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# Summary

This PhD thesis has been researched and written from 2009 to 2013 thanks to a fellowship from Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo (YAD). It has been part of the project 'Sites, Bodies and Stories: The Dynamics of Heritage Formation in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands' (SBS) of VU University, which was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) research programme on 'Cultural Dynamics'. Within this SBS project this book focuses on the meaning and care of cultural artefacts and landscapes in the Indonesian archipelago from before the Dutch colonial rule to the present day, as well as on contemporary cultural management discourse. It investigates the ways in which Indonesian heritage were acquired, produced and communicated in the past. Through the Indonesian nation state's cultural heritage project to strengthen the notion of national unity in a wider social, economic and political context, it explores whether and how Indonesian cultural heritage management is imbued with the colonial legacy of cultural heritage practices. This is studied with a special focus on one specific case - cultural heritage on the island of Flores, the small island in East Indonesia. The umbrella theme of 'Sites, Bodies and Stories' is translated into ethno-archaeological research, which combines archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches to cultural heritage formation in contemporary society. In order to engage in the day-to-day practices of the Florenese with respect to their cultural heritage, I undertook my ethno-archaeological research in certain villages of two present day ethnic groups, namely the Ngadha of Central Flores, and the Manggaraian of West Flores. This focus on the process of heritage formation in these Manggaraian and the Ngadha megalith villages, allowed me to explore the way in which the people are making their claims about their ancestors, managing their dynamic identity and constructing a new understanding about themselves in the local, national and global domain. The conclusion projects these cultural dynamics on three interrelated maps which indicate spatial, social and ideological relationships. These maps are not fixed; they change over time and in geographical scope. Heritage management politics move on these maps.

A central notion throughout this thesis is that of Unity in Diversity, which is seen as the characteristic unifying feature of the Indonesian state ever since Independence. So what are the nature and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage within the Indonesian nation's project of national unity? What is the position of Manggarain and the Ngadha cultural heritage in such a project? This thesis shows that concerning the temporal (chronological) and social context of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage, the way in which cultural heritage of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha are managed, the Indonesian government's project of national unity or its top-down heritage management

approach seems inappropriate for more freedom to these people and their cultural heritage. It explores alternatives in terms of a bottom-up heritage management approach, to allow for more space for Ngadha and Manggaraians' democratisation in respect of their heritage and more flexible participation in heritage management. In the future will the Manggaraian and the Ngadha be able to position their cultural heritage in the global, national and local heritage discourse that they encounter?

The discussion of these fundamental questions approached here is based on ethno-archaeological fieldwork and oral history in various megalith village sites, on historical research on moveable artefacts and colonial ethnographic records, and on an archaeological excavation. This has resulted in rich and varied kinds of data that potentially support the integration of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage into the colourful pictures of the Indonesian state heritage management discourse. It is important to note that archaeological methods furnish representations of residues of human activities in the distant past as well as to the archaeological site modifications that affect social and cultural interaction. Using historical methods this ancient human daily life is filtered and compared with archival and oral history to view change and continuity in a framework of a longer-term time-line. Finally, anthropological method enables an examination of the production, fabrication and invention of past history in the present.

Further, the Manggaraian and the Ngadha tangible and intangible heritage, such as of archaeological sites, megalith villages (Sites), human remains, dance, music and ritual performance (Bodies), portable artefacts, myths of origin, local histories (Stories) are integrated as a data entity. It is expected this data integration might open dialogue between archaeological, historical and anthropological approaches. While this cultural heritage is found in museums outside Indonesian, in national museums and in most parts of the Manggarai and Ngadha region, comparison between the different representations and the ways in which such heritage was represented can yield important results. In this case, this representation mirrors the dynamic process of inclusion and exclusion with respect to Manggaraian and Ngadha cultural heritage. Through fieldwork living cultural heritage sites have been documented and explored in terms of the ways in which these heritage sites are utilised by the government, non-governmental institutions and the local ethnic communities to achieve social purposes. Therefore by observing the ways in which the Manggarai and the Ngadha cultural heritage are used for social ends (i.e., cultural capital, commodification, social and political), the nature of the contestations has been analysed and ways are discussed in which various interest groups can negotiate their 'stake' in cultural heritage

policies at a local, national and global level. This is explored in eight chapters and divided into three parts, as follows:

Part 1 provides the general background and historical context of this study, which reaches far beyond the scope of the case study of Manggaraian and Ngadha heritage formation in Flores. Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical framework of how archaeology is related to cultural heritage management. As Hodder, Tilley, Johnson and Smith provide the major concepts of archaeological knowledge and heritage management discourse in a changing, historically situated social practice and in specific cultural contexts, this chapter also explains the rationale for ethno-archaeological research and semiotic analysis to reveal the information embedded in Flores cultural heritage. To this end, archaeology and cultural heritage management concepts are positioned as contemporary social knowledge constructions which generate discourses on the way in which the past and the present interact between social, political and cultural contexts.

Chapter 2 gives an extensive periodisation of the cultural heritage policies and archaeological practices in Indonesia. In a historiographical overview based on an extensive body of literature and primary sources, it focuses on three periods: 19th-20th century under Dutch colonial rule, after 1945 under Sukarno, and after 1965 under Suharto. (The changes in the discourse after the fall of Suharto are discussed in chapter 7.) This chapter argues that the emergence of cultural heritage institutions is bound up with not only with socio-economic state policies (like the ethical policy, the guided democracy and the five year plans) but also with the historiography on the Indonesian nation. Starting from the notion of 'Colonial archaeology', which refers both to archaeological institutions established under Dutch colonial rule and to academic practices and discourse with respect to archaeology, it investigates how Dutch and Indonesian archaeologists like Krom, Brandes, Stutterheim, Soekmono and Soejono have positioned themselves within these events and the impact of decolonisation.

Part II introduces the island of Flores and its people, the Ngadha and Manggaraian in particular. Chapter 3, which partly is based on earlier fieldwork conducted between 19th century and 20th century, presents the natural setting of the island of Flores and its environmental features. The varieties of ethnic groups, languages, general cultural heritage, ethnic group distribution, their history and previous research on archaeology, anthropology are mentioned. Such a description offers insight into the ways in which the Florenese people deal with multiple identities, related to their ethnicity and clan affiliation, to their being known outside of Flores as Florenese, and their Indonesian citizenship, with its contested history under the Indonesian nation state's project of nation building and unity.

Chapter 4 and 5, mainly based on fieldwork, provide a more detailed ethnography and ethno-archaeology of the cultural heritage of Ngadha and Manggaraian with the focus on the megalith villages. It describes the spatial distribution of these villages in the Ngadha and Manggarai regions, their site plans, chronology, ethnic affiliation and social organisation. Related to these spatial and social maps, the coalescence of ethnography and ethno-archaeology information presents a more detailed ideology map of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage construction.

Chapter 6 enlarges the spatial map and focuses on the representation of the natures and forms of the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage, which are found and preserved in the collections of a former Colonial Museum in the Netherlands, the National Museum in Jakarta and the Nusa Tenggara Timur Province Museum in Kupang. Referring to the extensive literature on colonial objects, classifications and hierarchies as elaborated by authors like Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Kreps and McGregor, it argues that these three museums each in a different way, still struggle with the collection practices from colonial times, and the implicit cultural hierarchies attached to the objects collected from people whose living megalith culture was and is understood as primitive, with a connotation of being backwards.

Part III focuses on contemporary heritage dynamic. In Chapter 7 I question the role of Indonesian government's cultural heritage institutions in practicing cultural heritage management 'in the service of the state', especially in the context of the decentralisation policies in the Reformation era. How do those policies affect the Manggaraian and the Ngadha in their day to day and formal dealing with their cultural heritage, do they affect their decision-making, and signifying practices – cultural, social, historical, economic, ideology and political – with respect to their tangible and intangible heritage? Fieldwork reveals two sides to these questions, related to the top-down approach of government heritage institutions and the negotiation of the people at the local level regarding everyday perspectives on the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage.

Chapter 8 demonstrates that the Manggaraian and the Ngadha cultural heritage are produced through the social actor's manipulations.  Given my own excavation results at Warloka site, Manggarai, West Flores it shows the participation of the people in all the processes, from decision making through to the management of heritage resources and how they are used to construct and pursue of social ends. My fieldwork principle includes both public government and private enterprises at the national and international levels. Further, in this chapter two important issues are addressed. First, I argue that heritage practices are dynamic, fluid and continuous which include, creation, recovery, invention and commemoration. Second, based on my study I offer suggestions for a bottom-up cultural heritage management practice, which has emerged as critical response to top-down heritage management.

The last part of this thesis states the conclusions drawn from its research and places them in the recent framework of Indonesian cultural heritage studies. It summerises the spatial, social and ideology maps that can be drawn with respect to the prehistory of Flores, the colonialism of the Dutch colonial state and the centralising policies of the Indonesian nation

state.  It then considers the relevance of this research for other practices of cultural heritage in Indonesia. As such, this thesis aims to shed more light on a new understanding of the cultural heritage management discourse, not only for academics in archaeology, prehistory, history and anthropology, but also for stake-holders of cultural heritage management in the local, national and global arena.