

HOME INSIDE - GARDEN OUTSIDE: FIVE SACRED LIVING SPACES IN THE MANGGARAIAN, EASTERN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study explored the cosmology of the Manggarai people in Eastern Indonesia. It questioned how a local community reflects their living and sacred spaces and how the spaces connect with the Divine, family, society, and the world of work and nature. This research used an ethnographic method. The data collection method was through in-depth interviews, observations and involvement in local traditional ceremonies and daily life. This research found five sacred spaces as the central cosmology of the Manggarai people: Beo baté Elor, Mbaru baté Kaeng, Compang baté Takung, Uma baté Duat, and Wae baté Teku. These five spaces can be distinguished but cannot be separated. The number five itself is symbolic and sacred. For the Manggaraian people, the five sacred spaces become the philosophy and principles for managing meaningful behaviour and relationships horizontally and vertically.

Keywords: Sacred, Culture, Manggarai, Symbols, Cosmology

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of local communities and their wisdom still become a hot issue among scholars in the social, cultural and anthropological fields, including Indonesia. Some emphasized that local wisdom positively contributes to preserving the environment, especially in overcoming the local problem [1]. Another highlights the contribution of local wisdom in the world of education, especially in the face of globalization [2]. Other studies have attempted to explore the defining aspects of local wisdom in traditional communities. Several studies explore changes in tradition in the flow of changing times [3].

Among many studies on local wisdom, quite a several scholars are interested in research on cosmology and sacred spaces. Sarkawi [4], in his research, found that the cemetery is not only a final resting place but also a sacred place and a symbol of social status for the Chinese. Nugroho, Magnis Suseno, and Mangunwijaya [5] emphasize Javanese cosmology, which is closely related to sacred and mystical space. The life of Javanese people is strongly influenced by their inner strength and the surrounding natural environment, including the sacred world. The results of research by Naing, Hadi and Djamereng [6] on the Bugis community found the meaning of sacred space in harmony and balance with the universe. While Prajnowrdhi Tri Anggraini [7] notes the importance of sacred space in the existence of traditional Balinese houses, and Ari Djatmiko [8] examines changes in people's understanding of sacred space.

This study is part of an effort to explore the local wisdom of the Manggarai community in eastern Indonesia. However, several previous studies generally highlight local wisdom in Manggarai culture [9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15]. This study will shed more light on the cosmological aspect, how the Manggarai people view living space and human relations in that space. Their cosmological concept is formulated into a philosophical formulation: "*gendang oné, lingko péang*". It means "house inside, garden outside".

These are two cosmologies which are both symbolic and concrete; these cosmologies describe relation and direction. There are five main aspects of the living space of the Manggarai people, namely: *Béo Baté Élor*, *Mbaru*

Baté Kaéng, Compang Baté Takung, Uma Baté Duat, and Waé Baté Téku, which describe the five forms of relationships and connectedness of the Manggarai people. These five living spaces are one unit that gives meaning to the entire life of the local community. The five of them describe the harmony of human relationships and relationships with God, with society, with family, with the world of work and with nature.

This study found that local wisdom and the concept of the sacred are still firmly embedded in the Manggarai people's traditions. They appreciate the spiritual values and beliefs behind it. They even make that value a way of life and a world of view. Although the Manggarai people have lived in the modern era, they still maintain their ancestral traditions well. This study helps to understand the cultural concept of the sacred and local cosmology in modern life.

2. METHOD

This study was conducted in eastern Indonesia in Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara Province. Manggarai is the name of the region, language and tribe at once. Its area covers a third of the island of Flores. Communities in this region adopt a strong local identity.

The study used a qualitative approach with ethnography as the method. With this method, researchers entered the concrete spaces of Manggarai culture. Researchers were present as observers but, at the same time, were actively involved in the interaction of life and culture. Data was collected through interviews with traditional leaders, community leaders, and other ordinary citizens. In addition, cultural information was also obtained by participating in several rituals carried out by residents in several traditional villages.

This research also referred to previous studies that the research team carried out and other researchers. Because the research team is also Manggaraian, part of the culture, the team's experience and local knowledge were also living information for this research. In particular, the research was carried out in eight villages around the town of Ruteng and areas outside the city. There are fundamental similarities in how the Manggarai people understand the five sacred spaces.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Béo Baté Élor/Natas Baté Labar

The first element of the sacred living space is a village (*béo*) and its village yard (*natas*). *Béo* means village, and *élor* means creeping or expanding. *Béo baté élor* refers to a village as a place to grow, develop and expand. *Natas baté labar* is the village yard where people gather together and play. For the Manggarai, a village is considered sacred as it is the encounter place between humans and spirits (the Divine, ancestors and supernatural village guard). Every corner of a village has divine values for being a dwelling of spirits. People believe that in the village there is a *naga béo* (a supernatural being) functioning as the main guardian of the village [16, 17, 18]. Every year the community will perform rituals to honour and purify the village and all the spirits' guardians.

Each village has one main gate for entry and exit called *pa'ang*. It comes from the word *pangga*, which means fortress to hide from enemies (both humans and evil spirits). *Pa'ang* is also a symbol of a meeting place between the human world and the world of the dead. There is the term *ata pa'ang béle* meaning people on the fence next door or the spirits of the dead. The distance between the worlds of the living and the dead was very close. According to Allerton's study [19], although today the majority of Manggarai people are Catholic and adopt a Catholic identity, the belief in the spirit that rules the village and regulates daily moral behaviour is still very strong.

Pa'ang functions as a gate and is also like a welcome sign. In ancient times, if there were guests, such as guests for *caci* (whipping game) celebrations or marriage, people would welcome them in *pa'ang*. Currently, if there are honoured guests who come to the village, people will welcome them in *pa'ang*. Then *pa'ang* means welcome and hospitality.

For the Manggarai people, the village is the first living space that makes a person grow and develop. A village is a cultural area where a person is born, comes from, and grows. The village keeps calling someone home when someone goes outside/abroad. The village yard (*natas baté labar*) as a place to play in childhood is a shared space that forms one's identity [20, 21]. Compared to the study of urban and social identity [22], the village has become one's identity in Manggarai.

The village as a living space shows that the Manggarai people are more of a collaborative community than an autonomous individual. The existence of an individual has meaning in the community. Group values are more dominant than personal values. There is a crucial aspect of social cohesion to perpetuate group values [23, 24, 25, 26]. The Manggarai people do this by building their identity not as an individual or a family but as villagers. Not surprisingly, the Manggarai people will declare their identity as someone from a particular village.

The most important ritual to bind this collective identity is the *penti weki péso béo* which means uniting individuals and exalting groups. This ritual is performed once a year, usually after harvest. Everyone from the village was invited to return home. When this ritual is carried out, the aspect of togetherness and harmonious relations between residents becomes the critical point of this celebration. During this celebration, people

perform a special ritual of binding the five living spaces [27, 28, 29]. By performing this ritual, every Manggarai person will be aware of who they are as part of the community and how they keep this identity alive wherever they go. This concept also exists in other communities [30, 31, 32].

The villages of the Manggarai people are generally circular, and some are rectangular. Most villages are on a hill; hence, the village is called *golo* which means hill. The houses are on the edge of the circle or square and therefore are opposite each other. The village is designed like a centralized cluster. The houses are very close to each other. They share the same yard in front of their respective houses. There is no fence, no bollard boundaries between one land/house and another. It shows the value of unity [33]. This traditional village arrangement is a way to live together and maintain the values of togetherness [34].

Since residents' houses are centralized, their lives and daily activity become public knowledge. There is a closeness and familiarity with each other. Families usually share food in addition to sharing joys, sorrows and other life experiences. It is not surprising that people consider the village a place of human life's growth and maturity (*baté élor*). A village is a place where people provide themselves for the development of others. A village is a community and home where one can grow, develop and expand. The village is a living space, an area that brings a person to life. *Béo* is a learning community for every individual who grows in it.

Manggarai people usually give the name of the village according to the natural conditions in the area. Some villages follow the name of trees, rivers, rocks, savanna, lowlands, hillside, and others. Some people call the village to commemorate historical events or unique events in the area. No wonder some villages have the same name even though they are located in different and far apart areas.

Béo is the centre of government led by a man, namely *tu'a béo* or *tu'a gendang*. His power was passed down from generation to generation and followed his father's lineage. *Tu'a béo* lives in *Mbaru Gendang*, the main communal house of a village. Each village is independent of the other. It has its system of government and its territory. It has strong autonomy to regulate its citizens' governance and living habits [35].

Relations between the villages are usually very good. They respect each other's autonomy and power. Sometimes, there are more intimate relationships because of marriage. Some villages were formed because of the expansion of the main village. Villagers may invite other villagers to attend certain traditional ceremonies or parties, especially if there are crowds and cultural arts performances. However, in history, one village with another might go to war because of land issues, pride or other problems [36, 37].

Since the arrival of foreign rulers to the Manggarai region at the beginning of the 16th century, foreign rulers created a hierarchical structure of the villages. Certain villages were chosen as the centre of power that oversees other villages. Since then, the relationship has been centralized. This centralization continues to strengthen the system of government and state that divides power and territory. As a result, some villages had more power than others, and some had to submit to the power of the other villages. Furthermore, the village as the centre of life and authority became weaker but not wholly disappeared. Villages still have autonomy in aspects of local culture and law.

3.2 Mbaru baté Ka'éng

The second element of living space is *mbaru baté ka'éng*, which means a house to live. *Mbaru* comes from the word *mbau ru*, which means one's shade or shelter. This meaning follows a house's function, namely a safe shelter. Manggarai people also refer to the placenta as *mbau*, a safe house for the child in the mother's womb. Therefore, the house is external to the placenta and is a safe living space where a person grows and develops. In this sense, the house is feminine because it is part of the mother's [38].

A village usually consists of houses that stand around the village. A village has two categories of houses: shared large houses and private ones. The communal house is called *mbaru gendang*, a house that, in other Asian traditions, is called the "great house" or "communal house" [39, 40]. In this house, the *tu'a gendang* or village head lives together with the clan representatives from the village. They do not own the house or the land on which the house stands. They only inhabit, while the house belongs to the community.

For the Manggarai people, *mbaru gendang* is considered sacred, social, and cultural [13]. The house is built with a physical structure that follows the philosophy of life of the Manggarai people. In terms of shape, *mbaru gendang* is generally in the form of *niang*, which is a house under an inverted ice cone. The central support pole called *siri bongkok* is in the middle, which sticks from the ground to the end of the roof. It symbolizes the union of heaven and earth, human and divine [41]. *Siri bongkok* is believed to be feminine and serves as a fortress for the village. The belief that the house is also sacred and feminine can also be found in other cultures.

Mbaru Gendang has five aspects but is united into three main structures. The bottom, called *ngaung* symbolizes the world of evil spirits. This section serves as a storage area for goods; even animals such as chickens, dogs and pigs also live here. The middle is the human residence space. This section includes several parts: family bedrooms, family room (*lutur*), and kitchen. The number of bedrooms in the house is adjusted to the number of clans. There will be four bedrooms if there are four clans in the village. Children usually sleep together in a large room called *lutur*, which has many functions: a family room, a dining room, a room for holding meetings and traditional ceremonies. The top is called *lobo*, symbolizing the world of spirits and ancestors. This section consists of 3 parts: *lobo wa*, *lobo éta* and the peak *lobo*. It makes *mbaru gendang* still have five main elements.

People consider *mbaru gendang* as not just a physical building but a living house and an encounter with the world of spirits and ancestors. The process of making houses is carried out in stages involving many people and religious rituals that involve the presence and intervention of ancestors and spirits. Therefore, a house also becomes the residence of the ancestors and the spirits.

Mbaru Gendang also becomes a symbol and the centre of government of a village. *Tu'a golo* lives there as the village head. In addition, together with other elders, they function to solve community problems. Some regulate the distribution of land. Following the *trias politica* system, then *mbaru gendang* becomes the centre of the executive, judicial, and legislative power.

The second type of house within the traditional village is a family house. The houses are located next to the *mbaru gendang*. Generally, family houses are smaller, although some families have the same size as the *mbaru gendang* or even bigger. The Manggarai people like to build big houses to accommodate many people. The house also becomes an arena for traditional ceremonies and family activities that involve many people. Like *mbaru gendang*, family houses are usually inhabited by more than one family, either a married father and son or brothers and sisters who are all married. Even though the people live in a more modern era, in a (small) town, the house is still large and often accommodates family members from the village who study or work in that town.

3.3 *Compang Baté Takung*

Compang means altar, and *takung* means giving offerings. *Compang baté takung* means altar where offerings are made. *Compang* is a physical symbol of local religious Manggarai people. It is like any other religious symbol. It has spiritual functions. *Compang* is a form of divinity, so people are there to be devoted to making offerings. Offerings are given as an expression of gratitude. *Compang* is a place where people ask for help, a place where people hope. People ask for help in case of illness or disaster. It is a place where people ask for protection and gets comfort.

In ancient times, people who wanted to fight would walk around *compang* seven times to ask for protection. *Compang* is a sacred place. *Mori Wura* (Ancestral Spirit) and *naga golo* (the spirit of the village) will be there when people call them. *Compang* is a place built by the ancestors and considered a place where the living can build concrete relationships with the dead. In *compang* people can get spiritual strength that is not seen but is believed to exist [42].

Compang should be in *natas* (yard). It is located in the middle or at least next to *mbaru gendang* (*cimping mai siding*) or on the edge of *natas*. Each village has special considerations when determining the location of the *compang*. Things to consider such as the area of the yard, the relief of the yard, the location of people's houses, the location of *mbaru gendang*, and the most important thing is the movement of the people in the village. *Compang* is considered a sacred place by elders. Therefore, people cannot move around freely. For example, people are not allowed to sit in *compang* while watching *caci*, they are not allowed to be the centre of village traffic movements, and they are not allowed to dry things and place objects that are not offerings.

The existence of *compang* is as essential as the presence of *mbaru gendang*, *lingko* (rounded communal garden), and spring (*waé téku*). Even *compang* was built when the village was first formed because to build *mbaru gendang* and form a *lingko*, at least it always starts from *compang*. The circular shape of *compang* is closely related to the shape of *mbaru gendang* and *lingko*. The circle shape closely relates to *lonto léok*, the way people sit in a circle during a traditional meeting. All of which are symbolizing unity, harmony, inseparable.

Physically, a *compang* is a step-ladder made of stone and arranged in a circle. It is located in front of *Mbaru Gendang*. Some expressions like *rao ného ajo* and *cawi ného wua* (hug like chicken ventriculus, strong like rattan bindings) describe the meaning of circular shape very well. Chicken gizzards can hold food tightly and bring all the chicken's organs to life. While *cawi* is a naturally occurring weave, naturally woven rattan is difficult to separate. Therefore, the circle shape is expected to be able to unite the Manggarai people with something divine without being separated.

The diameter of *compang* is not more than five 'hand-span' of the head village (*magat tu'a golo*). Nevertheless, if *compang* has been built, the diameter can be more than five *magat*. Manggarai people believe that other magical powers participate in measuring *compang*. The height of *compang* is no more than five stone layers. The stone chosen to make the *compang* is 'flat stone' (*watu lémpé*). In addition, it must be 'andesite stone' (*watu ici*). In some villages, *compang* has been hundreds of years old. The size of the stones is so large that it is difficult for humans to lift. From its shape, it can be seen that the stone did not come from around the village. They believe that when *compang* was built, another power 'spirit' accompanied it. Similar to the magical story of the construction of other buildings in the study.

Compang becomes a symbol of a belief system. The belief system of the indigenous Manggarai people is very complex. They believe in the creator of life, the keeper and even the one who gives sanctions or punishments to people. They name the rulers and creators in feminine and masculine complementary languages. *God is Éma eta, Énde wa*, 'Father above, Mother below'; *Amé rinding mané, Endé rinding wié*, 'Father of evening protector, mother of night protector,' *Tanan wa, Awang éta* 'Land below, the Sky above, Ronan eta mai, Winan wa mai' 'Husband above, Wife below' or 'the husband sends down the seed in the form of rain, the wife holds the seed and grows it. He is Owner and Creator' (*Jari agu Dédéék*), Maker and Former (*Ciri agu Wowo*) [43].

Due to the influence of the outsiders, the language to call God also changed and adapted to an external language, namely *Mori Kraéng*, which is more single-faced and masculine. *Mori Kraéng* is the 'ruler over the king'. The use of complementary and feminine terms is increasingly disappearing with the arrival of world religions, especially Catholicism, which views God and religious leaders as masculine and patriarchal.

In addition to belief in the Creator, Manggarai people also believe in the spirits and souls of deceased ancestors. They also believe that there is life after death. They maintain their relationship with the spirits of their ancestors. They consider that ancestral spirits still have power over living humans. Ancestral spirits can bring blessings and disasters. Therefore, they perform offerings and rituals to invoke the ancestors' blessings and keep them away from disaster.

Rituals can be very simple, involving only one person or an intimate family with a small offering, such as a chicken egg. However, it can also be in the form of traditional ceremonies involving one big family or clan. The offering animals used can be chickens, goats, pigs or buffalo. There are also ceremonies involving many clans and even other villages. The offering animal can be a pig or a buffalo.

When Catholic missionaries conquered local beliefs, some communities-built crosses on *compang*. However, some people argue that it is a form of deviation toward custom (*adat*). Some people consider it a symbol of the victory of religion (Catholicism as the majority religion) over custom (*adat*). However, despite being Catholic, local beliefs are still intensely practised. Here there is a kind of syncretism [19]. The Catholic Church prefers to call it inculturation. Allerton even mentions that local belief has become the "spirit of life" of Catholic people.

3.4 Uma Baté Duat

Uma baté duat means garden as a place to work. As an agricultural community, farming is the main occupation of the Manggarai people. Manggarai people live from nature and are at one with nature. The main crops are rice, maize/corn, cassava, sweet potato, vegetables, and beans. The garden itself is named *lingko*, a communal rounded garden. *Uma* or *lingko* is sacred because farming is considered a way to communicate with spirits and the divine. Gardens are not only owned by humans and communities. Gardens are a divine gift and belong to the spirit. Because it is not surprising, that once a garden is opened, humans must perform a ritual to ask permission from the owner.

Communal gardens neither be cultivated nor shared without a ritual. Otherwise, people will get cursed. Trees, rocks, soil and water have spirits. Humans have to communicate with them before, during and after work. There are various rituals of garden division, new land clearing, planting rituals, harvesting rituals, thanksgiving rituals for the harvest, and soil fertility restoration rituals. Like other rituals, some are carried out by the nuclear family; some involve the clan and the whole village.

Every village has at least 15 *lingko* or more. Every clan or tribe that makes up a village will make a *lingko* too. They make *lingko* together. The owner of *lingko* must belong to the same descendant. Each family cultivates its part of *lingko* (*moso*) individually. Sometimes, there are also *ata long* or *ata kapu manuk lélé tuak* (other people outside the clan bring chicken and palm wine to the tua téno). The division of land (*lingko*) is carried out by *tu'a teno*. *Lingko* was built for several purposes, namely to support the life of the entire village and to strengthen the village's defence with more land ownership [11].

If *lingko* reaches a diameter of 500-800 m², then the *lingko* is categorized as *lingko mésé* (large land). However, if it is less than 500 m² in diameter, it is categorized as *lingko koé* (small land). Similar to building *mbaru gendang baté kaeng*, making *lingko baté duat* is equally important for the Manggarai people.

Lingko in the form of a circle is called *lingko lodok*. It resembles the main house. The circular *lingko* aims to be easily fenced on the 'outer edge' (*cicing*), so that people do not need to fence on each side. In ancient times, many animals could damage crops. So just fencing off the *lingko* on the outside is a practical way.

Right in the middle of *lingko*, people plant a tree called *teno* (*Melochia Arborea*). In some places, there are also those who replace it with a *gasing* (usually used as a children's game). The same shape of *gasing* is also plugged into the top of the roof of the new drum. Around the *teno* tree, people made a circular rope. They also plug small pieces of wood around the circular rope, called *lancé koé*. The distance between one *lancé koé* with another *lancé koé* depends on the size of *moso* or the finger of *tu'a teno* on the ground. There is a size of five fingers called *moso rembo*. The size of three fingers is called *lidé*, and the size of two fingers and one finger is called *korét*. The number of fingers depends on the status in the village, namely *tu'a golo*, *tu'a teno*, *tu'a panga*, *tu'a kilo*, ordinary villagers and immigrants.

Then people put a circular rope outside *lancé* and plug the other *lancés* again. These *lancés* are perpendicular to the *lancé* in the first circle and perpendicular to the *teno* tree in the centre of *lodok*. *Lancé* or stake is also plugged into the outermost boundary of the *lodok* called *cicing*. After that, a side boundary or inter-*moso* boundary is made by connecting *lancé* using a rope stretched straight out to form a symmetrical line of fingers, and then a *lodok* shape or a giant cobweb is created.

Like a village, *lingko* also has a name. Naming *lingko* is the same as naming the village. It can be related to the plants that grow around *lingko*, the animals that live there, the natural conditions, and the name of the village that owns *lingko*.

3.5 Waé baté Téku

Waé baté Téku means spring, a place to get water. Water has always been a particular element in all cultures. The study of water and communities has attracted the attention of many experts. Water is a symbol of life. In the past, people build their community or village close to springs. Water is also used as a material and symbol in many traditional and religious ceremonies.

For Manggarai people, water and springs are one of the spaces of life. They distinguish two types of water, namely a) water that stays permanently, stored, such as lakes, pools, springs, and groundwater, and b) flowing water such as rainwater, pipe water, and river water. Stored/permanent water is feminine. It is the same as the water in the womb that protects the baby. The water that flows is masculine; it is the same as the sperm that flows through the penis. Both are complementary and be a source of life.

Springs and piped water (bamboo) are essential to living space. It is an ecological space. Manggarai people realize that they can live and grow not only in the presence of humans but also by nature. Harmonious human ecological relations will make all people prosperous. Water symbolizes fertility and prosperity. It is not surprising if Manggarai people describe prosperity as "*Kémbus waé téku, mboas waé woang*" which means abundant water.

Water also serves as a place of cleansing, not only for washing material goods but also for washing all evil moral deeds. This belief exists in many communities, such as in Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism etc. The Manggarai people always say "*oné lesó salé, oné waés lau*" meaning "thrown towards the setting sun, and into the water flow". They also know the ritual "*oké dara taa*" (throwing bad blood), which is a ceremony to get rid of bad luck that has caused an unnatural death (because, for example, accidents, murders and natural disasters). In this ceremony, the black rooster is thrown into the river, symbolizing the rejection of the source of disaster.

In the local concept of points of the compass, the direction naming is determined by the flow of water, namely the concept of upstream and downstream. Upstream refers to the springs and source of water. Downstream is the end of the flow of water. This concept is also used in the position of making a grave. The head is always directed upstream. This position symbolises direction to the source (Divine) and feet towards the downstream. When a person dies unnaturally (*dara taa*), he is buried in the reverse direction, head down and feet upstream.

3.6 Number Five (*Lima*)

For the Manggarai, five (*lima*) as the number of sacred spaces has literal, sacred and magical meaning. For the Manggarai people, five symbolize greatness, strength, divinity, and majesty. The main living space consists of five aspects. It also symbolizes five kinds of relationship. Numbers as symbolic ones are not only owned by the Manggarai people but are also known in many traditions. For example, in the Jewish and later Christian traditions, the number that has a special meaning is 40, 7 or 3 [44].

As the symbolization of five relationships, the Manggaraian connect with the five human fingers. The little finger symbolizes the relationship between humans and humans in general. This relationship is broad and based on their nature as human beings. It does not need kinship with each other. As humans, everyone needs communication, interaction and attention. So, it is a universal relationship and universal brotherhood. The ring finger indicates a wide range of human relationships with friends and relatives. In this aspect, the bond of closeness becomes a relationship marker. The circle is already smaller than the relationship formed by the little finger. The middle finger shows the human relationship with the nuclear family, namely husband or wife and children. The index finger shows the relationship with *anak wina* (wife receiver family), brothers and sisters. The thumb shows the relationship with *anak rona* (wife giver family), ancestor, and God (*Mori Kraéng*).

The number five (*lima*) is also used for several other terms, such as *lampék lima*. *Lampék* originally means a knife made of bamboo. This knife is used to cut the umbilical cord that connects a mother and her baby. Bamboo material is ideal because it does not rust and is easy to find. Bamboo is one of the typical plants in Manggarai. The term *lampék lima* does not mean the knife is five. This term is a philosophy about the integrity of Manggarai human relations. Relationships that are complete, great and perfect if there are five relationships.

In addition, *lampék lima* also signifies something crucial and has crossed the line. If someone has done a hostile act and has done it repeatedly, then he will be advised, "watch out until *lampék lima*" which means do not let your actions go too far. Likewise, if specific actions are considered severe, the sanction is "*ela wasé lima*". *Ela* means pig, *wasé* means rope. *Ela wasé lima* means a pig that is five ropes long, that is, the pig with the largest size, height and length.

In prayer, there is also the so-called *cacing tegi lima*, meaning the intentions of customary prayer cannot be more than five. In ritual conversations, there is what is called *sanggéd raja lima* (the topic of traditional events cannot be more than five). In the art of traditional dances, songs, and rituals, there is something called *sanda nempung lima* (the song during a traditional wedding ceremony cannot be more than five). There is also a *sanda penti lima* (the song during the traditional harvest thanksgiving ceremony cannot be more than five).

Today, the number five in the living space of the Manggarai people is also associated with the five principles of Pancasila, the symbol and philosophy of the Indonesian state. The five precepts of Pancasila: Belief in One Supreme God, just and civilized humanity; The unity of Indonesia; Democracy led by wisdom in the Representative Deliberation; and Justice for All Indonesian People.

4. CONCLUSION

The cosmology of the Manggarai people, *Gendang oné, Lingko pé'ang*, (house inside, Garden Outside) describes the five spaces of human life. The ideal Manggarai human life takes place in five sacred spaces. Each space gives meaning and significance to the development of the Manggarai people. In that space, they grow and relate in all aspects of life, namely social, cultural, economic, political and religious. Life is never singular. It has many dimensions. One dimension to another is different, but all synergize to create a quality life. Human relationships are both vertical and horizontal. Some are with fellow humans but some are with nature. There is also a connection with the supernatural.

For the Manggarai, the five spaces are not just physical spaces but also cultural and religious spaces. The five spaces become a sine qua non-condition for human existence, which must be in relation and direction. The ideal Manggarai human life demands a harmonious and mutual relationship with family, society, God, work, and the natural environment. Awareness of these five living spaces directs Manggarai people to have ethical/family moral values, community ethics/morals, religious ethics/morals, work ethics and environmental ethics. These five ethical/moral values must be harmonious and mutual.

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