



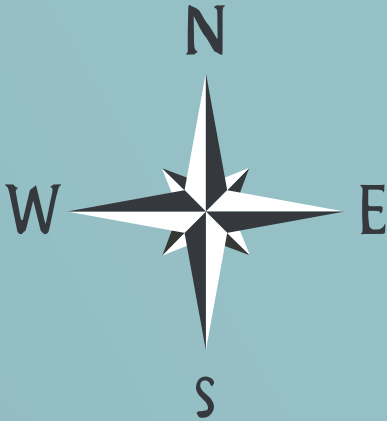
Cultural Artefacts of Lampung, Sumatera:

Lampung Saibatin Decorative Textile

A Brief Report of the Origin, Philosophy,
and Cultural Aspects of the Textiles

SUMATRA SELATAN PROVINCE





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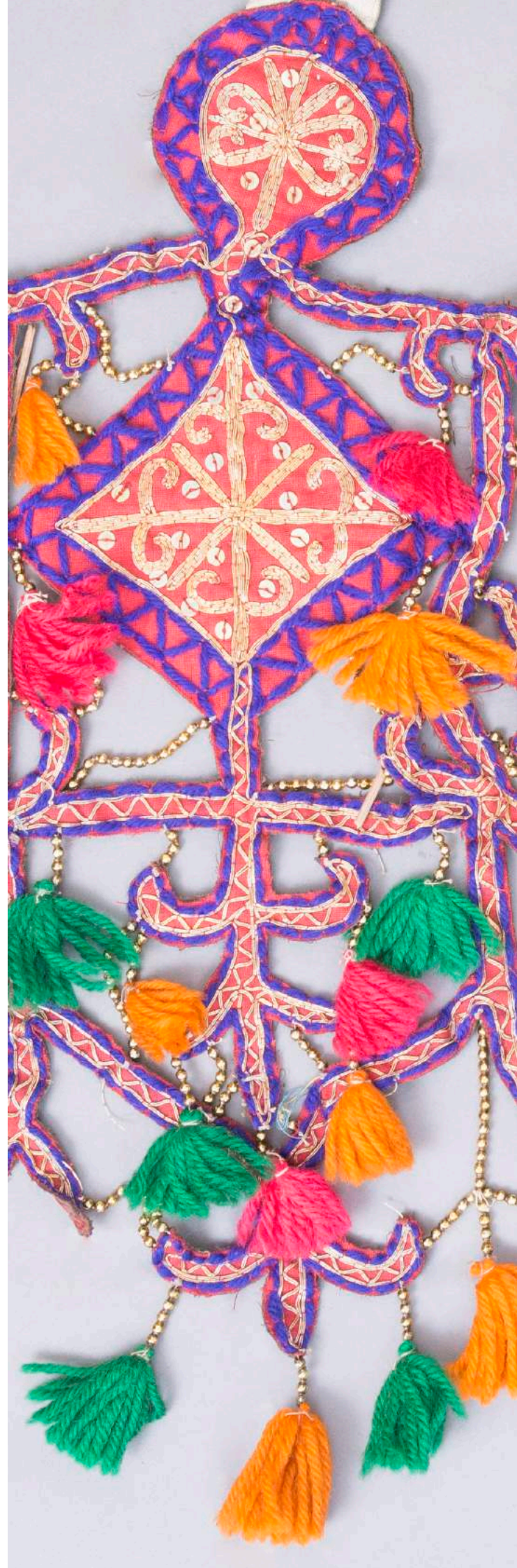
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Contents

Cover	i
Map of Lampung	ii
Copyright and Team	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Contents	v
Preface	vii
Overview	1
The Culture Behind the Textile	1
Cultural Identities: Saibatin & Pepadun	3
Background: The History of The Places	4
Pivotal Events	5
Saibatin Social Hierarchy	7
Familial Saibatin: Design, Colors, & Techniques	9
Jabung: The Home of Sekampung Libo	13
The Spread of Lampung Saibatin	13
Tanggamus Gem: Kekhatuan Semaka Museum	15
Variety of Saibatin Traditional Decorative Textiles	17
Kain Kapal (Ship Cloth)	17
Tampan (Tray Cloth)	19
Kebung	19
Kebung in Kekhatuan Semaka	19
Tikhai	21
Tikhai: Tekatan	21
Tikhai Arrangement	21
Lelokhokh	22
Kekhedaian	22
Salay Balayan	22
Cindai	23



Kain Batik Cempaka (Batik Cempaka Cloth)	23
Kumbang Minyak	23
Sangkutan	23
Sangkutan Iwa-Iwa	24
Design Pattern & Techniques	25
Evolution of Techniques	27
Tekat Technique (Embroidery)	29
The Philosophy of Tekat	29
Tekatan Lakan and Gold Thread Tekatan	30
Belah Ketupat: Pattern and Design	31
Philosophy of Belah Ketupat	31
Supplementary Weaving Technique	32
Patchwork Technique	32
Weft Resist Dyed (Ikat Technique)	32
Traditional Storing Method	33
Conclusion	35
Artefacts Found During the Research	37
West Lampung's Products	49
Glossary	53
Appendix	55
Appendix A Kemandakan Kelumbayan	55
Appendix B Kebuayan Sebadak in Way Lima, Pesawaran	57
Appendix C Kemandakan Seputih (Cukuh Balak)	59
Appendix D Kemandakan Way Urang Legun	61

Preface

First, the writer wants to thank the researcher, photographer, graphic designer, and ANGIN team for supporting us to finish this book. The book is about the development of Lampung's decorative textiles based on three researches that were conducted between 2015 - 2018.

Writing this book helped enhance our knowledge about textiles in Indonesia, especially Lampung's decorative textiles. Hopefully, this book will also help readers to learn more about Lampung's decorative textiles.

Jakarta, October 30th, 2019

The Author





▲ Ship Clothes or Sesai Balak made from weft cotton or silk threads woven on to a natural cotton ground.



▲ People take a picture with Tikhai Belah Ketupat

Overview

The Culture Behind the Textile

Textile culture in Indonesia has come a long way. Since 2500 BC, the technique of weaving by plaiting has been used. At the time, the technique is applied to create storages instead of clothing (Kartiwa, 1987/1993). The art of weaving is related to a society's knowledge, cultural, belief, and social organization systems, as well as its natural environment. Therefore, each region has its own distinct woven fabric. The quality of a woven fabric can be measured from the quality of its materials, colors, patterns, and decorations (Kemendag, 2016).

A pivotal change in Indonesian textiles occurred during Dong Son era circa 500 BC, where textiles and clothes depicted distinctive geometric patterns and advanced warp techniques were used. During this time, the textile functionality was related to sacred and religious activities.

Buddhist-Hinduism and Islamic kingdoms influenced ancient Indonesian textiles, leading to broad textile diversity from 500 BC until AD 1800. The long time span shows the importance of textiles and weaving knowledge as a part of humanity's representation and expression. During this phase, textile development was important to regional and global trading (Kahdar et al, 2010). Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Celebes, Nusa Tenggara, and Bali participated in the textile production (Langi, Clarissa, and Shinmi, 2016). The stretch went as far as China and India through Silk Road trade traffic route. The

coastal areas have been subjected to foreign influences as a result of global trade relations with India, China, Middle East, Portugal and the Netherlands.

One of the sectors that was influenced was creativity, which contributed to the variety of design in textiles, especially ornamental variety (Treda, 2008). Lampung, situated at the southern tip of Sumatra island, is a strategic site where ancient textile culture flourished and cherished.

Though may be different in philosophy, textiles are generally made out of necessity, whether it be for clothing or shelter, and their significance is tied to their functionality. The attachment of philosophy and meaning as an expression of creativity is connected to local beliefs and history. Lampung is known for its unique and bright traditional decorative textiles. Decorative textiles are mainly intended as decoration for rite of passage ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, and circumcision parties.

The history of spice trade and the different cultures that have entered the region made Lampung people become very affluent, attaching an emphasis on social status. The research discovered that the social system has a primary influence on the design of the textiles, particularly in the colours and the meanings behind them. With this book, we can see how the cultural identity is varied, as well



as how familial hierarchy is divided and what colours are used to indicate each individual and family's status.

Beyond that, the book aims to explore the artistry of Lampung textiles as an art piece, the philosophies represented behind the symbols, and the use of each type of textile using a historical and ethnographic approach. Through the research, we can trace the movement and influence of history represented within them. The research was conducted in South Lampung (Kadongdong and Way Lima), West Lampung (Pesawaran, Liwa, Pulau Pisa, and Tanggamus), and East Lampung (Jabung and Margatiga).



▲ Khudat dance troops during a wedding in Kalianda (2018)

Cultural Identities: Saibatin & Pepadun

In 2019, modern Lampung is a province in the Republic of Indonesia situated right under South Sumatra, with Bengkulu at its northwest. Lampung consists of twelve regencies and two cities, with Bandar Lampung as its capital. As of December 2015, Lampung had a population of 8,117,268.

Lampung as a region has a long history of migrants and culture assimilation — influenced by Chinese and Arab cultures during pre-colonial trades, Banten culture that came during Islamic kingdom occupancy in Sunda Strait, Javanese who came as plantation workers and rulers in the pre-republic era, and Balinese culture, whose people migrated to Lampung as a result of directional order of the country's President during the New Order era.

Indigenous Lampung identify themselves as two tribes: Saibatin and Papadun/Pepadun. Saibatin is known as the cultural identity for families who lived alongside coastal region. Papadun are the non-coastal, the inlands; including hinterlands and riverside families. The culture representation between these two tribes are distinctly different, which can be seen in their traditional textiles and decorations.

This book focuses particularly on the Saibatin (coastal) region of Lampung and its signature types of decorative textiles: *tekat*, *belah ketupat* (rhombus) *kebung*, and *tikhai*. *Kebung* and *tikhai* are the main types of Lampung's decorative textiles, known for their distinct visual patterns and the techniques used to create them. The book also aims to trace the different cultural influences that are imbedded within these textiles.

Background: The History of The Places

Lampung's history is rich with natural treasures, trade, and a vast mix of cultures. With its fertile lands producing exotic cloves, nutmeg and pepper, the region attracted the traders from within the Indonesian archipelago extending all the way to Western Europe and China, bringing in a variety of cultural influences into the mix. Located in the center of the Sunda Strait, a major trading nexus, Lampung's prime location was where all these cultures collided (Kingston 1990).

Through the entrance of the Banten Kingdom in 1530, Islam became a significant part of Lampung culture through the arrival of Banten Kingdom in 1530. It influenced all aspects of society, particularly social hierarchy and political developments. In terms of decorative textiles, we traced the differences between West Lampung and other Saibatin regions through the trade routes across the regions which signified the different types of materials that were available and used in each area.



▲ Curious Jabung kids playing with the research team

Pivotal Events

Lampung's well-known history as a port of trade and its rich natural resources meant there was a growing prosperity that spread throughout the region, transforming society in a way that put importance on social status. This transformation inspired many of the decorative elements on traditional textiles, not only in the designs, but also the reasons they became as significant as they are. Specific historical events, highlighted in the timeline below, ignited Lampung's cultural transformations that built the social structures upon which the traditional textiles are based.

1575

The Dissolvement and Expansion of Keratua Pugung of Saibatin

The event created a line of similarity in decorative textiles display arrangement in the southern Lampung and eastern Lampung Saibatin, which was also directly affected by Banten Sultanate as their socio-culture mecca at that time.

1579

Destruction of the Last Hindu Buddhist Kingdom in the Archipelago

Elimination of human, puppet, and animal motifs which were then replaced by geometric and floral motifs.

1596

Spice Trading with Europe

Through the spice trade, cloves and pepper became symbols of prosperity. These symbols then began to appear in decorative textiles and sacred talismans, such as crown (Siger).

1600

EIC Establishment

The establishment of East India Company (EIC), a British spice company that regulated the spice trade route in the archipelago. EIC competed for trade with the VOC which created conflicts with the locals. In this timeframe, weaponry and art grew, including the development of decorative textiles such as army flags (*umbul-umbul*).

1834-
1858

The legacy of Raden Inten II

Raden Inten II from Saibatin clan Keratuan Darah Putih fought the European invasion. His heroic effort is made symbolic as he was proclaimed a national hero. His cultural background and artifacts are recognized nationally in Indonesia and preserved by his offsprings until now. The collection includes decorative textiles.

1883

Mount Krakatau Eruption

Krakatau eruption erased most of Lampung Saibatin's coastal culture, including any remnants of original ancient textiles and the crafters.

1964

Province Expansion: Lampung from South Sumatra

The birth of Lampung province was accompanied by the establishment of the concept of "Sai Bumi Ruwa Jurai", meaning an acknowledgement of two indigenous Lampung tribes, namely Pepadun and Saibatin. The Saibatin tribe is identified with the rhombus motif as seen in *kebung*. The representation of the symbols in textiles became a way to distinguish between the two cultural identities.

1986

Clove and Pepper Commodity Price Peaked

The price of the clove and pepper commodity peaked this year. The good economy made it possible for Saibatin decorative textiles and craft centers to be established in some places, such as in Krui, Talang Padang, Gedong Tataan, and other transmigrant villages.

1602

VOC Establishment

Similar to EIC, in this timeframe, weaponry and art developed, including the growth of decorative textiles such as army flags.

1751

Raden Inten I from Keratuan Darah Putih's Resistance Against EIC & VOC

The Saibatin symbols became the symbols of inlanders. The era started when the rhombus motif was first introduced as the symbol of a united Saibatin.

1812

Zuid Sumatra Fell to England (including District van Lampung)

Palembang (capital city of Zuid Sumatera at the time, including District Van Lampung) was taken over by the English army (Raffles).

1814

London Convention

London Convention marked the moment the United States surrendered its power in Sumatra to the Netherlands. In relation to traditional textiles, the Dutch began their anthropological documentation of Lampung as part of its colony, which was the beginning of the preservation of old Lampung textiles and their stories (photos, how to wear, etc).

1995-1998

Death of Cloves

Death of clove plants and other commodities in Lampung soil. During this time, the locals began to be tempted to sell family-owned fabrics and antiques, including fabrics used in displays such as Jung Galuh, Pelepai, Sesai Balak, Tapis, and others.

1995-1998

Monetary Crisis in Indonesia

Large-scale selling and buying of antiques, including Saibatin decorative textiles, by USD capital owners happened nationwide.

1998

The Fall of Suharto and Rupiah

The economy suffered a flight of foreign capital, leading to the Indonesian rupiah falling from Rp 2,000 per dollar to over Rp 14,000 per dollar in a short time. At this time, many commodities (carvings, wood, accessories) changed hands.

2009

World Batik Day UNESCO

The day marks the anniversary of when UNESCO recognized batik as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2009 which catapulted the increased interest in Indonesian traditional textiles.



Saibatin Social Hierarchy

As stated before, the significance of Lampung decorative textiles are dictated entirely by the social hierarchy that has been passed down through generations. The research wants to highlight the importance of Lampung's hierarchical social structure and customs and how decorative textiles portray the cultural identities of individuals and their families.

Within our research so far, we have identified the following hierarchies:

1. Kemandakan Kelumbayan
2. Kemandakan Seputih
3. Keratuan Darah Putih
4. Kebuayan Sebadak (in Way Lima)
5. Kalianda (in Way Urang)
6. Jabung

The maps of the social hierarchies listed above can be found on the appendix of this book.



Despite the differences across different areas, the common concept of cultural leadership and their subordinates are still present in all communities. The variations across all the locations we visited are indicative of the vast history of the relocation and movement of Lampung people. Despite this, the same roots of social structure can be identified:

- **Cultural leaders** (*Suntan, Ratu, Pengikhan, Penyimbang*) are responsible for preserving the traditional values and philosophies within their community

- **Subordinates** (*Khaja, Khadin, Minak*) follow their leaders in maintaining social harmony and balance within their community, ensuring a hierarchy of respect among the people

- **General population**

Through in-depth investigation about these social structures, we discovered the stories behind how and why the textiles exist. In all the locations we visited, certain key textile elements are indicative of the relationship between the leaders and their community. In their design, textiles dictate who they are used for; power and influence can be identified from colour and layers, but the functionality and arrangement of these textiles can also indicate the relationships between people.

Familial Saibatin:

Design, Colors, and Techniques



▲ Example of Saibatin decorative textile (Antique Lampung Textile Collection, photographed 2019)

Many of the traditional decorative textiles found in South Saibatin use patchwork, *tekat* appliqué and recently, modern embroidery. According to a local crafter in Pesawaran, it is said that the making of rhombus patchwork and *tekat* appliqué using cut-out felt came about approximately in the early 20th century. This would explain the many decorative textile artifacts found during this research made with both these techniques. However, in time, one textile technique was more favored than the other and continued to be used until modern times. In addition to patchwork, modern embroidery has only been recently applied as a method to enhance creative development amongst the local crafters.

In West Saibatin, *tekat tapis* is seen as a textile heritage hence the many traditional decorative textiles found embodying this specific method. There are still many *tekat tapis* craftsmen centers across the West Saibatin regions. Rhombus patchwork was only found in one West Saibatin region, Liwa, only as mattress decoration. The *tekat tapis* craft is seen in several variations, with some using special gold *tapis* threads and some using simple cotton threads to create ornamental patterns. Due to the time consuming craft, many modern *tekat tapis* textiles have been remade with modern embroidery applying only the classic patterns.

West Lampung's textiles are shown to be more elaborate in their fashion, with an abundant use of gold indicating more of a similarity to *tapis* than the traditional *tekat* and rhombus patchwork we found on other Saibatin regions.

The philosophy of West Lampung textiles is also different to that of *kebung* and *tikhai*, where social hierarchy is shown through the colours incorporated. West Lampung textiles' use of layering is the main signifier of hierarchy: layers of 12 indicate high status, 7 for middle status, and 3-1 to represent the general population. In exploring the styles of these textiles, it can be seen that creative expression is seen in the elaborate designs of fauna and flora, as well as the intricate design of stitching.

In South Lampung, we discovered the *tikhai*, *kebung*, *nampan/tampan* (tray cloth), and *lelokhokh*. We uncovered the meaning behind the iconic rhombus and significance of colours within Lampung culture and traditions. We discovered that the social system has a primary influence on the design of the textile, particularly in the colours used and the meanings behind them. This is a list of titles and roles and the colors that represent them.

Title	Role
Saibatin	Royal Family
Sultan/Pengikhan	Leader
Khaja	Aristocrat
Khadin	Aristocrat
Minak	General Population
Kimas	General Population
Mas	General Population
Kekhayaan	Common People

▲ Titles and roles with their corresponding colors

With a basic understanding of this hierarchy and realizing its significance within the culture, we can begin to comprehend the origins of local values and wisdom, which are represented and preserved within local traditional textiles. With this, the inspiration of different cultures and its adaptation with local social hierarchy have become key aspects to understanding the stories behind these textiles.

West Lampung's textiles are shown to be more elaborate in their fashion, with an abundant use of gold indicating more of a similarity to *tapis* than the traditional embroidery and rhombus patchwork we found on other Saibatin regions. In the West, the significance of ornamented layers in the construction of wedding altars are indicative of their cultural identity and social pride.

West Lampung's layered translation and South Lampung's colourful representation both symbolize the same social structure found across the two regions. Vibrant colours and gold embellishments dominate textile pattern, designed to convey prosperity and highlight the creative exploration of the crafters. Abstract designs of flora and fauna incorporate the ancient beliefs of nature and life with the modern spiritual beliefs of religion.

In Jabung and Margatiga, traditions have been adapted to accommodate the struggles of modern economic development. Extravagant decorations are reduced to necessities and ceremonious traditions are compacted for efficiency. Despite this, Jabung was where we found pre-*tekat tenun* textiles such as old Utik and

Ujung Galuh dated to be an estimated 300 years old.

One of the traditional Lampung textiles is *kekhedaiian*. *Kekhedaiian* is a series of traditional textiles collected from family heirlooms or lent by neighbors or close family and friends. These textiles are stacked from left to right with the end of the fabric facing outwards and the right ends covered. The *kekhedaiian* is placed above the bride and groom and above the entrance doorway at a wedding. This formation represents a welcoming philosophy specific for ceremonies of joy.

For *kekhedaiian*, there is also social significance in the way that they are placed in the altar room. For ordinary people, *kekhedaiian* is used only on the wall. When used by royal subordinate leaders with *yellow kebung* and *tikhai*, *kekhedaiian* is placed on two sides of the wall in the room, creating a T-shape. Lastly, when *kekhedaiian* is used by culture leaders, these textiles must be stacked on all four walls surrounding the room.



▲ Kekhedai placed above tikhai and kebung on a wall, with left-right orientation. These kekhedai was seen during a wedding ceremony in Banjar Negri, Pesawaran. Owned by the family of Heri Yurizal Efendi (Raja Mangku Alam).

Photo courtesy: Nadilla S. Ratman

White: Royal culture leaders

Yellow: Royal subordinates

Red: Common people

▲ The colors of kekhedai based on social status.



▲ Example of Saibatin decorative textile. (Antique Lampung Textile Collection, photographed 2019)



Jabung: The Home of Sekampung Libo

Jabung's old folk tales have been passed down through generations by its custom leader (*penyimbang adat* in local language). One of them tells the story of how Jabung people originally lived closer to the sea. They were placed there to fight off Bajau people – pirates who came in from the sea. They gradually moved further inland due to farming opportunities and better protection from outside attacks.

In a text titled '*Historis Kebuaian Lampung Sekampung Libo*', Jabung's original residents were travelers who originated from Sekala Brak and Negeri Batin Tulang Bawang. In 1550, they travelled down to Banten, the west tip of Java island, where they remained for a while before returning to Lampung with permission from then Sultan Maulana Hassanudin. The people who chose to go to Lampung were named Buai Pemuko Bumi (The Face of the Land) and were given important orders by the Sultan, which solidified the bond between Jabung in Lampung and Banten in West Java.

The story loosely ties in with another story passed down in Jabung; that the twelve Buai Pemuko in Jabung asked for assistance from Sultan Hassanudin

when the Bajau pirates started becoming a problem. Banten sent Batin Datuk to handle the situation. Once the issue was handled, Batin Datuk returned to Banten to ask Sultan Hassanudin to permanently reside in Jabung, where he was eventually given the local title Temenggung Jaga Pati (The Chief who Holds the Core).

The Spread of Lampung Saibatin

Liwa is considered to be a Mecca for Lampung Saibatin, called Pesesekeh (coastal). Liwa is where the first descendants of Lampung coastal inhabitants from Pagaruyung, the Minangkabau kingdom in Western Sumatra, settled down. Many of their decorative textiles were influenced by this Western Sumatra kingdom, reflected through their abundance use of gold threads and velvet in rich, dark colors of red, green and black.

There are four Paksi present in Skala Brak, considered to be the first four royal ancestral family lineage: Paksi Buay Pernong, Paksi Buay Nyerupa, Paksi Buay Belungu, Paksi Buay Gujalan Diwai/Bejalan



Diwai, and Marga Liwa, created by merging two *paksi* leaders by marriage and reign as *pesikha* of Liwa. These four *paksi* began spreading to neighboring coastal regions in search of agricultural and trading opportunities, specifically in the pepper and clove production. During the colonial period, influences from China, India, Europe and Islam started to shape the West Saibatin regions, highly affecting their traditional decorative textiles by their use of color combinations and textile motifs. In Krui and Pulau Pisang, the trading of cloves and pepper production resulted in an abundance of wealth which exposed them to many foreign materials and textiles.

Teluk Semaka was known to be one of the largest trading ports in South Sumatra, specifically Kota Agung. It became the center of many trading relations with Europeans, as well with many other regions across the archipelago, affecting the textile resources.

When the eruption of Krakatoa occurred in 1883, many inhabitants from the coastline of Teluk Semaka presumably migrated inland towards areas such as Talang Padang and Pesawaran. There were four native *paksi* who may have first situated in Cukuh Balak, Teluk Semaka: Paksi Benawang, Paksi Way Nipah, Paksi Buay Be Lunguh,

and Paksi Padang Khatu. New regions were seen as an advantage to strengthen and enrich the agriculture and farming for trading, which substantially acquainted them with craft materials and resources. Many decorative textiles from these new lands became a symbol of origin.

Kalianda in the South Saibatin coast was one of the major ship cloth production centers, which presumably ended after the Krakatoa eruption in 1883. Located near the Javanese coastlines, it took on a major influence from the Banten Sultanate and its trading interests. It was a region for pepper production and trading with Dutch colonies and the Banten Sultanate, which became their source of wealth.

Tanggamus Gem:

Kekhatuan Semaka Museum

We discovered newfound information about *pajangan* (decorative textile) arrangement in Kekhatuan Semaka. These items are owned by Museum Khatu Semaka and managed by Abu Sahlan as Pangikhan Penyimbang Khatu Semaka. We found variations in every part of a *pajangan*, which may or may not be similar to other areas. The variations include name, design, and function of each decorative textile. Further historical and social structure exploration is needed to clarify functions and usage of the decorative textiles. The decorative textiles in Kekhatuan Semaka are divided into the following, according to its social hierarchy:

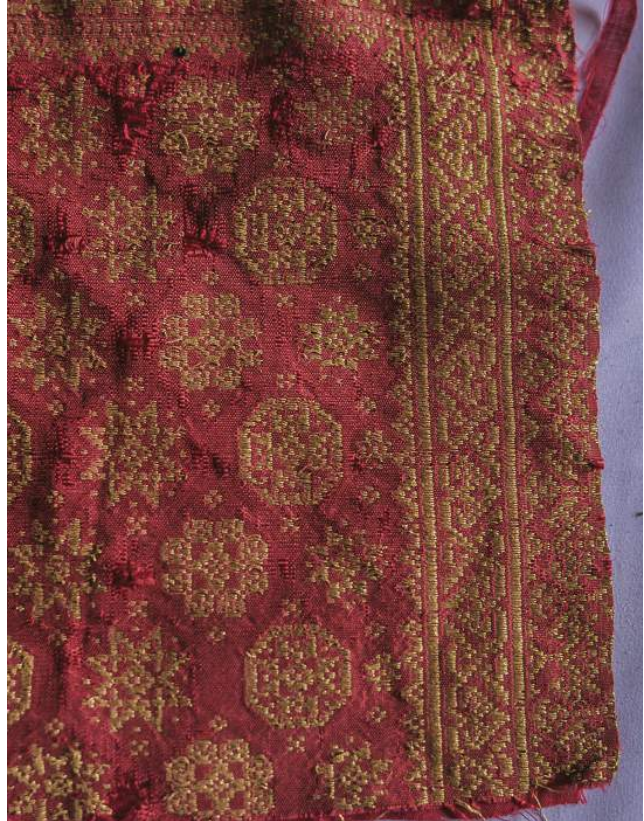
Hinjang Sakhat

Used specifically by royalty at Sebatin Pesisir, used mainly as *kebung*, *selendang* (shawl), and ceremonial clothing for women.



Limakh

Used by the upper middle class as *kebung* and shawl.



Kemehak

Used by the upper middle class. It must be displayed as a *kebung* during ceremonies, it can also be used as a shawl, and a bride's wedding *kebaya kurung*.



Pelangi

Used by the lower middle class to decorate beds and walls. Also used by lower class entertainers when they attend upper class ceremonies as rhymes readers.



Lawon

Used by the lower middle class as entry covers, doors, or bed decorations.



Cindi

Used by commoners. Has several everyday functions, from purely decorative to functional. Commonly used by everyone (from royalty to commoners) to swaddle and carry babies.



Variety of Saibatin Traditional Decorative Textiles



Kain Kapal (Ship Cloth)

The iconic *kain kapal* (ship cloth in English, or *sesai balak* as it's locally called) is made from weft cotton or silk threads woven into a natural cotton ground. These textiles were used by community leaders for rites of passage ceremonies such as births, circumcision, marriage, and death. Its shorter version, named *tampan* (tray) cloth, has similar function, design, and fabrication technique.

The favored designs of the ship cloth and tray cloth are considered to be indigenous from early prehistoric Austronesian settlers, such as the prehistoric images that could be found in totemic imagery and mythical scenes. Foreign geometric and pictorial images were first found in bronzes, illuminated manuscripts, coins, traded textiles, pottery, paintings, and other artifacts. The incorporation of these images could highlight the different textiles that belonged to those of higher status. As much as trade was central to the growth of the entire Lampung region, this

imagery suggested that only those who could afford these luxury foreign goods were exclusively the aristocracy.

Lampung Saibatin traditional decorative textiles have gone through three generations of design modification, arguably strongly related to the course of the region's history. We have attempted to trace its development from the ancient organic textiles known as ship cloth and tray cloth, to the *tekat* textiles and finally the modern design of the rhombus patchwork. Detailed description on this matter will be explained in the next chapter.

The main designs of the ship and tree of life signify the transition from one stage in life to another and the connection between the living world and the afterlife. The tray cloth, used as food coverings in all customary ceremonies, was also made with the same technique until at least the 1900s, when the last of the ship cloth



▲ *Keratuan Darah Putih customary ceremony.*

was thought to have been made.

The designs found on these traditional textiles represent Lampung people's perceptions of their daily life. Until the 19th century, textiles were colored with simple natural colours made from local flora.

The evolution from ship cloth to embroidery was drastic. The decorations presented more elaborate colours, possibly derived from Hindu-Buddha influence and the incorporation of new materials that were brought in by Chinese and European traders. Maintaining the significance of Lampung social hierarchy, the decorative textiles have incorporated the philosophies behind these structures. This stage of evolution combined experimentation with new materials with abstract natural shapes and color philosophies.

Tampan (Tray Cloth)

Tampan or tray cloth is an additional textile used in traditional ceremonies that measures from 45 x 45 to 75 x 75. The oldest found in Lampung was made from organic cotton thread dyed with organic colours and presented patterns of squid, people, or ships. The colors of these textiles are mainly indigo blue, brick red, and white. Tray cloth is a multifunctional textile; it can be used to wrap food, as a tray covering, a handkerchief, and a wall decoration.



▲ Tray cloth found in Kekhatuan Semaka using the old-age supplementary weaving technique, plant-based dyes, and natural fibres

Kebung

Wide and eye-catching, *kebung* functions as wall coverings during customary ceremonies. *Kebung*'s uniqueness comes from its intrinsic function as social hierarchy attributes, explaining the ceremony host's social position.

In Keratuan Semaka, this textile is known as *lalindung*, in Kadongdong it is *lelindung*, and in Tetaan it is *tabikh*.

Kebung is a central part of a procession. It signifies where the cultural leaders should be seated, facing the bride and groom, who will sit in the middle of the room surrounded by *kebung*.

To date, there are several types of *kebung*:

a. *Kebung belah ketupat* (rhombus)

The *kebung ketupat* or rhombus *kebung* can be seen in Kebandakhan Kelumbayan, Kebandakhan Putih, Kebandakhan Cukuh Balak, Marga Selimau and Kebandakhan Way Urang Legun. In its design, the main characteristic is the rhombus shape that symbolizes the belief in the unity of the people or the philosophy of values that dictate life: religion, government, culture, and society. The divisions of the patterns are what differentiates these textiles from *kebung lepus*.

b. *Kebung padung*

Kebung padung has the same function with the other *kebung* textiles. What differentiates this textile with the others is the pattern design that consists mainly of stripes with the smaller rhombus as decoration rather than the dominating pattern.



▲ *Kebung* from Kebandakhan Kelumbayan.

Kebung in Kekhatuan Semaka

Unlike *kebung* in other parts of Lampung, Kekhatuan Semaka also has a type of *kebung* where they use other types of cloth framed in rhombus. Namely:

- *Hinjang sakhat*
- *Limakh*
- *Kemehak*

Hinjang sakhat from Sebatin Pesisir is a specific cloth used by its royalty, while *limakh* and *kemehak* are used by the upper middle class. While they are considered decorative textiles, they also function as clothing. Other types of cloth of lower social standing in Kekhatuan Semaka were not found to be used as *kebung*.

There was no *kebung* found in Jabung, as the

elders had largely sold off their collections. The people of Jabung admitted that they do not keep to old traditions of decorating the house when holding ceremonies, preferring to have a *nusantara* (archipelago) look. This also translates to their attire as most weddings use the standard kebaya (traditional blouse-dress). The one *kebung* found in Jabung dates back two generations and used spare cloths from *kebaya* and other bits of textiles leftover from other projects.



▲ Kebung owned by Elie Yunara, made by her grandmother from Pesawaran
Age: Made circa 1990s
Materials: Scraps of cotton materials



▲ Rhombus kebung owned by Kumala Berlian, Suntan Syah Bandakh from Kemandakhan Kelumbayan
Age: Made circa 2000s by crafters in Talang Padang
Materials: Tetoron is the material used to create the patchwork, and satin is used as the fabric for the borders



▲ Kemehak used as part of a kebung in Kekhatuan Semaka, owned by Pangikhan Penyimbang Khatu



▲ Kebung from Kalianda, owned by family of Way Urang Legun



▲ Kebung padung has a striped pattern combined with smaller rhombus pattern from Kuripan village, Kalianda. Owned by Zulkifli Ibrahim, Khadin Paksi
Age: Made circa 1930s
Materials: 100% woven cotton



▲ Kebung found in Jabung

Tikhai

Tikhai functions as wall drapes in a ceremony, generally paired with *kebung*, covering empty spaces of walls inside the main area of the ceremony. The term *tikhai* is its common name in Pesawaran and Tanggamus, based on respondents from the following marga: Kemandakhan Kelumbayan, Kemandakhan Putih, Kemandakhan Cubalak, Marga Selimau in Way Lima.

Tikhai: Tekatan

The most common style of *tikhai* we found in our research showcased an embroidery technique with a variety of intricate designs: cutout of felt fabrics with decorative gems, tassels, and gold thread. In Jabung, we came across older *tikhai* estimated to be around 300 years old that was made using the weaving technique with geometric patterns and organic colours. The more modern *tikhai* still uses the same technique, but combined with modern embroidery and rhombus patterns.

Tikhai Arrangement

The *tikhai* is commonly placed above the *kebung* around the ceremonial room. However, in Keratuan Darah Putih (Kelau village in Kalianda) the *tikhai* is used in an arrangement in the ceiling above the wedding aisle. This arrangement is often associated with the status held by the individual within the social hierarchy: the royal family would have 12 layers in a spiral design; a noble family would have 7 layers, 5 layers would represent a *minak* family and 3 layers would be for the general population. In Kalianda Tetaan, the *tikhai* is arranged in a diagonal X pattern which, depending on how they are positioned, represents the different levels within the social hierarchy. In Negara Bathin village, Jabung, we found a different type of *tikhai* from any other regions we've visited. The *Khutik* (as it is called in Jabung) is longer as it is arranged around the room on the ceiling. This *khutik* was made using the weaving technique and organic colours. Similar designs and fabric of *khutik* also found in Bungbuk village, Jabung.



▲ *Tikhai* *tekat benang emas* (golden thread embroidery) made by Bella from Gunung Alif village in Talang Padang
Age: Made circa 2000-2006
Materials: Using the golden thread embroidery technique, this *tikhai* uses modern gold thread couching and gold plates made from velvet for additional embellishments.



▲ This *tikhai* is owned by Tolbiah, originally from Putih Doh in Cukuh Balak, Tanggamus. Estimated to have been made around 1910-1920s but she restored their conditions by applying new beadings and gold plastic plates in 2011. These *tikhai* used *tekatan lakan*, much like many *tikhai* seen from Lampung Saibatin



▲ Variety of *tikhai* owned by Tolbiah, originally from Putih Doh in Cukuh Balak, Tanggamus.



▲ *Tikhai* *khangok* owned by the family of Kumala Berlian, Suntan Syah Bandakh from Kemandakhan Kelumbayan. Its white color is associated with its exclusive function to be used only by the royal family.
Age: Made circa 1985-1995
Materials: Satin patchwork with modern sequin embroidery using sewing machine

Lelokhokh

The *lelokhokh* is a simple textile with a significant meaning that is most prominent in Tanggamus and Pesawaran. Believed by the community to be the place where old ancestors look down to attend the family's ceremonies, it is an important part of traditional decorative textiles. Despite its importance, *lelokhokh* are often simple designs, with the oldest ones being only a plain white sheet placed on the ceiling. More contemporary *lelokhokh* use *kebung*.



▲ *Lelokhokh* owned by the family of Hj Buchori, Pangeran Kemandakan Putih Doh in Cukuh Balak. Its white color is associated to its exclusive function only to be used by the royal family. This item was made for the next Suntan of Kemandakan Putih when he is married.
Age: Made circa 2005
Materials: Rayon satin with machine embroideries and wool tassels as additional decorations

Kekhedaian

Kekhedaian is a wedding aisle decoration in many Lampung Saibatin weddings. It is significant due to how it is presented as a form of not only decorations, but also representing the social structure of the particular area. It is a combination of many textiles that are folded and displayed side by side.



▲ *Kekhedaian* arrangement displayed in Keratuan Darah Putih family in Tetaan, Kalianda, 2018

Salay Balayan

The *salay balayan* are decorations to put on the ceiling, paired with *lelohokh*. The original form uses rainbow fabric that wraps coconut shells inside. However, modern *salay balayan* now uses plastic bowls and modern clothes that are available. Colors do not symbolize any particular philosophies, however the number should symbolize the number of nobility.



▲ *Salay balayan* found in Kelau Village, Kalianda at a wedding for a nobleman in Keratuan Darah Putih (2018)



▲ Another *salay balayan* found in Kelau Village, Kalianda at a wedding for a nobleman in Keratuan Darah Putih (2018)

Cindai

In Kekhatuan Semaka, *cindai* is considered a commoner's textile, and is often used by people of all social standing to swaddle and carry babies. It is also used as an everyday cloth that serves functional purposes, not decorative.

In Jabung, *cindai* was used by soldiers marching into war as a personal identifier, worn around the soldier's middle as a belt, or stretched across a length of wood and carried as a flag.



▲ Cindai collection of Antique Lampung Textiles (2019)

Kain Batik Cempaka (Batik Cempaka Cloth)

In Way Lima, *kain batik cempaka* is used for ceremonial clothing for the bride, however it can also be used on *kekheadaian*, as textiles donated from family and community members.



▲ Kain batik cempaka found in Way Lima, owned by Ellie from Kebuayan Selimau as part of her collection of batik cempaka with cloves pattern.

Kumbang Minyak

In Kekhatuan Semaka, *kumbang minyak* is a soft cotton *batik* cloth, dyed with mangosteen. It has a yellow counterpart called *kumbang duren* (no sample existed at the time of interview) which has the same usage:

- Flag
- Decorative textile for lower class ceremonies
- A baby swaddle and carrier
- A 'door' to welcome visitors from afar, where the cloth is held tightly across the entrance of the home while the host and the visitor exchanges greetings



▲ Kumbang minyak collection of Kekhatuan Semaka

Sangkutan

In Kemandakan Kelumbayan, *sangkutan* refers to the additional decorative components that could be displayed to create a more festive arrangement. Hanging decorations are placed all over the altar, attached to poles or wall hangings.

The one seen in this image are antique pieces dating back to approximately 1940-1950, during the time of the great-grandmother of the current Suntan of Kelumbayan. These *sangkutan* pieces are made by *tekatan lakan*: felt appliqué with decorative rims made of gold thread and gold metal sequins and wool tassels.



▲ Sangkutan from Kemandakan Kelumbayan

Sangkutan Iwa-iwa

In Kebandakhan Kelumbayan, *sangkutan iwa-iwa* refers to the additional decorations in the form of a fish (“iwa-iwa” means fish).

The one seen in this image is an antique piece, dating back to approximately 1940-1950s, during the time of the great-grandmother of the current Suntan of Kelumbayan. These *iwa-iwa* pieces used the gold thread couching decorative technique, but its shapes and construction are made by hand.



▲ Sangkutan iwa-iwa from Kebandakhan Kelumbayan

Design, Pattern, and Techniques



Examining the creative development of decorative textiles can trace the stories of when and how they were made or used. The evolution of the techniques can be a way to understand the spread and movement of Lampung people; the materials that people came across directed how they created patterns.

Throughout our research, we have identified different techniques across different regions in South, West, and East Lampung. With each identified technique, we were able to estimate the age of the different textiles.



▲ Rhombus tikhai

Evolution of Techniques

Supplementary Weaving (*Tenun Petok*)

Supplementary weaving is one of the oldest textile-making craft in Lampung, seen through the antique collection of ship cloths that date back to approximately 300 years ago. A cloth made with supplementary weaving with gold thread was found in Kebandakhan Kelumbayan.

Textiles estimated to be aged between 100-300 years old all showed this technique. The characteristics include the use of handmade cotton thread and organic dye.

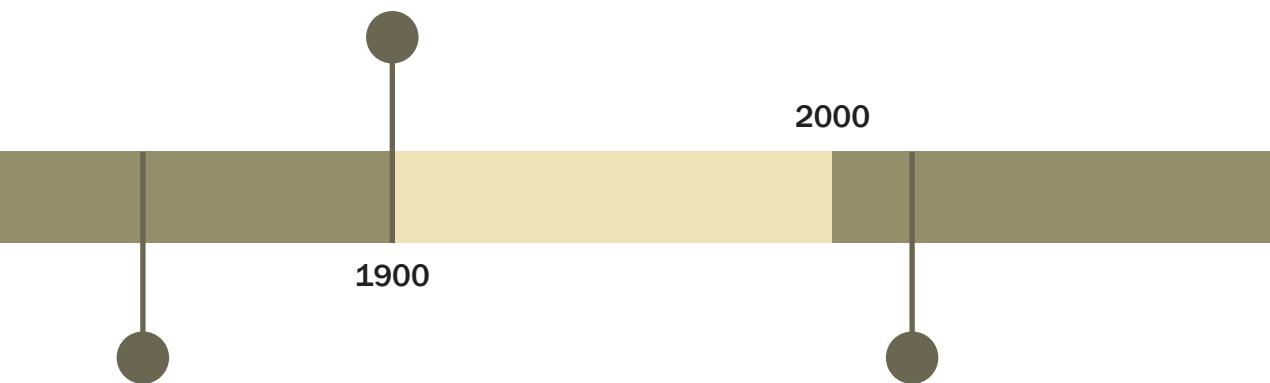


The estimation of dates was done through close examination of the textiles (material and design) with validated input from the respondents and textile experts.

Tekat (Lakan and Gold Thread)

Lakan: One of the most common techniques we came across, *tekat lakan* was identifiable by the iconic cut-out shapes of flora and fauna of felt fabric handsewn onto cotton textiles and decorated with gem.

Gold thread: Identified in the Talang Padang area and Kelumbayan, this embroidery technique incorporated gold-thread that was hand-sewn into *tikhai* textiles.



Patchwork

This handsewn technique was first seen in a *kebung* textile estimated to be 150 years old in Kalianda. The main aspect of this technique is seen in the use of a mix of synthetic fabrics, such as tetoron from Japan, drill fabric, cotton-based fabric (rayon etc.) and *batik* textiles that were present in the region.

Modern Embroidery

This technique gained popularity when modern sewing and embroidery machines became accessible. The introduction of these machines reintroduced flora and fauna symbolism into the textiles. Main characteristics include the use of poly-based gold and silver threads to create the patterns.

Tekat Technique (Embroidery)

The *kebung* and *tikhai* textiles transformed from being *tenun* (weaving) to *tekat* (embroidery), a textile technique used to make patterns by attaching and sewing small cutout fabrics representing a scene or an object onto a base fabric. The colors used are also more varied and they were decorated with gold threads called *gim*. The reasons for the prominent color change and the use of gold threads on these textiles are still unclear. However, when referring to the materials used as the cutout fabrics, it was suggested that the felt cloth originated from China. According to history, sewing techniques were introduced by Chinese immigrants that entered the region, and based on the history of the *nampan pucuk* cloth used during traditional ceremonies, this was highly influenced by China.

In the *kebung* and *tikhai tekat* textiles, the motifs show abstract patterns that would resemble flora and fauna. Such examples include the pattern that is similar to that of a squid or goat feet (depending on who is looking at it) and flora patterns that resemble seaweed floating in the sea. The symbolism of seaweed refer to Saibatin being a coastal region and their people being close to the sea. These patterns suggest that the inspiration for these motifs come from the natural surroundings.

The Philosophy of Tekat

The spread of power divided Lampung into smaller territorial kingdoms. The new autonomic structure made decorative textiles that once were only owned and used by the local leaders become accessible for all levels of society, with different colors on the textile borders to mark their social status.

The acculturation of customs with religion is seen through the change in patterns of decorative textiles, with the inclusion of more abstract shapes and motifs. The use of human and animal shapes are less apparent in the *kebung* and *tikhai*. The influence of Islam brought by the Banten Sultanate called that patterns resembling humans and animals must be obscured.

With the obstruction of animism and the move towards abstract patterns, the philosophical significance of traditional textiles focused more on the meanings of the colors represented. In the establishment of the new social hierarchy by the Banten Kingdom, traditional textiles have adapted to represent this new development to their society with the colors they used: white for royal families, yellow for noble families, and red for the people.



▲ Tray cloth made by embroidery technique

Tekatan Lakan and Gold Thread

Tekatan

According to Tolbiah, there are two types of *tekatan*. *Tekatan lakan* means that it uses felt to be applied onto base fabric and decorate it with additional gold thread. *Tekatan benang emas* means the gold thread is applied onto the base fabric.

According to Bella, the gold thread *tekatan* uses rejected manual sewing machine to create the couching effect. Some are made by hand much like *tapis* couching,

but the modern ones are created with a specific sewing machine. *Tekatan lakan* is mostly seen in only *tikhai*, but gold thread *tekatan* can be seen on wall coverings as well, also known as *lelidung*.



▲ *Tekatan lakan* is mostly used with additional embellishments of gold threads and gold sequins

Belah Ketupat: Pattern and Design

Belah ketupat (rhombus) is a textile decorative pattern that is applied to the *kebung* and *tikhai* that consists of four different-colored fabrics cut up into small triangles and sewn together to make a rhombus, filling the space of the base fabric. These four colors represent the unity in the Lampung society: religion (white), traditions/customs (yellow), government (red) and the people (black). The *kebung* and *tikhai* made with rhombus patterns are sewn with sewing machines, with a base fabric, a border and the rhombus motif as components all made up of cotton, canvas or scrap fabrics found. The colors of the textile border represent the owner of the *kebung* and *tikhai*'s social status: white for the family of the cultural leader, yellow for the family of the culture leader's subordinates, and red for the ordinary people.

Rhombus is now an iconic pattern in Lampung: verified throughout our entire research, this is a symbol of cultural identity for Lampung Saibatin people. The small pieces that make up the pattern are a reflection of the spread of Saibatin culture, its philosophy of unity can be understood in how this symbol is present in all regions of Lampung Pesisir (Saibatin). Each different-colored triangle (mainly white, yellow, red, and black) has their own meaning, but put together they make up

a square, and the squares make up a *kebung*, perfectly fitting one another like a puzzle. This concept of unity and togetherness reflects the characteristic of Lampung people: always welcoming, though they may seem unfriendly at first.

Philosophy of Belah Ketupat

Investigating the prominence of colors in traditional Lampung textiles, it is clear that the cultural significance of these textiles is primarily represented through them. Inspired by the Hindu-Buddhist culture, the colors used are mainly white, yellow, red, and black. According to most respondents, this color combination represents the unity of the leader (white), royalty (yellow), and the ordinary people (red and black). The colors black and red must always be placed together as it signifies the togetherness of the people; red represents the heart of the people, and black represents the strength within a community. However, one respondent, Bathin Shah Alam from Sukaratu village in Talang Padang, mentioned that the four colors symbolize the essences of Lampung culture: religion (white), government (yellow), customs (red) and the people (black). Many also suggest that black is used only for aesthetic purposes.



▲ Examples of kebung belah ketupat

Supplementary Weaving Technique

This technique is one of the oldest textile-making craft in Lampung, seen through the antique collection of ship cloths that date back to approximately 300 years ago. A cloth made with supplementary weaving with gold thread was found in Kemandakan Kelumbayan. The material is chosen because of its uniqueness and because it creates a stronger cloth.



▲ Gold thread seen in a piece of *hajang sarad*, owned by the family of Kumala Berlian, Suntan Syah Bandakh from Kemandakan Kelumbayan.

Patchwork Technique

This technique is also widely used as a method to create traditional decorative cloths as a base fabric. Pieces of small triangle cut-out fabrics are sewn side by side to create repetitive patterns and make up a whole fabric. According to Bella in Talang Padang, a crafter of such technique for ceremonial decorations, it takes roughly three whole days to finish a set of patchwork decorations.

When constructing this particular cloth-making technique, materials with cotton or rayon-based fibres are used. Bella claims that she uses tetoron, drill, and scrap cotton for lining.

Resist-Dyed Weft (Ikat Technique)

This decorative technique of making textiles is not frequently found in Lampung, however this particular technique must be mentioned as it could highlight the effect of trade, since the clothes made this technique are not locally made with this. The *ikat* or double-knot technique create motifs and patterns with the process of interweaving the warp and the weft on the loom.



▲ Detail part of cloth showing *ikat* technique



Traditional Storing Method

Storing antique textiles properly is important to preserve their quality. While many of the families we have met have stored many of their textiles simply in a cupboard or chest of drawers, there is a traditional method of storing textiles that was discovered on our trip to Kemandakan Kelumbayan and Sekampung Libo, Jabung.

In Sekampung Libo, Syahrul, the cultural leader of Suku 1 Negara Batin, described how to properly store valuable textiles in three layers. The first layer is rolled with *anyaman pandan* (pandanus weaving), then wrapped with a cotton fabric, and then the textile is tied

with a rope. The textiles are then stored in the attic, the highest point of the house.

In Kemandakan Kelumbayan, the inherited textiles are folded gently and neatly and wrapped with a single fabric that is tied together. In this region, as well as in Kemandakan Putih and Keratuan Darah Putih, the responsibility of storing these textiles falls onto the mother of the clan leader.



▲ Research team examining stored textiles in Negara Batin, Jabung (2018)



Conclusion

▲ A wedding in Tataan Village

These textiles tell the history of a people's culture and society: stories that can be identified through the creative changes in the textiles. In its core, textile culture across Indonesia has always held meaning and philosophy, from symbolizing shelter and protection to being representations of status and prosperity. These values are strongly embedded within how people live their lives and the wisdom that have been passed down through generations and kept close within families.

We have explored how decorative textiles are used through understanding the different social hierarchies in the regions we have visited. Different colours and arrangements of the textiles signify different identities. We have seen how textiles dictate who can use them through the colors that are present or in the layered arrangements they are set up in.

Through research and meeting cultural leaders as well as the general population, we have concluded that across the Saibatin region, there has been little to

no difference in the styles and designs between villages (with the exception of Kalianda), all representing the same philosophies. The significance and meanings behind these textiles are represented in the symbolism of the colors, with the pattern designs being an indicator of creative expression and exploration. We have identified key aspects to understanding the creativity of the decorative textiles, tracing its evolution through key moments in Lampung history, incorporating the idea of multicultural influences as the main approach in discovering the story behind the textiles.

Different areas in Lampung use different materials and design techniques too. While South Lampung predominantly uses flannel as base materials and felt for *tekat*, West Lampung's main material is luxurious velvet with lavish gold thread. Incorporating influences from Pagaruyung and *tapis*, West Lampung textiles focus on intricacy in its designs, specifically found in the *tekat tapis* embroidery details.



Through what we have found in Lampung, we have identified all the main components that make up the important traditional decorative textiles. We have verified the creative development of these textiles in our exploration of history and the construction of social hierarchy. Moving forward, the information we have acquired is a solid basis to produce an introductory account of Lampung Saibatin decorative textiles with stories stretching from West to East Lampung.

One of the most interesting aspects of our research is in the discovery of how these textiles embody the relationship between the people of Lampung. The textiles cannot be separated from the people they come from, thus we hope to carry the spirit of the Lampung people within our writing.

Artefacts Found During the Research

▲ *Details of tapis inuh*



Kebung



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Red, white, dark yellow, and blue with white border
Material : Cotton fibres
Technique : Sewn
Purpose : Wall decoration used by culture leaders during traditional rituals/events

Kebung lepus (lepus: plain)



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Red, white, yellow and blue with orange border
Material : Cotton
Technique : Machine sewn (possibly manual machine)
Purpose : Wall decoration used by culture leaders during traditional rituals/events

Kebung



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Red, white, tosca and orange with orange border
Material : Cotton
Technique : Machine sewn (possibly manual machine)
Purpose : Wall decoration used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Crustaceans, elephants, jasmine flowers
Color : Red, white, pink, black, orange, green
Material : Velvet (synthetic fibres)
Technique : Machine sewn (possibly manual machine)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Kebung



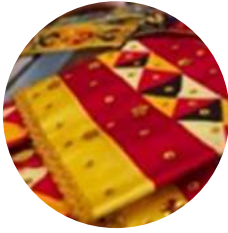
Period : 2017 (modern)
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : White, red, yellow and black with red border
Material : Synthetic cotton
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Wall decoration used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : 2017 (modern)
Pattern : *Semalang kambing* (goat's nail)
Color : White, red, yellow and black with red border
Material : Velvet with synthetic silk fibres and synthetic sequins
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : 2017 (modern)
Pattern : Rhombus and jasmine flowers
Color : White, red, black, yellow with gold accents
Material : Synthetic satin silk with gold sequins and gold border
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



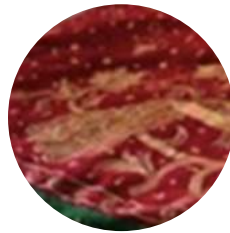
Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : *Semalang kambing* (goat's nail)
Color : White, yellow, blue and red
Material : Organic cotton fibres and threads
Technique : Tekat
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals

Mosquito net (*lelangsi, mumbak*)



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora and fauna
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic velvet, gold threads, and gold sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Partition placed in a traditional wedding aisle

Mattress cover



Period : Modern
Pattern : Peacock (flora and fauna)
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic velvet, gold threads, and gold sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Mattress cover for the bride and groom's seat in the altar

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Peacock (flora and fauna)
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic velvet, gold threads, and gold sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora and fauna
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic velvet, gold threads, and gold sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic cotton with gold sequins
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Rhombus and jasmine flowers
Color : Red, green, and dark yellow with red border and gold accents
Material : Synthetic silk satin with gold sequins
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora and fauna
Color : Red and green with gold accents
Material : Silk with gold threads and sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora and fauna
Color : Maroon and gold accents
Material : Velvet with gold threads and sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Nampan Pucuk



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora and fauna
Color : Yellow, blue, red, green with gold accents
Material : Silk with gold threads and sequins
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Tray cloth to wrap/pass food used by common people during traditional rituals

Lelangsi



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora
Color : Maroon and white accents
Material : Velvet base fabric
Technique : Hand embroidery
Purpose : Partition placed in a traditional wedding aisle

Kekhedaian



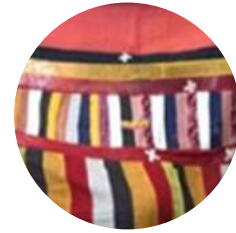
Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Pineapples
Color : Red and yellow
Material : Cotton
Technique : Woodblock
Purpose : Wall decoration placed behind the main standing altar of the bride and groom, and generally lent or given by family, friends, and neighbours.

Kebung



Period : Modern (21st century/late 20th century)
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Yellow, red, black, dark yellow and red border
Material : Cotton (possibly cotton twill and voile)
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Wall decoration used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Kebung



Period : Estimated 70-80 years ago
Pattern : Rhombus and scattered white flowers
Color : Red, black, yellow, pink, blue, dark yellow, white
Material : Mostly natural cotton fibres
Technique : Handmade patchwork
Purpose : Wall decoration used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Lelohokh



Period : Modern (20th century)
Pattern : Peacock (flora and fauna)
Color : Red, pink, white and gold accents
Material : Velvet, cotton and gold threads
Technique : Hand embroidered
Purpose : Wall decoration used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Nampan



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Abstract seaweed
Color : Red, yellow, purple, green and gold accents
Material : Felt, cotton and gold threads and sequins
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and hand embroidery)
Purpose : Tray cloth/food cloth to pass food during traditional rituals/event

Tikhai



Period : Modern (20th century)
Pattern : Abstract crustaceans
Color : Navy blue base color and multi-colored patterns with gold accents
Material : Felt, cotton and gold threads and sequins
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
Purpose : Ceiling drape

Tikhai



Period : Modern (20th century)

Pattern : Abstract crustaceans, flora and fauna

Color : Multi-coloured

Material : Felt, natural cotton fibre base fabric (or natural linen fibre) and gold threads and sequins

Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)

Purpose : Ceiling drape used in traditional ceremonies/rituals

Tikhai



Period : Modern (20th century)

Pattern : Abstract floral patterns (*Kyrgyzstan patterns*)

Color : Multi-colored

Material : Felt, cotton and gold threads and sequins

Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)

Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals

Tikhai



Period : Modern (20th century)

Pattern : Abstract floral patterns (*Kyrgyzstan patterns*)

Color : Multi-colored

Material : Cotton and gold threads and sequins

Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)

Purpose : Ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals

Nampan



Period : Modern (20th century)

Pattern : Abstract crustaceans

Color : Multi-colored

Material : Felt, cotton, gold threads and sequins

Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)

Purpose : Tray cloth to wrap/pass food or table cloth used by common people during traditional ceremonies

Mantor



Period : To be confirmed

Pattern : Floral

Color : Purple

Material : Organza/chiffon

Technique : Hand embroidery

Purpose : Head cover used by the bride in ceremonies before the wedding day

Tikhai



Period : To be confirmed

Pattern : Abstract crustaceans

Color : Multi-colored

Material : Felt, cotton, gold threads and sequins

Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)

Purpose : Part of a ceiling drape used by common people during traditional rituals/events

Sesai Balak/Tampan



- Period** : Estimated 18th-19th century
- Pattern** : *Pelepai*
- Color** : Brown and green
- Material** : Organic dyed cotton with black cotton threads
- Technique** : *Pelepai (traditional organic woven cloth)*
- Purpose** : A wall decoration before *tekat* textiles were made, as part of the decoration used during traditional rituals/events

Gedong Dalam/Kedondong

Kebung



- Period** : Modern
- Pattern** : Rhombus
- Color** : Yellow, red, black, dark yellow and white border
- Material** : Cotton (possibly twill or voile)
- Technique** : Machine sewn
- Purpose** : Wall decoration used by the culture leader during traditional rituals/events

Tikhai



- Period** : To be confirmed
- Pattern** : Flora
- Color** : Yellow, red, black, dark yellow and green
- Material** : Cotton base fabric and felt cut-outs
- Technique** : *Tekatek* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery))
Ceiling drape used
- Purpose** : during traditional rituals/events

Kebung



- Period** : To be confirmed
- Pattern** : Flora (Kyrgyzstan patterns)
- Color** : Yellow, red, black, dark yellow and green with white border
- Material** : Cotton base fabric and felt cut-outs
- Technique** : *Tekatek* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
- Purpose** : Wall decoration used by the culture leader during traditional rituals

Tikhai



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Fauna/crustaceans
Color : Multi-coloured
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs and chintz cloth for base support
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

Nampan



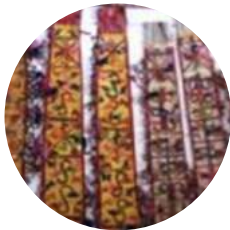
Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Fauna/crustaceans
Color : Multi-colored with metallic accents
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
Purpose : Tray cloth to wrap/pass food or table cloth in ceremonies

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora patterns
Color : Multi-colored
Material : Felt with cotton, silver and gold threads and sequins
Technique : Embroidery (machine or hand)
Purpose : Pieces of an unfinished ceiling drape used during traditional rituals/event

Tikhai



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Flora and fauna/crustaceans
Color : Multi-coloured
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs and sequins
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
Purpose : Pieces of an unfinished ceiling drape used during traditional ritual/events

Tikhai



Period : Modern
Pattern : Flora (*Kyrgyzstan patterns*)
Color : Yellow, maroon, orange and red
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and gold thread embroidery)
Purpose : Pieces of an unfinished ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

Tikhai



Period : Estimated 20th century
Pattern : Flora/abstract
Color : Multi-coloured
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs, gold fabric cut-outs and satin silk embroidered top border
Technique : *Tekat* and embroidery (*cutout appliqué and hand embroidery satin*)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

Tikhai



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Flora/abstract
Color : Multi-coloured with orange border
Material : Cotton base fabric, felt cut-outs and gold threads
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and silver thread embroidery)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

Limar



Period : Estimated 20th century
Pattern : Floral
Color : Maroon and gold accents
Material : Cotton and gold threads
Technique : Brocade/hand-woven
Purpose : Shoulder drape used by bride and groom

Tikhai



Period : To be confirmed
Pattern : Islamic-influenced floral patterns
Color : Green, red, multi-coloured flowers and gold accents
Material : Satin silk with gold threads
Technique : Hand embroidered
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

Tikhai



Period : 50 years ago
Pattern : Floral
Color : Maroon and gold accents
Material : Velvet with gold threads
Technique : Manual machine embroidered
Purpose : Part of an unfinished ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

(No name)



Period : Estimated 20th century
Pattern : Stripes
Color : Multi-colored
Material : Cotton and chintz cloth for base support
Technique : Hand sewn patchwork
Purpose : Unknown

Tikhai



Period : Estimated 20th century
Pattern : Flora (*Kyrgyzstan patterns*)
Color : Multi-colored
Material : Cotton and silver threads
Technique : *Tekat* (cut-out appliqué and silver thread embroidery)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional rituals

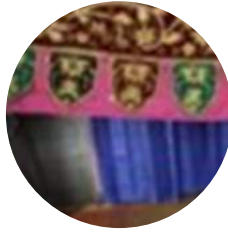
Sukaratu

Lelohokh



- Period** : Modern
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Dark yellow, red, navy blue and white with red border
Material : Cotton (possibly cotton voile)
Technique : Machine sewn
Purpose : Ceiling cover placed above the bride and groom main aisle. Used by common people.

Tikhai



- Period** : Estimated 20th century
Pattern : Flora
Color : Maroon, green and black with gold accents
Material : Velvet base fabric and synthetic gold threads
Technique : Embroidered gold threads (possibly manual sewing machine)
Purpose : Ceiling drape used during traditional ceremonies

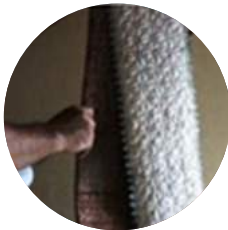
Kebung



- Period** : 1997
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Red, dark yellow, white and black with red border
Material : Cotton (possibly cotton voile)
Technique : Machine-sewn
Purpose : Wall hang used by common people during traditional rituals

Waylima

Limar



- Period** : Modern
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : White
Material : Satin silk base fabric with flower sequins and synthetic silver border
Technique : Machine sewn embroidery
Purpose : Shoulder drape used by culture leaders during traditional rituals/events

Limar



- Period** : Modern
Pattern : Rhombus
Color : Yellow
Material : Satin silk base fabric with flower sequins and synthetic silver border
Technique : Machine sewn embroidery
Purpose : Shoulder drape used by royal leaders in ceremonies

West Lampung's Product

Wall Drapes

West Lampung/West Saibatin



Lampis, commercial velvet and rayon fabric, gold threads and sequins, tekat tapis embroidery

Ornamented with gold *tekat tapis* embroidery technique, this *lampis* is a textile made by a local craftswoman in Way Sindi village in Krui, west coast of Lampung. Intricately made by Nur and her daughter, Santi, this *lampis* was ordered by the village cultural leader, hence the 12 layered borders. Various-colored synthetic velvet is used as a representation of luxury alongside the gold *tapis* patterns.



Lampis, commercial velvet and rayon fabric, gold threads and sequins, tekat tapis embroidery

Amongst the various ceremonial textiles found in Way Sindi, this is a *lampis* with three layers of borders, ordered by a royal subordinate. There are contemporary patterns of swirls and leaves accompanied by gold sequins arranged as flowers. commercially made velvet is used as fabric and rayon fabric is used to assemble all the layers as one textile.



Tikhai payan, woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, gold threads and sequins, tekat appliqué embroidery

Wall drapes for ceremonial decorations in Lampung are called *tikhai*, where they must be paired with and placed above *kebung* wall hangings and *kekhedaian*. These two *tikhai* have become a collection of sacred ritual textiles only used during traditional ceremonies in Banjar Negeri village in Pesawaran. Finely constructed in *tekat* appliqué embroidery, gold threads were sewn along with gold sequins and gold-beaded wool tassels as additional decorations.

Wall drapes made from this specific technique were only meant to be used by the royal culture leader with white or yellow color association, however in some cases, they are lent to other community members as a sign of gratitude for their loyalty.



Tikhai ranjang, 265 cm (length) x 15 cm (stem width) x 18 cm (triangle drape width), woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, gold threads and sequins, tekat appliqué embroidery

Through these two pieces of *tikhai* found in Teratas village in Kota Agung, different placements for *tikhai* were discovered. The first *tikhai* is specifically used to decorate the bridal bed and the *tikhai* below is to decorate the walls surrounding the room. The ornamental patterns were created using *tekat* appliqué with cutout felt and additional embellishments like gold thread and sequins embroidery. Various colors are seen on these pieces, but blue, red, and yellow/orange are dominant. Estimated to have been made by the ancestors of its owners around 1930s.



Tikhai payan, commercial cotton and poly-based fabric, gold polymer sequins and beads, patchwork

Found also in the Kedondong region, a collection of modern rhombus *tikhais* were owned by a local wedding and event organizer. Made by local crafters in Talang Padang, modern rhombus *tikhais* use manufactured satin fabrics with components of poly-based fabrics for linings. Ornaments such as floral sequins and gold plates for tassels are also made out of modern materials that can be found in the local markets.



Tikhai lidah, commercial satin, silver threads and sequins, modern embroidery

In the area of Kota Agung, some ceremonial decorations do not employ the rhombus patchwork version such as these *tikhai* shown. In such cases, ornamental patterns were done by modern embroidery with commercial silver threads and embellished with sequins. *Tikhais* can be used as wall drapes or doorway decorations. The top image shows a tongue-shaped *tikhai* decoration paired with *kebung* for the wall, and the bottom image is a sword-shaped *tikhai* to decorate doorways. Both are fabricated with satin silk as base fabric and embroidered silver threads to make ornamental patterns and borders.



Tikhai payan, woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, tekat appliqué embroidery

Tekat appliqué varied in its designs, from ornamental patterns to the embellishments used. For example, this specific *tikhai* owned by a crafter in Sukabandar, Tanggamus has minimal ornamental patterns and no gold embellishments. It used cutout felts applied to the woven cotton base, decorated with tassels made from cotton materials cut in minimalist triangular shapes and rectangles attached in between the drapes.



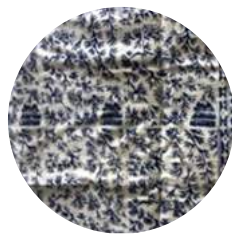
Tikhai bulan, commercial velvet, gold threads and sequins, modern embroidery

This particular shape was found amongst the many sword-shaped *tikhai*, and it is considered to be a modern innovation from the last 20 years. The locals call it moon, where its design focuses on the circular silhouette of a half moon attached to the main body of the *tikhai* (also known as *batang tikhai*, meaning *tikhai* stem). Using modern embroidery, the ornamental patterns use various metallic colored threads and sequins as additional embellishments.



Tikhai payan, woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, gold threads and sequins, tekat appliqué embroidery.

Tikhai payan, commercial cotton and poly-based fabric, gold polymer sequins and beads, patchwork. *Tikhai payan* is used during traditional ceremonies, placed in every room with wall decorations.



Cempala cloth in white base fabric with indigo clove patterns. Owned by the family of Syaiful Hambala (Bagus Niat) and Eli Yunara in Batu Raja village, Way Lima, Pesawaran



Tikhai payan, commercial satin, silver threads and sequins, modern embroidery



Location found : Khatu Semaka Museum, Sanggi Unggak Village, Bandar Negeri Semuong, Tanggamus

Owner : Abu Sahlan's collection, as the Pangikhan Punyimbang of Khatu Semaka

Function : Additional hanging decorations of *kebung* and *tikhai*

Material : Felt



Unfinished tikhai, 427 cm (length) x 31.5 cm (stem width) x 41 cm (triangle drape width), woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, gold threads and sequins, tekat appliqué embroidery



Cempala cloth in broken white base fabric with dark brown/maroon patterns. Owned by the family of Heri Yurizal Efendi (Raja Mangku Alam) in Banjar Negri village in Pesawaran



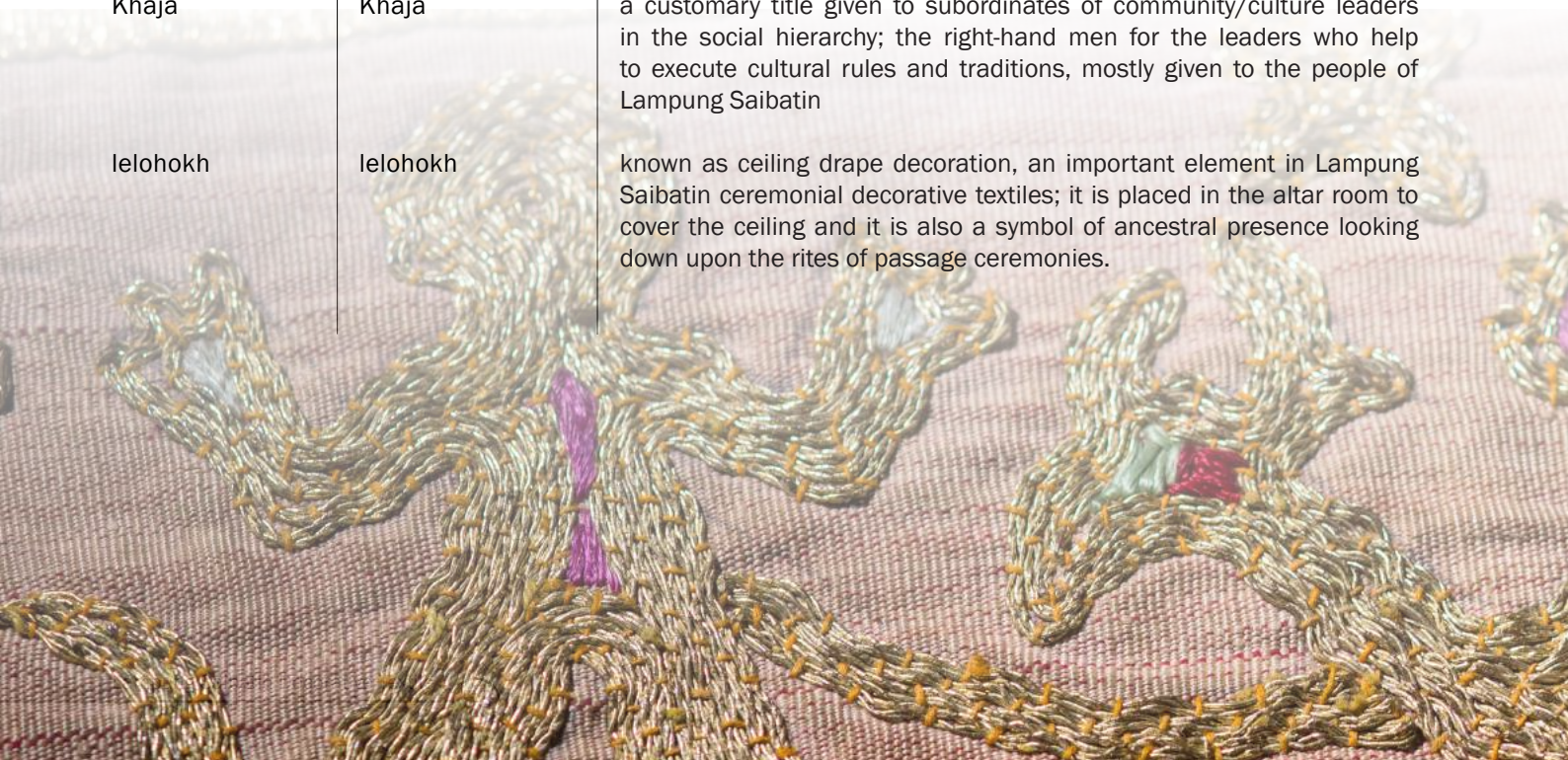
Tikhai payan, commercial cotton and poly-based fabric, gold polymer sequins and beads, patchwork



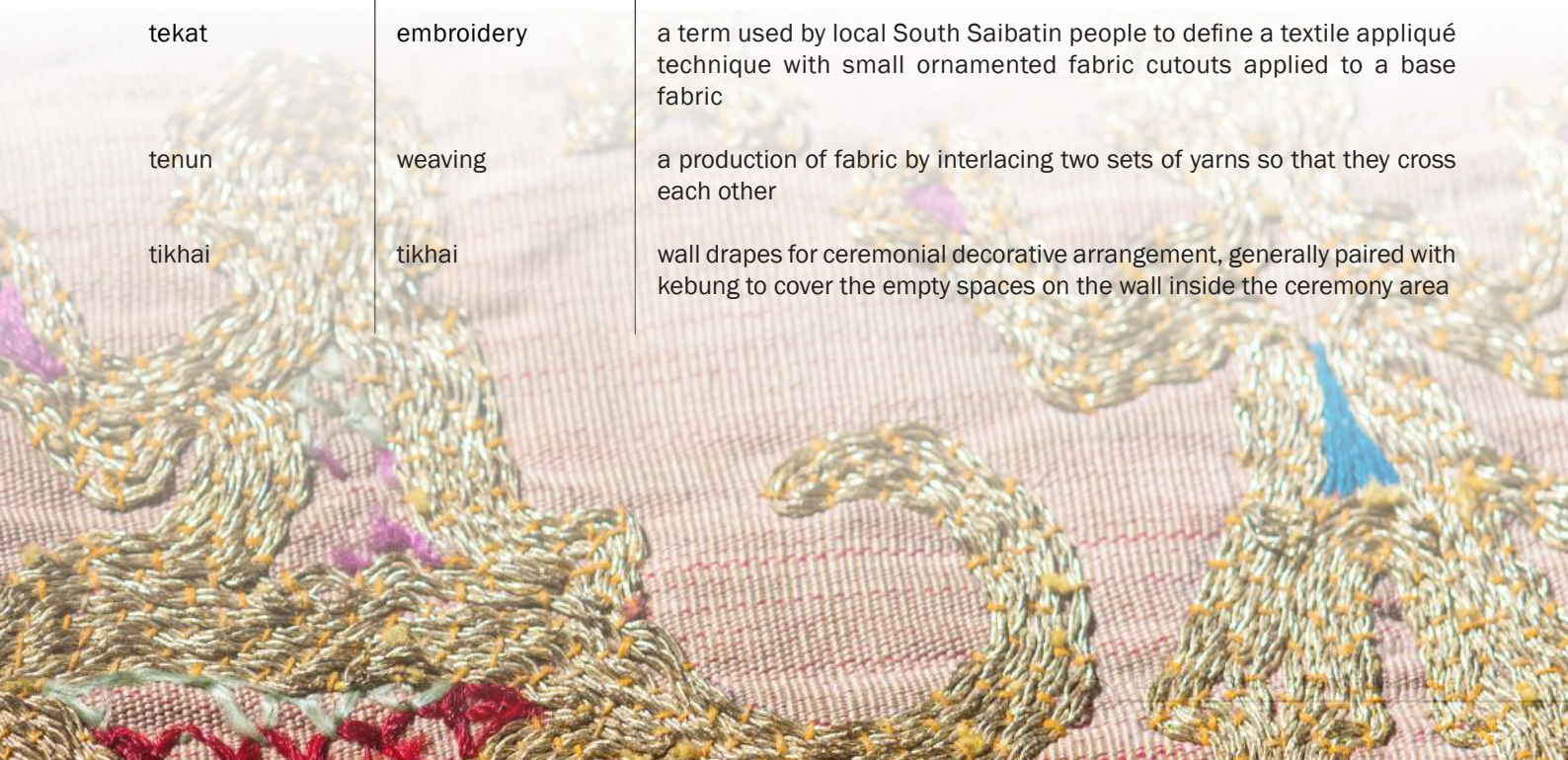
Tikhai lidah, woven cotton base fabric and wet felt ornaments, gold threads and sequins, tekat appliqué embroidery

Glossary

Indonesian	English	Definition
batik	batik	a technique of wax-resist dyeing applied to whole cloth, or cloth made using this technique, originated from Indonesia
belah ketupat	rhombus	a flat shape with 4 equal straight sides, looks like a diamond
benang jantung	gold thread	gold-plated thread made of fine cotton and gold
gim	gold thread	a metal-wrapped gold threads with a thin silk core used to embellish various decorative textiles in South Saibatin regions
kain kapal	ship cloth	a cloth made from weft cotton or silk threads woven onto a natural cotton ground, used by community leaders for rites of passage ceremonies
Kebandakhan	kingdom	Lampung's customary government system
kebaya	kebaya	a traditional blouse-dress combination that originated from Indonesia
kebung	kebung	wall hangings used by South Saibatin people as an important ceremonial decoration, consisting of rhombus patterns and various colored borders depending on the user
kekhedaiian	kekhedaiian	a series of traditional textiles that are hung above wall drapes and wall hangings as part of the ceremonial decorative textile set; these textiles are arranged in a special formation, whether it is being used during joyful ceremonies or that of grief.
Khadin	Khadin	a customary title given to subordinates of community/culture leaders in the social hierarchy, after Khaja; the right-hand men for the leaders who help to execute cultural rules and traditions, mostly given to the people of Lampung Saibatin
Khaja	Khaja	a customary title given to subordinates of community/culture leaders in the social hierarchy; the right-hand men for the leaders who help to execute cultural rules and traditions, mostly given to the people of Lampung Saibatin
lelohokh	lelohokh	known as ceiling drape decoration, an important element in Lampung Saibatin ceremonial decorative textiles; it is placed in the altar room to cover the ceiling and it is also a symbol of ancestral presence looking down upon the rites of passage ceremonies.



Indonesian	English	Definition
paksi	paksi	a culture group of royal family descendants formed by native leaders who migrated and empowered a specific region/land
Pangikhan	Prince	the highest customary title for community/culture leaders in the social hierarchy, mostly given to the people of Lampung Saibatin
Papadun	Papadun	the cultural identity of Lampung families who lived in the hinterlands and riverside
penyimbang adat	culture leader	a respected person responsible for preserving the traditional values and philosophies within the community
pesesekh	coastal	the transition areas between land and sea
Ratu	Queen	a cultural/clan leader responsible for preserving the traditional values and philosophies within the community
Saibatin	Saibatin	the cultural identity of Lampung families who lived alongside the coastal region
selendang	shawl	a square fabric garment or wrapper used especially as a covering for the head or shoulders
Sutan/Suntan	King	a cultural/clan leader responsible for preserving the traditional values and philosophies within the community
tampan	tray cloth	a shorter version of ship cloth
tapis	tapis	a type of textile technique where gold thread ornaments are created by hand couching the stitch with cotton threads
tekat	embroidery	a term used by local South Saibatin people to define a textile appliqué technique with small ornamented fabric cutouts applied to a base fabric
tenun	weaving	a production of fabric by interlacing two sets of yarns so that they cross each other
tikhai	tikhai	wall drapes for ceremonial decorative arrangement, generally paired with kebung to cover the empty spaces on the wall inside the ceremony area



Appendix

Appendix A

Kebandakhan Kelumbayan

Kebandakhan (equal to Kingdom) Kelumbayan is led by a Suntan (noble rank equal to King) who has seven regional cultural subordinates. The noble roles under the Suntan are outlined in the diagram below.

As described by Tihang Indra Bangsawan, the father of the Suntan, the noble titles can be passed down through the generations in the following order:

1. Adok Suntan - Head of the clan
2. Adok Pangikhan - First son of Suntan
3. Adok Dalom - Second son of Suntan
4. Adok Kakhya - Third son of Suntan
5. Adok Batin - Fourth son of Suntan
6. Adok Khaja - Fifth son of Suntan
7. Adok Khadin - Sixth son of Suntan
8. Adok Minak - Seventh son of Suntan
9. Adok Kimas - Eighth son of Suntan
10. Adok Layang - Ninth son of Suntan
11. Adok Bunga - Tenth son of Suntan

These titles can also be given to individuals outside of the Suntan's family, only when it has been approved by him and through a customary meeting amongst his noblemen. These titles are often important to be represented in traditional ceremonies, and this is done by the colors of the textiles worn and displayed in their homes.

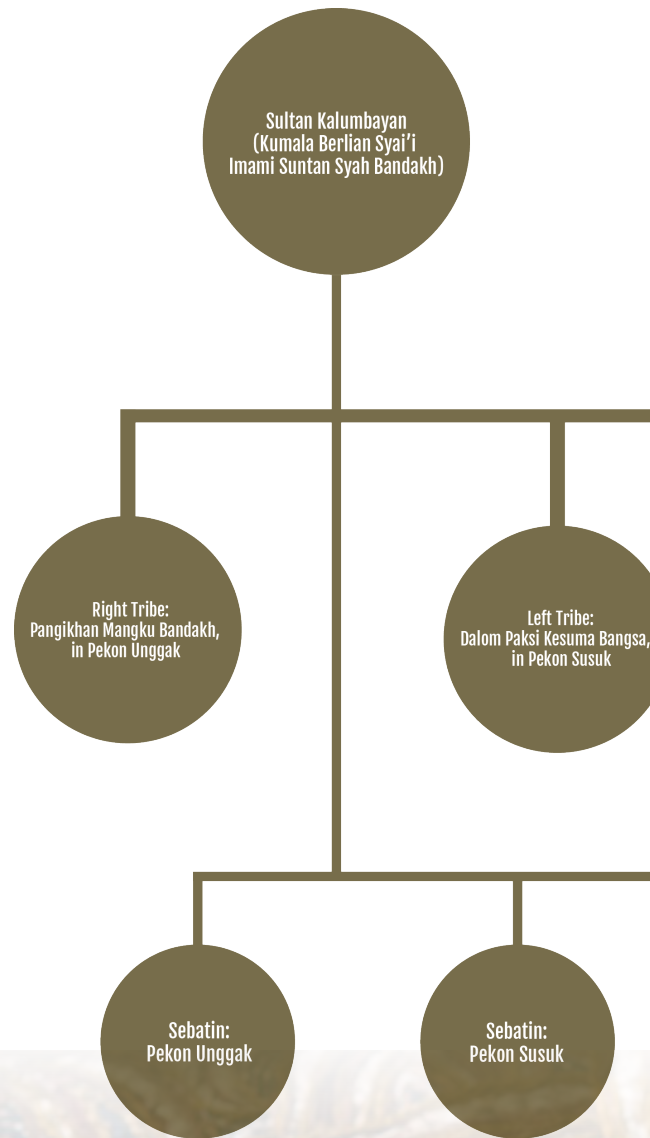
White - Suntan

Yellow - Pengikhan, Dalom, Kakhya and Batin

Blue - Khaja, Khadin, Minak, Kimas, Layang, Bunga,

Right Tribe and Left Tribe

Red - Right Tribe and Left Tribe subordinates



Left Tribe:
Dalom Pati Kesuma Negakha
in Pekon Tanjung Agung
Paku

Left Tribe:
Pekhwikha Makhga, in
Pekon Limbungan Paku

Left Tribe:
Dalom Kemala Jaya, in
Pekon Suka Bandung

Left Tribe:
Batin Pekhwikha Makhga,
in Pekon Pringsewu

Left Tribe:
In Pekon Kelumbayan,
they report directly to Suntan

Sebatin:
Pekon Tanjung
Agung Paku

Sebatin:
Pekon Limbungan
Paku

Sebatin:
Pekon Suka
Bandung

Sebatin:
Pekon Pringsewu

Sebatin:
In Pekon Kelumbayan,
they report directly to
Suntan



Appendix B

Kebuayan Sebadak in Way Lima, Pesawaran

Kebuayan Sebadak in Way Lima, Pesawaran comes from Kemandakhan Sebadak from Cuku Balak. The general structure of the royal clan is described below:

Pengikhan/Sultan: Leader

Khaja: Leader's subordinate/aristocrat

Khaden: Leader's subordinate/aristocrat

Minak: Leader's subordinate/general population

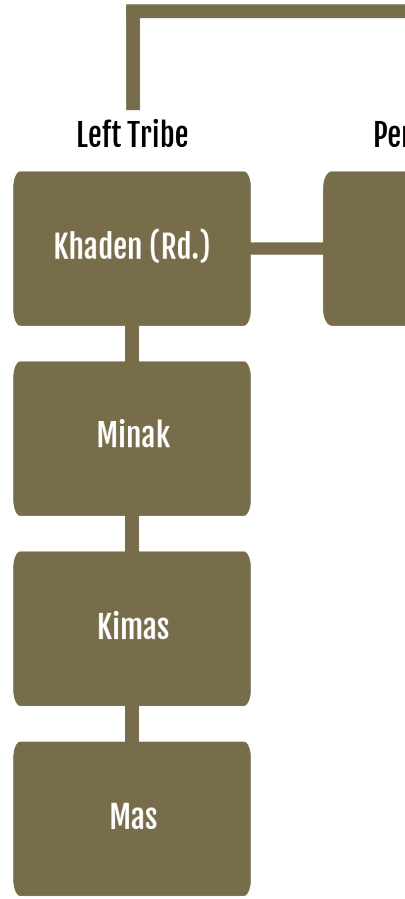
Khimas: Leader's subordinate/general population

Mas: Leader's subordinate/general population

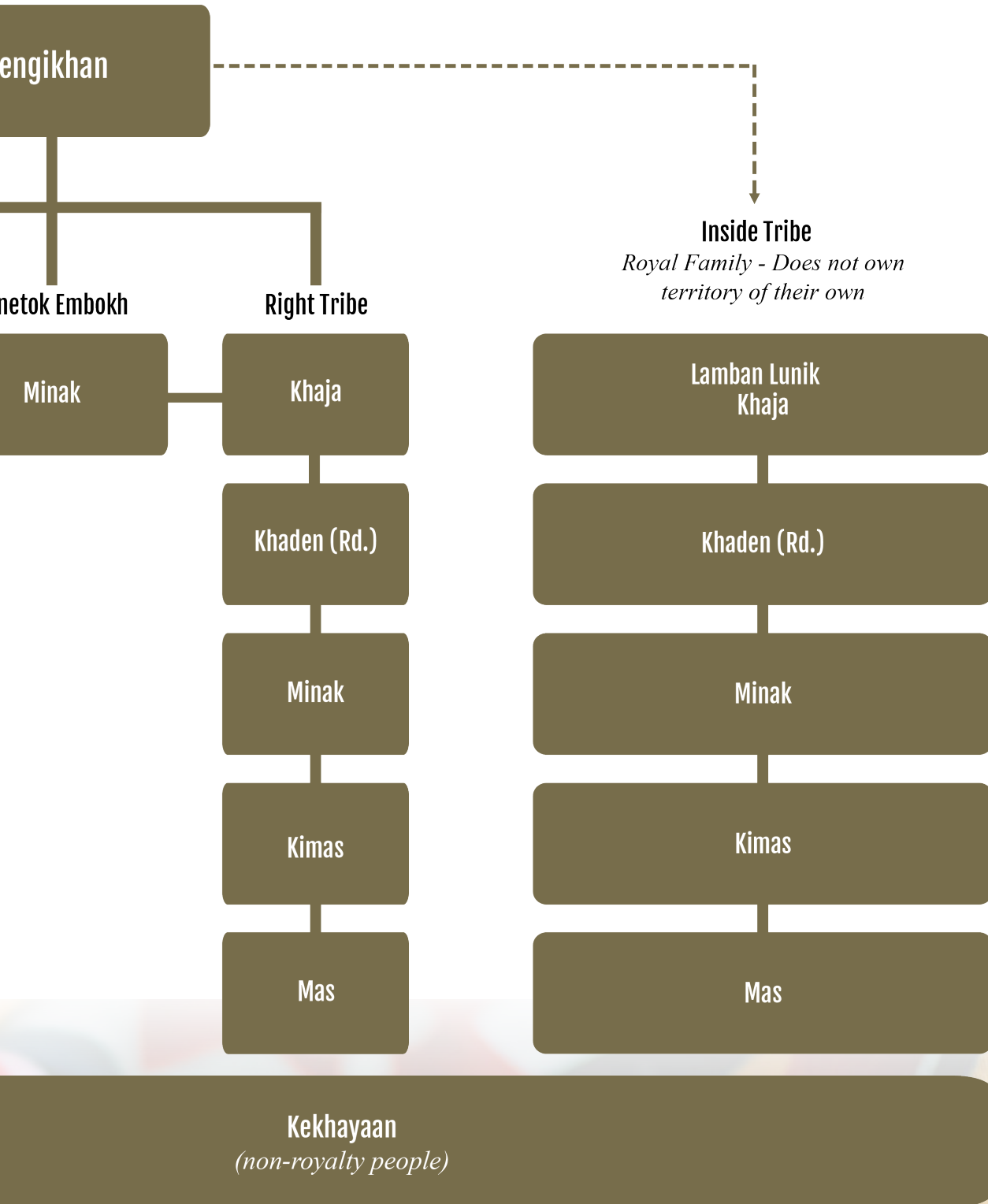
Kekhayaan: General population/common people

“
Tradition

P



Saibatin" as Royal Leaders



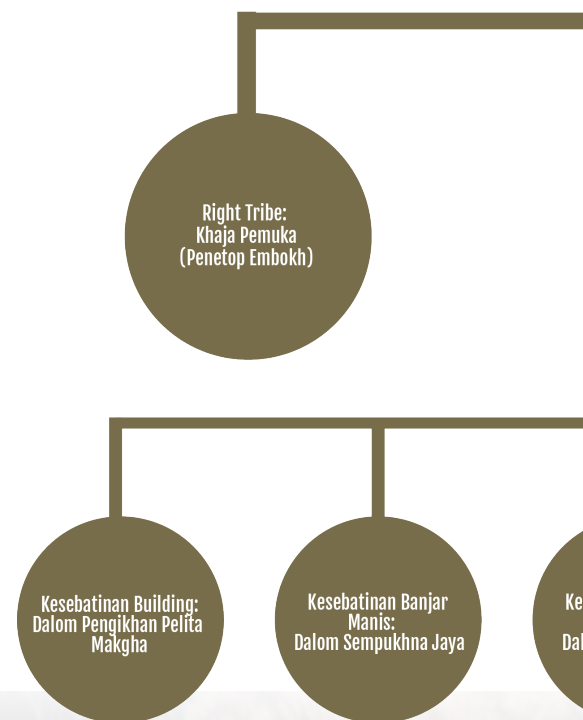
Appendix C

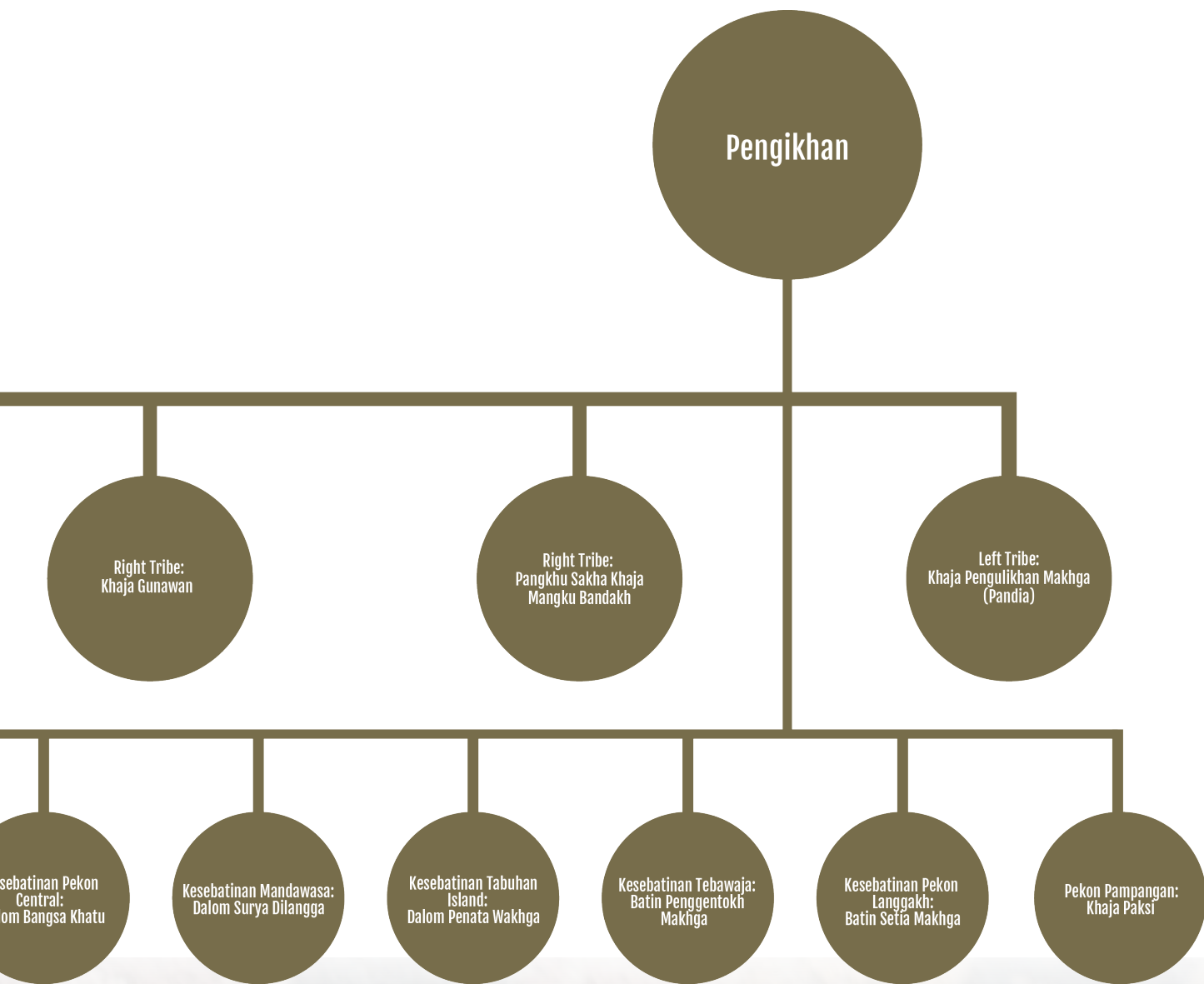
Kebandakhan Seputih (Cukuh Balak)

Kebandakhan Seputih in Cukuh Balak is led by a Pangikhan (Prince) who has 8 regional cultural subordinates (Kesebatinan).

The Pangikhan has three right tribes and one left tribe as described below:

1. Dalom Pangikhan Pelita Makhga - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Building in Pekon Tanjung Agung
2. Dalom Sempukhna Jaya - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Banjar Manis
3. Dalom Bangsa Khatu - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Pekon Tengah in Pekon Tanjung Agung
4. Dalom Surya Dilangga - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Mandawasa in Pekon Penyandingan
5. Dalom Penata Wakhga - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Pulau Tabuhan in Pekon Kutakarang
6. Batin Penggentokh Makhga - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Tebajawa in Kadondong
7. Batin Setia Makhga - Cultural Leader of Kesebatinan Pekon Langgakh in Pekon Tanjung Betuah
8. Khaja Paksi - Cultural Leader in Pekon Pampangan





Appendix D

Kebandakhan Way Urang Legun

White Kebandakhan in Cukuh Balak is led by Pengikhan who is responsible for a number of communities (Kesebatinan). The Pengikhan holds authority over right tribes and left tribes as described below:

1. Pengikhan
2. Dalom
3. Kakhya
4. Tamunggun
5. Batin
6. Khaja
7. Khadin
8. Minak
9. Mas



2019

The content of this book is developed from three years of research conducted by Budaya Kreatif Foundation for Greg Pankhurst of Antique Lampung Textiles. The research was conducted and reported in 2016 - 2018. This book is the first of a series on the origins of decorative textiles funded by Greg Pankhurst for Indonesia. This is The Navigator's special edition of traditional artefacts of Lampung.