

# The Meetei *Yumjao*: A Cultural Symbol

Yumnam Sapha Wangam Apanthoi M  
Ph. D Research Scholar  
Centre for Folk Culture Studies  
University of Hyderabad

## Abstract

The traditional Meetei house known as the *Yumjao* is a noticeable architectural-cultural feature that reflects the unique identity of Meetei Community that can be seen as an embodiment of their traditional social structure based on their kinship. The *Yumjao* constructed according to the human figure is one of the cultural emblems that carry the ancestral belief system. Every Meetei believe that all the ancestors were born in the *Yumjao* and it is considered as a sacred place that begets and protects all the lives of the family. Such system derives a sense of identity among the people belonging to the community. Moreover, the space and places available inside the *Yumjao* are demarcated into different sections for different purposes, such as activities related to the sacred and profane. In addition, there are different rooms that are specifically allotted to particular members of the family as per their sex and social status. So, the underlying structure of the *Yumjao* is a cultural text that reveals their history, practical function, social organization and cultural message. Moreover, the art and craft that are placed in terms of their space, place and context reflect their cultural identity, habits, and living style perceived and conceived by the community itself.

Therefore, the present paper is an attempt to understand the Meetei worldview from their architectural structure and pattern in and around their domestic spaces. Further, this paper tries to examine the thought and activities involved with the art and craft in defining the domestic symbolism. It will explore the domestic field of social life to show explicit and implicit social landscape. This paper will reflect their perception, belief system, understanding of their notion and values, a vision how they shaped and experienced their reality.

**Keywords:** Meetei, *Yumjao*, Space, Arts and Crafts, Worldview.

## Introduction

Generally, human beings construct buildings and create a cultural environment rather than live simply in nature. Meetei community has a tradition of building a house using material available in their environment and employing the skills and techniques learned from past generations. The acquired knowledge and experience make them understand how to construct a specific structure. In addition, the geographical feature and climatic condition different from others make them innovate ideas for designing a house to serve all its proposes suitable to their environment. Generally, a house is a simple building that provides shelter, a place of care, storage of memories and dreams of the dwellers. It is not only a place for sheltering but also a place

for ritual and economic activities of the dwellers. Randi Haaland and Gunnar Haaland say that the component of environment expressed by human built constructions, e.g. megaliths, temples, graves, sculpture is of fundamental importance for understanding the socio-cultural and economic life of a community. Such non-verbal forms along with associated narratives have symbolic expressions showing cultural ideas and values.<sup>1</sup> The cultural expressive elements are embedded not only in the physical structures but also in spatial patterns.<sup>2</sup> So, the Meetei community has its own model of a house, which becomes an identity of the community. A behavioural pattern of the members of a family is developed in relation to spatial norms. So, selection of a space for construction of their house and construction of house are parts of religious activity.

The architectural spaces are made as interior and exterior, closed and open, private and public.<sup>3</sup> The religious and social significance associated with the space and location gives the sense of sacred and profane reflecting their belief system and world view. As every family member passes through different stages of life by observing ritual activities at the prescribed space and place of the house, the house becomes architectural-cultural feature. A Meetei house can be divided into two spheres – Interior, which is more private and Exterior sphere, which is more public in respect of personal, family and social activities at the house. The courtyard is also an important feature of a house because of its being overlapping space between public and private sphere. Architecture is a cultural text that has been evolved and developed through generations as a tradition of the community.<sup>4</sup>

In Meetei house, the psychological and emotional link is developed with various material objects used for meeting different needs in secular and sacred life and socio-cultural meanings and values are attributed to their material objects. Folklorist Henry Glassie mentions that things like pots, chairs, gravestones, butchered bones etc. reflects the ‘rule of the mind’ that reveals ‘individual and communal ways of life’, ‘nature and culture’ and ‘emotion and rationality’.<sup>5</sup> The history, chronology and genealogies of such materials place them in ‘disparate contexts’<sup>6</sup>. They are arranged at prescribed places to attribute their values and meanings and the space in between the materials relates the relationship between the materials through human behavior. Yu-Fu mentions that a house is not only a text of understanding behavioral expression but also a whole world view that can be transmitted down the generations.<sup>7</sup> The mythical space developed between materials and divinity of the places bind firmly the people of a community together encouraging the sense of ‘past and present’ and ‘lineage and continuity’ at the place.<sup>8</sup> So, a house is a cultural paradigm of a community, which reveals their identity, perception, belief system, understanding of their notion and values, and worldview<sup>9</sup>. According to folklorist, Dundes ‘Worldview’ is defined as “the way a people perceive the world and its place in it”<sup>10</sup>. Objectification of the perception with the use of folklore as source materials is the manifestation of worldview. So, the structure of their house and associated material objects become

symbolic texts and textures and represents their worldview describing traditions, activities, and relationships.

### Structure and Perception in *Yumjao*:

Evidence of building traditional Meetei house is visible and the structure is a conspicuous feature in the valley of Manipur. *Yumjao* has an unchangeable architectural structure from which their cultural identity, habits and living style can be recognized. Whether the architectural structure might be simple or complex style, it is associated with certain belief system that binds individuals together which constitute a society. The skills, knowledge and technology involved in the construction of *Meetei Yumjao* are evolved and handed down through generations from the regime of God with a belief system. From their narratives, it is believed that the construction of house is started from the era of formation of the earth.<sup>11</sup> There is another narrative<sup>12</sup> that a house was constructed by *Lainingthou Mapal* (nine male deities) and *Lainura Taret* (seven female deities). In *Umang Lai-Haraoba*, construction of a house is also depicted in the ritual dance called *Yumsharol* by *Amaibi*. It is also believed that a house having nine rooms was constructed at Kangla by the two bothers *Yoimongba* and *Taothingmang* (two legendary figures). When they started planning on shape/structure of the house, wind started blowing heavily and the top to two bamboos were found crossing in criss-cross that invoke them to make roof of the house in criss-cross on the top. Again they saw rainbow in the sky and took the curvilinear form of rainbow in the making of roof. The construction of *Yumjao Laikhal* was introduced by *Meitingu Khagemba Laikhal*<sup>13</sup> is a triangular front portion of a slanting roof of the house. In Meetei philosophy, the part and shape of *Yumjao* is built imitating the human figure and each part of the house is related to the parts of body. It is believed that the shape and form of house is derived from the position of a man worshipping the sun bowing down with knees on the ground.

As a tradition, *Yumjao*<sup>14</sup> is constructed facing towards east with a belief that construction of a house facing east gives prosperity, long and healthy life. As a tradition, every family member, just when wake up moves out in the porch/*Mangol*<sup>15</sup> for worshipping the sun *Korouhunba* before taking up any activities with the belief that exit from the house to the back side of the house will shorten life of them. Culturally, eastern or front side is considered as boon for everything. It is also believed that the period of early morning is for *Mangang* (guardian of morning), who is the protector of family members.<sup>16</sup>

*Yumjao* is constructed inside *Inghkol/Hingkol*<sup>17</sup> by performing a ritual on a prescribed auspicious day. The ritual activity is observed by an expert to find out a suitable space within their *Inghkol/Hingkol* (estate) where there is no harm from spirits. In their belief system, there are two spaces- *Lailam*, a track of land believed to be for deities or spirits and *Tillam*, a track of land believed to be for insect, worm or evil spirits, which are considered as bane of the family members for building a house. It is believed that the *Inghkol/Hingkol* of a family is protected by the directional deities.<sup>18</sup> The shape of *Inghkol/Hingkol* is assumed to be the shape of *Paphal*<sup>19</sup>, symbolical representation of god *Pakhangba*. It is said that the gate of *Inghkol/Hingkol* represents the mouth and head portion of the *Paphal*. So, the expert finds out a suitable and

safety space for building a house without disturbing the two tracks. The knowledge of suitability of places is in the mindset of the folk. There are certain rituals activities like birth, marriage, and death which are performed in and around the house within the *Ingkhol/Hingkol*. *Ingkhol/Hingkol* is considered as private and public spheres according to the context.

Most of the materials used for building *Yumjao* are light weight materials and mud. The wall of *Yumjao* is made by bamboo strips in lattice design forming skeleton which is plastered uniformly on both side with a mixture of thick straw, mud and water. The wall is repaired if required and painted with a colour every year on the eve of *Cheiraoba*, a festival of New Year to start a new life and healthy environment. In addition, *Chakhum Wai Teiba* (cleaning of kitchen), *Emung Wai Teiba* (room floor cleaning), and *Mangol Wai Teiba* (verandah cleaning ) are unavoidable tasks of women in morning in their day to day life before any work for good luck and success of the family. The thatch roof of the house is changed in every eight or ten years and the replacement time of thatch roof depends on the thickness and nature of the thatch used (*Tumnou, Charot, Singnang, Charu, Ee* etc.). Such material used as roof gives a cooling effect during hot summer and a warm effect during winter season because of the materials having low thermal conductivity.

Different pillars, horizontal and vertical poles are used for making backbone of a house. It is believed that the tree on which nest of birds is built have to be used as *Urep* (the main pillar) of the house in order to have prosperity in the family. The frame of the roof is of gable shape and is made by bamboo poles. The rafter/bamboo poles called *Humdang* are arranged in odd number using a concept called *Chang-Shee-Chang*<sup>20</sup>. It is also believed that *Humdang* is considered as the rib of human body. There is a horizontal pole/ridge pole called *Khangabu* which support all the *Humdang* is considered as *Yanglen*/spinal cord of a body. The bamboo used for *Khangabu* is not allowed to touch by leg or cannot be crossed over. Equal number of pillars is erected facing each other on the opposite sides with a belief that it will give equal progress to both male and female. Windows and doors are not kept on opposite side face to face because if they are kept face to face, it is believed that the wealth of the family will be drained out/blown off and cannot be accumulated.

### **Division of space and Symbolical representation of a place**

The space of the *Ingkhol* around the *Meetei Yumjao* is again categorized according to secondary buildings constructed for various profane and sacred proposes around the house. The secondary buildings constructed in specific direction from the house are 1) *Laishang* (hut for deities/temple) constructed in the north-east region, 2) *Mamang Sang-goi* (a three walled building constructed facing each other with the house on the eastern side of *Sumang/courtyard*<sup>21</sup> for performing ritual and domestic activities and for keeping household materials), 3) *Awang Sang-goi* (same as *Mamang Sang-goi* but built facing southward on the northern region of *Sumang/courtyard* and used either for observing ritual and domestic activities or for placing animals), 4) *Makha Sang-goi* (same as *Mamang Sang-goi* but built facing northward on the southern region

of *Sumang*/courtyard and used for keeping household materials) and 5) *Kei* (used as granary of paddy grain or storehouse of firewood and constructed on the western region/back side of main house. So, each of the buildings has its socio-cultural economic function in relation with *Yumjao*, which is shown through behavior as well as materials associated with it.

The entire house is again divided into different rooms for different purposes of the members of the family that reflect respect, privacy, and identity given to each member of the family and their personal space. However, there is only psychological partition but not physical partition between the rooms even if they have concept of the separate rooms, privacy and space identity. The house itself is a design for a single family assuming that there has been nuclear family system in the community because no extension or addition of space to the house with the addition of new family is found. In a *Yumjao*, there may be nine or seven or five or three rooms. In early time, numbers of room signifies social status i.e. nine rooms for king, seven for minister or noble man, five or three for common. In fact, division of space of a house is based on their hierarchy, gender, sacred and profane activities and places. It is the central point for identifying the right direction and location for various sacred and profane activities which are incorporated in their belief system.<sup>22</sup> In Meetei community, it is believed that various deities exist in and around their houses. *Sidaba Mapu*<sup>23</sup>(an almighty god or supreme God), *Yumlai* (deities of house), *Lamlai* (local deities), *Salai Apokpa* (progenitor of clan) and *Pakhangba* (ancestor of the community) are their important deities. As the existence and regime of the deities are different and specific, the sacred activities in connection the deities are held at their proper places/contextualized spaces. Considering such cultural and traditional norms and belief, the space of the *Inkhol* and the House is divided into two-interior and exterior.

### **Interior:**

In a *Yumjao*, sacred place are made by occupancy of material objects at a space and some spaces are made sacred by incorporating the space with customary behavior and ritual activities. Benjamin J. Fleming mentioned that form and matter of perception takes place in a certain limited horizon and ultimately in specific context. There is a relation between artifacts and idea with practices created or modified by people.<sup>24</sup> So, a space is contextualized by material objects either within sacred or profane sphere. Inside the house, there are three sections which are partitioned psychologically.

The first section adjacent to the porch is divided into two rooms- one is *Ningol Ka*/room for unmarried daughters on the left side and another is *Piba Ka*/room for unmarried sons on the right side. The size of the *Piba* room is bigger than the size of the *Ningol* (girl) room. The division of first section is based on both gender of unmarried family members and their belief that left side are considered as female and right side as male.<sup>25</sup>

The second section is divided into three spaces- one on the extreme left side (north side) is considered as Goddess *Leimarel Ka*, the second on the extreme right side as *Phamjao Ka*/space for married member of the family, and the third is *Phunga Lairu*/fire place in between *Leimarel Ka* and *Phamjao Ka*. The abode of

Goddess *Leimarel Sidabi* is symbolically represented by a pot called *Eshaiphu* with full of water. It is believed that if the pot is not filled with water in full, the family member may get thirsty while sleeping. Culturally, water represents not only the soul and life of the family but also blood. If the water of the pot is not replaced with new one every year or if the *Leimarel ka* is not neat and tidy, the head-woman of the family may have bad dream, which predict bad omen likely to happen in future to their family members. There is an altar at *Phunga Lairu* (fireplace) that represents the abode of *Goddess Emoinu Chahongbi*, the goddess of wealth. Whether the fireplace is considered as sacred or profane depend on the context. During winter, folk stories are narrated to children by an older family member for giving amusement and knowledge while seating around the fireplace for getting warm. Cooking of main meal is not done at such fireplace but hot water for bath and *Chenghi*, a traditional herbal shampoo are prepared at such place. It is traditionally unavoidable for family members to fill or refill the pot called *Irumphu* with full of water and to place on a tripod iron frame. One cannot touch or cross over tripod frames with leg because the three legs of tripod represent *Mangang*, *Luwang*, and *Khuman* (three guardians of a day). It is believed that the fireplace is naval part that is the root of originating human life. It is also considered as the abode of *Phunga Apoka* (Ancestor of the family). So, the behavioral activities and associated materials in the various contexts distinguish between sacred and profane.

The third section is divided into two- one is kitchen on the left side, which is considered as heart of the family and another is the abode of God *Sannamahi*<sup>26</sup> at the corner of the extreme right south-western side/*Sannathong* of the space. The space of God *Sannamahi* is visually defined by a platform /*Phambal* made of bamboo or wood and a *Lubak* (storage basket) on it. The divinity attributed to the material objects strengthens the sense of sacredness of the space allotted for a particular sacred propose. It is also believed that if the place of *Sannamahi* is not neat and tidy, then the head-woman of the family may have bad dream that can predict bad omen which might happen in future in their family members. The furnace of the kitchen is at the north-west corner of the house. There are two types of cooking vessels- *Chakthong Chaphu* for cooking rice and *Uyan* for cooking curry. The purposes of the two vessels are not interchangeable. Culturally *Chakthong Chapu* signifies as man and *Uyan* as woman revealing the complementary relation between the couples. Work in the kitchen for preparation of food is solely for women. Women are restricted to enter the space allotted for kitchen and to touch the *Chaphu* and the *Uyan* without taking bath.<sup>27</sup> Some other material objects required in the kitchen such as *Chengphu*/ Pot for storing rice considered as Goddess *Emoinu*, *Kharung*/pot for storage of drinking water, *Eshing Pun*/ pot for fetching drinking water etc are placed in the space of kitchen and cannot be touched by any woman who do not take bath or during menstruation period. In addition, such kitchen items are strictly restricted to touch while having food. If someone touches it while eating then it is considered as impure till it is washed. From the above discussion, it is known that the space and various material objects are systematized in their position according to their

purpose and context and utilized in their private life to express their individual and communal emotional values.

### **Exterior:**

Like interior of *Yumjao*, the exterior spaces also have relation with the family members under certain belief system. As the suitable position of both secondary houses and the household materials kept at these houses is decided from the position of *Meetei Yumjao* considering it as a reference point under a belief system, the underlying perception about their outer environment is shown through behavioral activities of the member of the family. It is considered as public (outer) sphere where the social cultural life is seen rather than private life.

The space of the exterior is divided into four divisions- *Mamang* (frontal side), *Awang Yetnakha* (left side), *Makha Yetnakha* (right side) and *Maning* (back side). The left, right, and the back side of a house are collectively known as *Yetnakha Lukha*. The two sides of house- *Awang Yetnakha* (northern side of a house) and *Makha Yetnakha* (southern side of a house) are considered as place of *Yenakha Paodabi*, a female deity who always try to attack family members if she gets opportunity. So, children are restricted to play at such places during the evening and afternoon. It is believed that the female deity is more active during this period and she will carry away the children to strange place. On the side of *Makha Yetnakha*, *Polangkhok*, a hanger made by bamboo poles is always kept for drying wet cloths so that the drying cloths are protected from the evil eyes. In addition, if the drying clothes are kept till night on the hanger, the cloths are passed across the flame of fire to ward off any evil spirits.

When a member of a family is ready for going out from his/her house for journey, broom and *Suk Sumbal* (mortar and pestle), *Yangkok* (winnowing fan), *Khudeng* (tub), black pot, and broken pot are kept away to avoid the member coming across with such materials because meeting with such material is considered as bad omen. It is also believed that if such materials are exposed to outsiders, it may harm the wealth of the family because of their evil eye. So, most of these items are kept on the right side of the house/*Makha Yetnakha*. Moreover, gender-based materials are placed on a specific side of the house. When a family gives birth to a baby girl, the placenta is buried on the left side of the house i.e. *Awang Yetnakha* whereas the baby boy placenta is buried on the right side of the house i.e. *Makha Yetnakha*. It is also believed that if the placenta is buried near the house, the soul of the child is always with the family and one will die inside the *Ingkhol*.

The courtyard of the house is a free space in front of the house for observing rituals of birth to death ceremonies of the family. It is divided into two parts- one is south/*Kha* and another is north/*Awang*. Any person is not allowed to sit at *Khangenpham*, the southern portion/section close to eastern side because it's being considered as bad omen. However, when a family member dies, the dead body is kept at this place only. *Echum Tapham*, a space between the house and courtyard where the rain drop fall from the frontal roof of the house is considered as a place for *Echum Lairembi* or *Khamnung Kikou Langonbi*. It is believed

that if someone falls down in the Echum Tapham , the person will not have long life. So children are restricted to play or sit at the place. *Mamang Sang-goi* a secondary house in front of the house is mainly for keeping some specific household materials and not for family members' dwelling. Most of the *Meetei* women engage in weaving and this is the place where their loom is kept for weaving. If some condition compels one of the family members to stay at this secondary building, only the eldest member is allowed with a belief that if younger member stays there, he/she may suffer from evil spirits. It is also used as a space for gathering in an occasion.

### Conclusion:

The *Meetei Yumjao* is a well-defined structure and has been a symbolic representation showing their identity, habits and life style that constitute in the socio-cultural economic life of the community. In a sense, it is a symbolic representation of human being and representation of male and female in the construction of house reveals the idea of necessity of creation of life. As deities and spirits are believed to exist in and around the *Ingkhol*, their spaces are kept separately from the construction of their house and placement of household materials. The *Meetei Yumjao* has been a central/ reference point for locating a suitable space/ place for any sacred and profane activities/materials revealing their worldview perceived and conceived by the community itself.

Division of space inside the house is interrelated with types of household materials and side on which the materials are placed according to their belief system, which shows sacred and profane life. In the division of space, the partition between spaces is constructed psychologically without any physical partition. Therefore, *Meetei Yumjao* is not only a text of understanding behavioral expression but also a cultural symbol.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Randi Haaland and Gunnar Haaland, 'Landscape' in Timothy Insoll, (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 24-37.

<sup>2</sup> Goran Aijmer, "House in Lesu: The Historical Anthropological of a New Ireland Society", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 63, No., (Spring, 2007), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Yu-Fu, Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, London: University of Minnesota, Mineapolis, 2001, pp.101-104.

<sup>4</sup> Yu-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, London: University of Minnesota, 2001, pp.101-104.

<sup>5</sup> Grace Karskens, "Revisiting the Worldview: The Archaeology of Convict Households in Sydney's Rocks Neighborhood", *Historical Archaeology*, Society for Historical Archaeology, Vol. 37, No. 1, (2003), p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 106-116.

<sup>8</sup> Yu-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, London: University of Minnesota, 2001, pp. 149-162.

<sup>9</sup> "World view is a people's more or less systematic attempt to make sense of environment. To be livable, nature and society must show order and display a harmonious relationship. All people require a sense of order and fitness in their environment, but not all seek it in the elaboration of a coherent cosmic system." Roxana Waterson, "The Symbolism of Sa'Dan Toraja House Carvings", *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, ucpres, No. 15, (Spring, 1988), p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> Simom J. Bronner, (ed.), *The Meaning of Folklore*, Utah State University Press, 2007, pp. 179-192.

<sup>11</sup>Atiya Sidaba ordered his son Konjin Tuthaba to construct a house. Konjin Tuthaba went off to do the task and collected trees like Uyin, Thangji, and Tairen and built a house.

<sup>12</sup>Lainingthou Mapal (nine ancestral gods) erected pillars and constructed the walls of the house and Lainura Taret (seven goddesses) made the roof part with Ee (thatch). When Lainura Taret made the roof, the thatch was kept in such a way that the bottom part of the Ee is on the top. When Lainingthou Mapal found the wrong position of Ee, they immediately (Eekhok and Eeton) the direction of the Ee is changed by turning the position bottom part in the they were asked to reverse the position. But some of the Ee were kept remain unchanged. It is said that the first house constructed by the god was known as Pongshang.

<sup>13</sup> It is also known as Sana Yumbi.

<sup>14</sup>Etymologically, Meetei house can be termed as Yum, Mongba, Sang-gai, Eshaikol, Eyum etc. However, it is popularly known as Yumjao.

<sup>15</sup> Mangol is a porch in the frontal part of Meetei Yumjao.

<sup>16</sup>Meetei community believes that there are three guardians (gods) of three periods of a day says – Mangang, Luwang and Khuman.

<sup>17</sup> Ingkhol means the place where bloods are gathered. Hingkol is a compound word composed of two words Hing = live, Kol = Protecting and caring. It is the safety place where life originates and exists.

<sup>18</sup> It is believed that the family member of the house is protected by four guardian Gods- Koubru, Thangjing, Wangbren, and Marjing at four corner of the Hingkol/Ingkhol. In the middle, there is a place for Mangang, Luwang, and Khuman who are guardian gods of three periods of a day.

<sup>19</sup> Paphal is a mythical python in different forms, which represents God Pakhangba.

<sup>20</sup> Chang-Shee-Chang means Live-death-Live.

<sup>21</sup> Sumang/Courtyard is a space in front of Meetei Yumjao for domestic and ritual activities.

<sup>22</sup> Each and every direction is ruled by the deities for the protection of the family as well as community.

<sup>23</sup> He is known by different names- Atiya sidaba, Atinga sidaba, Atingkok Sidaba, Yaibirel Sidaba.

<sup>24</sup> Benjamin J. Fleming ‘Material Culture and Religious Studies’ in Benjamin J. Fleming and Richard D. Mann, (ed.), *Material Culture and Asian Religions: Text, Image, Object*, New: Routledge, 2014, p- 1-20

<sup>25</sup> In their myth, when the Almighty creates the universe, woman is originated from left hand side of his body. The saying- ‘Oigeelamdang oibi yetki lamdang oiba’ reveal that left is female and right is male. Not only in their verbal expression but also in ritual activities, a woman sits on the left side of the man.

<sup>26</sup> At the time of creation of the earth, the land was fully covered by water and the water had been drained out through the hole of Chinunghut by Salail Sidaba and Leimarel Sidabi. After that they found a dry place and ascended the throne for administration at Kangla. They had no child and thought for getting a child. They did not find any option for getting their child but at last they prayed Tengpan Mapu everyday. Ultimately, Tengpan Mapu was satisfied with them and blessed them with a child finally. The child was named as Sannamahi.

<sup>27</sup> During the menstrual period, women are not allowed to enter kitchen because they are considered as impure.

## REFERENCES

- Aijmer, Goran. “House in Lesu: The Historical Anthropological of a New Ireland Society”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 63, No., Spring, 2007.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, New York: The Free Press, 1995.
- J. Bronner, Simom. (ed.), *The Meaning of Folklore*, Utah State University Press, 2007.
- J. Fleming, Benjamin. ‘Material Culture and Religious Studies’ in Benjamin J. Fleming and Richard D. Mann, (ed.), *Material Culture and Asian Religions: Text, Image, Object*, New: Routledge, 2014.
- Karskens, Grace. “Revisiting the Worldview: The Archaeology of Convict Households in Sydney’s Rocks Neighborhood”, *Historical Archaeology*, Society for Historical Archaeology, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2003.

- Haaland, Randi and Gunnar Haaland, 'Landscape' in Timothy Insoll, (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Tuan, Yu-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, London: University of Minnesota, 2001.
- Waterson, Roxana. "The Symbolism of Sa'Dan Toraja House Carvings", *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, ucpress, No. 15, Spring, 1988.

