Herman et al. (2022) who claim that the traditional house communicates the culture of the builder-occupants in a non-verbal way of communication through its structure, elements, and symbols. Furthermore, Eco (1984) defines symbols play a significant role in human life as the media of communication where some messages are communicated. Symbols represent something and enable people to understand their environment (Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021). Furthermore, Tjahyadi & Jatmiko (2021) underline that symbols in traditional house deal with some aspects such as structure, size, elements, material, and so on.

In order to find the message beyond the structure, elements and material in mbaru gendang, semiotics is defined as an appropriate theory to be applied (Lakawa, 2018). It is because both mbaru gendang and semiotics refer to a cultural context where the communication processes contains messages to deliver through the symbols (Adeyemo et al., 2022). Semiotics investigates the relationship between symbols and how people give meaning to a traditional house such as mbaru gendang (Botwina & Botwina, 2012). It facilitates humans to understand and be able to interpret the structure, elements, and symbols in traditional house (Jencks, 1999).

Studies about symbols in traditional house from semiotics perspective had been conducted by some researchers. Hermansyah (2016) investigated the structure and elements of Loka, a traditional house in Sumbawa Besar-Indonesia. His investigation reports that the structure and elements of loka consists of bala bulo, bala kemar, bale pamaning, dining panili, lawang rare, luyuk agung, luyuk emas, paladang, parangin, sanapir kamutar, sarapo kamutar, sarumung belo, tangke, tete gasa, and tete sawai. Those structures and elements reflect the system of government and imperialism. To add, he mentions that the governmental system is characterized by the presence of a sultan “king” in Sumbawa Besar. The imperial system is characterized by the existence of an aristocracy group.

Ibrahim & Ashadi (2020) conducted research on the meaning of symbols found in Theater IMAX Keong Emas, TMII. The results confirm that the semiotic concept of the building index signs of theater buildings includes several kinds of perimeters, namely, the surrounding environment, the building site, the interior and exterior of the building, and the building architectural elements. By these results, the researchers emphasize that signs in theater buildings have different shapes and functions. Another study was conducted by Lumempouw et al. (2021). They investigated the symbolic meaning of materials selection process in building traditional house in Tombulu-Minahasa-Indonesia. They found that there are four stages in the material selection process in building the traditional house in Tombulu-Minahasa-Indonesia: preparation for the forest, finding the wood you are looking for, cutting the selected wood, and appointment to the construction site. Those processes symbolize strength, long life and good fortune for the occupants of the building.

Those three previous studies underline that studying meaning of symbols in traditional house is significant in exploring the cultural value possessed by certain community. For that reason, an investigation had been conducted on symbols in mbaru gendang, a traditional house in Manggarai, Flores, Indonesia. This study is significant in examining how Manggaraian people perceive the world that represented through symbols in mbaru

gendang. The investigation then aims at describing the form, structure, and elements of mbaru gendang as well as exploring and elaborating the meaning of those symbols.

Literature Review

Semiotics

The word semiotics is derived from Latin 'semion' which means sign. Simply, semiotics deals with the study of sign. Sebeok (2001) mentions two main experts in semiotics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) dan Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914). Saussure's theory of semiotics is focused on how to examine signs linguistically. He defines semiotics as a study of the role of signs as part of social life and norms that tied the social life (Prior, 2014). For Saussure, signs system and social system are connected to each other. There is a social convention which regulates the use of signs in social context so the signs have social meaning and value (Sobur, 2016).

Moreover, Saussure mentions that a sign system, sign consists of signifier and signified (Prior, 2014; Sebeok, 2001). The signifier includes the language elements, relating to what is said or heard, and what is written or read. The signified is related to the mentality of language, such as cognition, concept and mentality. The relationship between signifier and signified is known as signification (Sebeok, 2001). Take for an example is the word towel. A towel is a sign because it has a signifier and signified. The signifier is the word itself, towel. The signified of the word is a cloth used to dry the body after bathing.

However, the semiotics concept of Peirce is well known as triadic concept (Sebeok, 2001; Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021). It focuses on three main points, namely, representamen, object, and interpretant (Nurjoyo et al., 2022; Prior, 2014; Sebeok, 2001; Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021). Representamen is the term used to refer to a "tangible object" that functions as a sign and plays a role in conveying something into one's mind about the sign of something else (Noth, 1990). Representamen is an element of sign that represents something (Sebeok, 2001; Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021). A sign represents something other than the sign itself (Mingers & Willcocks, 2017). Object deals with something which is represented by sign (Nurjoyo et al., 2022; Sebeok, 2001; Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021). Without an object a sign cannot represent something and without a sign an object cannot be understood. The next element is the interpretant. Interpretant is a product that results from the relationship established by the representamen and object (Vera, 2014). Interpretant is the result of one's interpretation of the representamen received (Noth, 1990; Nurjoyo et al., 2022; Sebeok, 2001; Tjahyadi & Jatmiko, 2021).

Based on Saussure and Peirch's semiotic theories, this research applied Peirch's semiotic theory. Peirch's semiotics was chosen because the theory is believed able to reveal the meaning behind the signs in the architecture of mbaru gendang, Manggarain traditional house. The traditional house of the Manggarai people is a form of cultural product whose meaning can be understood if the architecture is studied as a cultural system, a sign system in which community members can be recognized based on their environment (Moustafa, 1988). Semiotics in architecture utilizes signs as a means of communication to describe the real situation that occurs with the architecture and the surrounding environment. Tjahyadi & Jatmiko (2021) emphasize that as a representation of something, signs in mbaru gendang function to express something that can help someone recognize and understand the environment around them.

Mbaru gendang

Mbaru gendang is derived from two words, mbaru which means house and gendang which refers to a traditional music instrument (Verheijen, 1967). Mbaru gendang means a house to keep the traditional music instrument such as gong and gendang (Lon & Fransiska Widyawati, 2020). For Manggaraian people, mbaru gendang is holy. Its

holiness is represented through as its function as the house to keep gong and gendang. Not only as the place to keep gong and gendang, the mbaru gendang is also believed as the place where Mori Kraeng “God” and the ancestor live.

In building the mbaru gendang, there are some procedures must be completed such as *tombo pande mbaru* “house building address”, *nempung weki bantang cama* “planning”, *racang cola* “sharpening machete, axe”, *paki haju* “cutting the tree for the main pole/siri bongkok”, *roko molas poco* “parading the forest girl/parading the tree for the main pole”, *hesse siri bongkok* “building the main pole/siri bongkok”, *we’e mbaru* “entering the new house”, and *congko lokap* “cleaning the house/the closing ceremony” (Lon & Fransiska Widyawati, 2020). In building the mbaru gendang, the Manggarai people have special principles about its direction.

The Manggarai people do not recognize the terms east, west, south and north as cardinal directions (Lon & Fransiska Widyawati, 2020). Instead, the Manggarai people use the terms *awo*, *sale*, *le* and *lau*. *Awo* is the direction in which the sun rises, *sale* is the direction in which the sun sets, *le* indicates the upstream direction as the source of water, and *lau* indicates the downstream direction. The mbaru gendang is built facing the *le* or upstream direction opposite the *compang* (traditional altar or altar, where offerings or materials to the ancestors are placed). The Mbaru gendang is built facing upstream because upstream is a mountainous area that is believed to be the source of life. The mountainous area in the upstream is a forest area which rich with plants such as trees. It is the source of clear water springs that are beneficial for living things. That is why the mbaru gendang is built facing upstream.

Methodology

This study was conducted under the descriptive qualitative method. Rithchie & Lewis (2003) define descriptive qualitative method as a method which investigates life experience to understand the social reality. This method is used to examine how human in certain community find meaning through their life experience, interpret those experience and construct their world (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

This study had been conducted in four villages in Langke Rembong Subdistrict, Manggarai-Indonesia. Those four villages were Ruteng, Tuke, Tenda and Carep. They were chosen by using purposive sampling technique which means that those villages were chosen based on specific consideration (Creswell, 2009) such as the villages are traditional villages in Manggarai and the age of mbaru gendang is different. The difference age of mbaru gendang at those villages is significant in examining the consistency of form, structure, and element of mbaru gendang.

Data for this research were collected through observation and interviews. The observation was conducted to identify the symbols in mbaru gendang. Identifying symbols in mbaru gendang is significant to determine the structure and element of mbaru gendang. On the other hand, the interview was conducted to examine and explore the meaning of symbols in mbaru gendang. in the interview process, there were six informants involved. Those informants were chosen based on criteria proposed by Spradley (1997) such as a) the informant must be a Manggaraian people, b) the informant is ≥ 60 years old, and c) the informant is a *tu’a golo*, a village leader and/or Manggaraian culturist.

Besides, in the process of collecting the data, the researchers used instruments such as interview guidelines. The interview guidelines consisted of some questions to be delivered to the informants to find the meaning of symbols in mbaru gendang. After the data collected, they were analyzed through some stages proposed by Miles & Huberman (2007), namely displaying data, reducing data, and drawing conclusion. In displaying data, the data was presenting in specific forms in order to guide the researchers to be able to read the data comprehensively. The data reduction was done to sort the data. In sorting

the data, the irrelevant data were excluded while the relevant data were clarified and rewritten. In rewriting the data, an analysis related to the research questions was conducted by the researchers. The drawing conclusion stage deals with the process where the data were concluded, analyzed, and given meaning to form a provisional conclusion by the researchers (Darong et al., 2021). To add, each finding for each research question was checked and verified before strengthening the final conclusion.

Finding and Discussion

Finding

This part presents the findings of the research. It consists of two points: 1) form, structure, and elements of Mbaru Gendang and 2) symbols in mbaru gendang.

Form, Structure, and Elements of Mbaru Gendang

The form and structure of mbaru gendang is captured in the following picture.



Figure 1. Mbaru Gendang

Regarding to the picture presented in figure 1, the mbaru gendang is round with a conical roof. Its structure consists of three parts, ngaung (the lower level), lutur (the middle level), and lobo (the upper level). Furthermore, the main element in the mbaru gendang is siri bongkok (round main pole). The siri bongkok is in the center of the mbaru gendang. The siri bongkok is made from high quality wood such as haju worok (Adon, 2022). The haju worok is chosen because it has good quality which is not easily eaten by termites and does not rot if exposed to water.

Symbols in Mbaru Gendang

There are symbols found in mbaru gendang. Those symbols are presented in the following table and analyzed based on semiotics theory proposed by Peirch.

Table 1. Semiotics Analysis of Peirch in mbaru gendang's symbols

Representamen	Object	Interpretant	Meaning
	<p>The image of ngaung is full of things such as blocks, sacks, ropes or other objects that are not or have not been used by the occupants of the house. The ngaung is also dark.</p>	<p>Ngaung is the lowest level of mbaru gendang. It functions as a warehouse where the unused items are stored. Moreover, it is the darkest part in the mbaru gendang as there is no sufficient lighting in the night. The ngaung cannot be used by the occupants to live in or do their activities.</p>	<p>Darkness, the world of dead</p>
	<p>Lutur is the second level of the mbaru gendang which is circular in shape. This part is a spacious room with good lighting because there are windows as a place for sunlight.</p>	<p>Lutur is the largest room in mbaru gendang. The lutur can accommodate many people. For that reason, it can be interpreted that the lutur can be used as a place to discuss or conduct meetings by villagers.</p>	<p>The world of living, the visible world</p>



Figure 4. Lo'ang

Lo'ang "bedroom" is located in the middle level of the mbaru gendang. It consists of some small rooms with door for each room.

There are some lo'ang in mbaru gendang. Each lo'ang has door. It cannot be accessed by everybody. Only the family who stay in mbaru gendang can access the lo'ang. It can be mentioned that lo'ang is a bedroom for the family to sleep and private.

Private Matter



Figure 5. para olo

Regarding to the figure 5, para olo "front door" is the front door of the mbaru gendang.

There is a para olo in the mbaru gendang. It serves as a place for guests to enter and exit the mbaru gendang.

Anak Rona, men



Figure 6. para musu

Figure 6 illustrates para musu as the back door of the mbaru gendang. The back door is located at the back of the mbaru gendang.

There is a para musu in the mbaru gendang. It serves as a place for the occupants to enter and exit the mbaru gendang. The back door is also the access for the women who are in charge of cooking if there is a

Anak wina, women

ceremony performed at the mbaru gendang.



Figure 7. sapo

Figure 7 is the figure of the sapo. The sapo is rectangular in shape. On the sapo there are firewood and some stones that are used as a pedestal for pots or pans when cooking. There is only one sapo in the kitchen.

The sapo is located in the kitchen of the mbaru gendang. It functions as the place to cook food or boil the water. There is only one sapo in the mbaru gendang. It means that all the families who live in the mbaru gendang cook in the same sapo. They especially the mothers use sapo alternately when cooking for their respective families.

Life, togetherness



Figure 8. siri bongkok

Siri bongkok is located in the middle level of the mbaru gendang. It is made from wood with good quality. The siri bongkok is round in shape and stuck from lutur to lobo. On siri bongkok, the gong and

Siri bongkok is made from good quality wood. This means that not all wood can be used as the siri bongkok. Only wood with good quality can be used as siri bongkok. Gongs and gendang hung on the siri bongkok

Power

gendang are show that siri
hung. bongkok has
a function to
hang sacred
objects such
as gongs and
gendang.
Therefore,
siri bongkok
is considered
sacred and
cannot be
touched by
just anyone.

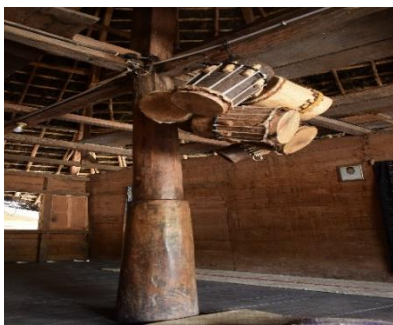


Figure 9. gong and gendang

Figure 10
presents the
visual of
gong and
gendang.
gong and
gendang are
the
traditional
music
instruments
of
Manggarai
n people. It
is made
from the
skin of
animals such
as buffalo,
cow, or
goat.

Gong and
gendang are
instruments
which hung
on the siri
bongkok.
They cannot
be hung on
the other
places as
they are
sacred. As
sacred
instruments,
the gongs
and
gendangs are
not played in
a careless
way. They
are only
played when
certain
rituals are
being
performed as
the media to
invite Mori
Kraeng
“God” and
the ancestors.

Sacred, holy



Figure 10. siri leles

Siri leles is made from wood. It is the part of lobo “the third level of the mbaru gendang”. It is constructed like spider web.

The siri leles is used as a stick to support the roof of the mbaru gendang to which wunut "enau fibre" used as a roof is tied. The spider web construction of the siri leles is same like the construction of rice field which is known as lodok. The same construction model between siri leles and lodok is in line with the concept gendang one, lingko pe'ang.

Collaboration



Figure 11. wuwung

Figure 12 shows the wuwung “roof” of the mbaru gendang. The wuwung is made of tightly woven, cone-shaped fibres.

Wunut “fibres” is used as the main material of the mbaru gendang’s roof. The fibres are strongly tied to the ngando. The wunut “fibre” is used as a roofing material for the mbaru gendang because it is flexible, does

The world of supreme (God & ancestors)

not break easily, can withstand heat, and is not eaten by terminates.



Figure 12. mangka

Figure 13 Human's face is painted on the wood and located on the top of the mbaru gendang's roof. It shows that human has high status among other creatures. Obedience



Figure 13. rangga kaba

Figure 14 The rangga kaba is attached in both sides of human face painted on the mangka. It is located at the same position with mangka. The rangga kaba is not attached or located in other parts of the mbaru gendang. the way how the rangga kaba is located express that human is the strongest creature in the world. Strength

Discussion

This study investigates the meaning of symbols in Manggaraian's traditional house, namely mbaru gendang. The mbaru gendang is a traditional house of Manggaraian people which is unique and different from other traditional houses in the world especially in Indonesia. Its uniqueness is portrayed clearly through its form, structure and elements or symbols. Through its structure, elements, and symbols, the mbaru gendang represent the

way of life of Manggaraian people on how they perceive the world and run their life. It also reflects their relationship to nature, others, and ancestors and God.

It is supported by Darong et al. (2023) who mention that symbols used in Manggaraian culture mirror the interpersonal relationship of Manggaraian people with others, ancestors, and God. The structure of mbaru gendang communicates the Manggaraian people believe about the world. For the Manggaraian, world consists of three levels, the world of dead, the world of living, and the upper world (ancestors and God). Those three worlds are symbolized through the ngaung, lutur, and lobo as the structures of the mbaru gendang. Those three levels symbolize the aesthetic-cosmological concept of the Manggaraian people (Pandor, 2013). The aesthetic-cosmological concept of the Manggaraian people refers to the way how the Manggaraian people perceive the world. Supporting the aesthetic-cosmological concept of Pandor, Sutam (2012) emphasizes that three main circles world of the Manggaraian, namely, the world of spirits, the visible world, and the world of supreme being (the ancestors and God). Those three worlds are represented through the structure or levels of the mbaru gendang.

The first level of the mbaru gendang's structure namely ngaung. This part is generally used as a warehouse for storing wood, livestock or drying clothes during the rainy season. The ngaung is the darkest part of the mbaru gendang. As the darkest part of the mbaru gendang, the ngaung is not a place for the occupants to stay or do activities. Furthermore, due to its darkness, the Manggaraian believe the ngaung is the place where demons and evil spirit live. That believe is mirrored in the expression *jaga poti wa ngaung* "there is demon under the floor" (Adon, 2022; Lon & Fransiska Widyawati, 2020). For that reason, as the first level of the mbaru gendang, the ngaung is associated with the world of spirit or the dead. The ngaung also reflects the lowest social status.

According to Lon & Fransiska Widyawati (2020) and Widyawati et al. (2022), the ngaung symbolizes *mendi* "slave". Historically said that in 16th century Manggarai Regency was colonized by the kingdom of Gowa, Bima, which adhered to the *mendi* 'slave' system. As the slave, *mendi* were not allowed to access the other parts of the mbaru gendang except the ngaung. The ngaung was the right place for the *mendi* to live due their low social status. It is supporting by Lon & Fransiska Widyawati (2020) who said that the function of ngaung is to support the whole building symbolizes the *mendi* who sustains the life of his master.

The second level of the mbaru gendang is known as lutur. This level is used by the Manggaraian people to do activities. Due to its function, this part is then referred to the world of living or the world of light, which is where people live and get involved. The lutur consists of *lutur* "open space room", *lo'ang* "bed room", *siri bongkok* "the main pole", *siri leles*, *para olo* "front door, *para musu* "back door", and *sapo* "furnace". Lutur is circle and the biggest part in the mbaru gendang. This part functions as a meeting place for the villagers to discuss and solve any problems they may have. During the meeting, the Manggaraian people sit in circle which is known as *lonto leok* "sit together". The circle shape of the lutur and the *lontok leok* enable the Manggaraian people to see and hear each other when a meeting takes place. On the basis of the circle shape and *lonto leok* concept, lutur symbolizes cooperation and collaboration. It is strengthen by Lon & Fransiska Widyawati (2020) who claim that lutur in mbaru gendang symbolizes togetherness.

Moreover, the lutur mirrors the social status of the Manggaraian people. As what ngaung symbolizes *mendi* "slave", the lutur deals with *kraeng* "the master". Only the *kraeng* who had privilege to access the lutur and completed their activities there. The lutur is also the place for the quests. Regarding to the result of observation and interview, the Manggaraian people are very appreciative and respectful of their guests. The quests are welcomed and seated in the lutur. The lutur is a reflection of the respect the Manggarai people have for their guests.

To add, *lutur* also symbolizes men. This idea comes from the fact where in *lonto leok*, men dominate the *lutur*. Men sit and take part in meeting or discussion, while women's place is in the kitchen preparing food, etc. The Manggaraian people have a patriarchic cultural system. The patriarchic system places men in a higher position than women. It is the men who are the head of the family and the decision makers. Men are involved in customary discussions and inheritance. Men inherit from their parents while women do not. Therefore, it is the men who occupy the *lutur*.

Lo'ang is also one part of the *mbaru gendang* in the *lutur*. *Lo'ang* or *molang* refers to bed room where *kilo* "family" sleep. The *lo'ang* is private and individually accessed by the *kilo* who have the *lo'ang*. In the *mbaru gendang*, there are some *lo'ang*. The number of *lo'ang* depends on the number of *panga* "clans". The presence of *lo'ang* in the *mbaru gendang* symbolizes the Manggarain people's appreciation and respect for private family matters. The Manggaraian people believe that there are private matters in the *kilo* that must be valued and respected.

The other element in the *lutur* is *siri bongkok*. The *siri bongkok* is defined as the main element in *mbaru gendang*. The *siri bongkok* is made from a strong and high-quality wood from forest. It functions as the main pole to support the *mbaru gendang*. The strength and the high-quality of the wood reflect the strength of Manggaraian people as a community. The wood for the *siri bongkok* is taken from the forest and paraded in a special ritual namely *roko molas poco*. In performing the *roko molas poco*, a beautiful young girl sits on the wood and is paraded to the village. The wood is symbolized by a beautiful young girl to represent the forest as the source of life.

Furthermore, how the Manggaraian people parade the girl in *roko molas poco* reflects how they treat and appreciate women in their daily life. Women are highly appreciated by the Manggaraian people because women give birth generation for the family. The *siri bongkok* and women are the combination of strength and gentleness (Jemali, 2017). The *siri bongkok* which is made from a strong high-quality wood is symbolized by a beautiful young woman who is gentle. Besides, as the main pole of the *mbaru gendang*, *siri bongkok* is powerful to support the *mbaru gendang*. The power of *siri bongkok* is reflected through the power of *tu'a golo* as the leader of the villagers. *Tu'a golo* is a person who plays a significant role in society as *ata lami rangga pede* "head of *mbaru gendang*", *ata kop gula agu mane* "head of tribe", and *ata nipu pa'ang olo, ngaung musi* "village leader" (Bustan, 2009). In *lonto leok* meeting, the *tu'a golo* always sits near the *siri bongkok*. Only the *tu'a golo* who has privilege to sit there. It is due to the power occupied by the *tu'a golo* as the head of the traditional house, tribe and village.

Additionally, the *siri bongkok* is holly. The holiness of the *siri bongkok* is expressed by its function as the place to hang *gong* and *gendang*. *Gong* and *gendang* are traditional music instruments occupied by the Manggaraian people. *Gongs* and *gendangs* are only played during traditional ceremonies to accompany worship dances (Lon & Fransiska Widyawati, 2020). It is believed that the music produced by the *gongs* and *gendangs* will call the spirits of the ancestors to attend the ceremony. Once the *gong* and *gendang* are used in the ceremony, the *tu'a golo* and the other *tua* (*tu'a gendang*, *tu'a teno*, and *tu'a panga*) do a ritual *teing hang* "the offering of white rooster" to ask their permission and bless.

Besides, there are also *siri lese*. The *siri lese* deals with *siri leles* is a wood that is used to support the *siri bongkok* so that it can stand firmly. *Siri leles* is made up of several wood. *Siri leles* symbolizes *tu'a gendang*, *tu'a teno*, and *tu'a panga* who help *tu'a golo* to carry out their duties and responsibilities. The collaboration between the *tu'a golo*, *tu'a gendang*, *tu'a teno*, and *tu'a panga* brings positive impacts to the existence of the *beo* "village".

Another element in *mbaru gendang* is *para* "door". There are two doors in the *mbaru gendang*, namely *para olo* "front door" and *para musi* "back door". The *para olo* is

situated in front part of the mbaru gendang as the accessed door for the quests who come to visit or attend a ceremony. The Manggaraian people highly appreciate the quests, therefore the quests are pleased to enter or exit the mbaru gendang by the para olo. When a lonto leok or a ritual/ceremony takes place, the para olo is also the door accessed by men who involved in the lonto leok. It reflects those men in Manggaraian culture is honored and has special position. Men is prioritized and served.

On the contrary, para musu deals with the back door in mbaru gendang. This door is accessed by the mbaru gendang occupants. It is also accessed by women as the enter and exit door to the kitchen. It means that woman in Manggaraian culture is in the second position. They have responsibility to serve man as the head of family and decision maker.

Moreover, sapo "furnace" is another element in the mbaru gendang. The sapo is situated in the kitchen where women do cook or prepare food their family. Sapo reflects the source life. It is meant for the place where food and drink are prepared to be served to the family. Sapo symbolizes the love of mother which is warm and sincere. A mother is responsible to take care of family in terms of giving birth, cooking, and completing other house hold works. Therefore, sapo does not only symbolize the source of life (which refers to food and drink), but also reflect the sincerity and warmth of mothers' love.

On the basis of observation, in the mbaru gendang, there is only one sapo (see figure7). The families who live in the mbaru gendang use the same sapo to cook. They will do the cooking in turn with the same sapo. They also share food between the families and eat together. The one and only sapo in the mbaru gendang symbolizes the fraternity and togetherness. It is through the fraternity and togetherness that the Manggaraian people are able to live in harmony and peace in their daily lives.

Furthermore, the finding also confirms that the form of the mbaru gendang is circle. A circle does not have any starting and ending points. It means that mbaru gendang is eternal. It does not exist in the past and will be over in the future, however it stands forever and ever. The circle is also a symbol of the Manggaraian people's determination and intention to always be of one mind in the struggle for the common good of life. The circular shape of the mbaru gendang also reflects the equal position of people; in the context of communication, this model allows everyone to see and hear each other (Widyawati et al., 2022).

The wuwung "roof" of the mbaru gendang is conical. The conical shape of the mbaru gendang is a unifying model of the lingko "communal garden", which is also a spider's nest model. The model is an actual manifestation of the Manggaraian patrilineal view of life, namely 5 in 1 and 1 in 5 which is known as ca kali mbaru bate kaeng, uma bate duat, natas bate labar, wae bate teku, compang bate takung "one house, one garden, one yard, one water source, and one offering altar".

The third level of the mbaru gendang is known as lobo "roof". In this level, there are three elements exist, namely mangka, rangga kaba, and lewing. Mangka refers to small wood designed like gasing on which human face is painted (see figure 12). It is located on the top of the mbaru gendang's roof. Regarding to the result of interview, mangka is defined as the Manggaraian people who are obey to Mori Kraeng "God". This finding is in line with Lon & Fransiska Widyawati (2020) who mention that the human face painting on the mangka represents the nature of the Manggaraian people, who always direct themselves and lives towards God, the life creator. The Manggaraian people believe that their life is given and guided by God.

The other symbol found in the lobo is rangga kaba "buffalo horn". It refers to hard work. The rangga kaba is put on the top of mangka. Kaba refers to an animal which has four legs, a tail, and horn that curve upwards. Due to its strength, kaba is beneficial for ploughing fields and lifting weights for the Manggaraian people. In a marriage context, kaba is used as an animal to pay for the belis "marriage dowry". Regarding to the result

of the interview, *rangga kaba* which is on the top of the *mbaru gendang*'s roof represents the Manggaraian people who are powerful and hardworking.

Conclusion

On the respect of the finding and discussion above, it is concluded that the *mbaru gendang* are rich with symbols. Those symbols are presented through the structure and elements of the *mbaru gendang*. It communicates the way of life and the perception of the Manggaraian people about the world. Too add, symbols in the *mbaru gendang* deals with holiness, unity, strength, togetherness, obedience, hardworking, and fraternity.

However, since the symbols of the *mbaru gendang* reflect the cultural values of the Manggaraian people, it is then not enough to be investigated just by applying the semiotics theory. It is based on the consideration that cultural values deal with massive elements of human's life. For that reason, this study is limited in some points. First, this study just concerns on the symbols in the *mbaru gendang* which are seen and touchable. Since symbols do not only refers to seen and touchable things, but also word and action, further researchers are suggested to investigates symbols related to word or action. Next, this investigation was conducted only in four *mbaru gendang*, further researchers are directed to conducted in more *mbaru gendang*. It will be beneficial in improving the quantity and quality of the data.

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