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Distinct Use of Communal Space at Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah Ritual In Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali

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Abstract

Kerama desa or people of *Desa* (Village) *Adat* (*Pakraman*) Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali have 44 custom and sacred rituals to be performed along a year, besides the village has unique settlement that was differensiated into three *banjar* (alignment) i.e. Banjar Kauh, Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin/ Pande. People of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah have the very same right and allowed to perform all rituals according to their respective roles, while people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande are just allowed to perform only few rituals. In Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah ritual, the biggest ritual along the year, the difference was very obvious so that affected the use of the communal space of the village distinctively.

Introduction

The village of Tenganan Pegeringsingan is located approximately 85 km east side of Denpasar and 17 km from Amlapura, the capital of Karangasem Regency. This village is well known as one of the famous villages in Bali since it has a unique settlement pattern that was differensiated into three *banjar* i.e. Banjar Kauh, Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin/ Pande, and inhabited by people that believe in philosophy of the cycle of life. The phylosophy that based on the law of purity is manifested into ritual performances that can be differensiated into "the drama of life and death" and "the growing into society" rituals. People of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah have the very same right and allowed to perform all rituals according to their respective roles, while people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande are just allowed to perform only few rituals. Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah, a thorny pandanous leaves battle and the biggest ritual along the year which is part of the growing into society rituals, shows the distinct use of communal space of the village.

This paper is written based on field observations and literature review on the so called cycle of life philosophy of Tenganan people. The observations were designated to identify the use of communal space, remarkably during the biggest ritual along the year Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah which unites people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah with people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande.

Common Space and Communal Space

Common space in residential area is perceived as a shared space which its use limited to residents; in short can be understood as extension of living space just for the residents (Dillman & Dillman, 1987) in Shabak (2012). In comprehending a common space of traditional residential area, we should understand its communal space as well since village has been idealized as "crescive" community design (Lang, 1987), and to see the difference between both spaces. Etymology term of communal space regards the space as a place that enfolds shared activities of group of people within a region or community. Whilst, according to the term of communal living, communal is understood as sharing way of life activities, which is carried out by group of people voluntarily with conviction that they would be better if living together than individually. Furthermore in the context of community, group attachment is more important than individual interest (Simpson, 2008). In case of *Desa Adat* (*Pakraman*) Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali, parts of the communal activities should perform based on obligation i.e. custom and sacred rituals activities; and daily and tourism activities are performed voluntarily.

Communal space of built environment has interrelation with attached social organization. The system of built environment makes possible attached social organization developed better than any other social organization (Lang, 1987). Built environment hold the role in developing either formal or informal social organization, besides has capability to enfold various activities, interaction patterns, privacy, and proxemic behaviour which can figure out pattern and design of social interaction. Social organization in traditional context comprehended as kinship structure of culture or society, particularly in establishing network system relates to ancestor and residence. So that social organization of the village of Tenganan Pegeringsingan is divided into traditional or *adat* (custom) and *dinas* (government) organizations. *Dinas* is a part of governmental system which was designed outside-inward, whilst custom organization which is traditional cannot be treated in a same way since it grows from inside (Gottschalk, 1975) in Lang (1987). Social activities enfolded by the organizations have been occupying the traditional residential common space of the village.

Communal Space of Tenganan Pegeringsingan

Traditional residential common space of Tenganan Pegeringsingan enfolds both ritual and non ritual activities. Regarding ritual activities the space more communal since the obligated activities have forced residents to perform them by sharing, but for non ritual activities the space more common since the activities enfolded would be better if perform by sharing in short there is no obligation has to fulfill, in short undertaken voluntarily. For *kerama desa* Tenganan Pegeringsingan their common space would be more communal in regard with *adat* (custom) and sacred ritual activities, but for daily and tourism activities the space would be more as a common space.

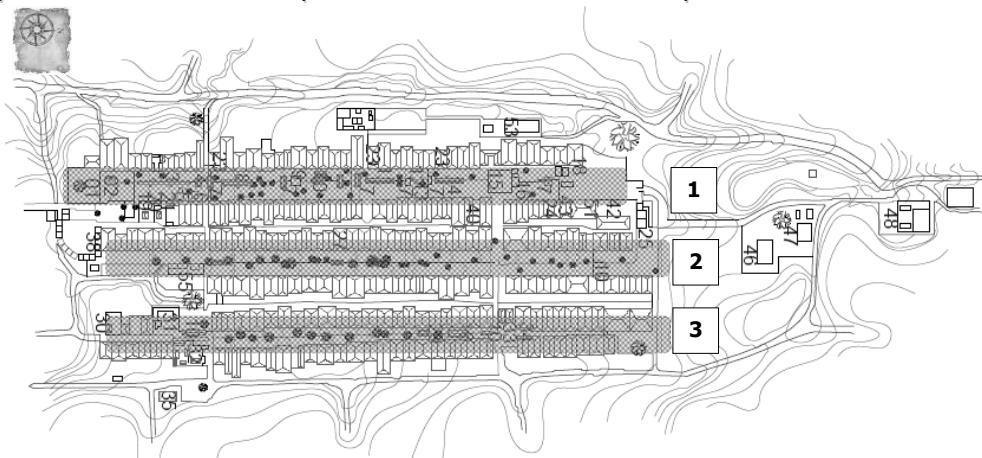


Figure 1. Layout of the traditional common space
Source: Ramseyer (2009)



Figure 2. Left – Right: Banjar Kauh (Western Banjar), Banjar Tengah (Middle Banjar),
and Banjar Kangin (Eastern Banjar)/ Banjar Pande
Source: Author

Desa Adat (Pakraman) Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali has 3 banjar which is spatially defined to the North–South (Kaja–Kelod) axis of the settlement. The first Banjar is called the Banjar Kauh (Western Banjar), the second is the Banjar Tengah (Middle Banjar) and the third is Banjar Kangin/ Pande (Eastern Banjar). Banjar Kauh is the origin dwelling compound in the village where descendants of the founding father are raising up their family. Whilst Banjar Tengah the expansion of Banjar Kauh as more dwelling areas are needed to meet the population growth and Banjar Kangin/ Pande was built to accommodate people who are not eligible to dwell in the Banjar Kauh and Tengah. The northern part of Banjar Kangin/ Pande is inhabited by Tenganan people who have violated local custom such as marrying people from outside Tenganan, rebellious to local regulation, defiant of local custom, and people who are from other origins. The southern part of it is inhabited by skilled people (pande) from outside Tenganan that invited to help developing the village.

Activities in Communal Space of Tenganan

Most of activities in Tenganan Pegeringsingan relate to social organization attached to the traditional village which is differentiated into *adat* (custom) and *dinas* (government) organization. Dinas organization is subordinate to the central governmental system and was designed top-down. On the other hand, the adat organization has a long tradition of being organized bottom-up and involving all members of the community. In case of the village Tenganan Pegeringsingan, some communal activities are performed based on obligation, and some other based on voluntary approaches. The traditional common space of Tenganan Pegeringsingan has been occupied by activities that can be differentiated as ritual activities consisting of *adat* (custom) and sacred rituals, and non-ritual activities consisting of daily and tourism activities.

Ritual Activities

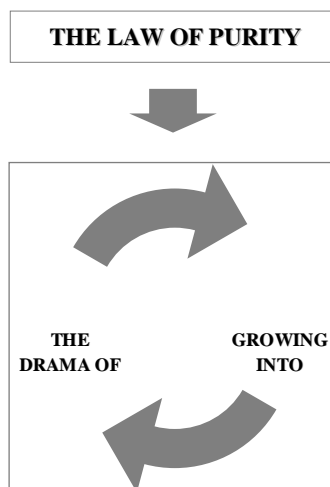


Figure 3. The Cycle of Life
Source: Ramseyer (2009)

As mentioned earlier people of Tenganan Pegeringsingan believe in philosophy of the cycle of life in regulating their lives. The philosophy based on the law of purity that has 4 (four) requirements in that a *Kerama desa* might be acknowledged as member of the society and might participate in ritual performances. 1. A *Kerama desa* must be of the right lineage and birth; 2. A *Kerama desa* must obey the rules of village endogamy; 3. A *Kerama desa* must have accomplished rituals of purification at birth or in early childhood; 4. A *Kerama desa* must have crossed several thresholds to the attainment

of ritual capability and competence within initiation rites and phases. The philosophy that based on the law of purity is manifested into ritual activities or performances that consist of custom and sacred rituals. The rituals performances can be differensiated into the drama of life and death rituals and growing into society rituals. There are about 31 rituals included within the drama of life and death rituals, and 13 rituals included within growing into society rituals. Mekare-kare, a thorny pandanus leaves battle, the biggest ritual along the year that including within the growing into society rituals, shows the distinct use of communal space of the village.

People of Tenganan or *kerama desa* well known of their egalitarian way of life of and has been sustained in live their way of life. People from the outside village are welcomed and admitted to take part in the village activities as long as not violating the local custom. As a matter of fact, along with the layout of settlement of the village that divided into three *banjar*, there has been a separation as well as in ritual performances between people of *Banjar Kauh* and *Banjar Tengah* with people of *Banjar Kangin/ Pande*. People of *Banjar Kauh* and *Banjar Tengah* have the very same right and allowed to perform all custom and sacred rituals according to their respective roles, while people of *Banjar Kangin/ Pande* are just allowed to perform only fewer rituals. In Mekare-kare ritual the separation is very obvious so that affected the use of the communal space distinctively.

Mekare-kare Ritual

Mekare-kare, a thorny pandanus leaves battle, is the biggest ritual along the year and parts of Ritual *Usaba Kelima/ Sambah* (Fifth Month Ritual), see below Table 1. Space Occupations of *Usaba Kelima Rituals*. Mekare-kare rituals consist of three parts i.e. Symbolic Mekare-kare, Mekar-kare Patemu Kaja, and Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah (Pengrame).

Table 1. Space Occupations of *Usaba Kelima (Fifth Month) Rituals*.

NO.	RITUAL USABA KELIMA/ SAMBAH (FIFTH MONTH RITUAL)	DATE 2014	SPACE OCCUPATIONS
1.	"Ritual Mamiut"	23 Mei	Pura Desa; Pura Yeh Santi; Open Space Banjar Kauh
2.	"Ritual Usaba Sembangan"	25 Mei	Pura Puseh Sembangan; Open Space Banjar Kauh
3.	"Mati Ombo Sanghyang"	29 Mei 12.00 WITA 17.00 WITA	Pura Bale Agung; Open Space Banjar Kauh
4.	Last day of "Mati Ombo Sanghyang"	01 June 18.00 WITA	Pura Raja Purana; Open Space Banjar Kauh
5.	"Pebani"	03 June	Pura Kayehan Kaja; Pura Batu Keben; Pura Telaga; Open Space Banjar Kauh
6.	"Purnama atau bulan penuh"	04 June	Open Space Banjar Kauh
7.	"Mulan Saat"	05 June 09.00 WITA 13.00 WITA 24.00 WITA	Pura Bale Agung; Open Space Banjar Kauh
8.	"Muran Truna"	Once in 3 years	Open Space Banjar Kauh
9.	"Symbolic Mekare-kare "	12 June 16.00 WITA 18.00 WITA	Pura Petemu Kelod; Pura Banjar; Open Space Banjar Kauh
10.	"Mekare-kare Patemu Kaja"	13 June 06.00 WITA 16.00 WITA	Pura Desa; Kubu Lalang; Tegal Gimbal; Naga Sulung; Bale Patemu kaja; Open Space Banjar Kauh

NO.	RITUAL USABA KELIMA/ SAMBAH (FIFTH MONTH RITUAL)	DATE 2014	SPACE OCCUPATIONS
11.	"Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah (Pengrame)"	14 June 11.00 WITA 16.00 WITA 21.00 WITA	Pura Bale Agung; Bale Jineng; Bale Patemu Tengah; Bale Jineng; Bale Patemu Kelod; Subak Daha; Open Space Banjar Kauh;
12.	"Praying in Pura Banjar"	15 June 06.00 WITA 21.00 WITA	Pura Banjar; Subak Daha; Open Space Banjar Kauh
13.	"Nyajah"	24	Pura Banjar; Subak Daha; Open Space Banjar Kauh
13 RITUALS			

The first part is Symbolic Mekare-kare. This part besides to accompilsh all preprations the ritual is signed by *daha* and *teruna* swinging on *ayunan kuna* (*ancient swing*) at 18.00 WITA, and ended by praying in Pura Banjar.

The second part is Mekare-kare Patemu Kaja. This part that carried out at noon on ground in front of Bale Patemu Kaja, is duel between two groups of men armed by thorny pandanous leaves and rattan armour, while *daha* pray in Pura Desa at 16.00 WITA. At 06.00 WITA before the battle undertaken, *daha* and *teruna* pray in bukit Kubulalang for Daha Wayah, in Tegal Gimbal for Daha Nyoman, and in Naga Sulung for Daha Nengah. After the *battle* *daha* and *teruna* having a ritual meeting, ended by palm fruit dine before return to the village.

The final part is Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah (Pengrame). This part is inisiated by gamelan which is played by walking around the village, along with Rejang and Abwang sacred dance. Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah that begins at 11.00 WITA is duel between two groups of men armed by thorny pandanous leaves and rattan armour as well, but carried out on a timber stage in front of Bale Patemu Tengah. All people can participate the battle including tourists and invited people from neighbourhood. The aim of attraction is more to the importance of move and dance regardless of win or lose. The wound caused by thorny pandanous leaves will be cured by local herb medecine. The attraction is closed by singing kidung, sacred dance Rejang and Keris at 16.00 WITA. The procession is closed by Rejang dance and ritual in Subak Daha at 21.00 WITA.

Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah Ritual of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah people occupy the communal space of the village i.e. from Kelod (South) – Kaja (North): Pura Bale Agung; Bale Patemu Tengah; Bale Patemu Kelod; Subak Daha; Open Space of Banjar Kauh; all Bale Jineng as pandanous leaves storage. Illustrated in Figure 4.

Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah Ritual of Banjar Kangin/ Pande people occupy the communal space of the village, i.e. started from Open Space of Banjar Kangin/ Pande; Open Space of Kangin – Kauh; Open Space of Banjar Kauh and then circling twice Open Space of Banjar Tengah and of Banjar Kauh; ended at Pura Banjar (Pura Puseh according to people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande). Illustrated in Figure 5.

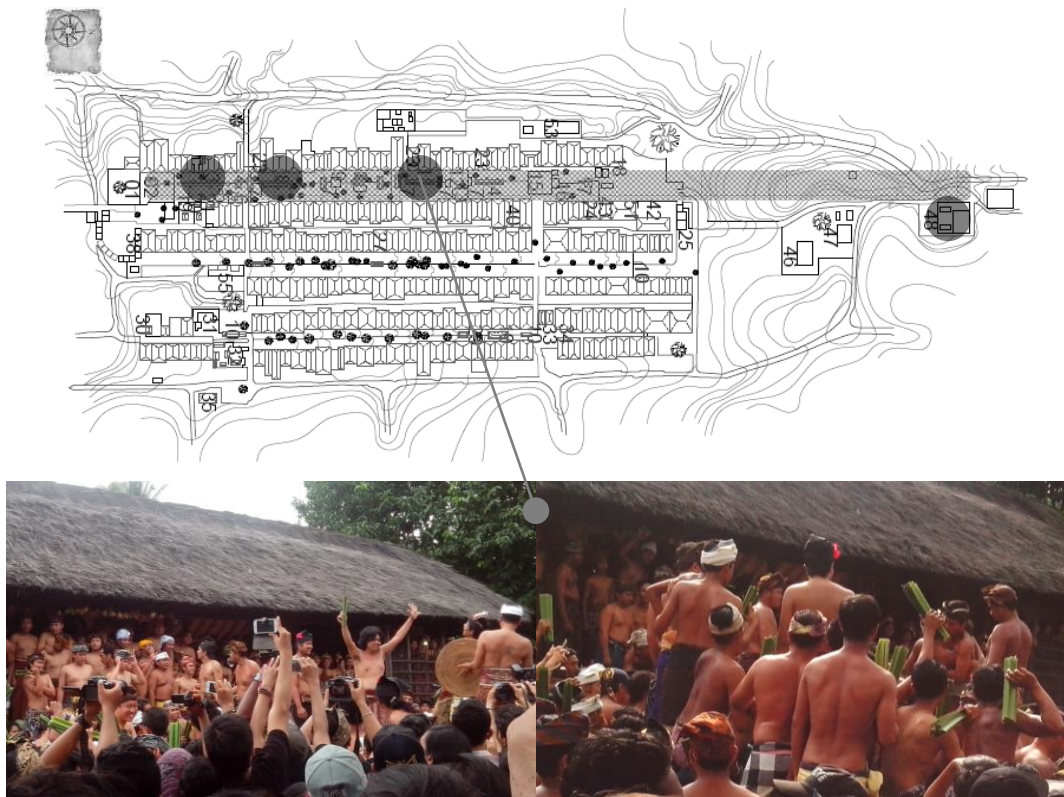


Figure 4. Above – Communal space occupation at Mekare-kare Ritual of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah people; Below – Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah Ritual

Source: Author

Discussion

Almost 44 custom and sacred ritual performances in Desa Adat (Pakraman) Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali include all people of the three banjar, *Kauh*, *Tengah*, and *Kangin/ Pande* to perform the rituals. But as mentioned earlier people of *Banjar Kauh* and *Banjar Tengah* have the very same right and allowed to perform all custom and sacred rituals according to their respective roles, while people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande are just allowed to perform only fewer rituals. This means people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande are just allowed to perform all rituals undertaken outside Pura Bale Agung, Pura Puseh of Banjar Kauh and Tengah people, and several pura in Banjar Kauh and Tengah (needs further information).

The involvement of Banjar Kangin/ Pande people in some rituals occur at parts to be exact at the final parts of in line rituals, which have more social than sacred senses, i.e. food distribution and some rituals of Growing into Rituals such as Mekare-kare. In Mekare-kare ritual particularly, people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande besides participate the thorny pandanus leaves battle, they have their own series of ritual and space occupations consequently as mentioned above. Open Space of Banjar Kauh is the most shared space of communal space in Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah ritual, particularly in Bale Patemu Tengah and Bale Patemu Kelod that is used in last day of rituals or Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah. In one hand the open space is regarded as static space and the other hand is regarded as dynamic space.

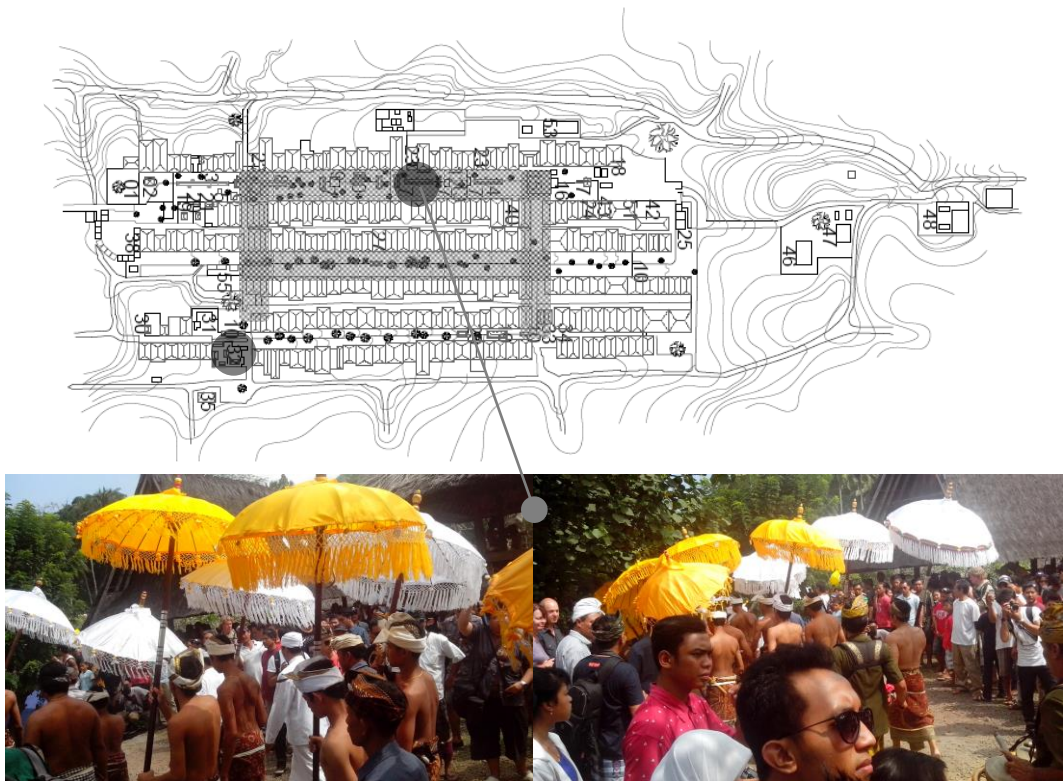


Figure 5. Above – Communal space occupation at Mekare-kare Ritual of Banjar Kangin/ Pande people; Below – People of Banjar Kangin (Eastern Banjar)/ Banjar Pande Tenganan across Open Space in Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah and ended at Pura Banjar (Pura Puseh according to people of Banjar Pande).

Source: Author

Discussion (Continued)

According to prominent person Pemangku Adat of Tenganan, the late I Wayan Mangku Widya, although people or *kerama desa* of Tenganan do not follow social stratification as the rest of Bali Apanaga or Majapahit do and well known of their egalitarian way of life, on the contrary people of Tenganan cannot remove or overcome the ritual separation problem due to their belief. In fact, in individual way many people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah do not mention at all the stigma of people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande in many senses.

The late I Wayan Mangku Widya was very generous if it comes up to transfer of knowledge and skills. Komang Joni of Banjar Kangin/ Pande is in full of respect and gratitude while mentioned that he could develop his craftsmanship and his life in debt to the late. Whilst, people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande are also in gratitude to the sixth one sided Kelian Adat Bapak Wayan Sudarsana since in the last Makare-kare Patemu Tengah in June 2014, he generously helped to play percussion at the procession of people Banjar Kangin/ Pande ritual that was ended in Pura Banjar (Pura Puseh of Banjar Kangin/ Pande people), before he had to accomplish his duty at Bale Patemu Tengah as Kelian Adat of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah people.

Conclusions

The unique layout of the village of Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali which has interrelation between open spaces can ease the unity of both people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah with people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande, in some rituals. Although institutionally the people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah of Tenganan Pegeringsingan cannot overcome the separation ritual problems due to their belief, but individually they can avoid the stigma of people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande by lend a hand to each other. On top of that the layout of the village has been making interchange between persons involved in their respective rituals much more easier.

Most of custom and sacred rituals have been carried out in Tenganan Pegeringsingan Bali are in line, which are undertaken by people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah sequentially. In few rituals the performances are participated by people of Banjar Kangin/ Pande, mostly the final parts of rituals that have more social senses such as food distributions. Almost activities occupied certain and similar communal spaces for both people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin/ Pande. Only in Mekare-kare Patemu Tengah ritual, people of Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin/ Pande have respective ritual processions, with respective communal space occupations, and with some shared spaces.

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