

THE TRADITION OF *TIPAT BANTAL* WAR AS A LOCAL TRADITION IMAGE OF KAPAL CULTURAL VILLAGE IN MENGWI DISTRICT BADUNG REGENCY BALI PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

The *Tipat Bantal War* in Kapal customary village Mengwi district Badung regency Bali province is a tradition passed from generation to generation. This tradition is a dualistic symbol of *tipat* (symbolizing *pradana* or female) and *bantal* or *jaje bantal* (symbolizing *purusa* or male). Local people believe that the encounter of *tipat* and *jaje bantal* means fertility or to produce new seeds as the source of life. The uniqueness of The *Tipat Bantal War* has attracted much public and media attention. Thus, this research is aimed at revealing the distinctiveness of that tradition by analyzing its functional aspects, its practitioners, its meanings of the symbols and also its shaping values. Cultural identity theory and *purusa-pradana* concepts are applied to elaborate the tradition of *Tipat Bantal War* within the local-culture complexity of Kapal customary village. The method of study is qualitative with the following data collection techniques: (1) observation; (2) interviews; (3) documentation; and (4) literary study. Data analysis process consists of data collection, interpretation and report writing. The study finds out that the uniqueness of the *Tipat Bantal War* is recognized as a marker or local culture identity of Kapal customary village.

Keywords: The *Tipat Bantal War*, Kapal Customary Village, Local Culture Identity.

ABSTRAK

Perang Tipat Bantal di Desa Adat Kapal Kecamatan Mengwi Kabupaten Badung Bali merupakan tradisi yang telah dilaksanakan secara turun-temurun hingga kini. Tradisi ini sebagai simbol dualistik, yakni *tipat* (ketupat) sebagai simbol) *pradana* (perempuan) dan *bantal* (jaje bantal) sebagai simbol *purusa* (laki-laki). Masyarakat setempat meyakini bahwa pertemuan *purusa* dan *pradana* dengan simbol melepar ketupat dengan *jaje bantal* itu bermakna kesuburan atau adanya benih baru sebagai sumber kehidupan. Keunikan dari Tradisi Perang Tipat Bantal ini membuatnya menarik perhatian publik, bahkan tak jarang media masa baik televisi maupun media

cetak (koran lokal) pun meliput ritus tersebut. Terkait dengan itu, adapun fokus penelitian ini ialah mengungkap kekhasan tradisi tersebut melalui aspek fungsi, pelaku, simbol makna maupun nilai-nilai yang membentuknya. Untuk membedah itu digunakan teori identitas budaya dan konsep *purusa pradana* sebagai pisau bedah dalam menjelaskan Tradisi Perang Tipat Bantal dalam kompleksitas budaya lokal Desa Adat Kapal. Metode penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data: (1) observasi; (2) wawancara; (3) dokumentasi; dan (4) studi kepustakaan. Selanjutnya, proses analisis data terdiri dari pengumpulan data, interpretasi, dan menyusun laporan. Hasil kajian ini demikian dapat mengungkap bahwa kekhasan Tradisi Perang Tipat Bantal dikenali sebagai penanda atau identitas budaya lokal Desa Adat Kapal.

Kata Kunci: Perang Tipat Bantal, Desa Adat Kapal, Identitas Budaya Lokal.

INTRODUCTION

The study focuses on traditional aspect of a cultural element functioning as a cultural image of an area or an ethnic group. In this case, people of Kapal customary village are like the majority of Hindu-Bali people whose lives are consistently confined to customs and norms (*awig-awig*). Every society obeys its customary law. Moral punishment is believed to be more severe than physical punishment and no one wants to take the terrifying risk as to be pronounced 'dead' for his or her society. Once a society member is 'expelled', he or she will not be allowed to enter any cooperation of any village in Bali. Thus, there is no greater disgrace for Balinese than this public humiliation (Covarrubias, 2013: 15).

The conformity between regulation and strict sanction makes every village in Bali an integrated organism where a communal policy is a harmony and collaboration of a prevailing system for the benefits of every person (Covarrubias, 2013: 15). People's respect for established regulations is the reason why every traditional ceremony held in Kapal customary village is always attended by all of its inhabitants. They surely do not want to be excluded from their *banjar* (neighbourhood). Such integrity has protected Bali traditional culture from the invasion of modern culture brought by foreign tourists, which is tremendous compared to other regions in Indonesia.

Customs, norms and rules were made and approved in order to reach collective goals and objectives. Each societal group must have different goals and thus they have different customs, norms and rules according to their societal group's goals and objectives. Agrarian community must have different goals from coastal fishing community so that they do different things to achieve their goals. Ritual ceremonies held in Pura (temple) is a way to gain collective goals. Regarding this, the *Tipat Bantal War* tradition is a means taken by the community of Kapal customary village to achieve their communal objectives and is inseparable from numerous system available in that community.

A nation is easily identified for its particularity of certain characteristics (Sedyawati, 2014: 11). Such is the case with Kapal customary village that is well known for the Tipat Bantal War tradition as its local tradition feature. In the past, there were other similar traditions in Indonesia, such as the Topat War held by Sasak ethnic group in Lombok. Regarding this, the Tipat Bantal War in Kapal customary village actually is a reflection of integrated prevailing systems of local society, such as livelihood, kinship, custom and religion systems. All of those systems were incorporated to develop the Tipat Bantal War tradition.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative with cultural approach focusing on local-culture identity. The data collection techniques following Ruhidi (2011) include observation, interviews, recording techniques, documentation and literary studies.

1. Observation

The researcher involved himself in the ceremony of *Tipat-Bantal War* and witnessed the social condition of its supporting society. Then, he observed the overall structure of the *Tipat-Bantal War* ceremony covering ceremony procedures, equipments and sequences. The observation on the society's cultural-social condition might include systems of kinship, religion, livelihood, etc.

2. Interviews

The researcher interviewed all parties related to subject matter and aims of the study. The parties cover the Head of Kapal customary village, the *Pemangku Adat* (customary leader) of Kapal village, and Kapal society.

3. Recording Technique

Techniques used for recording data may vary from picture taking, audio-taping, video-taping and filming.

4. Literature study

Literature study is data collecting technique through surveying literatures, such as books, scholarly articles and other documents or sources relevant to the ceremony of the *Tipat-Bantal War* or the research problem being investigated.

The collected data were classified into categories and analyzed in terms of their relation to the *Tipat-Bantal War* ceremony and cultural-social life of Kapal customary village society. The relation between the structure of the ceremony and the cultural-social condition of the people supporting it would reflect their way of thinking so that the researcher could find out the function of the *Tipat-Bantal War* ceremony in the society.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The cultural substance that can be regarded as an identity marker is a tradition or custom. As stated by Sedyawati (2014:261), tradition is something that is intensely well-known by a society, then undeniably, a tradition is seen by outsiders as an

'identity marker' of a society that upholds it. In other words, cultural image of Kapal customary village can be defined by the *tipat-bantal* war tradition. Surely the reputation of local customary society is widely acknowledged by public as the owner of highly valued tradition and also as the contributor of values to form their own culture. Therefore, the peculiarity of *tipat-bantal* war can be regarded as the marker or identity of local culture belonging to Kapal customary village. The "marker" can be identified from the peculiarity of the *Tipat Bantal* War tradition that include: 1) the structure, that is an overall structure containing the deepest subject matter (symbol and meaning) portraying the characteristics of its supporting society; 2) the function of the *tipat bantal* war in Kapal customary village; and 3) the effects for the society. All of these are elaborated more in the following:

1. The Structure

The war uses *Tipat* and *Bantal*. *Tipat* is cooked rice wrapped in a square-shaped woven coconut leaf. While *bantal* is cooked sticky-rice wrapped in a cylindrical shaped container made of young coconut leaves.

The ceremony of *Tipat Bantal* War was held in the afternoon and involved all inhabitants of Kapal customary village. After doing oblation in *Pura* (temple), people started the war outside the *Pura*. First of all, they were divided into two opposing groups of North and South that were facing each other. The South group held *tipat*, while the North group had *bantal*. The two opposing groups then were throwing *tipat* and *bantal* into the air so that you could see there were hundreds of *tipat* and *bantal* colliding in the air. Unavoidably, the thrown *tipat* and *bantal* hit their bodies. Sometimes they seemed to target their opponents' bodies on purpose. The chaos lasted for around 15 minutes. Afterwards, the remnants of *tipat* and *bantal* were collected to be distributed respectively in the field area around Kapal village.

a. Separation

This stage is marked by separating the regular structure or social order from irregular structure or social order. There is a separation between daily reality which is 'regular' and ritual reality that is 'irregular'. The 'regular' and the 'irregular' are two things connected dialectically. 'The regular' provides a foundation for determination and invention of 'the irregular'. Irregularity is known because it presents in a basic structure or social order in daily life. 'The irregular' will become 'the regular' if it happens repeatedly.

Tipat Bantal War ceremony is an 'irregular' activity. The irregularity had started early in the morning when women dressed neatly in their *kebaya* carrying bag containing *tipat* and *bantal* as offerings in *pura*. On that day, men of Kapal village also encountered the irregularity. They were busy on getting everything ready for ceremony. The *pura*, usually quiet in the afternoon, was crowded on that day. The main road of Tabanan-Denpasar, that is always busy with traffic, suddenly was serene.

The irregularity continued inside the *pura*. The scent of incense filled the air as someone entered the temple. The offered flowers were put in front of *Pelinggih* (seat of gods). The ground around the area of the sacred *pura* suddenly was full of *tipat* and *bantal*. Women kneeling while praying in an oblation led by *Pemangku pura* (temple leader). Special offerings along with particular prayings were also presented. The oblation could be a connecting medium between human and gods so that the distance between them could be closer.

The irregularity that took place in *Pura Desa* (village temple) could be seen as a performance. A performance always presents an event in different way from daily reality. A performance reality is an irregular reality, unique, intentionally made up and concluded. If the performance reality and ritual event have no conclusion, they will be regular and not exclusive anymore. It is irregularity that has attracted dozens of people to see or take part in the event, stepping out of a conventional reality structure into a new reality structure for a moment.

Basically all religious activities done by Kapal village people were their attempts to approach a power beyond that of a human and by doing so they sought for protection in it. Regarding this, there seemed to be a relation between 'ordinary' power owned by human and 'extraordinary' power held by gods. Human is so aware of his 'ordinary' power within 'extraordinary' power of gods that he tries to get closer to the 'extraordinary' power by presenting oblation to gods in a hope that the great and 'extraordinary' power possessed by the gods will not disturb the small and ordinary power owned by human beings.

Tipat and *bantal* offered by the inhabitants to the gods in the temple of Kapal village can be seen as a present or a kind of gratification given to a sovereign. The relation between human and gods previously disconnected on daily basis, is going to be connected through the ritual. When the relation is getting closer, human will easily ask for anything he needs. Human as the supplicant who has certain interest will do everything it takes for gods in a hope that gods the almighty will grant everything that human asks for. From the perspective of economic laws, the relation between human, oblation and gods can be viewed as a transactional relationship in which oblation presented by human is a tool or a medium of transaction.

The differences between 'regular' and 'irregular' reality, 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' power, human and god are strict separation between the 'visible' and 'invisible'. Traditional society will keep on searching a way to have connection with the 'invisible' if their mind cannot comprehend numerous realities they encountered everyday and fears toward any possible realities in the future.

b. The Liminal Condition

The liminal condition experienced by the participants of *Tipat-Bantal War* was preceded by the occasion taken place in *jaba tengah pura* (temple central court). *Jaba tengah pura* is an 'intermediate' space between *jeroan pura* (temple inner court) and *jaba pura* (temple forecourt). It is sited neither outside nor inside, or it is located both outside and inside the *pura*. In this 'intermediate' space, the *tipat bantal war*

ceremony was also in the liminal state as the preliminary symbolical war took place before the focal war in *jaba pura*. At this point there seemed to be an ambiguous, hesitant and uncertain condition that stood between the preliminary sacred feat in *jeroan pura* and ceremonial rite that was going to be performed in *jaba pura*.

Hundreds of people from all social level and status had been waiting in *jaba pura*. The prevalent social structure or order was temporary removed and replaced by a new structure or order. Hundreds of people who had created the new structure were divided into two large groups of North and South. North and South symbolize the relations between *Kaja* (mountain) and *Kelod* (sea). *Kaja* can also be symbolized as *Purusa* (male) and *Kelod* as *Predana* (female). Thus the North group held *bantal* as it symbolized *lingga* (male genital) and the South group held *tipat* as it symbolized *yoni* (female genital).

All of sudden, both groups were throwing *tipat* and *bantal* at each other. They kept doing this without paying attention to *tipat* and *bantal* hitting their bodies. It turned to be a chaotic condition that was called 'anti-structure' by Turner. He argued that this anti-structure was meant to restore the established order prevailing on daily basis. The twisting order was intentionally made so that the rite participants could do self-reflection on the prevalent order of their daily lives (Simatupang, 2013: 111). This chaotic condition or Turner's 'anti-structure' apparently was the peak or climax of the ritual. Such 'anti-structure' condition can also be found in *bersih desa* ritual that is concluded with the female dancer asking a male to dance together in improvised movements and afterwards all participants of all social level or status can dance together. Similar things can be found in *Gandrung* dance during a procession of wedding ceremony in Banyuwangi. Seemingly, in fertility rituals there were always chaotic conditions that might be representations of sexual intercourse that may happen in anti-structure condition.

The chaotic condition occurred with great totality and energy when the two forces of different elements, such as North and South, *Kaja* and *Kelod*, *Purusa* and *Predana* or *Lingga* and *Yoni*, met. Thus, it was not a burden for Kapal villagers to give away some of their assets for the ceremony in *pura* or get their bodies hit by *tipat* and *bantal*. Their totality was shown by the oblation and their active participation in *pura*. They expected that the gods would grant their wishes after witnessing their sincerity and determination.

c. Reintegration

Having gone through the chaotic condition as the climax of *tipat bantal* war ceremony, the participants gained new energy and spirit, as if they were just reborn, to enter and place themselves within prevalent social order. This was the returning point of regular social order in Kapal inhabitants after the emergence of temporary anti-structure condition. It might give us a lesson that the anti-structure condition which was chaotic, hectic and disordered is the way into an orderly condition, from chaos to cosmos.

The return to prevalent social order and structure was shown by Kapal farmers collecting the remnants on the ground to be distributed to their fields respectively. Thus, all the participants, whether they were farmers, ordinary people, rulers and royal family, regained their former social status. Through this process, they were reborn into brand new farmers, ordinary people, rulers and royal family, ready to face the coming journey of life. The rebirth process must be preceded by liminal (anti-structure) condition in which the structure is completely removed before it is rebuilt.

This last stage can also be seen as a renewal process for the fields before they are ready to be replanted. *Tipat bantal* war ceremony is a revitalization of the fields in Kapal customary village. This is the time when lands and people of Kapal customary village feel as if they are reborn. The annual ritual is a celebration for the rebirth of the land and the people of Kapal customary village.

2. The Function Of Tipat-Bantal War Ceremony In Kapal Customary Village, Mengwi District, Badung Regency, Bali Province.

The three components in Raymond Williams' model of cultural sociology, namely institutions, content, and effects, do not stand independently, yet they are a unity found in the expression of *tipat bantal* war ceremony in Kapal customary village. The three components are interrelated in the sense that an institution produces a cultural content; the cultural content gives cultural effects in the form of values and norms; the values and norms are the vision and mission expected by a society.

a. Kapal Customary Village as A Cultural Institution of *Tipat Bantal* War Ceremony

Traditional societies in Bali are like traditional societies in other regions that they are constantly bound to prevailing and collectively-accepted customs, norms and other regulations (*awig-awig*). Every inhabitant conforms to the rules. The sanctions for an offender can be material or immaterial, ranging from getting fined, being secluded or even being expelled from a *Banjar*. Being expelled from a *Banjar* for a Balinese is the same as being 'dead' (Geertz, 2000: 95). Moral sanction has more severe impacts than physical sanction and thus no one will take the risk as to be pronounced 'dead' for his or her society. Once he or she is 'expelled', he or she will not be allowed to enter any cooperation of any village in Bali. Therefore, there is no greater disgrace for Balinese than this public humiliation (Covarrubias, 2013: 15).

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b. *Tipat Bantal* Ceremony As A Fertility Rite

Social and cultural condition of Kapal customary village reflected from geographical position, natural condition, livelihood, religion system and kinship system, has made particular patterns of action that are directed to fulfil Kapal village inhabitants' expectation and desires. They want to have fertile soil for communal prosperity and fortune. To achieve this expectation, they perform *Tipat-Bantal War* ceremony once a year in the fourth to fifth month of Bali calendar (*sasih kapat – sasih kalima*) or around September until October. Furthermore, the cultural content of *Tipat Bantal War* will be seen from processual structuralism theory proposed by V. Turner. Turner argued that the performing ritual is going through three stages, namely separation, liminal and reintegration.

3. The Effects of *Tipat Bantal War* Tradition On Cultural Image of Kapal Customary Village

A social and religious activity will be maintained by a society if it reserves values or norms suitable with the society's vision and mission, and vice versa. Regarding this, the continuity of *Tipat-Bantal War* ceremony annually held by Kapal villagers is encouraged by the contained norms and values as expected by them. The values are the effects resulted from *Tipat Bantal War* ceremony.

Value is always be subjective depending on person who assesses it (Soemardjo, 2000: 135). Because of its subjective nature, every human or group has individual values. A social or religious activity can be said to have values only if it gives benefits to communal life. Values contained in a social or religious activity in a region are not necessarily beneficial in another region. Values are highly affected by expectations and goals pursued by its society. In this case, there are two kinds of effects resulted from *Tipat Bantal War* in Kapal customary village: ritual and social effects.

a. Ritual Effect

Tipat Bantal War ceremony for Kapal villagers is a sacred ritual ceremony. Its sacredness is resulted from a soul vibration, commonly called religious emotion (Koentjaraningrat, 1981: 376). Every person frequently feels religious emotion although it differs in quantity and duration. The feeling of sensing the almighty power unreachable for human is a form of religious emotion. This kind of emotion encourages human to conduct various religious activities in order to communicate and build a connection with the might. Human actions to communicate with the almighty power result in sacred values.

Religious emotion felt by Kapal inhabitants has encouraged them to perform *Tipat-Bantal* War ceremony without any complaints as to their oblation to gods. The greater the amount of religious emotion they feel, the greater the amount of offerings they present to gods. Great religious emotion may lead to ecstasy or religious frenzi, a condition in which a person feel so close to the mights of The Creator, so that he or she can easily do any actions beyond rational calculation and lose his or her self-control. A war using *tipat* and *bantal* is an epitome of religious ecstasy. A more extreme example can be seen in *Pandan* War ceremony of Tenganan Pegringsingan society.

b. Social Effect

Another value contained in *Tipat Bantal* war is social value. These social values are strengthening solidarity, reinforcing collective spirits and cooperation between Kapal customary village inhabitants. Through the ceremony of *Tipat Bantal* War, inhabitants of 18 Banjar Adat in Kapal customary village will gather in unity in *Pura Desa*. The war-like activity is able to temporary remove the prevailing social structure so that all people of all social level and status are in the same position. Stepping out for a while of a social status is a great experience of spiritual refreshment. A person will always need a release from the attached social structure, yet he will also need a medium of such release. Thus, *Tipat Bantal* war ceremony can be used as a medium of release. After joining the ceremony, they return to the prevailing social structure and order with renewed spirit and energy.

CONCLUSION

Cultural identity of Kapal customary village can be formed if there are systematic attempts toward enculturation by means of firstly, education program particularly aimed at familial or societal education; secondly, mass media broadcasts or publications that are intentionally or unintentionally produced to give educational impacts; and thirdly, cultural industry that makes products that people can buy or get, such as books or videos. All of these may have enculturation impacts.

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