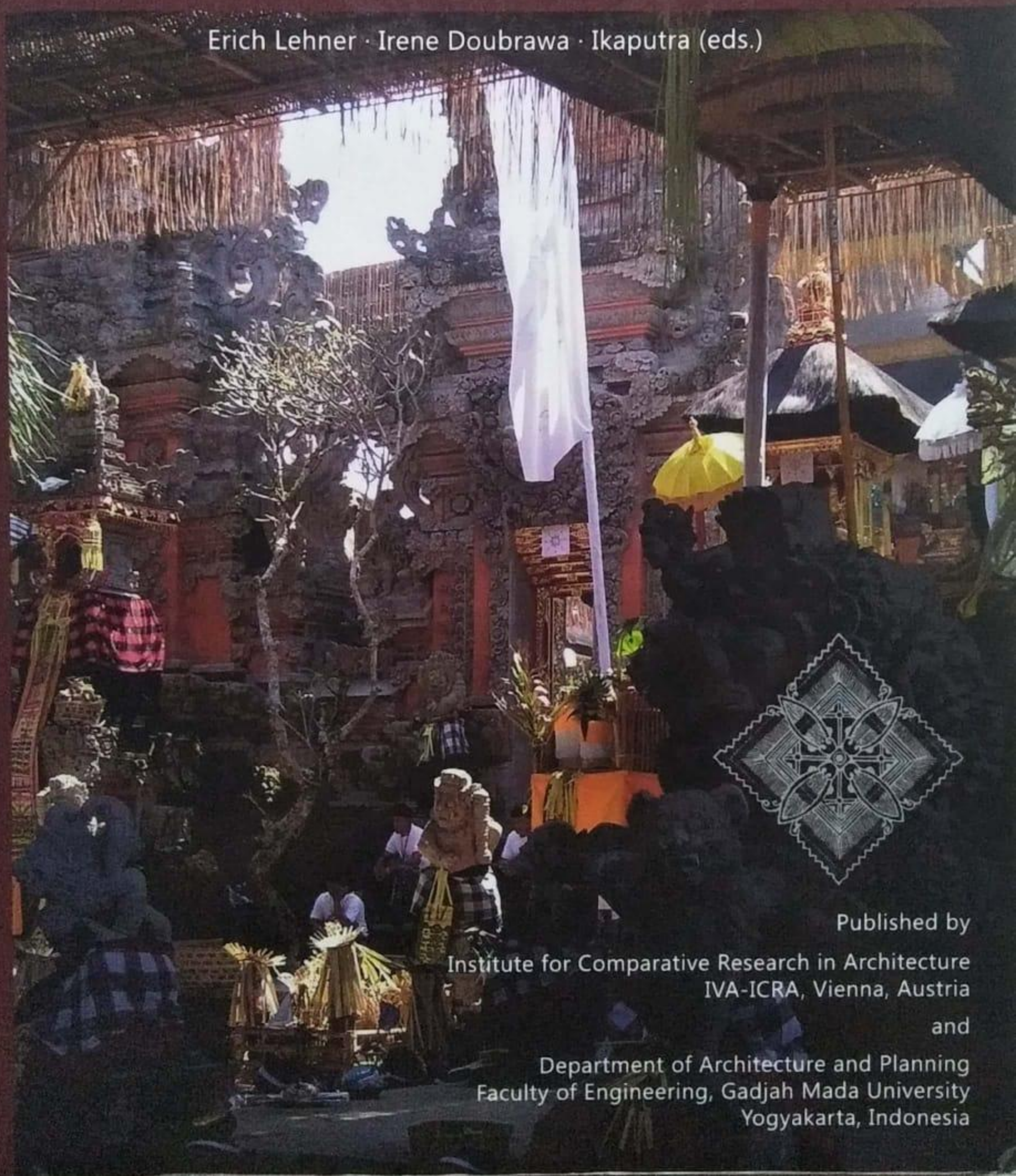
INSULAR DIVERSITY

Architecture · Culture · Identity in Indonesia

Erich Lehner · Irene Doubrawa · Ikaputra (eds.)



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Front: ceremony at Sayan Hindu temple, Bali (photo: E. Lehner)
Rear: view from Bawömataluo to Lagundri Bay, Nias (photo: U. Herbig)

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Universitas Gadjah Mada

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Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia
Vienna - Austria

PREFACE

Indonesia is well known among the community of nations for its richness in cultures. Such enormous wealth fortunately is documented through the many works of arts which can be seen in almost every corner of Indonesia.

The field of architecture is one such thing, an effective way of presenting Indonesia's art forms at their finest. People's story of a time gone by could be traced and vividly imprinted as well as discerned on Indonesian historical monuments.

I therefore commend the publishers and all those involved in the publication of the book, titled "*Insular Diversity: Architecture – Culture – Identity*", featuring the studies of Indonesian scholars in the field of architecture. This book, dedicated to works of architecture, is hoped to invariably elicit the admiration of foreign audiences and their appreciation of the Indonesian people.

Rachmat Budiman

PREFACE OF THE EDITORS

The present publication is the result of an international symposium held at the Vienna University of Technology in May 2011. For four days, 50 experts from 9 countries and 24 research institutions met at the Vienna symposium to discuss historical and contemporary aspects of Indonesian architecture, culture and identity. This publication has been compiled as the official proceedings of the symposium, reflecting the outcome of the discussions and research papers presented during the symposium.

Indonesia is a country of great cultural diversity. This publication aims to illustrate this diversity through the discussion of architecture, urban space and performing arts by experts from different fields. The articles are grouped into five chapters, which follow the structure of the conference program. The first chapter includes articles about Buddhist and Hindu architecture, with a focus on Javanese candis, and proposes a future documentation project. The second chapter explores various aspects of the vernacular architecture from regions all across Indonesia. The third chapter focuses on the post-disaster reconstruction of vernacular architecture, based on projects that the authors are currently conducting or have conducted in Indonesia during the past few years. The fourth chapter comprises discussions on urban heritage, including articles about colonial heritage and the influence of village patterns on urban space. In the final chapter, the musical life and heritage of Indonesia are explored and compared to European traditions.

This book is a joint publication by the Vienna University of Technology and the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, reflecting many years of cooperation between Austrian and Indonesian research institutions. The symposium and this publication together provide the opportunity to present individual and joint research and to strengthen and expand the network of researchers from different fields and different countries, who share a common interest in the culture of Indonesia.

We would like to thank all the symposium participants, who contributed to this publication by providing their articles and by taking part in the fruitful and passionate discussions which took place during the conference. We would also like to thank those experts who could not attend the conference in person, but who sent their papers. Our thanks go to everyone who accompanied us through the long process of editing these pages and finally enabled us to compile and present this publication.

Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Dr.techn. Erich Lehner
Dipl.-Ing. Irene Doubrawa
Assoc.Prof. Ir. M.Eng. Ph.D. Ikaputra

PREFACE OF THE DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING OF THE VIENNA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

The International Symposium "INSULAR DIVERSITY: ARCHITECTURE – CULTURE – IDENTITY IN INDONESIA" took place from the 18th to the 21st of May 2011 in Vienna, under the patronage of the Austrian Commission for UNESCO. In different lectures and discussions grouped into seven modules (Vernacular Architecture, Traditional Heritage, Colonial Heritage, Fine Arts & Music, Religious Architecture, Contemporary Tendencies in Architecture, Nias), participants from 20 research institutions and 9 countries explored the cultural diversity and the architecture of Indonesia. This publication is a collection of 32 papers selected from those presented at the symposium. This is a visible result of the longstanding cooperation between the Non-European group in the Department for History of Architecture and Building Archaeology here in Vienna, and the Department of Architecture and Planning at the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta.

Special thanks go to Erich Lehner and Irene Doubrawa from the Institute of History of Art, Building Archaeology and Restoration, and Ikaputra from the Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia, whose personal efforts have made this publication possible.

Equally, I would like to thank the staff and students of our faculty for their organizational and technical assistance with the symposium. This book, published jointly by the Vienna University of Technology and the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta represents the high level of cooperation and expertise of many international scientists from different fields.

Univ.Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Rudolf Scheuvens

PREFACE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING OF THE GADJAH MADA UNIVERSITY YOGYAKARTA

It is indeed my pleasure to prepare this preface to celebrate the publication of collected papers presented at the international symposium entitled "Insular Diversity: Architecture – Culture – Identity in Indonesia" held at the Vienna University of Technology, Vienna, Austria, in May, 2011. It was too bad that I was not able to attend that interesting and important symposium in person on, but I clearly remember how the 16 participants from The Department of Architecture and Planning, Gadjah Mada University were so enthusiastic in preparing materials to be presented at the symposium – such enthusiasm continued even after the symposium, as they then organized several small discussions, field trips, and a photo exhibition presenting impressions of their excursions to several heritage sites in Austria, at the Jogja Art Gallery in 2011, which was attended and opened by the Austrian Ambassador to Indonesia. And even now, during informal lunch gatherings in our department, enjoyable memories about the symposium and excursions around the beautiful and historic city of Vienna and the historic area of the Wachau are still talked about by colleagues who attended that symposium.

Beyond such beautiful participants' memories of the symposium and their trip to Vienna, however, I noted that the symposium has brought us five important lessons. First, it was able to renew our understanding and awareness of the dynamic interactions between architecture, culture, and identity. Such understanding and awareness are crucial, particularly for architects and planners: to always keep in mind that architectural works and creations should go beyond aesthetic obsessions and achievements; that architecture always represents a specific and symbolic meaning. Second, the symposium was very significant, as it was able to show the global academic community how varied, unique, and meaningful the architecture of Indonesian is. Given the spectacular nature of the largest archipelagic country in the world, Indonesia is a very fertile ground for the seeding and growing of various unique cultures, unique types of architecture, and identities. As represented by papers presented at the symposium and documented in this publication, the various and unique aspects of architecture, culture, and identity of Indonesia is always amazing to explore and understand. Third, the symposium was able to show that global collaborations and partnerships could be effectively organized among academics, to contribute to their understanding of the local-global dialectics represented in architectural works. The fact that more than 30 papers were presented by researchers from various nations shows that the symposium was able to provide a venue conducive to very healthy perspectives on Indonesian architecture, culture, and identity. Fourth, the symposium was an important occasion and venue for the participants – particularly the Indonesian participants – to be exposed to the global academic atmosphere. Many local Indonesian researchers have already made explorations, documentations and interpretations of Indonesian architecture, culture, and identity. However, they tend to be myopic, as they have not had the luxury of comparison and to have their interpretations challenged by more global academic perspectives. The Vienna symposium, to my knowledge, has also multiplied its role by enriching and inspiring the work of Indonesian scholars. Finally, it should be remembered that despite the success of the symposium in accumulating new documentation and understanding of Indonesian architecture, culture, and identity, efforts should continue to be systematically and effectively organized to further advance our understanding and appreciation of Indonesian architecture, culture, and identity, as part of other crucial efforts for understanding, appreciating, and celebrating the diverse architectures, cultures, and identities of this global village.

I should convey many thanks and appreciation to the organizer of the symposium and the editors of this publication. I am very sure that, with the unique and excellent 'social capital' we developed so far, we can further continue and enrich this interesting and enjoyable journey.

Prof. Bakti (Bobi) Setiawan Ph.D.

PREFACE OF THE HEAD OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF ART, BUILDING ARCHAEOLOGY AND RESTORATION OF THE VIENNA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

History of architecture is sometimes misinterpreted as a discipline working primarily in a very theoretical way but, quite the contrary, its topics are extremely application-oriented. Architectural studies should be and can be enriched by conceptualizing and even realizing the crosslinking of diverse knowledge areas. They have to be seen in a much more widespread sense, which includes not only the historical and constructional but also the cultural, natural, social and political environment. This means, that the field of teaching and research in architecture – and especially the previous concentration in our regions on European and North American architecture – has to develop much more into a comparative study of architecture. Now and in future a focus on Asian and also on Oriental architecture is and furthermore will be of particular importance.

The present book "Insular Diversity: Architecture – Culture – Identity in Indonesia" is the best example to illustrate this approach. The book emerged from the conference of the same name, held in 2011 in Vienna, initiated by the research and study centre "Architecture of Non-Western Traditions". This study group is integrated into the department of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology at the Vienna University of Technology. Established in 1996 and led by Erich Lehner with a highly motivated team of colleagues this study centre is still unique within the university landscape of the German-speaking region as an institutionally organized department concerned with this topic.

"Insular Diversity" succeeds in the crosslinking between architecture and urban planning, ethnology, archaeology and music, as well as between disciplines such as information und surveying technology. The interdisciplinary exchange of the 36 participants from Austria, Indonesia, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and the USA is reflected in 5 diverse sections of contributions with the main focus on architecture, culture and last but not least questions about their role and meaning in defining (common) "identity" in Indonesia – this unique country of more than 17.000 islands.

It is my great pleasure and once more a symbol for successful cooperation and exchange, that "Insular Diversity" is edited as a joint publication with our partner university, the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. I am looking forward to continuing this direction of teamwork in future and harvesting the fruits of joint interests and of a world moving closer together in the fields of science and culture.

Univ.Prof. Dr.-Ing. Marina Döring-Williams

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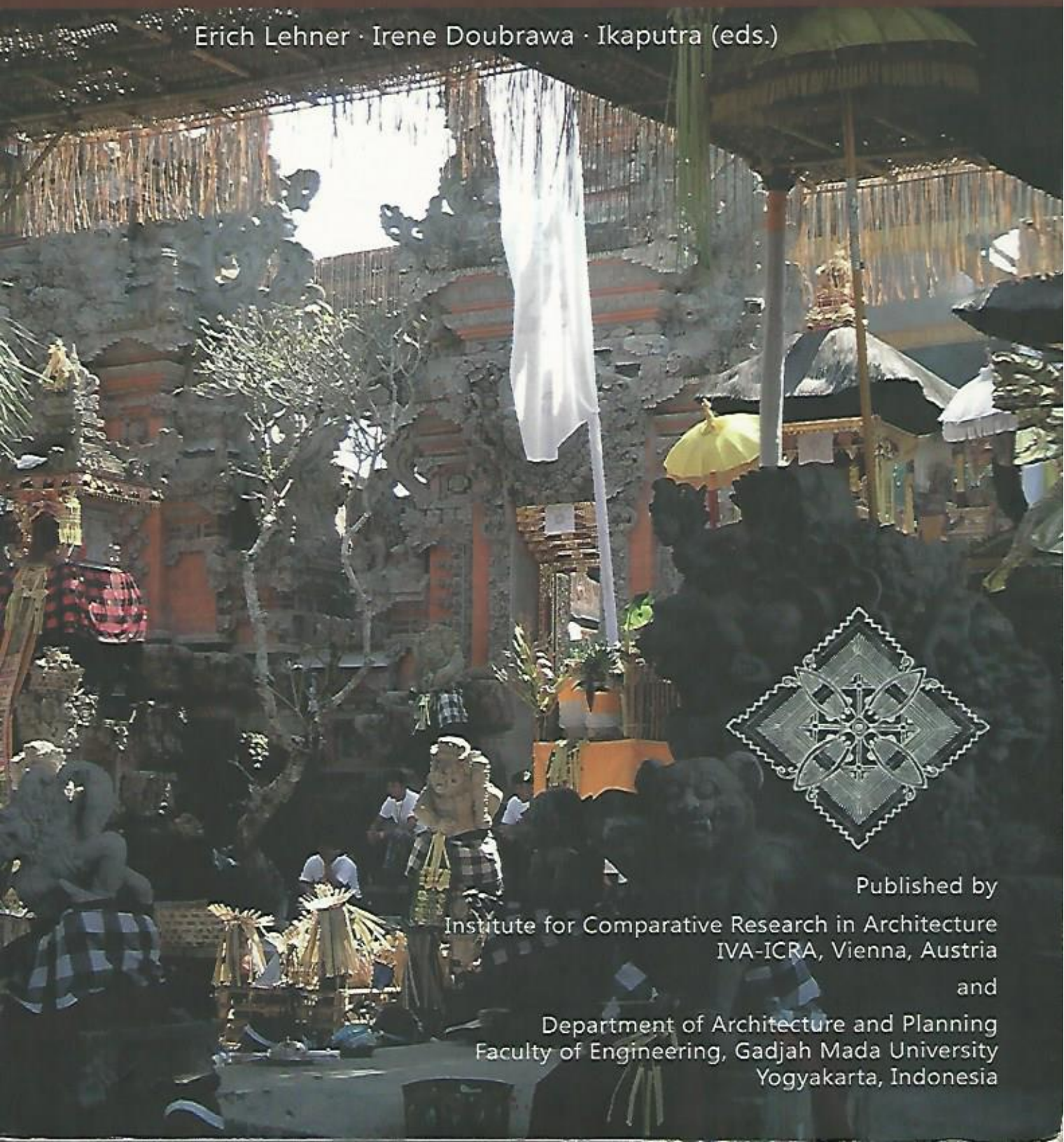

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THE MEANING OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE IN TRADITIONAL VILLAGES AND CONTEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN SUMBA ISLAND

by Maria Immaculata Ririk Winandari [a b]
Bambang Hari Wibisono [b] & Achmad Djunaedi [b] & Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra [b]

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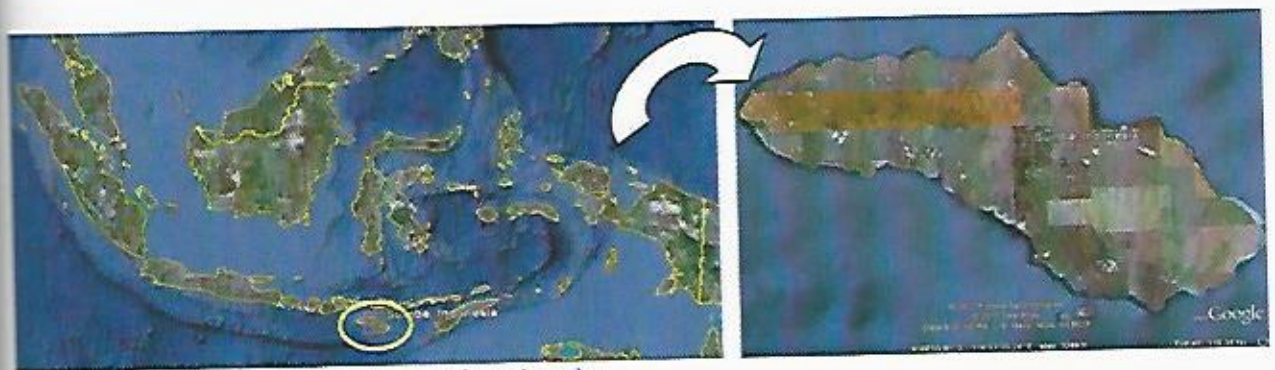

Fig. 1: Indonesia and Sumba Island (source: google earth.com)

Introduction

According to Biddulph (2007, p. 211) and Madanipour (2003, p. 142), there is a general tendency to position open space at the centre of a group of houses with their main entrances and living room windows facing the open space. The space in front of a house is an important part of the inhabitant's sphere. Madanipour (2003, p. 158) reveals a tendency to extend private space beyond the home. This space can be used to play, sit, talk, celebrate, and observe the drama of life unfold (Engwicht 1999, p. 3). According to Alexander et al. (1977, p. 311), open space will seem deserted if too large, will lack privacy if too close to the street, and will rarely be too far away from houses because it would be too isolated. Public open space itself is influenced by the social and cultural life of the local inhabitants. Rapoport (1969, p. 46) revealed that space will be affected by the changes and differences in the interplay of social, cultural, ritual, economic, and physical factors. The layout of space exposes the relationships between its occupants (Johnson 1993, p. 30; Darjosanjoto 2007). In this paper, the theories mentioned above will be used to discuss the status of public open space in residential areas on Sumba, comparing traditional villages and contemporary settlements.

This study is part of research that aims to determine the meaning of public open space in residential areas. This paper aims to explore the meaning of public open space in Sumbanese residential areas and whether the existence of public space had the same meaning in the past daily life as it has today. This will be achieved through the analysis and the comparison of physical settings, layout and meaning of public open space in Sumbanese traditional villages and contemporary residential housing areas.

Traditional villages on Sumba

The island of Sumba is situated in East Indonesia, in the Indian Ocean. It is part of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, which covers an area of 11.153 km^2. Sumba consists of the four regencies of Sumba Barat, Sumba Barat Daya, Sumba Tengah and Sumba Timur. The island is surrounded by the island of Sumbawa in the northwest, Flores in the northeast, Timor, in the east, and Australia in the south. In 2009, Sumba's population was 611,954. According to Hoskins (1993), there are some 26 tribal groups spread over numerous traditional villages.

The island is one of the few places in the world where megalithic culture has been preserved. A recent study by Forshee (2006, p. 41, 119) confirms that alongside Nias, Toba, Toraja, Flores, and Timor, Sumba is one of the areas in Indonesia connected to a megalithic culture. Sumbanese megalithic culture is associated with stone monuments (Bonatz 2009, p. 64; Munandar, p. 153) and ancestor worship (Munandar, p. 153) and has been influenced by the people's beliefs, traditions, and politics. To this day, traditional ceremonies continue to be held and stone graves and other stone structures can be found at the centre of traditional villages *(Fig. 1)*.

Three types of housing have been developed on Sumba: the farmhouse, the village house *(see Fig. 2)* and the traditional house *(Fig. 3)*. These three types differ in their function and in the social class of their inhabitants. Farmhouses are normally only used by people when they work in the fields. Only *ata* (members of the lowest class or slaves (Forshee 2006, p. 89)) dwell in this type of house on a permanent basis. Village houses are used for all everyday activities. The status of these houses is between that of the farmhouses and that of the traditional houses. Traditional houses are used not only for everyday life activities but also serve as spaces for preserving traditions (Winandari 2007, p. 20). Originally, more than one family lived in one house. In addition to *ata*, inhabitants of traditional villages can be divided into *maramba*, the nobles, and *kabisu*, the commoners or members of middle class society. Sumba's local languages have different terms for "traditional village": *parona* in *Kodi*, *wano kalada* in *Wewewa*, *manua kalada* in *Mamboru*, and *paraingu* among the tribes of East Sumba (Winandari et al. 2006, p. 4) *(Figs. 2 & 3)*.

Traditional villages are located in the highlands, plains, or on the coast and are surrounded by dense forest or bush. A number of traditional houses is located in each traditional village, layed out according to their kinship group (*kabisu*). Each *kabisu* can build its own traditional village or join another *kabisu* from a related tribe (Topan 2007, p. 9). Generally, each traditional village houses only one tribal group, with the exception of Tarung village, where two tribal groups dwell in the same traditional village (Winandari 2008). Traditional villages are always orientated along a north-south axis, based on the Sumbanese people's belief that the south is the direction of fertility and prosperity. For this reason, the house of the head of the *kabisu* is always placed in the southernmost part of the village. The village pattern is hierarchical and goes from the centre outwards and consists of the *natar* with graves and other stone structures as the centre of the village, houses, fences, dense forest, or bush.

Fig. 2: Village house (courtesy of Trisakti team 2002)

Fig. 3: Traditional house (source: Winandari 2006)

Public open space in traditional villages on Sumba

Natar, the public open space in traditional Sumbanese villages, is part of the traditional village layout throughout Sumba. The *natar* is positioned in the middle of the village and serves as the centre of traditional villages, and is surrounded by houses which are oriented towards it. Every house entrance faces directly onto the *natar*. The size of the *natar* indicates the number of *kabisu* that occupy the village. The middle of the *natar* houses different types of stone structures that are used in people's social and cultural life *(Fig. 4)* including *batu kubur* (stone graves), *muricana* (vertical stone slabs where the village's ancestral spirits dwell) and *batu bantal* (literally 'pillow stones'). The horizontal 'pillow stones' serve as places where the community's problems are discussed and resolved *(Fig. 4)*.

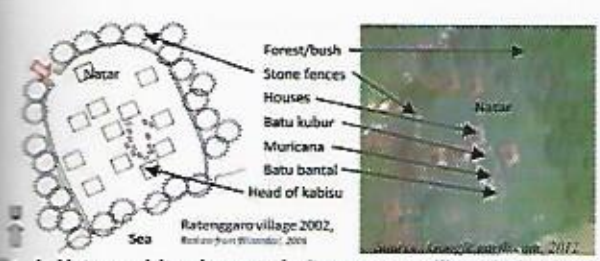

Fig. 4: *Natar* and its elements in Ratenggaro village before and after burned in 2007

In terms of social life, *natar* is a space where people can interact, play, and solve community problems. Within the village, the people can interact with each other in the *natar*, even by overlooking it from the terrace of their house, which is oriented towards the *natar*. Above all, the space between the house entrance and the *batu kubur* is an important part of the house inhabitants' sphere. People often put furniture, such as bamboo benches, in front of their houses *(see Fig. 5, bottom)*. These benches are often used by men to sit, talk and watch their children play in the *natar*. Children and teenagers often play among the *batu kubur* in the *natar*. Some *natar* only provide a little space between the houses and the *batu kubur*. However, this space is the children's favorite place to play hide-and-seek, especially if the *natar* has many *batu kubur*, which makes it easier for the children to hide from each other. When adults have problems among them, they discuss them standing around the *batu bantal*. The *kabisu* chief will lead the peaceful discussion *(see Fig. 5, centre)*.

In terms of cultural life, *natar* serves as a space where people can perform traditional ancestor-worship ceremonies such as the slaughtering of animals near the *muricana* and the *batu kubur*. Sacrifices of buffalo and other animals are performed at the centre of the *natar*, with the animals' blood pouring over the *natar*'s surface as a symbol of fertility and of protection by the ancestors. Buffalo horns or boar tusks are arranged on bamboo poles around the *batu kubur* as symbols of hope to the ancestors. When the horns and tusks have dried, people put them in their homes as symbols of prosperity and ancestral protection, as well as a representation of their family wealth. Since the megalithic culture has always strongly influenced the people's beliefs, traditions and politics, the existence of the *batu kubur*, the *batu bantal* and the *muricana* as a cultural centre of the traditional village reinforces the importance of open space in Sumbanese people's lives. The social and cultural life of the inhabitants of the village means that the *natar* in the middle of traditional settlements is the centre of Sumbanese people's lives.

Fig. 5: Ratenggaro village (top to bottom): *batu kubur*; *batu bantal*, playing among *batu kubur* (source: Winandari 2006, courtesy of Trisakti team 2002)

Fig. 6: New houses built between traditional houses in Praiyawang, East Sumba. (Courtesy of Trisakti team 2002)

Every *natar* has a unique character. Although it always covers a large area, the number, type, and arrangement of elements on the *natar* affect its appearance. The *natar* in Ratenggaro village features *batu kubur* around the central area, which was intentionally left empty and is used for rituals and ceremonies. *Batu kubur* are the tombs of family members and are located in front of the respective houses. Some trees may grow between the *batu kubur*. There is an exotic feel to the *natar (see Fig. 5)*, especially after the ceremonial slaughter of animals in the dry season, when bamboo poles with horns and boar's tusks merge with the deciduous trees between the *batu kubur*. In the village of Praiyawang in the Rindi district, the *batu kubur* on the *natar* are arranged in parallel rows in front of the houses without any trees. Only at certain times does the otherwise deserted *natar* grow lively. This is the case during burials, rituals and ceremonies, such as *tarik batu*, the stone-dragging ritual, when the *natar* is filled with people who attend the ceremonies. The *natar* in Kabonduk village differs from other traditional villages because it is split by a street which is also used by motor vehicles. This *natar* is less comfortable for children and their parents because of the lack of safety and reduced sense of privacy *(see Fig. 8)*.

Public open space in contemporary residential areas on Sumba

With the changes in Sumbanese way of life, contemporary residential areas have started to develop on the island, and many former inhabitants of traditional villages have moved to new settlements. In a few cases, new houses are built between traditional houses, as in the village of Praiyawang in the Rindi district *(see F*
However, nowadays it is rare for several families t
together in one house. Often, only one of the fa
descendants remains in the house in a traditiona
lage to serve as a guardian of the house: usuall
oldest son. The other family members will only r
to the village at certain times, for example for cu
ceremonies.

Patterns in contemporary residential areas are
different to the patterns in traditional villages. A ch
in the pattern of open space can be observed. Curr
houses are either laid out linearly along the stree
in a grid pattern *(see Fig. 7)*. These layout patterns
to a lack of interaction among the houses. Additio
changes in the lifestyle of the Sumbanese mean tha
interaction among the members of a community
quired. The absence of kinship between neighbours
the fact that they sometimes do not know each othe
some of the reasons why homes are built without r
ence to the buildings around them. Buildings tend to
directly onto the street and lack the wide, open spa
front that can be found in traditional village patterns
is used for social and cultural activities. The space in
of the house is still an important part of the inhabit
sphere. In everyday life, people use the space betw
the house and the street to sit in, or to play. Someti
the street, too, is used for playing. If a house is too c
to the street, the open space in front of the house w
uncomfortable, will feature reduced privacy and pe
will feel unsafe. At certain times, private space tend
be extended beyond the home sphere by blocking
of the street off with private activities that require a l
space, such as wedding ceremonies.

Fig. 7: Contemporary housing in West Sumba (source: google earth.com 2010)

Fig. 8: *Natar* that is split by street in Kabonduk village, a new traditional housing.

There is a lack of suitable public open space not only in residential areas built by the community itself but also in residential areas built by the government or by private investors. Unfortunately, many housing development programs did not anticipate people's needs for open space sufficiently. In some cases, the open space is located too far from the housing units. In these cases, it is too isolated and is therefore rarely used. In other cases, open space is located too close to the road, which reduces the users' privacy and security.

The discussion above shows that people in contemporary residential areas still require open space in front of their houses to conduct their daily activities, such as playing and sitting, even though nowadays they tend to require less time for interaction with their neighbours. Nevertheless, layout patterns and lifestyle changes make open space in contemporary residential areas less important than it was in the past. That is why many contemporary residential areas are built without open space in the centre of the settlements. In these cases the *natar*, which can always be found in traditional settlements, will be replaced by a street *(Fig. 8)*.

Discussion

As in most traditional villages in Indonesia, in Sumbanese settlements, public open space is an important part of the people's traditional culture. This public open space, which is called *natar*, is always positioned at the centre of the village and is surrounded by the houses with their entrances facing directly onto the *natar*. The *natar* is the centre of community life and features several elements of people's social and cultural life. It is used by the inhabitants for performing traditional ceremonies, discussing problems, and for socializing. By contrast, in contemporary residential settlements, there is no wide, open space in front of houses. There, houses are laid out linearly along the street or in grid patterns, with the main entrance facing directly onto the street. These two cases illustrate the changes that have occurred in the layout of Sumbanese residential areas. Contrary to Biddulph's (2007, p. 211) and Madanipour's (2003, p. 142) statement that there is a tendency to locate home entrances looking out onto open space, on Sumba, houses which were originally arranged around the *natar* and in fact faced it directly, today look out onto a street instead.

The space directly in front of the house is an important part of the home territory, both in traditional villages and in contemporary residential areas. This space is used for placing furniture and for playing, as well as for celebrating ritual ceremonies, especially in contemporary residential areas. In line with Madanipour's opinion (2003, p. 158), there is a tendency to extend private space beyond the house in both types of residential areas.

Open space, both in traditional villages and contemporary residential areas, is used as a place to play, to sit and watch life go by, and for celebrating rituals. In traditional villages, the *natar* also functions as a place for interaction, for solving internal problems in communities, and for performing traditional ceremonies such as the slaughtering of animals to worship the ancestors. This confirms the statement by Engwicht (1999, p. 13) that public open space in a traditional village is used for various functions such as playing, sitting, talking, discussing, and performing cultural rituals. The differences in the use of open space in traditional villages and contemporary residential areas are due to layout of the open space and the elements it comprises. The *natar* in traditional villages is always positioned in the middle of the settlement with residential entrances facing directly onto it, to make it easily accessible, safe and to provide for convenient use by the community. Parents can supervise their children playing in the *natar* while they do their daily work at home. In contemporary residential areas, where houses face directly onto the street, it is more difficult and less safe for people to conduct their activities in the way they used to in the past, because of reduced space and a lack of security and privacy.

The number, type and arrangement of elements in the open space affect the impression it makes. Most *natar* in traditional villages create an exotic impression for visitors, with their *batu kubur, batu bantal*, and *muricans* the bamboo poles with horns and boar's tusks and trees in between, especially after the ceremonial slaughter of animals. Other *natar* create a deserted impression in large areas without trees. In contemporary residential areas, open space creates an uncomfortable and unsafe impression. It is rarely used because it is either too close to the street or too far from from the housing units. These findings reinforce Alexander's proposition (1977, p. 311) that open space will feel deserted if it is too large and will feature reduced privacy if it is too close to the street, and will rarely be used if it is too far from the houses or too isolated.

According to Rapoport (1969, p. 46), the changes in social, cultural, ritual, economic, and physical factors affect public open space. This is also the case in Sumbanese residential areas, as the descriptions above have shown. Today most Sumbanese people no longer work as farmers or shepherds, but rather as employees and merchants. Changes in the Sumbanese economy, social patterns and culture have lead to changes in the needs for interaction and in residences in modern settlements. Their work and changed lifestyle means the residents of contemporary settlements tend to have less time to interact with each other. In addition, the change in lifestyle actually requires less interaction with other people. The linear or grid shaped building pattern, the absence of kinship and the fact that people may not know each other all reduce the interaction among people in contemporary residential areas. Relationships among occupants as reflected in the layout of open space reinforce the earlier statement by Johnson (1993, p. 30) and Darjosanjoto (2007). The space in front of the houses is no longer the *natar* but a street which is more public, and not only accessible to residents but also to strangers. Even though they go back to the traditional villages to conduct the ritual ceremonies, people still need a place to socialize and to play in their everyday lives in the settlements. For Sumbanese people living in contemporary residential areas, open space is not essential for performing rituals, but it is no longer important for social life. It can be said that there is a significant degradation of public open space in the Sumbanese communities. For Sumbanese people, contemporary residential houses have a similar status to farmhouses or villas

houses, but the open space has become less important than the open space in their traditional villages. In contemporary settlements, people no longer use the open space to discuss and resolve their problems but only as a place to play and 'watch the world go by'.

Conclusion

Changes in the economy, social life, and culture of the Sumbanese people have led some of them to move to modern residential areas, which, unlike the traditional villages, are unfortunately designed without *natar*. Changes in the Sumbanese lifestyle are reflected in the layout of open space. In traditional villages, main entrances face the *natar*, while in the contemporary residential areas, entrances tend to face directly onto the street. Nevertheless, both types of residential areas show that space in front of the houses is an important part of the home territory, as private space which extends beyond the house. This space is used for various activities, such as playing, sitting, 'watching the world go by', and celebrating rituals. In traditional villages, the *natar* is still used by the people as a place to socialize, solve their internal problems and perform ceremonies related to ancestor-worship. In contemporary settlements this is no longer the case.

The layout and the elements placed in the open space significantly affect its usability, safety, and comfort as well as the impression it makes. The *natar* in traditional villages is safer, more accessible, more convenient and more impressive than the public open space in modern residential areas. This is due to its irregular shape, its central position, the size of the space, and cultural elements such as *batu kubur, batu bantal, muricana* and bamboo poles with horns and boar's tusks, as well as due to the house entrances facing directly onto the *natar*. By contrast, open space in contemporary residential areas is less secure because of the existence of a street that cuts across the space. This also greatly reduces privacy.

There is a significant degradation of public open space in the Sumbanese community. In traditional villages, public open space is the centre of communal life and is used for cultural life and to conduct ritual customs, as well as for socializing. In contemporary residential areas public open space is no longer the centre of people's cultural and social life. The more publicly-accessible open space is, the fewer the opportunities to create communal ties. The greater the area it covers and the fewer the elements it comprises, the more it will look deserted. The closer it is to the street, the less secure its users will feel and the less it will be used.

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The Meaning of Public Open Space of Sumbanese People between Traditional Villages and Residential Area in Sumba Island

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