建築を通じたアイデンティティの表現：
インドネシアのバドゥイ族の建築におけるピクク習慣法の役割

Expressing Identity through Architecture:
The Role of *Pikukuh* Customary Law within Baduy Tribe Architecture, Indonesia

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1. Introduction
1.1 A Brief about Baduy Tribe and *Pikukuh*

With over 17.000 islands extending from the west to the east, Indonesia is one of the culturally rich countries. One of the ethnic communities that still living in vernacular settlements are the Baduy Tribe, despite the near location from metropolitan cities.

The Baduy Tribe is one of the sub-ethnic groups of Sundanese ethnicity located in Kanekes Village, Banten Province, Indonesia. The community consists of two groups, the Outer Baduy (*Urang Panamping; Urang Dangka*) and Inner Baduy (*Urang Tangtu*). Both groups are still preserving their beliefs and traditional social system, with the Inner Baduy being the stricter practitioners. The sense of community to practice their *adat* through their customary law, often called *pikukuh*, is still strong. Their lifestyle is based on the *pikukuh* and its taboos (*buyut*), which control the relationship between the community and the nature in their surroundings, with the general idea to keep the nature and ecosystem as it is.
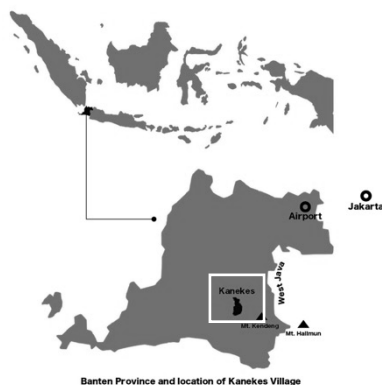

fig.1 Location of Kanekes Village

1.2 Research Objective

Previous research mostly discusses about tangible aspect of Baduy architecture and *pikukuh* in separated manner. The research done by Japanese researchers, Daisuke Niwa and team (1995), about the spatial layout in Kadujangkung Hamlet, one of Outer Baduy hamlets. Another research by Permana (2008) discuss the changes in the socio-culture of the people, which negotiate the *pikukuh* taboos.

Meanwhile, the objectives of this research are:

(1) To identify the architectural concept which expresses the identity of Baduy, (2) To identify which *pikukuh* is related to settlement constructions, and (3) To clarify the role of *pikukuh* related to expression of identity in architecture.

1.3 Research Methodology

The methodology in this research consists of:

(1) Literature study about theories regarding identity and authenticity in vernacular architecture and secondary data about Baduy Tribe.

(2) Site survey in March and August 2022 were conducted to collect the data through house measurement and interviews.

(3) Comparative analysis using points of *pikukuh* as the variable, comparative analysis to compare the settlement condition in Inner and Outer Baduy hamlets will be done.

2. Baduy Settlement and Traditional Architecture
2.1 Baduy Settlement

Kanekes Village is divided by legal regulation which includes areas for settlement, utilization forest, and protected forest. The village is also divided by Baduy tribe's customary law into *tangtu* (inner hamlets), *panamping* (outer hamlets), and *dangka* (neighboring hamlets). The three *tangtu* hamlets are located in the southern part of the village, while *panamping* hamlets are scattered in the north, west, and eastern part of Kanekes Village boundary. Inside the sacred forest of *tangtu* areas, lies sacred places believed to be the place where creation began and spirits are gathering, respectively called Arca Domas and Sasaka Domas. This research will take Cibeo Hamlet as the example for Inner Baduy hamlet and Marenggo Hamlet as the example for Outer Baduy hamlet.
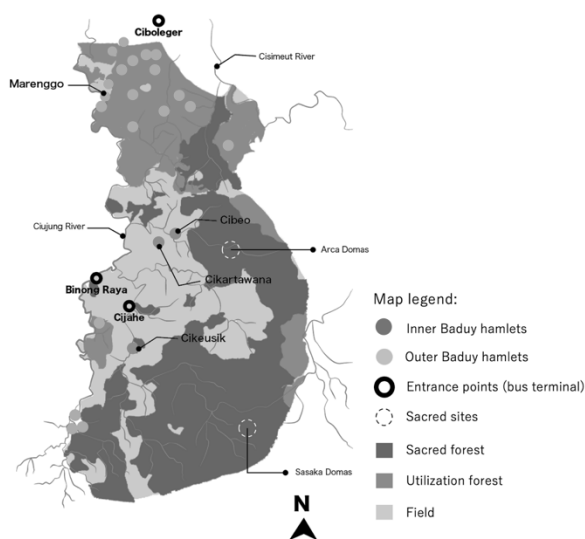
fig.2 Location of Inner and Outer Baduy hamlets

2.1 Baduy Traditional Architecture

The outward appearance of Baduy houses both in Outer and Inner Baduy are quite similar. Outer Baduy houses are generally bigger in size compared to the Inner Baduy, but both houses following a rectangular plan. The material used are local materials found in the nearby forest, such as durian wood, bamboo, and palm fibers.

fig.3 Outer Baduy house, present time

3. Research Outcome

The *pikukuh* rules related to the settlement and construction consists of ten points, which are grouped into three categories: place, material, and know-how. Each of the categories overlap with each other summarized as follows:

1. **Rules regarding place:** orientation and position of facilities,
2. **Rules regarding place – know how:** ritual processions related to *Puun* (spiritual leader),
3. **Rules regarding place – material:** location of material collecting,
4. **Rules regarding material:** choosing of materials,
5. **Rules regarding material – know how:** choosing of construction tools,
6. **Rules regarding know-how:** shape of the house and cooperation within villagers.

In the implementation, it is clear that there are some *pikukuh* rules that are practiced differently in Cibeo Hamlet and Marenggo Hamlet. All rules related to know-how are absolute to be followed by all Baduy people, rules related to material are absolute in terms of using the sustainable materials, and rules related to place are subject to change depending to the area/ground condition. The reasons why *pikukuh* is negotiated are the availability of land, consideration on growth of trees, the ground condition, therefore there are negotiations by Outer Baduy when making new settlements, in order to adapt to the micro-environment.

4. Conclusion

Adaptation is the keyword for authenticity for Baduy Tribe. The Inner Baduy can adapt to the village environment and keep the circumstances. Outer Baduy, due to the reasons stated before, need to negotiate some rules and intentionally change some parts of their architecture, such as position, direction, etc., in order to adapt to their environment. Even in the present time, they try to keep their identity, finding the balance between modernity and traditional through adaptation.

Reference

Niwa, D, et al. (1995), *Study on the Settlement in Baduy area: Settlement Composition in Desa Kadujangkung.* Architectural Institute of Japan.

Permana, R. (2006). *Tata Ruang Masyarakat Baduy.* Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra.

Wessing, R., & Barendregt, B. (2008, January). *Centred on the source Hamlets and houses of Kanekes (Baduy).*

Abstract:

In preserving vernacular settlements, it is important to understand the identity of these ethnic communities, parallel with the understanding of the tangible architectural values. Baduy Tribe in Kanekes Village, Banten Province, Indonesia, is one of the ethnic communities that strictly maintain their identity by following the customary law called *pikukuh*. However, the *pikukuh* in the present time are often negotiated to fulfill the modern needs of the villagers, influencing the way they build the hamlets and houses. This research tries to identify the role of *pikukuh* concerning settlement and construction in Baduy Tribe. Specific *pikukuh* rules are listed, then the implementation of *pikukuh* is analyzed by comparing hamlet examples from Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy.