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Cultural Continuity and Change: The Influence of *Marapu* on Traditional Settlement Continuity and Change in Prai Ijing Village, Sumba

Nina Carina¹ Ganesha Pratama Adi²

¹Architecture Departement, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Tarumanagara , Jakarta, Indonesia

²Veritas Design Indonesia., Jakarta, Indonesia

Email: ninac@ft.untar.ac.id, pratamaadiganesha@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The influence of religion on vernacular settlements is profound, shaping both their physical environment and cultural fabric. On Sumba, an island in Indonesia's East Nusa region renowned for its diverse cultural villages, *Marapu* animism is a foundational belief system, manifesting differently in each settlement. Prai Ijing village, situated on the island's western side, offers a unique case study. While increasingly open to external influences, the village remains rooted in *Marapu*'s core tenets, which significantly inform its social and spatial dynamics. Despite a predominant adherence to modified Christianity, *Marapu*'s enduring presence is palpable in the village's architecture and layout, subtly evolving. Unlike many vernacular Sumbanese villages, Prai Ijing has witnessed notable changes in its housing and settlement structures. The comparative analysis was conducted utilizing data acquired through on-site observations and a thorough review of literature studies. Through an analysis of selected houses and the broader village layout, this study explores the intricate interplay between *Marapu* animism, and other external beliefs in shaping the architectural fabric of Prai Ijing. By documenting and analyzing four distinguished sampled houses and the whole settlement of Prai Ijing, this study will describe the relationship between buildings and settlements with the *Marapu* Religion and external religion that affect the changes inside the village. This argument focuses on the effect of *Marapu*, and other newer beliefs on modifying the Prai Ijing houses and settlement.

Keywords: Prai Ijing, Vernacular Settlements, Marapu Religion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Vernacular architecture has "great scientific value" with the potential of providing "urban models that are perfectly adapted to social needs" without a negative impact on the future (Gil-Piqueras & Rodriguez-Navarro, 2021: 1). Indonesia has many vernacular architecture spread around its island. One of many distinguished vernacular architecture in Indonesia is located on the Sumba Island, East Nusa where the settlement is deeply rooted in their belief. However, due to modernization and cultural exchange, some settlements in Sumba have changed the way of how they built their houses.

The pattern of a settlement is defined as a place or area where residents gather and live together. Humans use the area and environment to live their lives, it has various characteristics. Vernacular settlements have an orientation that is influenced by center, axis, and rhythm. The shape of the settlement with a center pattern is the influence of Axis Mundi, a form of belief where the central space is the

space that connects heaven and earth (Christian Noberg-Schulz, 1980, 24-28).

Vernacular architecture has various cultures resulting in differences throughout the world. According to Richa Jagatramka (2021: 25), vernacular architecture moves very slowly in an evolution for change. This happens because of many factors influencing culture. According to him, several ways can change vernacular architecture. First, there is awareness of building something different from the original culture and second, there is no awareness of change because it requires a solution to a new problem over a long period.

The exchange of two cultures is an adjustment to mix cultures to create comfort between one and another. Changes in mixing like this can occur due to the arrival of new people in an area (Ronald Lewcock, 1997). Colonialism, urbanism, and tourism are the basic aspects of presenting a new culture. Mixing occurs between two cultures that have similar world views. However, radical differences cannot be reconciled because they are very fundamental. The two cultures cannot be merged into one. One culture becomes dominant by minimizing aspects of

other cultures. External understanding such as religion, philosophy, and politics becomes a superior paradigm that can reject many cultural understandings. These things create an alternative flow where an original culture or an immigrant culture becomes the dominant aspect in a mixture of the two cultures.

Prai Ijing village is located on the western side of Sumba Island, approximately 2 km from the city of Waikabubak. The name "*Prai*" translates to "forest," and "*Ijing*" refers to a local fruit that can be found around the village. This vernacular settlement stood on a small hill and has become a popular tourist destination on the island.

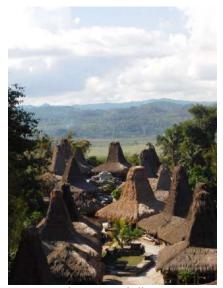


Figure 1. Prai Ijing (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

People in Prai Ijing have a religion known as *Marapu*. This ancient belief system represents one of the many animistic and dynamic religions prevalent across the Indonesian archipelago. Over half of Sumba's population adheres to *Marapu*, which revolves around the worship of ancestors and a Creator of Heaven and Earth. *Marapu* followers believe that life on Earth is transient, and after death, they will attain eternal life in the spirit world. The *Marapu* belief system also encompasses concepts such as *taboo* and *mana*, emphasizing the presence of supernatural powers in various natural phenomena, human figures, body parts, animals, plants, objects, and extraordinary sounds.

Reflecting the *Marapu* philosophy, Prai Ijing integrates sacred cultural objects and practices throughout the village. Sacredness is a vital aspect of daily life, with sacred concepts centered in each cluster around a group of sarcophagus and small green spaces. The belief in ancestry, a cornerstone of *Marapu*, positions the sarcophagi at the heart of the clusters, serving both as a playground for children and functional objects for villagers.

On 21st April 1889, Catholicism came into Sumba and it has become one of the majority religions on the island (Sene, 2019: 1). Most people in Prai Ijing also believe in catholicism but it has not affected the design of the village massively. The settlement itself still maintains its traditional value with *Marapu* as the root of all things. The religion became modified as they believed in Catholicism through the belief of *Marapu*. Ground rules and laws to maintain the village the way it is have a deep connection to their beliefs. Even though it is strong, Christianity has diminished some aspects that were categorized as "too dark" for the modern world inside the village itself according to the villagers.

In the modern year, the village has shifted from a traditional status to a touristic status by the Indonesian government in 2018. The settlers have shifted themselves from a hunger gatherers community into a more modern one, passing the transition smoothly. Having a transitional life from vernacular to modern society, the people of Prai Ijing have added new aspects to their life.

The changes that occur in the village are clearly visible around the settlement. However, there are various aspects that change the village and not just one aspect that helps shape and becomes the main changer.

The purpose of this study is to describe the changes that have occurred in Prai Ijing Village in the field of architecture. Changes in aspects of settlements and buildings will be studied to find the relationship between the vernacular world and modern aspects that have been present in village life.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Using analytical-comparative methods, this paper conducted the research by comparing data obtained through literature studies related to the history and conditions of Prai Ijing Village, *Marapu* beliefs, and early traditional culture with data obtained directly in Prai Ijing Village. To obtain more accurate data, the author visited and spent the night in Prai Ijing to collect data for five nights, record, and document the buildings and environment as well as conduct interviews and discussions with many villagers such as Daud Dima Umbu Pati, Meri Loda, Marthen R. Bira and many others.

Based on the data collected, this paper compares the differences between Prai Ijing in the past and the current situation. This comparison was carried out by analyzing settlement scale including spatial planning, zoning, open space, religious artifacts, and the scale of houses including form, appearance, order, context, and hierarchy. Through these processes, this article concludes the results of changes and adaptation that occurred in the village, especially in residential buildings. Changes and adaptations of tower houses and cottage houses are comparatively discussed by analyzing the buildings.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Vernacular Architecture and Changes

Humans realize that they have to adapt to the environment around them. Living and dwelling in a place is a depiction of the relationship between humans and their environment. Humans settle when they can orientate and identify themselves in an environment. Settlement is a process in which humans change a concept of place into a personal and residential world. Physical and emotional attachment occurs when humans establish themselves in a place. Architecture is a reflection of identity built by humans themselves based on the influence of the surrounding environment (David Seamon and Roger Megureauer, 1985: 5).

The meaning of Vernacular architecture has various cultures resulting in differences throughout the world. According to Amanti (2021: 1), vernacular architecture is generally the architecture of residential houses built by the community passing down the building traditions of their ancestors. Vernacular Architecture moves very slowly in an evolution for change (Ronald Lewcock,1997). This happens because of many factors influencing culture. Two main factors can change vernacular architecture. First, there is awareness of building something different from the original culture. Secondly, there is no awareness of change because a solution to a new problem is required over a long period. Overall, vernacular architecture might change but it took a long time to adapt to their surrounding.

The interaction between two cultures involves blending elements to foster mutual comfort. Changes in this blending often stem from the introduction of new inhabitants to an area. (Ronald Lewcock, 1997). Colonialism, urbanization, and tourism serve as fundamental mechanisms for introducing new cultural elements. Integrations occur more easily between cultures sharing similar worldviews, whereas profound differences resist reconciliation due to their fundamental nature. In such cases, cultures cannot merge completely; rather, one culture tends to dominate by subduing aspects of the other. External frameworks like religion, philosophy, and politics may assert dominance, potentially marginalizing various cultural perspectives. Consequently, a hybrid culture emerges where either the original or new culture predominates in the amalgamation of the two

Belief System and Design

Belief is an influence that reduces some physical importance. This influences many other physical factors because trust is often the first interest of building owners. Baron Raglan (1964: 135) explained that a house has a strong connection to the concept of "heaven and earth". The application of the concept of trust can be seen in the form, function, and layout of a house. The concept of

belief influences many things including shape, floor plan, spatial division, orientation, and others. The placement of the house and the location of the site can also be based on beliefs in adhering to the microcosmos concept (Amos Rapoport, 1969: 41). According to him, belief is a cultural basis in vernacular and pre-industrial settlements.

In belief and design, orientation is the main basis for form and arrangement. A house is a microcosm (Amos Rapoport, 1969: 52). The layout of the area and house can be influenced by beliefs through the Axis Mundi concept. The placement of height can also be influenced by placing something that is prioritized at a higher location. Several shapes and arrangements in many beliefs are believed to provide something to the occupants of the house. Vernacular design beliefs in Taboo and Mana. Based on the Encyclopedia Britannica (2002), taboo is a prohibition on an action that is based on a certain belief. Sometimes these behaviors are prohibited because they are too sacred or condemned based on belief. Meanwhile, Mana is a spiritual and supernatural force that, based on belief, is thought to originate from people, spirits, and objects. In each belief, Mana can be a good or evil spirit, beneficial or dangerous.

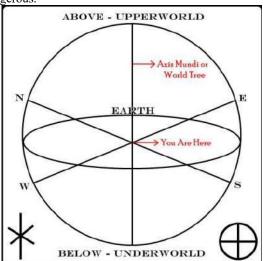


Figure 2. Axis Mundi (Source: Paul Pines, 2014)

Some cultures prioritize sacredness as their main importance. Inside the residence, several symbolic arrangements are presented for sacredness and ceremonial activities. The most common thing to find is the existence of a corner or space for worship in one's belief (Amos Rapoport, 1969: 54). The distribution of space in some beliefs is also influenced by the level of sacredness. The placement of spaces at certain heights generally adheres to a level of sacredness where the more sacred spaces are in the top position. Likewise, the placement of furniture can influence and be located based on the level of sacredness. Certain area in the settlement can also shows the level of sacredness with its spatial design and function that distinguish the other.

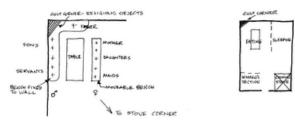


Figure 3. Sacred Corner (Source: Amos Rapoport, 1969)

The influence of Marapu beliefs on the Vernacular Sumba Settlement

and The island of Sumba, located in the East Nusa Tenggara province of Indonesia, is home to a unique indigenous religion known as *Marapu*. This ancient belief system represents one of the many animistic and dynamistic religions prevalent across the Indonesian archipelago. *Marapu* followers believe that life on Earth is transient, and after death, they will attain eternal life in the spirit world, specifically in the *Marapu* heaven called *Prai Marapu*.

In *Marapu* religious doctrine, the spirits of the deceased are believed to inhabit *Prai Marapu*, becoming worshipers of *Marapu*, provided they have adhered to the ancestral laws and customs during their lifetime. The *Marapu* belief system also encompasses concepts such as *taboo* and *mana*, emphasizing the presence of supernatural powers in various natural phenomena, human figures, body parts, animals, plants, objects, and extraordinary sounds.

Rituals, sacrifices, and ceremonies play a crucial role in *Marapu* worship, serving as vital expressions of prayer and devotion. Sacred objects are commonly used during religious practices, and categorized into ceremonial objects and ceremonial tools. *Marapu* traditions are rich with numerous rituals and ceremonies, each held for different occasions and purposes, underscoring the depth and complexity of this indigenous faith.

The *Marapu* religion has been preserved and passed down through generations by oral tradition due to the absence of a written alphabet in traditional dialects. This rich cultural heritage is characterized by numerous ceremonial practices integral to the people's daily lives. Ceremonies are held indoors and outdoors, each setting having specific cultural and spiritual significance. Traditional households adhere to a strict philosophy that keeps their beliefs with their homes' design and construction. Outdoor ceremonies often involve the use of *katoda, andungu, and pahomba*—sacred

relics and prayer items that are typically small wooden monuments with distinct shapes. These items are strategically placed in gardens, open courts for large ceremonies, gates, paddy fields, and other significant locations.



Figure 4. Sarcophagus in Kampung (Sourse: Yos, femina.co.id, 2017)

According to Umbu Pura Woha in "Marapu: Kepercayaan Asli Orang Sumba," ceremonies are deeply embedded in the cycle of life, occupational roles, family events, incidents, major events, prophetic readings, traditional calendar dates, and other various situations. Ceremonies are categorized into three types based on their timing: routine ceremonies aligned with the traditional calendar year, accidental ceremonies triggered by specific life events, and spontaneous ceremonies that happen in response to unforeseen circumstances. Offerings and sacrifices are central to Marapu rituals and traditions.

One of the most prominent ceremonies on the island is the "Kubur Batu," a vernacular burial practice involving a sarcophagus that is integrated into the settlement's layout. Funeral ceremonies can last several days and often involve the sacrifice of the deceased's farm animals. Another significant ritual, Wulla Poddu, occurs annually and mandates a cessation of all daily activities. This prohibition underscores the sacred nature of Wulla Poddu, as it cannot coincide with other activities. The ceremony comprises numerous rituals over several days, conducted within the confines of the village.



Figure 5. Wulla Podu in Kampung Tarung (Source: stringfixer.com, 2021)

A. Settlement

Sumba settlements consist of houses and groups of sarcophagi that are arranged and reflect the axis mundi of their beliefs. Most of the houses face the sarcophagi, which form an open space at the center of the nucleus-shaped layout. This open space is called "Natara Marapu." Larger settlements may feature multiple nuclei connected by roads that serve as the linear axis and make it into one attached settlement. Early dwellers placed sarcophagi in the middle of the settlement as the center of life, creating an open space that was also used for children to play and for daily activities. Within this central area, there is often a small patch of greenery, regarded as sacred ground. This greenery, which may consist of grass or shrubs, often contains relics imbued with strong taboo and mana beliefs. Newer sarcophagi are placed outside the original group, typically near the houses, resulting in a more dispersed and unconnected arrangement.

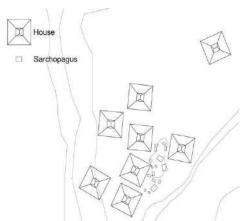


Figure 6. Prainatang Village Layout (Source: Tulistyantoro, 2020)

Sumba settlements are often situated in unique locations. In the hinterland, settlements are commonly found on contoured grounds like a hill and mountain or inside the forests. Some settlements are located near the seaside, close to cliffs and beaches. These sites are chosen primarily for protection rather than resource availability. Thus, to gather resources, settlers walked to their crops and built small houses (Rumah Pondok) near them. Most settlements have protective walls surrounding each settlement to mark their territory and prevent enemy attacks. In modern times, one source from Prai Ijing informs that these walls also serve to keep villagers' farm animals within the settlement. Each settlement has a gate marking the entrance, which is often simply a pathway through the wall.

B. Houses

Houses in Sumba can be divided into two zoning parts based on their *Marapu*'s beliefs. On vertical zoning, the houses are separated into three parts. These three segments of houses reflect the cosmology of their conviction where the most noteworthy put reflects the life following death and their predecessor, the center area reflects the human

world and the most reduced segment reflects the fiendish world where terrible spirits live.

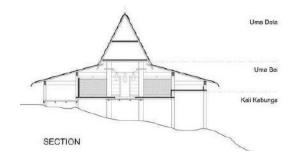


Figure 7. House in Wee Lewo Section (Source: Aurelius Aaron, 2018)

The uppermost section, *Uma Dei*, represents the afterlife and the ancestors. This sacred attic is reserved exclusively for the father of the house to store sacred relics and items, and no other family member is allowed to enter. Beneath the attic is a storage area for food and everyday items. The middle section, *Uma Beta*, represents the human world and serves as the living space where daily activities such as sleeping, eating, cooking, and socializing occur. This area is characterized by a horizontal layout. The lowest section of the house, *Kali Kabunga*, reflecting the underworld where evil spirits reside, is used to keep farm animals and crops, making it the filthiest part of the house.

Horizontally, the design of the house centers around the fireplace as it symbolizes the important aspect of the house. Vertical partitions are rare; instead, space is divided by elevation steps. Furniture is less likely to be found inside, and people typically sleep and sit on raised platforms. The fireplace is crucial for cooking and maintaining the house (through smoking). Sleeping areas are located around the fireplace, while other activities, aside from cooking and sleeping, take place on the outer perimeter of the living space. Fireplaces become a very important thing inside the house as the owner uses them for everyday activities. On the corner of the house, an offering objected as chicken quills are tied up to the roof structure as their belief and become a sacred corner.

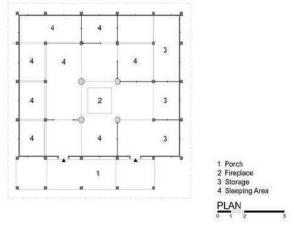


Figure 8.. House in Wee Lewo Plan

(Source: Aurelius Aaron, 2018)

Each vernacular house features two doorways, one for men and one for women. These openings mark the distinct gender-specific entrances. Inside, the layout also designates gender-specific territories. The women's area primarily consists of the kitchen and storage spaces, centered around household activities. On the other side, the men's area is mainly for resting, as men are typically active outside the house. However, in practice, all members use the entire space flexibly. The men's entrance always connects to the main porch, while the women's entrance is usually slightly hidden from the front.



Figure 9. Ratenggaro Village (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

This architectural approach reflects the profound integration of *Marapu* philosophy into everyday life, ensuring that the design of living spaces aligns with spiritual beliefs and cultural practices.

Vernacular Prai Ijing

The vernacular village of Prai Ijing stood on the western side of Sumba Island. It's located around 2 km from the city center of Waikabubak. The village is located on a small hill between a forest and has become a famous tourist spot when they visit the island due to its picturesque layout and setting. Visitors can reach the village by foot or car, passing through any of the four gates that have historically served as the settlement's entrances. Located on a hill inside of a forest, "Prai" translates to "forest," and "Ijing" refers to a local fruit that grew within the forest. This strategic location not only offers natural protection but also integrates the village into the surrounding environment, highlighting the harmonious relationship between the inhabitants and their natural surroundings.

Informed by Daud Dima Umbu Pati, Prai Ijing village was established around 150-200 years ago. However, there is no concrete data or evidence to confirm the exact age of the settlement. The villagers have tracked their ancestry and the lineage of those who lived in their houses to estimate the origins of the village since only oral stories were heard. Initially, Prai Ijing was built as a huntergatherer community with agriculture as an important aspect of their livelihood over time. The villagers also

keep various farm animals inside the settlement including cattle, horses, pigs, and chickens under their houses and designated spots for farm livestock. Most of the families commonly keep dogs for companionship and security purposes.

A. Settlement

According to local authority, Marten F. Bira, Prai Ijing village initially comprised 43 houses, all constructed simultaneously in a short time. These houses were made from local materials such as wood, bamboo, and thatch roof. Their design is heavily influenced by the setting of *Marapu* beliefs and concepts. The uniformity in construction and materials makes the houses appear similar to one another though the difference can be noted in the owner's status. Often, houses display a collection of items by hanging cattle skeletons or pig tusks. At the time of the establishment, settlers also built protective walls to keep safety and security against threats and to keep their animals within the territory.

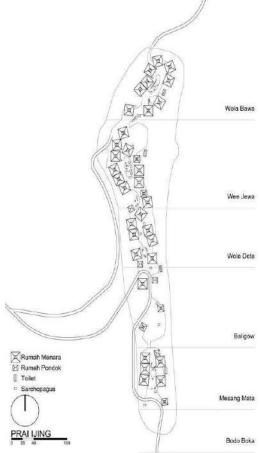


Figure 10. Prai Ijing Site Plan (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Prai Ijing village is structured into four clusters, arranged as a nucleus-shaped settlement and connected by a road as a linear axis. These clusters- *Mesang Mata*, *Wola Deta*, *Wee Jewa*, and *Wola Bawa*- are situated on various

contours on the hill. The *Mesang Mata* cluster is separated from the other by a significant elevation, necessitating the construction of a stairway to connect the axis. Two open spaces exist within the village: Baligow, situated between the *Wola Deta* and *Mesang Mata* clusters, and *Bodo Boka*, located south of *Mesang Mata*. Every cluster is centered on an open space called *Natara Marapu*. The village is enclosed by a stone wall, and access is marked by gates flanked by statues. The main entrance, or "entry" gate, is on the south side, while the "exit" gates are on the west side, accessible by vehicles, and on the north side, which is passable only on foot.



Figure 11. Prai Ijing Section (Sorce: Private documentation, 2022)

Sacredness is a vital aspect of daily life, with sacred concepts centered in each cluster around a group of *Kubur Batu* - a traditional sarcophagus - and small green spaces. The belief in ancestry, positions the sarcophagi at the heart of the clusters, serving both as a playground for children and functional objects for villagers.



Figure 12. *Natara Marapu* in Prai Ijing (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Religious artifacts that serve as sacred stones, locally called "Batu Pamali," resemble totems and small statues can be found around the village. These sacred items are believed to have supernatural power and protect the village from taboos and negative manas. These stones are found around every Natara Marapu and are often erected at the gates. Various sacred objects are distributed through open space to accommodate vernacular rituals, such as the Wolla Podu, held annually along the Wee Jewa Cluster. This ritual and cultural integration underscores the

profound connection between the physical layout of the village and the spiritual beliefs of its inhabitants.



Figure 13. Kubur Batu in Prai Ijing (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

B. House

In Prai Ijing, vernacular architecture can be found often in the lower area of the settlement which has focused on preserving the old tradition. However, the sample of these houses was taken outside this area. There are two types of vernacular houses in Prai Ijing: *Rumah Menara* and *Rumah Pondok*.

- Rumah Menara

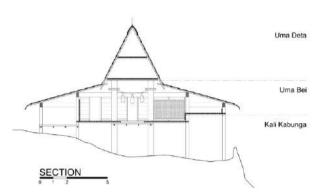
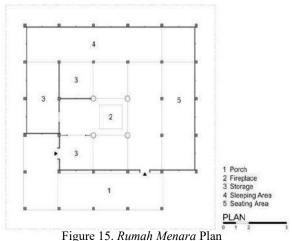


Figure 14. *Rumah Menara* Section (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

This type of large house is a vernacular Sumbanese house with a roof that rises upwards. In this house, the sample taken was *Kabisu Wola's* clan house, located in the *Mesang Mata* cluster. Vertically, the levels of this house are divided into three parts based on *Marapu* beliefs. The top level of the house is *Uma Deta*, where the spirits reside. This level is divided into two parts, the lower level attic is a place to store food. Meanwhile, the highest level is the sacred place. The highest level attic is a place to store sacred ancestral objects. The middle level is *Uma Bei*, this place is analogous to the human realm. Meanwhile, the lowest level is *Kali Kabunga*, the lower part is used as a livestock pen where there are buffalo, horses, and pigs.



(Source: Private documentation, 2022)

The house plan is square with the fireplace located in the middle of the house. The column arrangement is in the form of a grid with a distance of approximately 2.7 m x 2.7 m. The fireplace sits right between the four main columns that have a tight philosophy and are sacred to the history of the house. Access to the house is divided by two doors. On the left side, there is a door for women which is connected to the storage area, washing area, and cooking equipment storage area. On the front right side, there is a men's door. Both accesses to the door are through the terrace. On the right side of the building, there is a place to sit with a raised floor level following the anthropology of the homeowner with a sacred corner near the door. The corner of the wall on the right side is a corner where the owner of the house places offerings of chicken feathers to the ancestral spirits which are hung with ropes. The back side of the house is placed as a place for parents to sleep with a raised floor level.

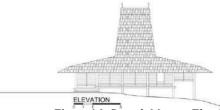


Figure 16. *Rumah Menara* Elevtion (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

The house has a typical Sumbanese vernacular roof shape. The roof rises upwards with a shield shape at the bottom. The house has long, shady terraces with a raised elevation that gives the house a stage expression on all sides. At the back, the stage looks higher because the contour of the land slopes down at the back. In this house, there are no windows and the openings are found in the connection between the material and the door. The main materials for the house are bamboo and wood. The walls and floors use bamboo as the main material. Some parts of the walls use woven bamboo as partitions in the house. Meanwhile, the structural material uses wood. However, many other

traditional houses now use concrete structures. The roof structure uses bamboo material and thatch cover.



Figure 17. Rumah Menara (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

- Rumah Pondok

This type of large house is a vernacular Sumba house with a roof that has a shield shape and a smaller shape. The sample taken was a house belonging to Kabisu *Wola Deta* which is located in the *Wola Deta* cluster.



Figure 18. *Rumah Pondok* Plan (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

The house plan has an imperfect square shape with two types of distance between columns. The majority of columns have a grid of approximately 2.1 m x 2.1 m and some columns have a distance of 1.8 m between columns. The fireplace is located in the middle of the plan by eliminating one column in the middle. Similar to *Rumah Menara*, access to the house is divided by two doors. On the left side, there is a door for women which is connected to the storage. On the front right side, there is a men's door. Both accesses to the door pass through terraces with different elevations. On the right, some seats have different elevations. The back side has a place to sleep which also has a different elevation.

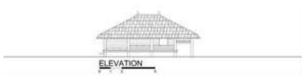


Figure 19. *Rumah Pondok* Elevation (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

The house looks smaller compared to the Rumah Menara. The house has a shield roof shape and is much lower than the Rumah Menara. Other expressions of the house have the same design philosophy as Rumah Menara. Wooden and bamboo are still being used in every Rumah Pondok construction with a roof finish using the thatch roof. On the vertical section, Uma Deta doesn't appear on the house concept as the roof is constructed on a short height. It also has no ceiling or attic as it shows the structure of the roof.

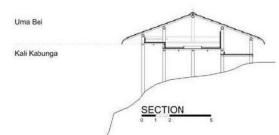


Figure 20. *Rumah Pondok* Section (Source: Private documentation, 2022)



Figure 21. Porch of Rumah Pondok (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Preservations, Changes, and Additions Inside Prai Ijing

In the modern year, the village has shifted from a traditional status to a touristic status. The settlers have shifted themselves from a hunter-gatherer community into transition into modernization. Based on a local interview with some settlers, many of the villagers still work around agriculture but many work outside the village community. Civil servants, teachers, merchants, and tourism factors workers can be found around, some villagers also have experience working outside of the island as far as Java and Borneo. Today, the children receive basic education and some go to universities outside of the island.



Figure 22. Current Situation in Prai Ijing (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Farm animals are still present in some houses, but the number has been diminished due to the transition of the way of living. Some houses may have no animals at all, even dogs are not held per house anymore but it has become mandatory to have one. Still, these dogs can still be seen roaming around the village. A spot that was assigned for the farm has been unused for some years, leaving the spot empty.

Marapu has been the root of everyday life inside the Prai Ijing village. Ceremonies and rituals are still performed in their period and situation even if they have been diminished with the arrival of Catholics into their life. The appearance of sacred objects can still be seen inside the settlements and houses. Traditional and life values are held tight into the villager's life. One of the reasons why the presence of Marapu can still be seen is because of the agreement of the people of Prai Ijing to keep it inside the village.

The philosophy and beliefs of Marapu are still performed inside the settlement even though the people have now converted to Catholicism. The belief of Marapu is rooted in their culture and modified the Catholic culture. People do both rituals, prayer, and ceremonies in their belief, objects of prayer and things of offering are still used and performed daily while church also opens on Sunday. In a conversation with Daud Dima Umbu Pati, the religion is synchronized with one another, with the story of the Tower of Babel and the Ancestor being the connector between humans and Jesus and Mary. But with the appearance of Catholics in their lives, some rituals diminished and augmented alongside the ethic. Some sacred objects' status has been diminished to a lower level of sacredness. Rituals and offerings also changed as animals could be traded with money.

A. Settlement

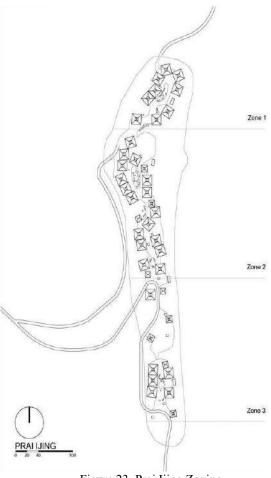


Figure 23. Prai Ijing Zoning (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Per 2022, there are 41 houses from 43 unmoveable spots to built houses. Another three of these structures are considered off the grid since it was built later in the development and have no connection to the *Marapu* but are still being influenced by it. These houses were built to accommodate the tourism factors and functioned as a guesthouse and a store. Villagers have since changed the construction method from wooden structures to concrete after the great fire in 2000.

Prai Ijing now divides the village into three zones due to tourism. Zone 1 is an old village, zone 2 is a pilot for transition to modernization, and zone 3 is focused on tourism. The zoning method made each zone have a different image setting. Having a transitional life from vernacular to modern society, the people of Prai Ijing have added new aspects to their life. New structures and buildings are now being built outside the designated spot. But to keep the guideline attached, these buildings also have their connection to their own cluster's *Natara Marapu*. Placed a little back further than the vernacular houses' spot, these buildings faced the axis to the center of

the open space. While there is a zoning rule that was created, the status of every settlement sacred cluster is still present. People still call *Wee Jewa* the "*Area Atas*" (high place) as the religious status among other clusters.

The function of *Natara Marapu* has expanded to a wider range of activities. With the presence of Catholicism, Sunday schools are held in this place. A visit from tourists or local government is always held in these open spaces also while every tradition and ritual continues. The open space is also still used for daily activity but still has the presence of taboo and mana. One of the open spaces in *Wola Deta* was a sacred plane and no one should step on it due to bad luck but it has changed since people's view of the concept has developed. The greenery of *Natara Marapu* is also still present with one of the houses on the cluster taking care of it.

The Sarcophagus's presence in the middle of the settlement layout has not changed the form. Meanwhile, additional cemeteries have different shapes and construction since they have been built with concrete but share the same concept. Old sarcophagi attend the center and new sarcophagi are placed on the side of the house and some on the front but separated from the *Natara Marapu*. In the modern era where the population has risen significantly, the need for a new *Kubur Batu* is necessary. In the end, concrete is being used and the concept of the grave still runs the same with different executions. With concrete, the human body is put from the side like a shelf, not from the top. Newer graves will fill the side of houses instead of in the middle like another sarcophagus. These graves spread irregularly all along the settlement.



Figure 24. Types of Sarcophagus (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Currently, water sources are accessible inside the settlement, sourcing public bathrooms, toilets, and fire protection in the village as they once needed to walk more than 700 m to the nearest source. Electricity has also been found in the village since a couple of decades ago. Prai Ijing also develops tourism facilities and attractions. Guest houses and a store were built to gain economical providers from the tourists. To attract more tourists, they constructed steps that connect *Wola Deta* and *Mesang Mata* that are used as access and a place for photos. The construction of a new asphalt road gives access not just to tourism, but also to the distribution of things and access to daily activity. The construction of the road created a new gate into the village as now they have four openings within the wall.

Table 1. Changes in Prai Ijing Settlement (Source: Private documentation, 2024)

	Vernacular	Modern		
Layout	Forty-three houses spot with two gates	The house's spot rule is still followed with newer buildings outside the spot. The addition of four gates due to access		
Zoning	No zoning, but four clustered areas and 2 open area	open Three zonings created by tourism create three different images of the village		
Natara Marapu	Open space completed with a group of <i>Kubur</i> Batu used by the people as a living area	Also used for daily activity, community service, and Sunday school		
Taboo and Mana	Strict rules on many areas and items.	The diminished belief among the people but some aspects are still believed		
Kubur Batu	The sarcophagus appeared as a stone and layout in the middle of <i>Natara Marapu</i>	Newer graves were placed outside the open space and built with concrete		
Facility	The vernacular settlement with no sanitary concept	Added source of water, electricity, lighting, and many tourism facilities		
Summary	The settlement was designed with the core value of <i>Marapu</i> belief and philosophy	Development was designed with heavy consideration between the core value and aspects of tourism with a touch of modern belief		



Figure 25. Tourists in Prai Ijing (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

B. Houses

The options of material on both samples have been different from the vernacular houses. Even though there are mostly earth materials that can be found around the settlement, structural materials have long been switched to concrete construction. According to Mery Loda, the option has to be made after the great fire of Prai Ijing. The most significant can be seen in most house's four-centered columns. These columns are so-called "sacred" in the belief but the material switch has diminished the concept and beliefs of the four-centered column philosophy. Meanwhile, the disappearance of the fireplace in the guest house defines that the house did not follow the belief since it wasn't purposely made to be a settlement house.

Modified Rumah Menara

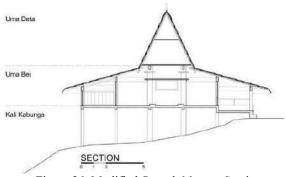


Figure 26. Modified *Rumah Menara* Section (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Some new houses were built with *Marapu* philosophy, the sampled modified house uses the philosophy of the vernacular house even though there are some modifications and additions to the design. After the comparison between samples, vertical zoning on house sections still appears and is applied even on newer structures. *Uma Deta* on the top of the zoning, the tall roof of *Rumah Menara* still appears on this house. *Uma Bei* as the middle of the house still appears unchanged functionally and philosophically. Meanwhile, the lowest zoning, the *Kali Kabungga*, has changed a bit functionally but the philosophy is still the same. The zoning creates the shape of houses with tall roof shapes and a raised level look.

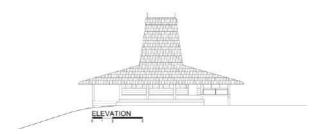


Figure 27. Modified *Rumah Menara* Elevation (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Horizontally, the layout of the house may change in modified houses but the concept has stayed the same since. The fireplace in the middle has always been the center of the houses with four columns in the middle of the house. Room separation with elevation is still used but with a smaller gap between elevations. The relationship between gender zoning areas is still around with the appearance of two doors on the front side and another on the hidden side. Sacred corners can still be seen inside the house.

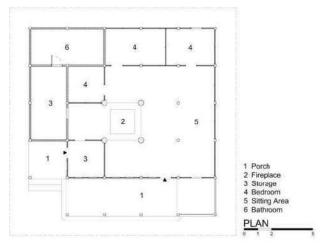


Figure 29. Modified *Rumah Menara* Plan (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

The house layout shows additional factors and diminishes the philosophy of *Marapu*. The difference in leveling to define room boundaries has changed to the difference of material and the appearance of the brick wall. The house also added a new function with a bathroom and bedroom, the two things that did not appear in vernacular houses. In the vertical concept, the house uses the same concept but adds a new function on the lowest part of the house. A new kitchen and a bathroom are added under the house which makes the place for animals smaller in size. The sanitary inside this house has changed as the standards are raised with new additions of function.



Figure 30. Porch of Modified *Rumah Menara* (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Guest House

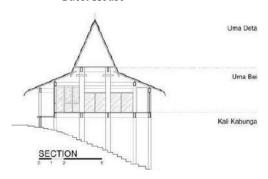


Figure 28. Guest House Section (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

On the sampled guest house the concept of vertical zoning has somehow gone, leaving *Uma Bei* to attend the function alone. The upper zoning is not properly functionalized as it has been changed without function and it has been closed with a ceiling. There is nothing to be stored on the above while the lowest part of the house has no function as there is no animal or crop to be stored. It only appears as a forest of columns.

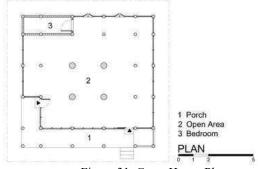


Figure 31. Guest House Plan (Source: Private documentation, 2022

Horizontal zoning on sampled guest houses changed the most with little aspects of *Marapu*'s philosophy. The segregation between gendered spaces has gone since it's now made with an open plan. Fireplaces also do not appear in the middle of the structure, leaving one of the most important aspects of the philosophy out. The four centered columns can still be seen, and they were made to appear like vernacular columns.



Figure 32. Guest House (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Overall, the guest house have the most significant changes among other building inside Prai Ijing. Most aspects of the *Marapu* belief has left the building is it is considered not as a real settlement of the village. The building has left the philosophy out completely from the structural grid, layout concept, appearance and other different aspects. But it can be considered as a contextual architecture to reflect the locality of the structure.



Figure 33. Guest House Elevation (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

Table 2. Changes in Prai Ijing Houses (Source: Private documentation, 2022)

(Source: Private documentation, 2022)									
	Veri	nacular	Modern						
Sample	Rumah Menara	Rumah Pondok	Modified House	Guest House					
Layout	Grid with 4 main large pillars	Grid with various sizes without 4 central pillars	Grid with 4 main large pillars	Large grid on the inside and small on the outside.					
Space Separation	Divided by bamboo walls, woven partitions and elevations for room bounding.	Divided by bamboo walls, woven partitions and elevations for room bounding.	Space is divided by modern walls, step elevations and differences in materials. Furniture to be added	Space is divided by modern walls, and step elevations. Open plan					
Space Arrangemen t	Room arranged per grid. Terrace to the front, fireplace in the middle, sitting room to the right, storage to the left and bedroom to the back.	Room arranged per grid. Terrace to the front, fireplace in the middle, sitting room to the right, storage to the left and bedroom to the back.	Room arranged per grid. Terrace to the front, fireplace in the middle, sitting room to living room to the right, storage to the left and bedroom and bathroom to the back.	Order is created by open plan space and organized by grid. A terrace at the front, and a bathroom at the back					
Levels Zoning	The house reflects the three levels of nature at the level of the house.	The cottage house does not reflect three levels but only two	The modified house still reflects three levels with functions that match the concept of belief	The house applies a three-level concept, but does not divide the space according to the concept of belief					
Context	The house is built and pays attention to early customs and beliefs.	The house is built and pays attention to early customs and beliefs.	The house enters the cultural context of the outside culture so that there is an adjustment to beliefs and culture.	The house dominantly enters the external cultural context. Only some cultural elements are applied.					
Summary	Preservation of Marapu design with minor modernization adjustment	Preservation of <i>Marapu</i> Design	Marapu philosophy design on a modern construction, with adjustment	Modern design with little <i>Marapu</i> philosophy, mostly for the looks					

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

After one opens themself to the new world, there'll be something that happens. In Sumba, the belief of *Marapu* is rooted deep in their lifestyle while Catholicism is viewed as a wider aspect. These views can change, preserve, add, and diminish one another. Synchronization and modification of religious beliefs also change the way how architecture shows itself. In Prai Ijing, the root of *Marapu*'s belief is strong inside the will of the people. However, to good measure, they open themselves to a wider concept, which is based on good and bad, according to their beliefs.

The openness of the people's minds did not neglect the settlement and changed the life of the people from a hunter-gatherer society into a modern man. Their choice has opened a more interesting way of preserving the village as a whole. From the data and analysis that has been made, it is stated that the settlement was not meant to stay the same forever on the same house and material. But, the people have chosen to preserve the value instead of others so they can enjoy the development of quality life within the village. The path that the people of Prai Ijing chose follows the way to life as a modern man instead of vernacular settlers. The path that the internal organization made also carved the way to allow outside culture inside the Prai Ijing village. They made clear boundaries to separate the original value of Marapu and the outside culture.

The data and analysis that has been made on the guest house appear to clearly show the separation between Prai Ijing's *Marapu* concept and the modern concept. In this house, the concept of *Marapu* is only applied on the surface and mostly applied on the exterior aspects. While the data and analysis on the modernized *Rumah Menara* appeared to show that this house has exposed the concept of the modern concept but still rooted to *Marapu*'s belief.

While the house shows a significant change due to the exposure of modern concepts and religion, the settlement itself shows little effect. There are small changes in aspects that occur due to Christianity. *Marapu*'s design and philosophy are still being used today. New concepts from outside culture are fitted into the settlement so modern activities are set and done in the same place where the space was built based on *Marapu*'s beliefs. This choice of design did not change the appearance of the settlement much like the houses but it sure does change the feeling of the space itself.

The diminished aspects of taboo and mana on the people of Prai Ijing show that newer religions on the settlement and modern concepts change how people see their earlier beliefs. As this concept shapes the settlement a lot and the village itself was built around it, there is no way to scrape this. Instead, there are values to be kept and diminished

among the people themselves. This view leads to changes in the beliefs of the people itself.

Settlement

It can be concluded that the settlement layout remains the same as it was but appears to have several additions that do not correlate with the tradition of their Marapu beliefs. New buildings and facilities are adjusted to the way the people live and the way the village has become. The image of the village itself changes after the zoning that creates three separate images inside the village. But at the end, every development inside the settlement itself are carefully designed with consideration from the old value.

Houses

From the analysis, there are several findings after the comparison between the vernacular building and the new one. Modern times change the houses slowly, the most significant is the usage of material. However, the changes in culture added new aspects inside the house and fit in with the vernacular beliefs.

The aspects of vernacular design are still attached to the modern structure. Even as small as the shape of the house, the philosophy of the design is also shown inside the design itself. Consideration of the construction looked on the user of the house itself. Whether the house is for the local settler or the outsider, the mix between cultures collaborate with each other and fit the house into the settlement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Many thanks to Franseno Pujianto for giving guidance in regard to collecting the data on Prai Ijing. Ariqo Mutiara, who assisted in compiling all of the data in Prai Ijing, is also greatly appreciated. Additionally. We also thankful for knowing great individuals such as Daud Dima Umbu Pati and Meri F. Loda, who provided accommodation in their Sumbanese home during the data collection process; Marthen F. Bira who helped a long way in paving the way for the data collection process in Prai Ijing; the people of Prai Ijing; the children of the village; and and finally, the people who make this data collection possible

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Jakarta, 27th of August 2024

No.: 074-ICRA/SA /FT-Untar/ VIII/2024

FULL PAPER ACCEPTANCE NOTIFICATION

Paper ID: 028

Title : Cultural Continuity and Change: The Influence of Marapu on Traditional Settlement

Continuity and Change in Prai Ijing Village, Sumba

Author : Nina Carina, Ganesha Pratama Adi

Dear Sir/Madam,

Thank you for submitting your paper to ICRA 2024. We are pleased to inform you that your full paper submission was **accepted with revisions**.

Please proceed to the **final full paper stage**. Before submitting your paper, we recommend proofreading the manuscript to minimize obvious errors, such as formatting and grammatical errors.

We would greatly appreciate it if you could format the email subject and final full paper file name as follows: **No Paper ID_FFP_Name_Title** (e.g., 001-ICRA_FFP_BUDI_Study of Religious Architecture) when submitting your final full paper via email.

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We will invite you to present accepted papers at the ICRA 2024 conference via zoom meeting. The papers presented will be further processed for publication in WoS-indexed proceedings*.

Further information will be published on our website (http://icra@untar.ac.id).

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Sincerely,

Ir. Sutrisno Murtiyoso, M.Ars, LSAI (Committee Chair)

Dr. Alvin Hadiwono, S.T., M.Ars (Co-chair)

*in progress

CONTACT













INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Tarumanagara

24 OCT-25 OCT 2024

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RELIGIOUS BUILDING AND HUMAN HABITATION DESIGN AND MANIFESTATIONS TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATIONS MONUMENTS AND HERITAGE

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BACKGROUND OF ICRA 2024

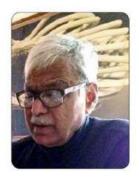
Religion produced noteworthy architectures from the beginning of humanity. Religion gives meaning and direction to human life, and in the process unites and empowers human beings to direct their aspirations and resources to build spectacular works of houses of worship and gathering. Religious architecture fills a significant part of history of architecture.

Since ages, for the religions of mankind, human beings have evolved a plethora of forms in simple stone buildings to the ones in sophisticated modern materials and technologies. From an architectural point of view, every building built for religion is sacred, meaning it is dedicated to the powers beyond. However, the manifestations are so much varied, as they depend on the regulations sanctioned by different religious teachings combined with the society's culture and tradition, and the builder's intentions and aspirations. Added to that are the local environmental factors, the availability of building materials, existing building technology, and the time span of its development.

From what we know today, the oldest religious architecture could be found in Göbekli Tepe, built around 10.000 years ago, when humanity still lived as hunter gatherers. Architecture developed further into megalithic period, became increasingly monumental in the medieval age with colossal royal worship complexes. Up to modern times, we keep on building religious architectures with increasing elaboration.

The International Conference on Religious Architecture is organized with a hope to broaden our understanding and perspective in this often neglected field. The study in religious architecture is more acutely felt in the regions outside of Europe and America, while the demand is clearly pressing today. The Conference should serve as a forum for scholars in the field, hopefully being the first one in a series.

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS



Prof. Miki Desai
CEPT University, Ahmedabad, India
Former professor of the Faculty of Architecture,
CEPT University, Ahmedabad, India, Researcher and
writer of religious architecture in India

Conference Topic: Conography and Anthropomorphism as a System of Hindu Religious Repertoire and its Wonderments



Gaudenz Domenig ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland Researcher & Author 'Religion and Architecture in Premodern Indonesia'

Conference Topic: Granaries, Treasuries, and the Doric Temple



Imran bin Tajudeen, Ph. D.
National University of Singapore, Singapore
MIT Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture
Postdoctoral Fellowship

Conference Topic: The Mosques of Java and the Malay World: Questions of Agency, Circulation, and Translation through Nomenclature and Narration



ICRA PARALLEL SESSION SCHEDULES

DAY 2 - PARALLEL SESSION - ROOM 1
Date : Friday, October 25, 2024
Time : 13.45 - 15.30 WIB (GMT+7)

Moderator: Agnatasya Listianti Mustaram, S.T., M.Sc

Schedule	ID	Paper Title	Topic Category	Author(s)	Institution (s)	
13.45 - 13.55	Open	ing Day 2 - Parallel Session - Room 1	, <u>J</u>			
13.55 - 14.05	024	Kelenteng, the Chinese Temple in Java. Varieties on a Theme	Design and Manifestations	Sutrisno Murtiyoso	Tarumanagara University, Lembaga Sejarah Arsitektur Indonesia (Indonesian Institute for history of Architecture)	
14.05 - 14.15	026	Evaluating Natural Lighting Performance in Vernacular Mosque Architecture: A Case Study of the Masjid Tuha Indrapuri	Design and Manifestations	Yayang Nisfulawati, Abdul Munir, Muliadi	Syiah Kuala University	
14.15 - 14.25	028	Cultural Continuity and Change: The Influence of Marapu on Traditional Settlement Continuity and Change in Prailjing Village, Sumba	Design and Manifestations	Nina Carina, Ganesha Pratama Adi	Universitas Tarumanagara, Veritas Design Indonesia	
14.25 - 14.35	030	The Hybrid Architecture of Gereja Lengko Ajang in Manggarai, Nusa Tenggara Timur	Religious Building and Human Habitation	Wahyu Prakosa, Agung Wahyudi, Agus Suparman, Hendro Prabowo	Gunadarma University	
14.35 - 14.45	Question and Answer Session					
14.45 - 14.55	001	Deities on the Move: Devotion, Migration and Relocation in Singapore	Design and Manifestations	LAI Chee Kien	Society of Architectural and Urban Historians of Asia - Singapore	
14.55 - 15.05	019	Adaptation and Preservation of "Salib Suci" Catholic Church in Bandung City	Monuments and Heritage	Nurtati Soewarno, Shirley Wahadama- putera	Institut Teknologi Nasional Bandung	
15.05 - 15.15	072	Borobudur Temple Revisited: The Meaning of Its Design and The Surrounding Cultural Landscape	Monuments and Heritage	Titin Fatimah	Universitas Tarumanagara	
15.15 -		tion and Answer Session				
15.30	Closi	ng Day 2 - Parallel Session - Room	11			



ID 028

Cultural Continuity and Change: The Influence of Marapu on Traditional Settlement Continuity and Change in Prailijing Village, Sumba

Nina Carina¹, Ganesha Pratama Adi²

Architecture Departement, Faculty of Engineering, Universitas Tarumanagara, Jakarta, Indonesia

²Veritas Design Indonesia., Jakarta, Indonesia

Email: ninac@ft.untar.ac.id, pratamaadiganesha@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The influence of religion on vernacular settlements is profound, shaping both their physical environment and cultural fabric. On Sumba, an island in Indonesia's East Nusa region renowned for its diverse cultural villages, Marapu animism is a foundational belief system, manifesting differently in each settlement. Prailjing village, situated on the island's western side, offers a unique case study. While increasingly open to external influences, the village remains rooted in Marapu's core tenets, which significantly inform its social and spatial dynamics. Despite a predominant adherence to modified Christianity, Marapu's enduring presence is palpable in the village's architecture and layout, subtly evolving. Unlike many vernacular Sumbanese villages, Prailjing has witnessed notable changes in its housing and settlement structures. The comparative analysis was conducted utilizing data acquired through on-site observations and a thorough review of literature studies. Through an analysis of selected houses and the broader village layout, this study explores the intricate interplay between Marapu animism, and other external beliefs in shaping the architectural fabric of Prailijing. By documenting and analyzing four distinguished sampled houses and the whole settlement of Prai Ijing, this study will describe the relationship between buildings and settlements with the Marapu Religion and external religion that affect the changes inside the village. This argument focuses on the effect of Marapu, and other newer beliefs on modifying the Prailijing houses and settlement.

Keywords: Prai Ijing, Vernacular Settlements, Marapu Religion.

