CHAPTER 4

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHITECTURE
RESEARCH ON NAGARI

4.1 BASIC PROFILE

4.1.1 Case 1, Nagari Rao-Rao

Nagari Rao Rao is an administrative unit situated in kecamatan Sungai Tarab, kabupaten Tanah Datar, West Sumatra. They are surrounded by nagari Salimpaung, nagari Situmbuk, nagari Kumango and nagari Pasir Lawas. The natural boundary of nagari is Sibumbun hill (500m height), Gadang hill (400 m height), Kaciek hill (350 m height) to the north, rice field to the east and south, and eastern slopes of mount Marapi to the west. It is composed of four sectors of settlement units, namely jorong I Balerong Bunta, jorong II Carano Batirai, jorong III Pandiang Andiko, and jorong IV Lumbung Bapereng. The division can be seen in Figure. 4.1.

There are two informal written sources about history of nagari Rao-Rao as collected by nagari office and local legends as claimed by families and dignitaries of the nagari but as a whole they don’t demonstrate a solid history about the emergence of nagari Rao-Rao. Mainstream local legend believed by most people of nagari was that people of nagari Rao-Rao originated from older nagari nearby, nagari Limo Kaum (see Figure. 4.2). The most possible explanation about their history according to families is that settlers were originally migrants from the surrounding nagaris (Mahyudin,

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77 Interview with Rajo nan Pahit and Datuk Penghulu Basah, in nagari rao-Rao
The prominence of nagari Rao-Rao was brought by policy managed by Dutch in 1830 when coffee plantation was set up (Mahyuddin, et al., 2002). After the decline of the Dutch, most of the inhabitants shifted from planters to traders and migrated to places within the Indonesia national territory.

Figure 4.1  Map of Nagari Rao-Rao

Source: Surau Mu'alim Bungsu Website

The case of settlement unit is taken from jorong I Balerong Bunta in nagari Rao-Rao. There are four cases of matrilineal joint family compounds (kampungs) taken from 3 jorongs of the nagari. They are Kampung Caniago Dalam and Kampung Rumah nan Panjang from jorong I Balerong Bunta; Kampung Lurah Bawah from jorong II Carano Batirai; and Rumah Haji Aminah from jorong IV Lumbung Bapereng. Although the cases are from different jorongs, the homogeneity of cases is assured by the trait that cultural constitution is laid at nagari level, and not jorong.
4.1.2 Case 2, Nagari Sungayang

Nagari Sungayang is an administrative unit which is composed of five sectors of settlement units situated in kecamatan Sungayang, kabupaten Tanah Datar. It is surrounded by nagari Sungai Patai, nagari Tanjung, nagari Minangkabau and nagari Sungai Tarab. Nagari Sungayang is composed of four sectors of settlement units, namely jorong I Taratak Indah, jorong II Gelanggang Tengah, jorong III Balai Gadang, jorong IV Balai di Ateh, and jorong V Sianau Indah. The division can be seen in Figure 4.3. The traditional settlement unit taken as case is Jorong II, Gelanggang Tengah. There are four cases of matrilineal joint family compound (kampungs) which
are all in the same jorong, namely: Kampung Dalam, Kampung Tabiang Bawah, Kampung Panjang, and Kampung Pilliang Buah puh.

![Map of Nagari Sungayang](image)

**Figure 4.3  Map of Nagari Sungayang**

Source: Nagari Sungayang Sub-District office, 2009

By legend, the ancestors of nagari Sungayang was said to sail from the first nagari Padang Pariangan when Minangkabau was mythically still partly submerged in the ocean (Figure. 4.2). They landed in a place called Ujung Tanah or a Peninsular land which has now become the name of one of the kampung in Sungayang. These families established themselves in scattered localities adjacent to one another.\(^{78}\)

Nagari Rao-Rao and nagari Sungayang are two nagaris in Tanah Datar district (Figure 4.4). Their main economy was stable sedentary settlement and coordinated field with traces of earlier shifting agriculture. Since 1930’s migration exponentially increased causing disruption of local agriculture labor structure and operation. Their path of migration according to local legends from nagari Pariangan is shown in Figure 4.2.

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\(^{78}\) Detail of history is explained in Datuk Sangguno Dirajo, H.M.A; pp. 12-13
Figure 4.4  Map of Tanah Datar District, Nagari Sungayang and Nagari Rao-Rao

Source: Departemen Pekerjaan Umum Dirjen Cipta Karya and Map of District Landuse 1:100,000, Tanah Datar District.
4.2 MATRILINEAL KINSHIP AS THEME OF HABITATION

4.2.1 Female-male space division

Matrilineal kinship makes female lineage play significant role in keeping the continuity of clan and integrity of its property. Traditionally marriage is arranged under the consent of male-head (penghulu) and assembly of lady of the clan (bundo kanduang). The characteristic of marriageable person is Muslim, gratified by penghulu, and not belonging to the same actual clan. Marriage among member of the same settlement unit (jorong) and nagari is possible. After marriage male generally keeps staying in his mother’s house compound (kampung) but travel to their wife’s house regularly which is maximum 25 km away, in the kampung of the adjoining nagari.

In their maternal house compound, male basically don’t stay in ancestral house or rumah gadang, but in the annex or smaller ordinary house within the compound (rumah ketek). Earlier they would stay in surau (male dormitory) in river bank of the settlement periphery which therefore evolved as a schematic spatial division of female and male space. Feminine space is attributed to territory of kampung on the settlement, and area around and inside ancestral house (rumah gadang) in each kampung. Each female lineage entitles one room (bilik) inside the rumah gadang. Masculine space is located near river bank or in the peripheries of settlement unit where suraus of various kampungs are concentrated, and therefore males of various kampungs would assemble. Kampung is composed of several ancestral house (rumah gadang) centered toward common middle yard (alaman). Rangkiang or granary is kept on alaman. The arrangement of house is detailed in FA5A1-4 Appendix 5.
Rumah gadang is ancestral house. Spatially it shelters anything that primarily associates with features that represent clan, which are the female lineage of the clan, paddy, and ancestral relic, inherited through matrilineal lineages. Before being put to granary, paddy would be brought to rumah gadang. It has navel in its central post or tiang tuo which is considered to be the symbolic reference for female ancestor. Ancestral relic belonging to the clan would be kept within rumah gadang by the ladies. Ideally it is put in middle room (bilik tangah) but currently it can be put in any place within rumah gadang. In any functions that relate to clans, such as marriage (beralek) and installations of male-head (batagak penghulu), the tiang tuo would be veiled by kain adat (sacred loin which is part of the ancestral relic). And during functions such as for installing new penghulu (male-head) or death ceremony, the new penghulu or the dead body would be sit or laid on nearby the tiang tuo. The set of tonggak tuo (central post), bilik tangah (middle room), and labuan (central passage in front of rows of rooms/ biliks) are the primary ritual space, and north or any directions pointing to north directions is considered auspicious. How the set is prepared is described in Figure 4.5.
4.2.2 Network of houses and social and cultural setting of suku, payung, and saparuik

Socially cultural integrity of Minangkabau people has been formed by history, organization and network of families that is organized by structure of clan or suku. Suku is a social non-territorial organization that binds individual, matrilineal joint families and places to the idea of common mythical ancestor. The members of suku are not necessarily concentrated in a single spot, but wide spread in different sectors in a nagari. The integrity of these dispersedly located members is compensated by complex structure of suku (clan), kinship organization and collective legend preserved in traditional text, Tambo. Both in nagari Sungayang and nagari Rao-Rao there are the following clans: Bodi, Caniago, Koto, Piliang, Kutianyir, and Mandailiang. In nagari Rao-Rao additionally there are Patapang and Bendang clans, and in nagari Sungayang additionally there is Melayu clan.
With regards to settlement formation, it is prescribed that there must be minimum four sukus to establish proper nagari. With regards to community, a suku is centered and assembled in surau (male dormitory), masjid (prayer hall) of the corresponding clan or house of clan leader (kepala suku). Surau and masjid of various sukus or kampungs are concentrated on river banks. Figure 4.6 is an illustration of distribution of four clan groups in nagari Rao-Rao, each represented by different color and the locations of suraus of the sukus.

![Figure 4.6 Map of distribution of four clans in Nagari Rao-Rao](image)

Under suku or clan group in a nagari, there is an actual clan referring to group of people that refer to a traceable ancestor within which scope, intermarriage among them is prohibited. This scope of actual clan is called kaum and congregation of kaum, or payung. The idea of traceable ancestor makes actual clan organization territorial, in a sense that they are specific for a nagari. Kaum is a social term for matrilineal joint family. Member of a kaum stays in a maternal joint family compound, or kampung. Therefore, kampung is spatial term for matrilineal joint family. The social
organization of payung is originated from the expansion and branching out (babalahan) of a kaum. As the earlier and newly formed kaums are still bound by common traced ancestor they are considered as one larger unit of joint family, called a Payung. Therefore a payung could spatially denote congregation of several house compounds or kampungs. The family tree indicating the depth of 8-10 generations coincided with these cases of family branching out and its consequential spatial expansion and distribution. Male-leader (penghulu) of the oldest kaum becomes the leader of payung. Kampung Panjang in nagari Sungayang in Figure A.5.1, appendix 5 represents a payung that consist of two kampungs, Upper Kampung Panjang to the north of the main road and Lower Kampung Panjang, in the south of main road.

The difference between kaum and kampung is situation that kampung contain more than just kaum (blood related member) but also non-blood related member warga. This is explained in the next sub-chapter.

Venue of assembly for suku has taken many forms at different points of time. The ancient form of assembly venue for suku member is called pamedanan or medan bapaneh which means open square. It appeared in a form of banyan tree with sitting stones. Most pamedanan are situated on the bank of the river at the periphery of village from where the wide vast land could be observed. Its location is pointed out in Figure 4.6.

Currently pamedanan has practically vanished and left as open space (Figure 4.7., illustration right). Its function has been replaced by surau, or mosque as happened in nagari Rao-Rao. In nagari Sungayang the function of pamedanan had once existed, but currently the location had been altered into jorong office. The function of surau and mosque as venue of suku member had once existed on the remnant of earlier pamedanan before it became jorong office, but now the activities have been centralized in balai
adat (assembly hall) of nagari. The only pamedanan which has been preserved by archeological survey bureau is in nagari Limo Kaum (Figure 4.7., illustration left).

Figure 4.7  Pamedanan in nagari Limo Kaum (left), remaining space of pamedanan in Nagari Rao-rao (upper-right)

4.2.3 Communal Character of Matrilineal joint family

Matrilineal descent rule suggests that there are two social institutions that run a joint family household. They are the female members, as proprietor instituted in assembly of female of the clan, or bundo kanduang, and the male-leader as manager of property which is generally uncles or brothers of the female member or penghulu. A penghulu must obtain sanction from assembly of ladies of the clan (bundo kanduang) for any decision or suggestion made. Therefore there is never any absolute freedom to access the property and therefore property retains its communal character is marked as ancestral land or harta pusaka containing economic, spiritual and cultural value.
The concept of penghulu and bundo-kanduang is the basic concept of leadership and exist in all levels of clan organization, its branches and its spatial domain (house compound, neighborhood and settlement). Although it belongs to each kaum, its sphere of management and extent of interference span to nagari level. There are also other factors that enhance the communal characters of the settlement.

Firstly, the apex of the controlling body of settlement is assembly of male-head (penghulu) and assembly of ladies (bando-kanduang). They gather in nagari level in KAN or kekerapatan adat nagari (traditional assembly in nagari level). The concept of wali nagari (village chieftain or officer) has been recent. Each layer of communal social organization could be outlined in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Hierarchy of controlling agents of territory of nagari**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Spatial Domain</th>
<th>Controlling Agents</th>
<th>Social/Economic Manager</th>
<th>Administrative Sphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kampung</td>
<td>Saparuik (female lineage)</td>
<td>tungganai (operational manager), and penghulu (male-leader/ head of clan) with sanction from bundo kanduang (ladies of the clan)</td>
<td>penghulu (head of clan) and bundo kanduang (ladies of the clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payung</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Assembly of penghulus of the corresponding kampungs with sanction from bundo kanduang (ladies of the clan)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suku</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Kepala Suku/ tuo Kampung/ Datuk Pucuak (head of clan groups) with sanction from bundo kanduang (ladies of the clan)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagari</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Kerapatan Adat nagari (assembly of elders) with sanction from bundo kanduang (ladies of the clan)</td>
<td>Wali Nagari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luhak</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Tambo Alam Minangkabau</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social navel of the actual clan (kaum or payung) is the maternal house of the corresponding penghulu. Therefore a penghulu and tiang tuo in rumah gadang coexist as axis mundi of the clan community.

Secondly, the communal characters are triggered by the situation that in the level of kampung, kinship is determined not by blood relation alone. Trait of mengaku mamak (adoption ceremony) is instituted to adopt new comer or migrant and to affiliate with a clan in a nagari, under the idiom of 'nephew of the clan'; they are generally considered as subservient group. Consequently the following social division appears within the house compound:

1. Family unit of saparuik or direct blood related kin of Penghulu’s maternal family. They are generally penghulu’s sister or nieces and happen to be the main property owner and manager,

2. Kaum or member, or Penghulu’s indirect blood related maternal kin. They are member of the actual clan and therefore are potential inheritors and managers of the property.

3. Warga, literally means ‘the people’ is not member of the actual clan but they gain access to the land under the signature of “the adopted nephew”. Socially they are generally subservient families. Other than inside the kampung of their male-leader, the warga could stay in other sector of nagari, visually the most recently formed jorong.

It can be illustrated in Figure 4.8 and F.A.5.1. The same situation also happened in Kampung Tabiang Ateh F.A.5.2, Kampung Piliang Buah Pauh and Kampung Piliang Sani in nagari Sungayang. They represent
kampung which is not yet partitioned. Member of the three groups still keeps their communal living.

Figure 4.8 Kampung Nan Panjang (lower and upper), showing example of three layers of Community in a Kampung

Kampung is the domain of kaum, and their adopted member or warga. It is a territorial control unit managed by male-head of the joint family, penghulu. A penghulu is formally selected and installed through a proper traditional function, by which he is given a title, Datuk. Therefore the name of kampung would generally refer to the title of penghulu, or refer to location. It could be demonstrated as in Table 4.2.

Thirdly, communal characters can also appear in a manner of congregations of kampung bound by common proximity, or common suku or payung, such as kampung of the Piliang clan in jorong II nagari Sungayang. Kampung Datuk Sinaro Sati is part of Kampung Dalam is confederation of
kampung of the Bodi-Caniago clan in jorong II nagari Sungayang. In fact this is the basic character that trigger the development of settlements (Figure 4.9.)

Several kampungs of different sukus and payungs could congregate and develop as a group of kampungs sharing common amenities like venue assembly or pamedanan, mosque and bathing gaths. In fact, these schemes could provide logic on how a maternal joint family gradually congregates and develops into a settlement unit, jorong. Figure 4.9 explain how Kampung Rumah Nan Panjang claimed to be the oldest family in jorong Balerong Bunta. Later 3 more adjacent kampungs congregated and shared the pamedanan. The pamedanan later developed into a mosque. Eventually, being the only pamedanan in the tableland, it has become the landmark and venue of assembly of the whole settlement unit or jorong.

**Table 4.2. kampung and kaum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matrilineal joint family compound with reference to name of:</th>
<th>Kampung</th>
<th>jorong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penghulu Kaum</td>
<td>Kampung Dalam</td>
<td>Gelanggang Tangah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Rajo Penghulu nan Lambuiik Angok</td>
<td>Kampung Dalam</td>
<td>Gelanggang Tangah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Marajo nan Leak</td>
<td>Kampung nanPanjang</td>
<td>Gelanggang Tangah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Rajo Tam Putiah</td>
<td>Kampung Piliang Buah Pauh</td>
<td>Gelanggang Tangah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Rajo Penghulu nan Gapung</td>
<td>Kampung Tabiang bawah</td>
<td>Gelanggang Tangah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Sinaro Sati</td>
<td>Kampung Dalam</td>
<td>Balerong Bunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Rajo nan Pahit</td>
<td>Kampung Piliang Rumah nan Panjang</td>
<td>Balerong Bunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hj. Aminah and Hj.Maryam</td>
<td>Kampung Baru</td>
<td>Lumbung Bapereng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datuk Rajo Alam Pamuncak</td>
<td>Kampung Lurah Tengah Bawah Balai</td>
<td>Carano Batirai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.9. Evolution of kampung into kampung-groups and jorong, and transformation of centre from medan bapaneh into mosque and jorong office

4.2.4 Communal character of inter nagari organization

Association is also developed with the neighboring nagari, or with nagaris at distant place based on kinship and or corporate bond. It coincided with the fact that intersecting property among nagaris is tolerable. Ancestor becomes the idiom of propriety identifier of territory. Several cases that explain this inter-nagari association are

1) Agriculture land of people from nagari Sungayang can be situated within the territory of the neighboring settlement, nagari Minangkabau.
2) Any member of Piliang Tujuh Jurai clan, within nagari Sungayang or outside can exchange their skillful member for particular works.

3) The intersecting landowning belonging to kampungs made nagari Rao-Rao and nagari Sungayang by enterprise practically coexist with nagari Limo Kaum, nagari Tanjung, nagari Talang Tangah, nagari Situmbuk, nagari Salimpaung, and nagari Padang Laweh.

Clan branching out, or babalahan, also consequently makes sub-clan units, like kaum or payung in a nagari to possibly share ancestor with other kaum in other nagari. This inter-nagari association of a sub-clan unit is called jurai. From history of families it is discovered that jurai is a larger actual clan grouping than payung with scope of organization that is able to intersect several nagari within which sphere of marriage is prohibited among the membera. Nagari Sungayang shares jurai with nagari Tanjung connecting both by common history, blood and tradition. It is the social ingredient of the earlier settlement organization of nagari Tanjung-Sungayang. The inter-nagari jurai shared by nagari Tanjung and nagari Sungayang are:

1. Piliang Tujuh Jurai (seven branch piliang), regional branch clan of Koto Piliang clan

2. Bodi Caniago Tigo Balai (three House Bodi caniago), regional branch clan of Bodi caniago clan

3. Kutianyir Tigo Paruik (three wombs Kutianyir), regional branch clan of Kutianyir Clan

Another kind of association is based on people solidarity. Melayu Mandailing is actually the name of the ethnic group in Sumatra but from outside Minangkabau territory. Part of them once migrated and become part
of the people of Minangkabau. Solidarity is also maintained with member of families outside Minangkabau through family gathering, traditional functions and also community association such as IKKRAR for nagari Rao-Rao and PWS for nagari Sungayag.

There is another kind of grouping which cluster several nagaris, bound by history or legend. This grouping is configurational and not territorial. Nagari Sungayang is part of Tujuh nagari Tuo (Confederations of ‘Seven Old Nagaris’) along with nagari Baruah Bukit, nagari Andaleh, and nagari Tanjung and three other nagaris (Be 2002, pp. 72). There is no agent of control for these layers. It is culturally preserved as schemata of the people, but do not indicate any controlled territory. Figure 4.10 show the remote grouping could at a certain point connects nagari Sungayang and nagari Rao-Rao.

![Diagram of over-layering organization of nagaris](image)

**Figure 4.10** Diagram of over-layering organization of nagaris

Beyond nagari there is cultural geography that is called luhak and group of clan called laras. The category is based on general and normative character of cultures and political standpoint. The controlling agent that defines this level of groupings is collective legend, Tambo Alam
Minangkabau. There are three luhaks and two laras in Minangkabau and each nagari. Nagari Rao-Rao and nagari Sungayang belong to luhak Tanah Datar. The two laras are Koto-Pilliang and laras Bodi Caniago. Nagari Rao-Rao belongs to Koto-Piliang and nagari Sungayang belong Bodi-Caniago.

With regards to laras theoretically the difference could be traced physically from building types and their political standpoint. But practically it is only obvious from the shape of their traditional old mosque, characterized by their roof. Mosque in nagari Rao-Rao is of laras Koto-Piliang characterized by four side gable roof top (see. Figure. 4.11., illustration left). The building is still preserved. Nagari Sungayang is of laras Bodi-Caniago, the mosque is supposed to be tiered roof, as it is generally characterized by, but practically it was combination of pyramid and dome (Figure. 4.11, illustration right).

Figure 4.11 Comparative characteristic of form of Masjid Raya (grand mosques) in Nagari Rao-Rao (left) and previous Masjid Raya in nagari Sungayang before rebuilding (right)

Each luhak consist of core land darek (original land) and hinterland the rantau (hinterland or migrant land), both nagaris belong to darek of luhak
Tanah Datar. The rantau of nagari Rao-Rao\textsuperscript{79} are in the regions of Payakumbuh, Batu sangkar, within Minangkabau land. Outside Sumatra it would be Jawa, Bali, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Ambon and Papua within Indonesia national territory; and Kuala Lumpur, abroad.

4.3 ASSEMBLY OF HIERARCHY OF NAGARI, KAMPUNG, AND RUMAH GADANG

Territorial control analysis as attached in table A.1 appendix 2 show that jorong is spatially the cohesive form of settlement unit, defined spatially by undulating topographical profile and paddy-field. The Habitat Analysis attributing analysis of Control Hierarchies, as attached in Appendix 3, show that a settlement unit, jorong (Cc) demonstrate group of maternal joint families or house compound, kampung (Cd), with network that is established by means of clan organization of suku, kaum or payung (Cd1’), jurai (Cc1’), and Nagari itself (Cb1). Jorong (Cc) is a spatial configuration that establishes the higher level of settlement organization.

Nagari (Cb). Nagari is the most cohesive political-territorial and spatial level or organization. Kampung (Cc) is the smallest cohesive political-territorial and spatial level or organization. It makes jorong (Cc) traditionally an intermediary habitation configuration between nagari and kampung with solid spatiality but without solid control. Presently jorong is lead by the head of sector (kepala jorong), and has territorial authority, yet socially not stronger than suku.

Nagari as larger settlement organization contains dimension of both social and territorial organization. Similarly kampung (Cd) as the most elementary component of settlement contained social dimension which laid in the idiom of kaum or people (Cd’), and payung. It is codified as Cd’ because

\textsuperscript{79} Elaborated by Mahyuddin, Suardi, Rahman, Rustam (2002); pp..177
it is socially parallel with kampungs (Cd ≈ Cd’). Kampung (Cd) is spatial term for kaum or payung (Cd’). Kampung, kaum or payung spatially has centers in ancestral house called rumah gadang (Ce). The organization is summarized in the following Figure 4.12.

![Figure 4.12. Hierarchy of Settlement Organization of Nagari](image)

Rumah gadang is the domain of ladies. Each married lady with her husband and children live in a room bilik (Cf). This nuclear family unit is called paruik (rice bowl). Spatially rumah gadang is centered in the construction of tonggak tuo (central post).

Earlier rumah gadang although belonging to kampung, was the traditional affair of nagari. Any modifications must take sanction from nagari council. Currently it is the personal property of the kaum (people of kampung).

4.4 CONCEPT OF TERRITORIAL CONTROL OF NAGARI AND JORONG

4.4.1 Nagari

Analysis on territorial hierarchy refers to Table A2.1, and A2.2 of Appendix 2 shows that nagari organization is both configurational and
territorial. It has landmarks such as grand mosque (masjid raya) market (balai), village office (kantor wali nagari) and balai adat (assembly hall) (see Figure 4.13 and 4.14). Ethnographically it is instituted by the trait of “adat selingkung nagari” which means “a nagari with a common law and customs”. The two cases demonstrate that nagari is result of territorial establishment, triggered by developments and accumulations of families due to expansion, branching out, and migrations. The earliest settlers became the elite and dignitaries of the settlement, while the new comers became the subsidiary community. The depth of 8-10 generations signifies the stability of the accumulation process. Tradition of arranged marriage until the recent 3 generations indicates that the major transformation on nagari may have taken place since then or in the last 200 years. At present nagari is politically managed by a village officer or wali nagari. Traditionally and socially it is centered in a body called KAN or kekerapatan adat nagari maintained by the assembly of elder members (ninik-mamak), assembly of ladies (bundo kanduang) and clan leaders (datuk pucuaks).

Figure 4.13 Nagari Sungayang
Some other specific trait is seen that nagari Sungayang tend to maintain nagari assembly hall (balai adat) as venue for social gathering for all member of community and habitation. Nagari Rao-Rao tends to be more sectional. They acknowledge male dormitory of suku or clan groups (surau pasukuan) as venue for social gathering. Unlike nagari Sungayang, the communal gathering take place more in suku level than nagari. Balai adat in nagari Sungayang is well maintained as public venue and surau pasukuan is of each suku is better maintained in nagari Rao-Rao. Balai adat (assembly hall) in nagari Rao-Rao has been demolished.

### 4.4.2 Jorong

Jorong is the most cohesively defined spatial configuration of settlement. Traditionally jorong is not an independent controlled territory. It is a configuration that is created by proximity of matrilineal joint family and environmental profile (Table 4.3.).
Table 4.3. Jorong, kampung

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nagari</th>
<th>Jorong</th>
<th>Boundary</th>
<th>Kampung or Suku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rao-Rao</td>
<td>Balerong Bunta</td>
<td>Carano Batirai is in its east, Pandian Andiko toward south, rice-field in the west and grand mosque in east. Type: linear village with approx 35 degree slopes. On the slopes are surau and cemetery.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Major Clan is Bodi-Caniago, and Koto-Piliang, with few numbers of Patapang-Kutanyir and Bendang-Mandailiang clan</td>
<td></td>
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The configuration of jorongs in a nagari could reflect pattern of labor divisions of landowner, landowner’s kin and landowner’s workers. Spatially it divides nagari into:

i) Old jorongs which have traditionally been the domain of landowners. Kampung of the clan leader or penghulu pucuk/tuo kampung would generally be situated in the oldest jorong in nagari.

ii) Jorongs that appeared to be the most recently established settlement and initially called dangau region. They do not have any suku assembly in the jorong, because sense of centre is attributed to their male-head who would stay in the other and older jorong. This is illustrated in Figure 4.15.
4.4.3 Kampung

Kampung is the smallest elementary unit of spatial-territorial control under nagari. Within the framework of suku and matrilineal kinship they are associating to one another in various levels of social-spatial organization, and ultimately nagari. A kampung in a jorong represents various suku and payung and therefore a jorong contains matrilineal joint families representing various sukus. The composition kampungs and their suku identification in a jorongs are mapped in Figure 4.16.
4.4.4 Correlation between nagari and paddy-farming

Kampung or the house compound of kaum in nagari Rao-Rao is smaller than in nagari Sungayang. Degree of communality is also higher in Sungayang than nagari Rao-Rao. Practically, nagari Sungayang still maintains the agriculture structure base with paddy farming because the corporate functions are still working. Proximity of residences makes corporate affairs easily executable. In nagari Rao-Rao, majority of inhabitants moved into trading. Therefore the structure of labor division of landowner and worker is not required. Majority of inhabitants do not need the subservient families to stay in close proximity. Warga partly stay within kampung, and more of them stay separately in other jorong. They may eventually buy the land where they stay from their landowner or the penghulu kampung who adopt them, and build their own compound, as in the case of Rumah Haji Aminah (FA5.3). This is not yet called kampung, but rumah, because it is a family but not yet constituting a community. Rumah Haji Aminah is the prototype of a kampung.
The cases above hints that with regards to paddy farming the prescriptive account regarding settlement, in Tambo has been based on the framework of organized society based on paddy-farming. Therefore the list of nagaris as prescribed should be read as the indigenous settlements which have already appeared in a complete form of nagari. Nagari Pariangan as the first nagari mentioned in Tambo demonstrates the most ideal environment setting for paddy-farming. Therefore in general, nagaris which are not mentioned in the Tambo could be considered as newly established nagari whose previous set up was not an ideal paddy-farming based community. They might have existed as habitation but in a less developed stage then other settlement running paddy-farming corporate.

Nagari Rao-Rao was not mentioned in Tambo, but the term katitiran di ujung tunjuak as one ancient group of people in Minangkabau Tambo explained that the habitation might have appeared but in lesser stage than nagari, either as taratak, dusun, or koto. Local condition of nagari Rao-Rao has been practically less beneficial for paddy-farming. Its prominence as a Nagari has been triggered by the success of coffee plantations during the Colonial period in 1930’s.

4.4.5 Transformation

There are no solid written sources that can explain historical emergence of nagari. Nevertheless history of families, toponym of places and artifacts could supplement available written sources and legend to bring out any possible explanations of the development of nagari. From historical accounts it can be concluded that nagari is the agglomeration of families with independent history.

80 Interview with Mr. Mahfuz, Rajo nan Pahit, Rajo Penghulu nan Basah, Tambo Ranah Batu
The interviews with regards to the origin of families in nagari Rao-Rao, for example, conclude three directions of arrivals of ancestor into the place which is depicted in Figure 4.17, illustration 1. The difference correlates with the suku of the interviewee. However, similarly they hint that the closeness of surau and river point out the possible importance of river as modes of transport in earlier time (Figure 4.12., illustration 1), by which agglomeration of families might have started before the transportation was overtaken by main road (Figure 4.17., illustration 1a and 2a). The available historical accounts along with the solidity of physicality of jorong brought about a tentative conclusion of the oldest jorong in nagari, which are jorong I Balerong Bunta in nagari Rao-Rao and jorong II Gelanggang Tengah in nagari Sungayang. It is depicted in Figure 4.15. Prominent suku leaders generally stay in these jorongs.
Toponyms of a jorong hint several ways jorongs has been interconnected to one another. The changes of names hint the transformations that have taken place in a nagari.

Initially the name of jorong was based on natural setting and topographical characteristic due to which the use of topographical base term as guguak (table land or hillock) and lurah (slopes) had been common for naming places. Geographical orientation has been used to articulate relative positions among these scattered regional clusters and use anthropomorphic metaphors to signify the interconnections, such as kepala-ekor (head-tail), proportion (kaciak or small, and gadang or big), position (baruah or lower and ateh or upper), and sequence (jorong I, jorong II and so on). Since these scattered families affiliate to a particular suku or clan-group, the jorong could also be named initially after pamedanan that exist in the corresponding place, such as Balerong Bunta (circle space) or Gelanggang Tengah (middle square). As the nagari expanded, new jorong or settlement came up, and new names were invented. These names coined in recent period generally are not oriented towards natural profile. Later they were changed into simply numbering, like Jorong 1, 2, 3 and 4. As a whole the transformation could be explained through Figure 4.18.

Current toponyms are more or less detached from nature and denotes individual or independent landmark of the place or historical importance that is related to the area. After independence it became a fashion that villages put new names which were attributed to certain historical, cultural or social importance of the regions. This coincided with the nature of current situation of higher degree of individual characters, formal administration and the decreasing corporate functions of agriculture based on kinship because of inhabitants has been shifting away from paddy-farming 100 years ago. As mainly claimed by inhabitants, the alteration of nagari
system into desa system contributed much to the rise of individual characters. Desa system is village system of organization applied by central government of Indonesia, where administration unit had been shifted from nagari to jorong and accordingly jorong is called desa.

Figure 4.18 Shift of Settlement toponyms that Indicate development of Jorong

No respondent gave reliable account regarding the origin of their predecessor. But all toponym of sacred places, such as Ampang, Candi and Mount Merapi were associated with the position of location of artifact. Seven out of 14 respondents mentioned about the spot from which the settlement grew, which was laid in the current forest area or amidst current rice-field. Four out of 14 refer to artifacts like pamedanan. In nagari Rao-Rao exceptionally there is a place called candi which was the stone foundation of what is believed as a former Hindu or Buddhist shrine. Near to the place there is an abandoned settlement called kampung Biaro, where Biaro means
vihara. This may signify probable existence of Buddhist community. It maybe concluded that when the earliest migration took place, the land might have not been inhabited. Therefore the migrants stayed in scattered places. However they became a group of community and united in common venue of assembly or pameddanan. They might have been placed far from one another, but united by common clan-group assembly place or pameddanan. The possible development of nagari and its centre based on the placement of artifacts, toponyms, and local stories of ancestors could be mapped in the following Figure 4.19

![Figure 4.19 Schematic Development of Nagari Rao-Rao based on traces of artifacts](image)

**4.4.6 Sacred Landscape and ancestral landscape**

In general sacred landscape in a nagari or jorong has been the structure of ancestor which is articulated spatially and socially in suku
configuration. Pandam pakuburan or cemetery is the ancestor articulation in the level of kampung scale. Pamedanan is the ancient form of assembly, symbol of ancestor and proof of distant past. Initially it was in suku or kampung level, but now in nagari level. Surau combines assembly and dormitory functions and is symbol of the actual clan in kampung level.

Religious buildings are basically a result of transformation of functional features of suku. These pamedanan and surau have been later transformed into mosque. Masjid raya or grand mosque is a religious landmark at nagari level. Masjid or mosque is prayer hall belonging to either maternal joint family (kampung) or clan (suku). It is physically observable in jorong level.

Belief in mystical objects reveals space which appears as result of local traces of the animistic and dynamistic traits (Mahyuddin Rahman, 2002, pp136). It also relate to any notion of predecessor and ancestor. It span from landscape to object. The sacred object, space and landscape are common mountain. Mountain Merapi and local mountain which is mount Kesumbo for nagari Sungayang and Sibunbun hill and Panjaguran mountain for nagari Rao-Rao.

Earlier cultic rituals, festivals, and harvesting ceremonies were conducted to reenact the sacred zoning and places in landscape. But it is not much acknowledged anymore because Islam as a religion does not propagate this kind of cultic ceremonial activities. No one is therefore aware of their traditional harvesting festivals and sowing festivals. It stopped in 1960’s – 1970’s. For these festivals and feast there are specific groups related to certain communities that arrange the rituals who is the matrilineal clan leader in the level of kaum/ kampung and kepala suku in nagari. Currently regular calendar festival are related with Islam religious celebration, Iedul Fitri, Iedul Adha, Maulid Nabi, Muslim new year and Ramadhan fasting. Other than
marriage (beralek) the only main remaining traditional functions which can be partially identified are:

(i) Oldest house or building of rumah gadang (Batagak Rumah)

(ii) Batagak Penghulu (installation of Datuk) is the most important cultic ritual. Datuk inauguration emphasizes the existence and strength of the corresponding lineage in the nagari.

As whole there are some spots which gain spatiotemporal importance with regards to cultic activities such as:

(i) Paddy field, water source, house especially rumah gadang, column especially tiang tuo (central column), places where the most remote ancestor once lived, mountain as natural source. Each of the spots has its own sphere of influence.

(ii) Tiang Tuo or eldest column of a penghulu’s house gain sphere of influence which include people of his own kampung, nagari, suku (clan), related clan and kin in other nagari, and any related power seen from the list of invitees.

(iii) Rumah gadang is more than just a house for the datuk’s mother and sisters but also the house for their paddy, rice and cultivated items. It is the axis mundi of the kampung itself with its Penghulu and is metaphorically regarded as tree.

(iv) Natural sources are part of the maintained property spiritually and physically, such as water, mountain, and forest un-detached from human affairs.

(v) The arrangement of Kelambu Adat during marriage articulates the concept of spatial structure of family.

(vi) Odd spatial profiles, objects in space which are generally associated to important event, ancestor, charismatic figure or legend.
4.5 SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF JORONG (SETTLEMENT, UNIT)

4.5.1 Spatial Structure of Traditional Settlement Unit, Jorong

Jorong is a configuration of settlement formed by topography of tableland or hillock called guguk or guguak flanked by slopes with river (lurah or lakuak) (see Figure 4.20). Kampung are generally clustered on top of this guguak. The kampung is each centered in alaman or middle yard. The ridge of houses is aligned parallel to the contour line. Basic referral typology appears as gabled roof house on piles or hip-gabled house standing on piles. The formal typology of house arrangement within settlement is mainly linear (along river and street). Lurah or lakuak is the setting that slopes down to river where surau (male-dormitories) of various sukus and kampungs, masjid (mosque) and tapian mandi (bathing ghats) are situated.

Figure 4.20 Schematic Profile of Jorong
Figure 4.21 Schematic Representation of Kampung’s spatial arrangement

Constellations of alaman among kampungs constitute a geometrical pattern that constitutes the whole jorong. Nagari Sungayang show grid-iron pattern, while in Rao-Rao shows concentric pattern (see Figure 4.21). Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23 depicts the plan of the jorong cases.

All respondent could not give the exact area of the measured extent of their land. The approximate area of jorong Balerong Bunta nagari Rao-Rao is 31.616, 016 sqm and jorong II Gelanggang Tangah is 11.0250 sqm (see Appendix 6). Jorong could consist of approximately 5-15 kampungs, with approximately comparable numbers of male and female, 440 male and 450 female members per jorong. The number of maternal joint-family household (kampung) is 11-15 units which equals with 90 paruiks (lineage) in jorong wise. A paruik is entitled to one bilik (room) in rumah gadang. It means each kampung consist of approximately 6-8 households.

Other than inhabited space, there is also cultivated land called dangau, belonging to a kampung. It is the domain of workers. It socially implies low class where the serf community built temporary or permanent
shelters. The pattern of development indicated that dangau is a potential location for settlement where most working class or serf community live and is a socially more organized community, with a higher degree of communalism than the earlier ones.
Figure 4.23. Jorong Settlement Unit of Jorong II Gelanggang Tengah, Nagari Sungayang
One among several lakuak in a nagari is the place for balai (assembly hall), masjid raya (grand mosque) and balai (market). It happened because in general they are the eventual form that has been transformed from the earlier surau and masjid belonging to particular kampung or suku. Figure 4.24 is the lakuak of jorong II Gelanggang Tengah. Masjid Raya Babbusalama (Figure 4.24, illustration 2) are developed from the earlier surau belonging to a kaum or kampung. The previous surau must have been built on the land belonging to the responding kaum, nearby or on the location where the new mosque stand.

Figure 4.24 Slopes, Jorong II, Gelanggang Tengah, nagari Sungayang
4.5.2 Public Space

Basically settlement in all levels (nagari, jorong, kampung and rumah gadang) is traditionally accessible for their people. The notion of public activities in nagari means basically the part of nagari which are accessible for greater number of people. The most intensive level where public place is found is in maternal joint family. However there are certain public spaces for social sphere which can be listed as follows:

Suku

(i) Medan bapaneh (ancient open square) is the form of Public activity and building or environment setting. The location setting is in the level of jorong,

(ii) Alaman or common space in between rumah gadang inside the kampung of penghulu.

Kampung

(i) Alaman or common space in between rumah gadang inside the kampung.

(ii) Luhak or lakuak (slopes and river bank) where surau activities (male-dormitory cum prayer hall), tapian mandi (bathing Ghats), and masjid (mosque). It is easily accessible and functionally allows people to meet. The location setting is in the level of jorong.

(iii) Dangau (rice-field shelter) is temporary shelter for workers in the field belonging to the kampung. It is situated in or near the rice-field. Construction could be done anytime and there is no symbolic meaning but contains a notion of low class society or
working class. It functions as temporary shelters, and the location setting is in the level of jorong, nagari

(i) balai is the local market. The meaning of balai is actually hall. Market could also associate with assembly meetings

(ii) Balai adat (assembly hall) and rumah gadang (ancestral house). The location setting is in the level of nagari

(iii) Kedai or warung means coffee-shop or coffee-stall. It is located always near lanes and oriented toward them. There is no definite or important period of construction and there is no symbolic meaning but functionally is effective for gathering.

(iv) Labuhan or jalan: road which literally means anchor place. It is located and oriented at the back of house. Approximate period of construction of road is unknown but it appears to be recently. Earlier the real network is made by alaman, space in between and waterlines (lakuak)

4.6 SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF KAMPUNG AND RUMAH GADANG

4.6.1 Orientation of Kampung

Topographical profile of the kampung is flatland among paddy field. Each kampung stands on a garden plot surrounded by trees and cultivations. Each kampung is visually characterized by.

i) Ancestral house (rumah gadang), big grain store box (kapuak gadang) and small grain store box (kapuak ketek). Kampung generally have more than one rumah gadang.
ii) Rangkiang (granary) and lesung (pounding rice).

iii) middle yard (alaman) fish pond (luhak), bathing pond and its pathway (tapian mandi), garden (kebun), stair (jenjang), path line (labuan), vegetation (Puding emas laga and Puding perak laga),

Practically there is no rigid boundary, only waterlines where surau (dormitory), tapian mandi (bathing Ghats) and masjid (mosque) are situated on the slope as borders. Residence (rumah) and its front yard (alaman) are considered to be the female domain. External domain of kampung along the slopes (luhak or lakuak) is associated with male. The compound used to be inhabited by approximately 115 persons per compound and the kampung is approximately 1770.1 sqm with Kampung Dalam, Nagari Sungayang as the biggest with area. 2448sqm.

4.6.2 Spatial theme of kampung

Conclusively the spatial configuration of a unit of matrilineal joint family compound or kampung, consist of three spatial themes which are alaman (middle yard), rumah (house) and lakuak (slopes). Kampungs therefore do not have clear boundaries and jorong appears as a permeable network of houses. It allows fluid spatial relations among kampungs which correlate with the fact that several kampungs may group with another and make up jurai and payung organization.

4.6.2.1 Spatial theme one: Structure of house (rumah) and ancestral house (Rumah gadang)

There are many kinds of discussions regarding residential building in Minangkabau which can be over-layered in one building. It is ancestral
house in the case of rumah gadang and architectural style in the case of rumah bagonjong. It is a social marker when considering relations between rumah gadang, rumah ketek and rumah.

![Figure 4.25 Plans of rumah gadang according to numbers of bilik (room)](image)

Kampung or maternal joint family is centered in ancestral house or rumah gadang. Earlier the importance of rumah gadang was articulated by ornamentation elaborateness and roof finial marking. Today this symbolization is not widely used. Generally the numbers of rooms (bilik) is 5, 7, and 9 rooms (see Figure 4.18). And three rooms rumah gadang is common. The more numbers of bilik (room) higher the status. The biggest house contains nine, seven and five, which is generally the house of penghulu. The following orientation is used in rumah gadang building:

1. Centre post (tiang tuo) in rumah gadang is navel of the house and kampung. It is symbolically considered as ‘leader’ of columns. It has co-leader or tiang pendamping, which is the column used for supporting the ancestral chamber, and the other main column which is called tiang manti (or minister column).
(ii) Before erecting the post the builder put batu tanam (first stone) on which the tiang tuo would be placed. Other than rumah gadang (house) the design of Rangkiang (granary), balai adat (assembly house) and surau follow the same conduct and construction principle.

(iii) The arrangement of the main beam follows the principle of pangkal-hulu (tip and end) where the tip will face the direction of sunrise.

(iv) The building orientation theoretically should direct to Marapi volcano. But some exceptions in nagari Sungayang confirm that the major orientation is practically the contour of land. The length of the ridge is always parallel to guguak.

(v) muka-belakang (front-rear)

Simplest structure and mostly found structure is rumah ketek in nagari Sungayang. Ketek means small. The term gadang means grand, Bagonjong means horn-like shape which applies to signify roof design. Rumah gadang means ancestral house. Rumah bagonjong refer to an architectural style which can be applied in ancestral house, ordinary house or rumah ketek. The term rumah ketek signifies lower value than rumah gadang. It appears as hip gable roof and saddle roof with centre pillar that flank the topmost beam. The pillar runs uninterrupted from the base to the top. Traditional house construction system is a frame construction and pillars connected by rasuk (beam). Currently the oldest house is generally identified by the state of material degeneration, numbers of bilik (room) of construction, elaborateness of details and ornamentations, and position of house which is generally lifted higher or placed a bit distant within the compound.

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81 The structure and elements of rumah gadang is also thoroughly elaborated in Syamsul Asri (1996) pp. 53
Most rumah gadang are currently empty. People prefer to stay in rumah ketek (small house nearby rumah gadang). They are approximately 9m x 6m wide rumah gadang, with, 63-75 cm diameter column. The diameter of main tiang or column is not necessarily the bigger one, but the most perfectly shaped; the extension of building is in the form of lengthening the wall plate beam (paran). The basic structure allows for expansion but it is generally not preferred.

The design of rangkiang (granary), balai adat (house of assembly), and surau and rumah gadang (house) follow the same construction principle (see Figure 4.27). Those designs and also rumah ketek (small house) are built under the same logic of construction and structural typology and expression.

Figure 4.26. Plan and elevations of rumah gadang of Kampung Rumah nan Panjang (prepared by author jointly with Desy Aryanti. Master Student of University of Hilverseim)
Figure 4.27 Structure of Bagonjong style for granary (rangkiang) and ancestral house (rumah gadang)

4.6.2.2 Spatial theme two: Alaman, Dapur and Rangkiang

Alaman is middle yard. It appears in between space configured by some rumah gadang standing in opposite to another. It is considered as navel of kampung. In case of Kampung Nan Panjang, Rajo nan Pahit, a candidate penghulu in one of a kampung testify a middle stone (batu tangah) which was once planted in the middle of alaman. It appears as the navel of kampung. On alaman, Rangkiang (granary) is situated.
Figure 4.28  Plan of Kampungs in nagari Rao-Rao and nagari Sungayang

Figure 4.29  Plan of Kampungs in nagari Rao-Rao and nagari Sungayang
Storage in general associated with dry paddy storage and imbued with spiritual meaning and notion of paddy goddess, or Dewi Sri. Storage appears as three rangkiang (granary), rumah ketek, cowshed, kopuak (grain box), alaman middle yard and kolong (underneath floor). It is situated inside the joint family compound (kampung). It is located in the middle of the alaman. Earlier, cooking was done collectively in dapur (kitchen-house) in the alaman by people of kampung. As individual kitchen appeared, these dapurs were abandoned

4.6.2.3 Spatial theme three: lakuak, tabek and luhak

Lakuak is a common feature and is a male place. It is situated on the slopes and also significantly symbolizes the clan. In this setting the following functions are situated surau (male-shelter cum prayer house), tapian mandi (bathing ghats) and masjid (mosque). Kampung depend on self-sufficient water, and lakuak provide this source of water. It is informally celebrated in the traditional ceremony (Asri, 1996, pp. 51). It is maintained in the design of tabek (fishing ponds), luhak (ponds with spring water), regular cleaning of the bank or slopes of the river or batang.

Surau is basically a male-dormitory and was also meant for education and training in the martial arts (see Figure 4.30). But now it is religious facility, used mainly as prayer house. The roof of surau is mainly hip, yet some also show hip-gable form. In nagari Rao-Rao, suraus are well maintained for assembly, but in a form of common mosque. Others facilities especially that are found in lakuak are as follows:

- Pandam pakuburan or cemetery as space of ancestor in Kampung level. Cemetery, situated in the slopes along with surau and tapian mandi.
- Kandang (cowshed) situated in the rice field

**Figure 4.30 Surau**

**Figure 4.31. Boundary marker (waterline, stone, and plant)**
Boundary is not known but sense of boundary is comprehensible by space at the back of the house, soil levels, height difference, waterline, stone marking and vegetation marking (using Pudiang plant). Vegetation in Compound is much but unorganized. However there are certain plants used as boundary markers, because of its distinct color.

4.7 BUILDING DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

The sequence of building construction process is done as follow:

(i) The time and dimension of house construction of house is decided according to the horoscope counting of the owner and sanctions from nagari and KAN.

(ii) the construction must gain sanction from ninik-mamak (elders’ member or society), tunnganai (house manager) and authority of nagari.

(iii) Earlier, every member in kampung (kaum) knew how to build rumah gadang. Tukang tuo or the builder is ideally the member of the kampung. But member of other nagari can also be invited to construct the building.

The construction is sequentially as outlined.

(i) Preparing the sacred pillar, tiang tuo, ‘whose material must be obtained by the clan member. The assemblage of trusses that involved tiang tuo is constructed first. It generally has bigger diameter than the other.

(ii) Piercing posts and assembling the columns for each module,

(iii) Construction of floor and roof and walls, roof cladding, Wall cladding, Floor cladding and Finishing (ITB, 1979, pp.277).
There is a mathematical formula which after dividing the figure with 4 integer. He would consider that any division which leaves numbers between 2-4 would be disadvantageous. The carpenters would the area needed by the house owner. If the auspicious integer stands between 0-2, it is allowed to proceed. If the calculation result 3-4 integer the tukang tuo (principal carpenter) would request recalculation. There is a traditional measurement of Rumah Gadang 9 ruang that is metaphorically, prescribed, as (ITB, 1979, pp.45-50):

- Salanja kudo berlari (a horse riding fast in a unit of speed)
- Sapakiak Budak Maimbau (the farthest extent from where a kid shouting heard)
- Sekuat Kubin melayang (the distance on which Kubin bird could fly)

![Figure 4.32 Schematic plan of rumah gadang](image)

The smallest Rumah Gadang is 5 ruang with length 12.5 m. The farthest is 17 ruang, 59.5m. Depth: 10-14 m, ceiling height 5- eto/ 2.5-3.5m from ground. The measurement unit uses the body referent, such as eto (=hasta~ 50cm), jangkal, and jari (pictures). In Sungayang it is said that wall inclination should be approximately less than 10 centigrade. The idea of leadership, primacy, and sanctity is in both places symbolized by tree in tiang tuo and medan bapaneh.
Figure 4.33 Construction of rumah gadang
Construction materials that are used are: Surian wood mainly for pillars, Mamusang wood for kasau (rafters), and iduk (thatch) for roof cover. As column has important meaning with regards to ancestor its selection is prescribed to follow several criteria: the log should be from a very old tree, with no life inside the tree; the tree is not strangled in any part by roots. When a log is cut off from the tree, the log must fall freely down. In case it falls on other things, the log cannot be used.