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**JAVANESE POWER;
SILENT IDEOLOGY AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF
YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA.**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that:

This written thesis is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

None of the material contained in this thesis is based on joint research.

Ofita Purwani

ABSTRACT

Yogyakarta and Surakarta are two cities on the island of Java, Indonesia, which are considered as the centres of Javanese culture. That identity has resulted from the existence of the royal court or *kraton* in each of them. Both cities have shared a similar history as descendants of the Mataram kingdom, the greatest kingdom in Java, which was divided into two in 1755. Both also share a similar physical layout of the palace, shown not only in the layout of the kraton compounds, which consist of seven hierarchical courtyards, but also in the names and the functions of the courtyards and buildings. They also share similar city layouts in which the palace located at the centre, two squares each at the northern and southern end of the kraton compounds, and a royal road, create a north-south axis which is claimed to be cosmological. However, the kratons have suffered different fates in the modern era. Since Indonesian Independence in 1945, Yogyakarta has been considered to be a 'special region', with its territory awarded a status equivalent to a province. Also the king is automatically appointed governor, while Surakarta is only recognised as a city, which is a part of the province of Central Java. While the kraton of Yogyakarta holds importance in Yogyakarta, with the acknowledgement of territory and the king's political role as governor, the kraton of Surakarta has no influence in the city of Surakarta. The mayor of Surakarta city is elected by the people, and even in the 2010 election a candidate from the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta lost 10:90 to a non-kraton-related candidate. The kraton of Yogyakarta has its land and property acknowledged by the state, while the kraton of Surakarta has its land and properties appropriated by the state, except the palace and some of its noble houses. The description above shows that there is a difference in power levels between both kratons.

This thesis examines the background process of power, particularly those related to architecture and the built environment including arts, rituals, and culture integrated with them. Based on Bourdieu's theory of structure/agency, I focused myself on the silent ideology of the built environment, which embodies a power structure in people's unconsciousness through experience, in order to find out why differences in power levels occurred in two places that share a similar history and physical layouts. Using a comparative analysis, I examine in detail the silent ideology in terms of landscape, in both urban and architectural context. This silent ideology, with the support of cosmological narratives and colonial discourses, together with the accumulation of history in each of them, has a determining role in reproducing the existing power structure and continuous effort as this silent ideology helps to make sure that the existing power structures last.

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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO JAVANESE KRATONS

A. INTRODUCTION

On 13th December 2010, about twenty thousand people gathered in the Northern Alun-alun or public square of the city of Yogyakarta for a public hearing (*Sidang Rakyat*) in support of *Penetapan*. Literally ‘*penetapan*’ means ‘appointment’, and in this case the event supported the cause of the king of the *Kraton*,¹ or royal palace of the city of Yogyakarta, to be appointed as the governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, as the main point of being a special region in the Republic of Indonesia. This event was meant to exert pressure by the people on the regional parliament to include *penetapan* in the new Act of the Speciality of Yogyakarta², despite the effort of the national government to replace the *penetapan* with direct election as a more democratic way. After gathering in the Northern Alun-alun, the crowd moved to parliament house, in Malioboro Street, in which took place orations from two princes, one from the kraton of Yogyakarta and another one from the minor court of Yogyakarta, Pakualaman. During that day, the shops along Malioboro shopping street were all closed but the vendors were still there to provide food and drink for those who attended the public hearing.

One day after the public hearing in Yogyakarta, some 60 kilometres away in the city of Surakarta, about 200 royal courtiers of the kraton of Surakarta held a protest to press their own claims for the special status of the city of Surakarta to match that of Yogyakarta. This special status had been granted in 1945 but then dismissed in 1946 due to an anti-monarchy movement in Surakarta that led to anarchy and riots in the territory of Surakarta. The courtiers demanded that the state should honour the previous declaration³ by the king of the kraton of Surakarta,

¹ The term *kraton* refer to both the royal court and the palace. In the rest of this writing, I will use *kraton* to refer both of them.

² Even though Yogyakarta has been a special region since 1945 but the law on its special status has never been passed. Instead, there is an effort of disputing its special status from the national government that leads to a tense between Yogyakarta and the state, the tense grew stronger particularly after the previous king, Hamengkubuwana IX died.

³ The declaration was mostly similar to those of Yogyakarta. However, some people question whether

Pakubuwana XII which was made on 1st September 1945.

The events mentioned above are related to the special status of both royal centres. The difference between the two events is that the public hearing in Yogyakarta was intended to preserve the special status of Yogyakarta, while the protest in Surakarta was intended to claim back its special status, once given in 1945 but then dismissed several months later due to the anti-monarchy movement in Surakarta that took form as riots; causing the districts in its territory to detach themselves from the kraton of Surakarta.

The issue of special status is mostly related to the authority of the kratons. This ‘special status’ was first⁴ claimed by Hamengkubuwana IX, the previous king of the kraton of Yogyakarta and prince Pakualam VIII in a declaration on 5th September 1945, following the declaration of independence of Indonesia. There are three key points of that declaration⁵. First, the kraton is a special region of the new republic which has autonomy over its existing territory. Second, as the highest authority of the kraton, the king holds the authority of the special region. Third, each king is responsible directly to the central government of the republic of Indonesia. The central government of the newly formed republic, which still needed support from the people of Indonesia, accepted that declaration by fulfilling all the three points stated above in all the *ex-swapraja*⁶ area. What this mean is, first of all, those with special status can retain their previous territories and have a status equal to that of a province⁷. Second, with a special status, the king is appointed governor and the vice governor will be the prince of the minor courts. Third, in relation to the property of the kratons, with special status the kraton can preserve its possession of lands and

the declaration truly exists or not. The most accepted version of this is that the state gave special status to all *swapraja* or autonomous areas, particularly the existing kingdoms in 1945, but only Yogyakarta can retain its special status due to its contribution to the state and the successful process of democratisation and modernisation.

⁴ Lately, the kraton of Surakarta claimed that it is Pakubuwana XII who claimed a special status first, dated in 1st September 1945. However, such a claim cannot be considered as reliable as people keep questioning the validity and originality of the documents used to claim it.

⁵ Popularly called as ‘Amanat 5 September 1945’, a copy of the document is currently being displayed in the museum of Hamengkubuwana IX, the kraton of Yogyakarta.

⁶ Swapraja is a term to refer to or define an autonomous area, particularly in the form of a kingdom which existed by 1945.

⁷ In this case, the territory of Yogyakarta includes the districts around the core city which was previously the area of *Negaragung* : to be explained later in this chapter. Meanwhile, the territory of Surakarta, after independence, was only at the city level.

properties all over its territory⁸.

Regarding the nature of the ‘special status,’ which gives the kratons most power: territorial, executive and property, it is understandable that the issue of special status is very important for both kratons. However, the kraton of Yogyakarta has the majority of the people in its territory supporting its authority, while the kraton of Surakarta has only the kraton-related people to support its authority⁹. This was shown in 2012 when the people of Yogyakarta celebrated their success in making formal the special status as the state passed the Law of the Speciality of Yogyakarta¹⁰. Meanwhile, in the same year, the kraton of Surakarta had the state intervene its internal business by arranging for prince Tedjowulan, one prince who does not support the cause of the special status of Surakarta, to be the vizier of the kraton, despite the objection of the king’s family.

This short illustration shows that the issue of political authority in these two neighbouring Javanese cities has both ongoing and historical dimensions. The courtly culture in each city, represented in the kraton and the cultural life that it supports, is also a site of political power that has consequences for the immediate city as well as for the national political stage of Indonesia itself. In this research, I would like to focus on how the political power and cultural authority of both kratons has developed over time, and how it is manifested in the courtly architectures and civic urban spaces and structures of each city. I am interested in how the political power of both kratons is maintained and legitimated in spatial and cultural terms.

⁸ The declaration of the kraton of Surakarta, as mentioned by the later royal family, contains similar points with an additional point which stated that the kraton obliged the people of the territory of Surakarta to obey.

⁹ This is shown in a poll conducted by *Kompas*, a national newspaper, published on 30th May 2009. This poll shows that the majority (between 62.1% and 76.5%) of the people of Yogyakarta supported *Penetapan* (Kurniadi, 2009, p. 13). This polling was conducted on middle class people in Yogyakarta, which are considered to be ‘less related’ to the kraton of Yogyakarta, so it is considered valid to represent the people of Yogyakarta. In addition, on 5th September 2011 there was a document signed by the head of the regional parliament of the special region of Yogyakarta, and the mayors of all the districts in the region, as a support of *Penetapan*. Meanwhile, the number of proponents of the cause for *Daerah Istimewa Surakarta* was not as many as that of the cause for *Penetapan* in Yogyakarta. Most people in Surakarta admire, and offer loyalty to, the mayor of the city of Surakarta, Joko Widodo who was elected for the second time in a percentage of up to 90% in April 2010, by beating another candidate who is a member of the kraton’s royal family. More interestingly, the percentage of the election result was stable in all parts of the city, including *Baluwarti*, the kampong surrounding the kraton area which is usually considered to experience most of the kraton’s influence.

¹⁰ This law supports the king of the kraton of Yogyakarta to be automatically appointed governor of the special region of Yogyakarta, therefore strengthens its power.

I am using the term ‘power’ as “the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events” (www.oxforddictionaries.com), so I see this power to be manifest in the ability of the kraton to influence the behaviour of others. The more power it has the more influence it gives to others and its existence is recognised more by others. My research seeks to extend the wider analysis of this power into the built form, in which space and architecture are understood to be a product of power, and how this power and authority helps to frame everyday lives (Dovey, 1999, p. 1). The research also draws on the field of vernacular architecture studies, both empirically and theoretically. The empirical approach will describe the buildings and their environments in some detail; the theoretical approach will address issues of essentialism and constructivism, as well as related debates that are central to the contemporary understanding of forms of architecture that are regarded as traditional. Finally, the research is also attentive to the way in which the power of the elite culture is experienced in everyday life in the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

B. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE SPECIAL STATUS

In order to have an understanding of the background on the difference in the power levels of the two kratons, I would like to discuss the history related to the issue of ‘special status’. As mentioned in the previous section, this issue is central to the power levels of both kratons.

The longlasting nature of Yogyakarta’s special status, and dismissal of Surakarta’s special status, depended on several interconnected factors. The first factor is the opening up of the area to foreign investments at the end of 19th century by the Dutch colonial government. In Surakarta territory by the end of Dutch colonial occupation there were 96 foreign estates in 1918 (Larson, 1979, p. 5) which then grew to more than a hundred foreign estates. This number was higher than that of Yogyakarta which had 33 estates in 1918 (Larson, 1979, p. 5). The royal courts of Surakarta were actively involved in profit making from these huge agricultural estates, while the estates in Yogyakarta were modest and used to fulfil the basic needs of the court (Larson, 1979, p. 5). This created a social gap between the royal court of Surakarta and its people which was wider than that between the royal court of Yogyakarta and its people, even though the situations in both were similarly potent for social revolution.

The second factor is the bitter rivalry between the kraton of Surakarta and the minor court of Mangkunegaran, which is in contrast with the situation in Yogyakarta where the minor court of Pakualaman is always a subordinate to the kraton (Anderson, 2005, p. 353; Larson, 1979, p. 6). Upon its establishment, the minor court of Mangkunegaran was given the same amount of land as the kraton of Surakarta. This is different with the minor court of Pakualaman which, on its establishment, was given only a small strip of land from the kraton of Yogyakarta's territory (Larson, 1979, p. 6). A decision made by the Dutch colonial government in 1830 to decrease the territory of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta, while giving some more land to the minor court of Mangkunegaran, gave that court more power. The minor court of Mangkunegaran, which at first had been in a lower position than the kraton of Surakarta, became completely independent from the kraton of Surakarta in 1896 (Larson, 1979, p. 12) and hence a rival to the kraton of Surakarta.

The third factor, the role of chance, related to the deaths of the kings and vizier. The king of the kraton of Surakarta, Pakubuwana XI, and the prince of Mangkunegaran, Mangkunegara VII, died in the same year, 1944; which was a crucial time during the preparation for independence from the Dutch. Their deaths which occurred at this crucial time were unbeneficial for both courts. The new rulers, both young and inexperienced, fell under the influence of more senior aristocrats in their own courts (Larson, 1979, p. 6). In the case of the kraton of Surakarta, the king fell under the influence of his vizier, who was prominent in his loyalty to the Dutch (Larson, 1979, p. 6). Meanwhile, in Yogyakarta, the death of the kraton's vizier during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) turned out to be of benefit for the kraton of Yogyakarta. The king of the kraton of Yogyakarta quickly decided not to appoint any more viziers and took on the role of vizier himself. This gave the king more power by joining the king's and the vizier's responsibilities (Larson, 1979; Soemardjan, 1981, p. 6). The king, who previously did not have any control over his territory outside of the palace, was now able to take over the control of all his territory, inside and outside the palace.

The fourth factor is the Dutch intervention in the selection of crown princes or new kings. After the death of Pakubuwana X, the Dutch General chose another candidate as crown prince instead of B.P.H. Sumodiningrat, who was "a progressive

young lawyer educated in Netherlands” actively involved in nationalist movement; it was he who was supposed to be the crown prince (Larson, 1979, pp. 6–7). This is different from what occurred regarding succession in Yogyakarta, in that the king Hamengkubuwana IX was appointed directly by his father Hamengkubuwana VIII during the journey from Batavia to Yogyakarta on October 1939, right before his death on the journey (Soemardjan, 1981, pp. 24–25). The intervention by the Dutch was intentional, as it was designed to look after Dutch interests. This later brought more consequences, not only in the form of the unqualified and unresponsive king, but also in that the supposed-to-be crown prince, B.P.H. Sumodiningrat, initiated the anti monarchy movement of Surakarta (Larson, 1979, p. 7). Meanwhile for Yogyakarta, the appointment of the king Hamengkubuwana IX was later proven to be of benefit to Yogyakarta, as the king was successful in pioneering and leading the social changes in his territory (Larson, 1979, p. 2).

The fifth point is the national politics of the new republic. At the end of 1945, Batavia was occupied by the Allies, on behalf of the Dutch, who then enforced the Indonesian government to move somewhere else. The king of Yogyakarta used this situation as an opportunity to contribute to the republic by letting the government move to Yogyakarta, using the kraton’s buildings as offices. While the central government was situated in Yogyakarta, the leftist radical oppositions set themselves up in nearby Surakarta. They were involved in the anti-monarchy movement, kidnapping the king of the kraton, forcing him to give up his political authority. Later, the oppositions tried to overthrow the national government (Larson, 1979, p. 3) by kidnapping the prime minister and other government officials (Anderson, 2005, pp. 370–403). Surakarta was the centre of “communist activity, class warfare, kidnappings and general anarchy” that spread out to other areas of the republic (Larson, 1979, p. 3). This made the central government take control of the city and the city’s special status was dismissed. Yogyakarta, in contrast, showed its support to the government, with the king being actively involved in the struggle for independence, which then led to the lasting duration of its special status.

The factors mentioned above are all interconnected to a greater or lesser degree, having made the difference in the destinies of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Surakarta lost not only its special status, but also its connection with the outer

districts, while Yogyakarta still retains its special status up to the present, even though the law on its speciality was not passed until 2012.

C. THE SIMILARITIES OF YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA

The cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located in Central Java, only about 60 km apart. They are of an approximately similar size with similar populations. The city of Yogyakarta is about 32.5 km² while the city of Surakarta is about 44 km². The population of each city is about 500,000¹¹ creating a very high density from around 12,000/km² to 19,000/km² (B.P.S. Surakarta, 2011, p. 33; B.P.S.K Yogyakarta, 2009, p. 29) which makes them two of the most densely populated places, not only in Indonesia, but also in the world. Both of them have significance, particularly regarding cultural aspects, as both are recognised as the centres of Javanese culture. The kratons, which are located in both cities, have become the centres of large and complex systems of cultural production. The cultural forms and artefacts that are sponsored by each kraton, and produced in the cities, include wayang puppet, gamelan orchestra, batik clothes, dances, architecture and other cultural products, such as the *keris* dagger. All of these artefacts are integrated with each other and with the wider context of people's lives.

The cultural forms produced by both kratons are distinctive. This difference dates back to 1755 when they were founded. Since that time, both kratons have developed and refined more distinctive forms of each of those cultural products. Yogyakarta is considered to be more traditional than Surakarta (Sutton, 1991, p. 20) which, after the split, chose to develop new 'traditions' instead of improving the previous ones. Yogyakarta-style cultural forms are likely to refer to the image of "militancy and bravery" (Sutton, 1991, p. 20) while the Surakarta style is *alus* which refers to subtlety, refinement, smoothness and control.

Both kratons are considered as major centres of dance production. Dance holds great importance in Javanese culture, as it is considered as the art of the gods (Brakel-Papenhuijzen, 1995, p. 190) and as a means of education (Hughes-Freeland, 2008, pp. 77–84). Javanese dances are considered to be based on aesthetic and

¹¹ However, there might be many more people living in both cities than these data indicate. This is because of the process of administration in Indonesia which enables someone to live in an area while being registered to somewhere else. During my stay in both cities, it was common to find the people

philosophical ideas linked to religion (Brakel-Papenhuijzen, 1995, p. 7), in which they are performed to make harmony with the environment. That is why most of those dances are performed in ceremonies and rituals. Dance in Java can be classified into two: classical dance and free style dance. The classical dance belongs to the kraton, while free style dance belongs to lower class or common people. The classical dances of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta are considered as the patrons of all Javanese dances. Common people in their territories adapt those dances into more simplified styles to add to the free style ones that they already had. The dances are produced by the artists of each kraton, who compose a distinct style to distinguish their kraton from the others. The difference between them is sometimes hard to notice, since there is a mechanism which enables the artists of both kratons to copy each other's style. However, this does not mean that there is no difference between the two centres. The kraton of Yogyakarta developed male-style dances, while the kraton of Surakarta developed female-style ones (Banham, 1995, p. 533). This can be seen in the movement of dances of Yogyakarta, which is more "clear-cut and angular" (Brakel-Papenhuijzen, 1995, p. 23) while the Surakartan dance movement is smooth and gentle. For an example we can see the picture in Figure 1.1, in which there is an image of a male dancer. His gesture is considered as the most distinct dance movement, angular and masculine in style. Some dances of the kraton of Surakarta also consist of this kind of movement but it would be somewhat softer.

living in those cities but registered in somewhere else.



Figure 1.1. One of the movements of male dance in the kraton of Yogyakarta, demonstrating the 'clear cut and angular' style. The right knee and heel, the left elbow and the right shoulder of this dancer are angled in exaggerated ways.

The gamelan is a musical ensemble consisting of several kinds of metallic instruments, and a small number of strings and flutes, which are tuned to play together. The differences between a Yogyakarta gamelan and a Surakarta gamelan lie in the kinds of instrument used in a set of gamelan, the tuning system, and the repertory. The gamelan set of Yogyakarta consists more of loud instruments than that of Surakarta, which focuses more on vocal and soft instruments. There are two tuning systems which usually come together in a Javanese gamelan (Sutton, 1991, p. 27). The differences between Yogyakarta and Surakarta are subtle and can be found in their tendencies to use one variant of the tuning system rather than another. However, the difference is more obvious in a specific case such as the tuning system used in gamelan for particular ceremony or rituals. The repertoires used in particular ceremonies or rituals of both kratons are usually different. The composition itself has differences in that Yogyakarta developed "more robust and less florid [...] melodic elaborations" (Sutton, 1991, p. 21) than Surakarta.

Batik is a special cloth used particularly in the Javanese kraton. It is made by applying wax, plant paste and paraffin on a white cloth as a wax-resistant dyeing technique. This method, however, is ancient and can be found elsewhere in the world, including Asia, Africa and Europe. However, only in Java and Madura does

this method produce a great art of batik (Elliot, 2013, p. 20) by using a special tool to put the melted wax on the cloth before dyeing it with plant paste, thereby creating patterns on a plain cloth. There are several basic traditional patterns which are used to make unlimited variations of batik patterns. The patterns of batik are believed to have particular meanings and sometimes, mystical power, so there are restrictions on which occasions to wear a particular pattern. Some patterns are also restricted for the people to wear as they are considered as sacred or forbidden patterns, which belong to the king or royal family (Elliot, 2013, p. 68). Apart from the pattern of batik, which has a wide range of variants, the colours of batik clothes are limited. The kind of plants used for batik making determines the colours. In this case, Yogyakarta and Surakarta batiks use three main colours: white or cream, dark brown, black and indigo. The difference between them is that Yogyakarta batik involves indigo, black or dark brown patterns on white, while Surakarta batik consists of indigo, black or dark brown patterns on cream.



Figure 1.2. A comparison of the batik of Yogyakarta (left) and the batik of Surakarta (right). In this example, both of them have a combination of several patterns. The Yogyakarta batik uses clear contrast between white and dark colours while Surakarta batik usually has cream background as a consequence of using *soga* plant paste in the making process.

Moreover, each kraton also has differences in architecture. The differences between them can be recognised easily for those who have an interest in Javanese culture but most Javanese people are unaware of the differences and simply refer to all of them as ‘Javanese’. For example, we can see in the picture I.3 in the case of the foreground buildings of the kraton Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta. Both of them are the northernmost building of the kraton complex, located right in the

southern periphery of the Northern Alun-alun of each kraton. Both consist of an open building, with rows of columns bearing a Javanese roof. The differences between them can be found in the colours used in the ornaments, the shape of the columns and the details. The kraton of Yogyakarta uses a colour range of green, yellow and red, while the kraton of Surakarta employs a colour range of bluish colours. Both kratons use European and modern shaped columns, but those in the kraton of Yogyakarta are enriched with a mixture of European details and ancient Javanese patterns. Those in the kraton of Surakarta have fewer ornaments and details. Moreover, the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta also have similar layouts and mostly similar names of buildings. This can be seen in Figure 1.4. in which the layout of both kratons consist of seven courtyards with similar names and two squares in each end.



Figure 1.3. The front part of *Pagelaran* of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and of the kraton of Surakarta (right), two buildings of similar functions of both kratons. One of the most obvious differences between them is the colours of them. The kraton of Yogyakarta uses a combination of red yellow and green, while the kraton of Surakarta uses blue.

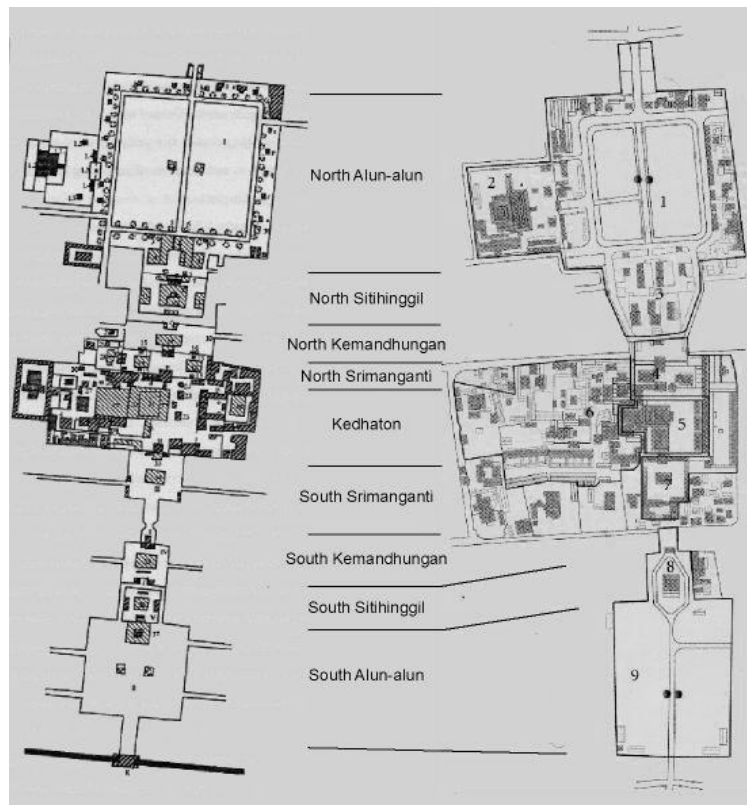


Figure 1.4. . The layouts of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right).
Basic images: Adishakti 1997; Miksic 2004.

Importantly, these various cultural forms – such as dance, wayang, batik, gamelan and architecture - are tightly integrated in traditional courtly culture of the kratons in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Both kratons regularly hold numerous rituals and ceremonies. Some of them are held daily, others weekly, and some every thirty five days or annually. Each particular ceremony or ritual –which takes place in a specific space of the kraton, or outside of the kraton- always includes an obligation on those attending to wear specific clothing for that event, gamelan and dance or wayang performances. Those cultural products are the results of the everyday life of the kraton.

This cultural richness of places separated by only 60kms., all of which is gathered under the same label of ‘Javanese’, has been adopted by the national government as representing national culture. It is a cultural dominance that is rivalled only by Bali¹². One significant difference between Java and Bali now is that the

¹² Java and Bali have a cultural correlation in that both of them inherited the culture of the previous kingdom of Majapahit. This Hindu kingdom is considered to be the greatest kingdom that ever existed

cultural prominence of Javanese culture has been translated into a political dominance at the national level. So, while Balinese culture remains significant in the field of tourism, Javanese culture has come to underpin political power in Jakarta. This, in part, is influenced by the domination of various aspects of Javanese culture in the republic of Indonesia. Ethnic Javanese compose up to 40.22 % of the total population of the country (BPS, 2011, p. 9). Moreover, up to the present almost all presidents of the republic have been Javanese and they have given attention to Javanese culture. This was particularly the case of the first two. The first president, Sukarno, is a Bali-Javanese and he defined the national culture in terms of Javanese culture, particularly using batik clothes (Elliot, 2013, p. 182). His successor, Suharto, placed a great emphasis on the development of a national cultural expression, and one well-known manifestation of this was the construction of the “Beautiful Indonesia” project in 1980s (Pemberton, 1994, pp. 152–167). This project defines ‘the cultural peaks of Indonesia’, one of which is Javanese culture which dominated all other cultures (Dahles, 2013, p. 18). Javanese culture in this project is defined based on the two kratons considered as the centres: Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Javanese cultural products such as wayang puppets, batik, keris and gamelan orchestra are very popular and considered to belong to national culture. Batik, for example, has been accepted widely as a dressing code for formal events. The government has also set a regulation for civil servants to wear batik clothes every Friday. Moreover, Batik has been pronounced by UNESCO as a World Intangible Heritage on 2nd October 2009, along with keris and wayang puppet theatre, which were recognised as belonging to the Intangible Heritage in 2008. Interestingly, in this list batik and keris are recognised as ‘Indonesian Batik’ and ‘Indonesian Kris’¹³. This shows the significance of Java, with Yogyakarta and Surakarta as the cultural centre,

in the archipelago. Having its base in the island of Java, this kingdom, which existed from the 13th to 16th century, conquered most areas in Southeast Asia in the 14th century. Its expanding power made it an important reference for the next ruling elites to legitimate authority, including Mataram and Balinese kings, who always claimed themselves to be descendants of Majapahit kings. There are also similarities in the culture of Java and Bali. However, some people consider Bali as the ‘Java’ before the coming of Islam, as the island of Bali is more isolated than Java and this resulted in the persistence of the Hindu religion in Bali, while Java is dominated by Islam which came to the archipelago after the Hindu culture. Currently, Bali is famous for its culture and is the main tourist destination in Indonesia. In term of tourism, Java is placed in the second priority but it has reached domination in other aspects.

¹³ Based on the UNESCO’s Intangible Heritage list:

to the republic of Indonesia.

Moreover, as both Yogyakarta and Surakarta share similar histories, similar classification of culture, similar physical layout of palaces and cities, it is very interesting to see that they have different levels of power.

The architecture, along with the adjacent cultural products such as batik, dances and music mentioned in the previous section, create a whole composition which is value-laden as a result of the power of the kraton, which also help secure the political and cultural power of the kratons. To help to understand the idea of using architecture and adjacent culture to secure power, I will discuss the theories I use in this research in the next chapter, which will then be followed by a chapter on research method before going into the main part of comparison of the landscape context in chapter 4, urban context in chapter 5 and architectural context in chapter 6. The last chapter will be present my conclusions.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework used in this research. I will go into theoretical matters related to the cases of Yogyakarta and Surakarta or Java more generally, and the theories related to power which are relevant to their situation. The chapter will include the research tendencies relating to Java, essentialism and constructivism, along with structuration theory, field theory and the concept of Javanese power. At the end of this chapter, I will propose a conceptual framework for this research based on the discussions on the previous sections.

A. RESEARCH TENDENCIES ON JAVA

The cultural richness of Java has interested many researchers. Research on the subject of Java has been conducted for several decades. Being the most researched area of the whole Southeast Asia, Java seems to attract debates in that the theories on it are widely varied.

One of the most important disagreements in the theories on Java, in relation to my research, is about the issue of essential Java in opposition to the constructivist tendency on Java. The essentialist assumes that there are particular and unique values intrinsic to Java; the constructivist approach is based on a different assumption, in which Java is socially and politically constructed¹⁴

In searching for the essential value of Java, there are several theories which assume that Java is a harmonic cosmological realm. Earlier theories on Java mostly assumed that Hindu and Buddhist cultures had the most significant influence on Java. This, it is argued, is reflected in Javanese spatial layouts which are considered to be based on the Indic and Buddhist cosmology. This argument is based on several studies by Western colonial authors intending to communicate to other people in Europe about Java. One of the earliest is that of Thomas Stamford Raffles who documented Java during his time as the British governor general in Java, from 1811

¹⁴ There are many studies based on essentialism such as Geertz (1980), Behrend (1980), Woodward (2010) and most studies by Javanese people. The studies based on constructivism are from Florida (1985), Pemberton (1992) and Day (2002).

to 1816; observations published in ‘The History of Java’ in 1830. His account of Java is mainly based on the ruins of Hindu and Buddhist temples scattered all around Java and native manuscripts (Raffles, 1830; Tiffin, 2009, pp. 525–558; Weatherbee, 1978, pp. 63–93). His work used to be considered an accurate reflection of the reality of Java and is still widely cited¹⁵. However, his account of Java is biased towards a western, orientalist vision and a colonial agenda (Mault, 2005, pp. 3–6) in which he considers the Javanese people by the 19th century as unreliable¹⁶ as a source of understanding of their own culture and therefore focuses more on the archaeological evidence of the ruins of Hindu and Buddhist temples¹⁷ (Tiffin, 2009 p. 527). Following Raffles’s account, the Dutch colonial authority’s legacy is their attempt to compile a comprehensive record of the ‘traditional’¹⁸ culture of East Indies, including Java¹⁹ in the early 20th century, based on an anthropological approach. This project is now blamed for defining traditions from the essentialists’ point of view, in which the Dutch studied the local people using “classification and simplification of customs and territories” (Antlöv & Hellman, 2005, p. 4). The studies which were considered to be ‘scientific’ have frozen Java, which was still in the process of construction, into “a single comprehensible entity” (Antlöv & Hellman, 2005, p. 4) which fits the image of the ‘other’: mystical, magical, refined, and traditional. Consisting of 46 volumes, the *Adatrechtbundel*²⁰ was published between 1910 and 1955 and defined in detail several aspects of ‘culture’ for each ‘people’ (Antlöv & Hellman, 2005, pp. 4–5).

The classification of *Adatrechtbundel* did not stop with the end of colonialism

¹⁵ One of the reasons is that his book, *The History of Java* is very soft in judging the Javanese people, unlike other monographs produced by Europeans by that time, such as Crawford and Stockdale (Mault, 2005, pp. 44–52). As a result this book is considered as humanitarian, and it is mostly accepted by the people, even by Javanese people, for a longer period than any other monograph.

¹⁶ There is a tendency for colonial government to see native people in a negative stereotype, such as lazy, despotic, and unreliable (Alatas, 2010).

¹⁷ This is also an influence of the trend of archaeology and picturesque ruins flourished in Britain by that time (Tiffin, 2009, pp. 526–527).

¹⁸ I use the term traditional in apostrophes to signify that this term is biased as it is made during the colonial period as an opposition of modernity (AlSayyad, 2001). This is very important in relation to the issue of essentialism vs constructivism, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁹ East Indies is a term used to refer to the archipelago of the current Indonesia. However, *Adatrechtbundel* also included other area such as Philippines, New Guinea, Timor, Malay Peninsula, Cham states and Madagascar (Spykman, 1932, p. 790).

²⁰ It is a Dutch term for ‘Adat Law Volumes’. It includes not only Java, but also the culture of the other parts of the Dutch East Indies.

in 1945. Instead, it was continued by the New Order regime between 1965 and 1998, with the 'Beautiful Indonesia' project, in which the national government under Suharto categorised particular cultures as belonging to particular people²¹ (Pemberton, 1994, pp. 157–158). From 1998 to the present, this essentialist approach is still accepted widely in Indonesia, and indeed has even increased in its prevalence²². This is due to the decentralisation which started in 1999 at the level of districts²³. More groups claimed themselves to be an ethnic entity with their own distinct cultures. Related to that, some rituals that had died out are being revived (Day, 2007, p. 45) for political and touristic reasons. Funding is provided for research to legitimise this revival²⁴. There is a trend which has appeared in the last decade about *kearifan lokal* or local wisdom²⁵. This move is highly supported by the government and NGOs and also UN, being legalised by a body of law which affects not only the field of culture and tourism but also the fields of medicine, education, public welfare, gender, agro-forestry, social environment and the like. This also affects research, in which the essentialist tendency becomes more popular.

In the context of the Javanese kratons, many argue from essentialists' point of view, which is based on the notion that Java is a cosmological realm in harmony. Geertz's argues on Bali as a 'theatre state'²⁶ that Bali is the real Java before the coming of Islam (Geertz, 1980, pp. 7–9). He highlights the architecture of the temple as being ordered in such a way so as to copy the cosmos in Indic cosmology. Evers

²¹ Each province in Indonesia was defined as having one culture so there were 27 cultures in Indonesia, which is the number of provinces that existed in the whole nation.

²² This can be seen in the tourism advertisement of Indonesia in 2006 in which the number of 'distinct cultures' of Indonesia is claimed to be more than 400. The 2012 advertisement claims Indonesia as the ultimate in diversity.

²³ A district has a similar level as a city. A district in Indonesia can exist in the form of a municipality or a regency. The difference between both is that the regency is usually more rural, while a municipality is more urban. The whole administrative structure in a sequence from the largest to the smallest is: national, provincial, district (*daerah tingkat II*, can be in the form of a city or a *kabupaten*), sub-district (*kecamatan*), village (*kelurahan* or *desa*), neighbourhood (*rukun warga*) and ward (*rukun tetangga*).

²⁴ This is based on my own experience as a researcher in Sebelas Maret University, a state university in Central Java. The government offers funding for research to legitimise the policy of recalling previous 'traditions'. This is a common practice in Indonesia, in which research is used to serve the government (Goss, 2011, p. 170).

²⁵ This trend of local wisdom, along with the trend of decentralisation, not only occurs in Indonesia but also in other Asian countries. Such trends are identified as reactions to globalisation (Loh & Öjendal, 2005, pp. 259–271).

²⁶ In his widely accepted book, *Negara: Theater-State of Nineteenth Century Bali* (1980), Geertz points out the physical layout of Balinese palace. His theory has been used widely, and is considered

and Korff share the same idea that the palaces and the cities around them are “attempts to replicate the cosmos” (Evers & Korff, 2000, p. 67). This view has also been shared widely by other scholars including Behrend (1980), Santoso²⁷ (2008) and Tjahjono (1989), all of whom focus on the kraton and the Javanese cities.

In this cosmology, there are particular locations considered as sacred in nature. They are considered as fixed points, from which the sacredness spreads in all directions (Evers & Korff, 2000, p. 67). Evers and Korff quoted Eliade (1986) that there are three major symbols: sacred mountain, temple, palace or ritual monuments, and the sacred city or temple as the axis mundi (Evers & Korff, 2000, p. 67): the centre of the world (Smith & Reynolds, 1987, p. 4) to keep the balance of the world. The kraton is considered as the centre (Behrend, 1980, p. 159; Tjahjono 1989, p. 224), from which the sacredness spreads in four directions (Smith & Reynolds, 1987, p. 4). It is surrounded by seven concentric rings of seas and seven concentric ring-islands as the replication of Indic and Buddhist cosmology (Behrend, 1980, pp. 160-167). This cosmology is symbolised in the whole complex of the kraton. The layout of the kraton consists of a concentric hierarchical pattern in which seven courtyards are separated by walls and gates. The fourth courtyard, the one located in the centre called *Kedhaton*, is the most sacred. This pattern shows a graded hierarchical order through defining the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’²⁸ (Geertz, 1980, p. 109). From this centre, there are four cardinal points to which the sacredness is spread. The layout of one centre and four others in cardinal points is usually called *mancapat*²⁹. The four cardinal points create axes from North-South and East-West. The North-South axis is stronger than the East-West. It is also the axis of the graded hierarchy of the palace³⁰.

relevant to be applied in general to Southeast Asian state (Brown, 1996, p. 7).

²⁷ Santoso argues that Indic culture is not the only one to determine the layout of the cities in the archipelago. By using examples of the ‘traditional’ layouts of settlement in Indonesia, he argues that there is a local cosmological concept - which can be found along the archipelago- influencing Javanese cities (Santoso, 2008, p. 32-82).

²⁸ Geertz argues that in 19th century Balinese palaces, there is a graded hierarchical layout in which one space is considered as ‘inside’ which is higher in hierarchy than those of the ‘outside’. This layout shows several layers in which the centre is at the top of the hierarchy. The second layer is the ‘outside’ of the centre therefore it is placed lower in the hierarchy than the centre but is higher in hierarchy than the third layer which is the ‘outside’ of the second layer. This structure can be expanded to unlimited number of layers, creating a whole hierarchical structure (Geertz, 1980, p. 109).

²⁹ This concept is at first used in the study of Javanese village layout, in which one village is located in the centre and four others are located around the centre following the four directions, east, west, north and south. For more details, see Ossenbruggen (1975).

³⁰ The layout of the kraton or palace, according to the essentialist theories, follows a particular

It should be noted that there is another different theory on the kraton and the city which is also based on essentialism. This theory uses Islam as the most prominent religion of Java, instead of Indic and Buddhist³¹. In this theory, the space is also considered cosmological in which the spatial layout of the kraton is a representation of the Perfect Man, Muhammad the prophet (Woodward, 2010, p. 141). This is supported by the kraton of Yogyakarta's own description of the symbols contained in the kraton in which it describes the journey of the Perfect Man from birth to death from south to north along the north-south axis (Brongtodingrat, 1978). This journey is symbolised through the layouts and names of places, buildings and plants along the way from the south point (*Panggung Krapyak*, a meditation place to the south of the kraton) to the north point (*tugu Golong Gilig*, an obelisk to the north of the kraton). The importance of the north-south axis is very clear in this argument that the east-west axis is considered as a distraction³². In an urban context, there is also an east-west axis which is shown in the existence of four mosques in four directions, which are called *Pathok Negara* or 'city border'³³. The kraton of Surakarta shares a similar symbolisation of the life journey of the Perfect Man, as the layout and the names used in the kraton space are mostly similar to those of the kraton of Yogyakarta, even though the narrative mentions it in reverse (Miksic, 2004, p. 189).

Both arguments, however, share a similar idea that Java, in essence, is an ideal cosmological realm. The difference between them is on the religion involved in the cosmology³⁴.

cosmological order including the north south axis and radial pattern related to graded hierarchy.

³¹ This difference leads to another debate which is not mentioned in detail here due to its irrelevance to my research topic.

³² In this argument, the east-west oriented roads intersecting the main north-south axis are the distractions in life, a temptation to distract the Perfect Man from the right path.

³³ So far, I have not found any information about whether those mosques act literally as border signs or not. The concept of border in Javanese context is complicated regarding to the flexibility of the territory. Even though the concept of flexibility in the territory is basically essentialist, this is shown in historical data in which the territory of Mataram from 18th to 20th century had changed over time (Cribb, 2007).

³⁴ This difference is mainly about the position of Islam. In the earlier research, the existence of Islamic influence was recognised, but as a contaminant to the 'original' Javanese culture and was therefore ignored. Islam, in this view, is always in opposition with tradition or *adat*, being seen as the main cause for conflicts in Java. The other assumption is that Islam is not considered as a contaminant to the Indic and Buddhist Java. Instead, it is recognised as the most recent and dominant culture to influence Java (Lev, 1972; Woodward, 2010; Roff, 1985). The latter assumption claims the former to

The counterpart of the essentialist tendency is the constructivist tendency. In this tendency, Javanese culture is seen as something invented or constructed. Pemberton (1994) is one of the earliest to highlight the issue of Java as an invented tradition (E. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Pemberton focuses on how Javanese culture was invented by the New Order regime. His study disputes those of the essentialist approach by speaking of tradition as something invented by particular actor(s) instead of as something inherited from the previous ancestors, which remains relatively unchanged. ‘Java’, then, is considered to be a result of some conscious constructions. This conscious construction is also supported by Florida in her study on Javanese text in, which she argues that Javanese writers of the 19th century wrote self-consciously to construct the future therefore considered as prophecy (Florida, 1995, pp. 20–21). In this case, she took an anonymous text on Javanese folklore³⁵ written by someone in exile³⁶ that shows that the writer consciously wrote the text to change the future practice.

However, every construction can only be made possible by existing potentials. The process of construction is not achieved by building something entirely new. Instead, it proceeds with the existing, selecting some and ignoring the rest. It is a matter of preference, which can be natural or political. In the case of the Javanese kraton, it gains domination on the discourses on ‘Java’, following the Dutch preference for the kraton as representative of Java as a whole in the *Adatrechtbundel*. This preference might have been political as the Dutch needed local nobles to help in organising and mobilising the people and exploiting the land³⁷. The next preference of the New Order regime was also political; the president, Soeharto, attached himself

be colonially biased, to reduce the “place and role of Islam in Southeast Asian culture” (Roff, 1985, p. 7). The division between traditional and Islam is not considered to reflect the reality in Java. This shows in a national survey conducted in 2001 and 2002 resulted in the “inapplicability of Geertzian scheme in contemporary Indonesia” (Möller, 2005, p. 120). This idea is shared by Woodward in which he divides Javanese society into five categories: the indigenised Islam, traditionalism, modernism, Islamism and neo-modernism (Moller, 2005, p. 82), so basically the division of Javanese society is not about tradition vs Islam, but more on what kind of Islam it is that Javanese people hold.

³⁵ It is a very common practice in Java that one story is being rewritten again and again, resulting in several different versions of one story, written by several writers (Florida, 1995, p. 19).

³⁶ She argues that the writer, even though anonymous and undecidable, has a close relation to the previous Mataram king in exile, Pakubuwana VI, and there is also a possibility that it is the king himself who wrote the text (Florida, 1995, pp. 401–403).

³⁷ This is because by that time the kraton held a centralised system to use the land for agrarian purposes, therefore perfect for exploitation, as it accumulates wealth at the centre (Ekholm & Friedman, 1982, p. 90).

to the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta as a means to legitimise himself³⁸. This was possible because the powerful image of those Javanese courts was influential enough to be used to legitimise him. In short, what is seen as something ‘constructed’ is not totally constructed from scratch. Instead, it uses a pre-existing construct for particular purposes. This shows that this debate needs more explanation.

B. ON ESSENTIALISM AND CONSTRUCTIVISM

In this section, I will go into theoretical matters of essentialism and constructivism, which are mentioned as research tendencies in the previous section. First, I will have to set the definition of both terms. Essentialism is a philosophical theory which prioritises the discovery of the nature or true substance of something. Plato, as the first philosopher known to have such an idea, argued that every entity has its own ideal essence or substance in the ideal world, which is given in nature without which it cannot be the same entity anymore. He also had the idea of grouping things based on similarities of the essence between them, which would be elaborated later by Aristotle. Plato explained that there are two basic properties of things: a substance, which is the essence, and its structure (Rosenkrantz & Hoffman, 2011, p. 42). Based on that, he made categories. The idea of the ‘given’ essence of things can be applied to a category which then became a generalisation of everything included in the group to have a similar essence, regardless of the contexts and settings. This approach has been blamed for creating polar opposites between things and for not allowing variations to exist (Fuchs, 2005, p. 52). It is also blamed for reducing the temporality of things, by assuming that everything is unchanged through time (Barnard & Spencer, 2002, pp. 234–235). Essentialist approach is very popular, particularly in developing countries (Carney, 2007, p. 7), including Java (Antlöv & Hellman, 2005, pp. 29–31). The reason for this is mostly political, as the essentialist approach assumes that every single thing has a ‘true’ essence, ignoring the possibility of an active involvement of human beings to construct and to give meaning to it. Therefore this approach is very useful to legitimise some policies as

³⁸ Soeharto attached himself to the kraton of Yogyakarta, while his wife, Tien Soeharto attached herself to the minor court of Mangkunegaran.

being based on a ‘true essence’³⁹ of something, and is therefore considered to be objective.

The approach of constructivism, in contrast, is based on a relational approach between subject and object. Subject is an active human being to perceive an object. The object is the thing to be perceived. In this approach, the object does not have a true essence inherent in itself; instead, it is constructed and given meanings by the subject. One of the prominent sources addressing this approach is Hobsbawm and Ranger’s ‘The Invention of Tradition’. In this book, he argues that ‘traditions’ can be invented then legitimised by referring to “a suitable historic past” (E. J. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992, p. 1) to claim themselves as having a “continuity with the past” (E. J. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992, p. 1). This continuity with the past is important to legitimise the invention. It is even possible to create an invented historical continuity as a means of legitimacy. The invented tradition then rests as the full responsibility of the inventor or the subject. The product being invented, or the object in this case, has no influence. This is very different from essentialism in which the object has a determining role.

We can conclude now that the debate between essentialism and constructivism is based on *subject/object* division. Essentialists believe that every object has an essential objective nature, while constructivists believe that it is the subject who constructs the object. The reality however, is not as simple as either of these approaches. Neither side has full control over the other. To this, Parsons, Giddens and Bourdieu offer another division of *structure/agency* instead of *subject/object*. This division, it is argued, is more reliable to represent reality than that of *subject/object*.

C. THE THEORY OF STRUCTURATION AND THE THEORY OF FIELD

In the previous sub section, I explained about the debate between essentialism and constructivism. In this subsection, I will go further in elaborating the theories on the *agency/structure* division. This division is not a dichotomy. Instead, it shows two

³⁹ This can be seen, for example in the effort to conserve and to promote traditional markets in Surakarta for tourism. Some essentialist research are conducted and funded by local government to legitimise the effort to be based on the traditional value of the markets.

related entities in society⁴⁰ which do not present a binary opposition. A structure refers to a social structure as a constraint for every single agency, which is human being as the actor with a capacity to act, to do social actions.

As already indicated, Parsons, Giddens and Bourdieu offer a similar division of structure/agency. However, Parsons considers each of them as a separate entity while Giddens and Bourdieu consider both of them as interrelated. I find the latter position more persuasive as social structure is not a static entity and it is possible to be changed by agencies' actions⁴¹.

Giddens in his 'theory of *structuration*' (1986), underlines that agency and structure are closely connected instead of being separate entities, as suggested by Parsons. The structure, according to Giddens, is the outcome of agency's action while at the same time it enables actions, which he called the 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1986, p. 25). The action of an agency is constrained and enabled by a structure, in the form of rules and resources, over which the agency has no control. The rules are gained through day-to-day experience of each agency, determining the motives behind every agency's actions. The agency is usually unaware of this structure, as it is mainly unconscious⁴². In terms of actions, the agency is in a conscious state and every action is intentional. However, every action always brings unintended consequences which will contribute to the "unacknowledged conditions of further acts" (Giddens, 1986, p. 8); that is, the reproduction of the structure. For an example, someone speaks Javanese language in the 'correct' way. To be able to speak Javanese language in a 'correct' way, that someone has to master the rules and to have the resources of Javanese language. The act of speaking is intentional, but the motive to 'speak in a correct way' is in an unconscious mode. Moreover, there is an unintended consequence of a reproduction of the Javanese language and the structure inherent in it. This will reproduce the structure in Javanese language. The reproduction will contribute to set the situation for further practice of Javanese language and the structure inherent in it.

As mentioned before, Bourdieu shares a similar concept on the interrelation

⁴⁰ The division of structure/agency is developed mainly in the field of sociology.

⁴¹ The possibility of the structure to be changed by human actions is absent in the essentialism approach, which assumes such structure as an essence.

⁴² This aspect of unconsciousness is one thing which is absent in constructivism's approach.

between agency and structure in his ‘theory of field’ or ‘theory of practice’ (Bourdieu, 1977). Like Giddens, he focuses on social practice, or ‘actions’ in Giddens’s term. One major difference between the two authors is that Bourdieu focuses mainly on the unconscious, about which Giddens shows less interest⁴³. This is because Bourdieu focuses on the issue of social class, and the unconscious process behind it, that distinguishes ‘high value’/‘low value’ and thereby forms social hierarchy. Giddens, in contrast, has deficiencies on social class (Atkinson, 2007, p. 546). I will go deeper into Bourdieu’s account on social classification because it is very important in dealing with power issues.

There are several key terms in Bourdieu’s account: capital, habitus and field. I will start by defining those terms. Capital is an accumulation of efforts which, when being put in an exclusive space by agencies, “enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). Habitus is defined as “a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, p. 43). Field is defined as “a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 6).

There are two main processes in Bourdieu’s account in relation to power relations. The first deals with the practice of agency in the field, whose structure has been established, and the second deals with the process of establishing a structure in the field.

In terms of an agency’s practice in the field, Bourdieu underlines the importance of capital in social stratification (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 45–58). Capital possessed by an agency works to locate the agency in the social stratification or the structure in the field. Bourdieu categorises capital –also called ‘power’- into three according to the fields⁴⁴ in which it works: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital can be directly converted into money but sometimes can be present in institutionalised form such as property rights. Cultural capital needs

⁴³ Bourdieu mostly focuses on the unconscious social process and put the conscious process aside while Giddens, even though recognises the unconscious, holds consciousness as important, particularly in the reflexive process of an agency.

⁴⁴ Field itself is one core concept of Bourdieu in which it serves as the arena of social struggle, whose

particular situations to be converted into economic capital and can be present in institutionalised form, such as educational qualifications. Social capital, usually present as social connections or “membership of a group”, also needs particular situations to be converted into economic capital and can be present in institutionalised form, such as title of nobility.

Those types of capital are interchangeable. Economic capital can be transferred into cultural capital or social capital and vice versa. Bourdieu places his focus on cultural capital as the most important capital in social structure. This kind of capital can be present in “objectified”, “embodied” and “institutional” form. This relates to the mode of acquisition of the capital. Objectified cultural capital is present in the form of cultural goods such as books, paintings and monuments, which are material objects transferable into economic capital. Embodied cultural capital is the capital embodied as *habitus* or a system of disposition of an agency which determines the agency’s practice. This kind of capital cannot be acquired instantly because it involves a long process of transmission and acquisition in order to be integrated into the agency itself; a process that takes a lifetime of a single agency. The transmission can be domestic, which is a transmission through family, or by acquiring it from a system of education, in which the system of thought - or the structure - belonging to a dominant class is embodied. Institutional cultural capital takes form in formal recognition, such as certificates and academic qualifications. Those forms of cultural capital are centred in the embodied form or *habitus*, since the objectified and institutionalised capital can only be defined “in [...] relationship with [...] [that of] embodied form” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 50).

When an agency enters a particular field laden with a structure, the capital possessed by the agency verifies his or her position in the field’s social structure. The pre-existing structure determines which kinds of capital are preferred, and thereby is considered to have a higher value and to be more acceptable in the field. For example, a person with an ability to speak Javanese language in the refined form⁴⁵ (*alus*) and to use it according to the established standard or the ‘structure’, is more

structure is based on power relations.

⁴⁵ I use an example of using *alus* form instead of *kasar* form because in Javanese society it is very common for the people to speak the *kasar* form, but only a few groups of people can speak Javanese in the *alus* form.

acceptable in the kraton, as that skill is very important for communicating with the kraton people. The ability to speak in refined form, and to use the language properly, is the capital of the agency which is preferred by the dominant structure in the field. This will put the agency in a beneficial position in the structure. In contrast, a person who does not have an ability to speak *alus* Javanese, or to use the language according to the established standards, finds him or herself unacceptable in the kraton. The inability to communicate ‘properly’ is the capital gained during his or her life, but is considered to be of low value in the kraton because of the pre-established structure. He or she, then, is considered to be of a low class in this field.

Now I will move to the process of establishing a structure in a field. A structure is the dominant system of thought inherent in the field, which distinguishes high class/low class, and therefore it determines the social hierarchy. The keyword to be the structure in the field is *domination* (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 24). At an elementary level, an agency can acquire domination by generosity and virtue in personal relationships (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 190). For example, a noble of the Javanese kraton lets his courtiers or *abdi dalems* live on his land for free. This generosity creates a bond between the noble and his *abdi dalems*. The more he gives, the more tied his *abdi dalems* are. This will lead to voluntary submission of the *abdi dalems* to the noble. In this case, the noble acquires domination over his *abdi dalems*. The domination, which at first occurs in personal relationship, can be developed into wider domination up to the point where it is being objectified by law and education (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 187). By that time, the domination is disguised as something natural, or objectified. It is no longer recognised as domination. This occurs for example when the noble mentioned above has consistently given much generosity to many people in a particular area, which leads to the voluntary submission of the people. His domination over the people then can be objectified by a rule that gives the noble a privilege, right or honour. By this time, the domination is unrecognised and considered to be something natural or objective.

A domination, however, is subject to challenges by other agencies and can lose its resources; therefore it has to be renewed by reproduction. This reproduction occurs when a structure is being put in social practice over and over again. Every practice by an agency, which fits an established structure, is a means of reproduction

of that structure. To make sure of the practice to be re-enacted, the structure needs to be unrecognised and to be considered as something objective and natural to do. Regulation and education, as a means to conceive the structure and to embody the structure into society, hold high importance in the process of reproduction. For example, the practice of Javanese language following an established order, which puts the kraton in the top of the hierarchy, is being reproduced through regulation and education in which schools in Java are required by law to put Javanese language in their curriculum. This reinforces and reproduces the practice of Javanese language along with its inherent structure.

Furthermore, in the case of architecture and the built environment, there is another mode of reproduction. This relates to what Bourdieu says about the “silent ideology” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 188) which embodies the structure and puts it into unconsciousness. This kind of reproduction is mainly based on experience, in which it is being experienced by the people, unconsciously absorbed to contribute to the mental map of each person and when needed, it is being recalled by the people to decide what kind of actions to take in particular situations. For example, the hierarchical order of the architecture of the kraton designates the *pendhapa*, one form of Javanese architecture with golden carvings, as the most sacred. This hierarchical structure is unconsciously absorbed by the people, and when a person is required to build a city hall which represents ‘Javanese tradition’, he or she refers to the golden carved *pendhapa* of the kraton. The reproduction of golden carved *pendhapa* for the city hall is again being absorbed by the people, and therefore reproduces the structure in their unconsciousness.

However we need to be aware that we cannot see architecture in isolation from life, particularly when dealing with vernacular architecture which is not designed by an architect (Oliver, 2006, p. 4). In this respect, architecture and urban environment have to be seen as something related to life. How people activate built environment, then, will also contribute to day-to-day experience and embody a structure into unconsciousness. Therefore I will have to include not only the physical aspects of the built environment but also the social and cultural aspects.

All the processes mentioned above, regarding the practice in the field, the process of domination and reproduction, occur simultaneously and cannot be

separated from each other. I will have to cover all of them to understand the mechanism of power in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Even though Bourdieu builds his theory more on modern society, his theory is also applicable to pre modern society whose structure of social hierarchy is generally more stable and prevalent. More importantly, the flexibility or variability of the field in his theory makes his framework applicable to a society in transition, like those in Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

D. THE JAVANESE 'POWER'

Most studies on Javanese power are in the field of linguistics, gender and state formation. The studies on Javanese hierarchical language and gender are generally about communicating power in society. Javanese language uses a division of *alus/kasar*⁴⁶ which needs the speaker to position him or herself toward others (Moedjanto, 1986) thus locating him/herself in the social hierarchy. The emergence of this hierarchical language is identified as a means of legitimising the Mataram dynasty (Moedjanto, 1986) by positioning the king at the top of the hierarchy. The studies on gender relations are often related to the use of language, sexualism, development, and performances such as those of gamelan, wayang, kethoprak and dance (Cooper, 2000, pp. 609-644; Elmhirst, 2000, pp. 487-500; Ong & Peletz, 1995, pp. 19-50; Richter, 2008, pp. 21-45). Some other studies on state formation in Java propose the influence of charisma and divine power of the king (Anderson, 1990, p. 75; Geertz, 1980, p. 128; Soemarsaid Moertono, 2002, p. 39). They are mainly based on the Weberian concept of charismatic authority⁴⁷. This resulted in the notion that Javanese power relies heavily on the charisma of the leader.

One of the prominent studies on power is Benedict Anderson's 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture' (1990). In his account, Anderson highlights the differences between the Western and the Javanese concepts of power. Javanese power, in his opinion, is highly personal which is gained through ascetic efforts. This legitimate power will bring "fertility, prosperity, stability and glory" (Anderson,

⁴⁶ This is a dichotomy in Javanese language. *Alus* refers to refined, subtle, female and intrinsic and is of high value. *Kasar*, in contrast, refers to straightforward, clumsy, male, uncultured, mischief and intrinsic; it is of low value (Sutton, 1991, p. 21).

⁴⁷ In a part of his book, Bourdieu remarks that he proposes a theory to explain subjectivity/objectivity and also Weberian charisma.

1990, p. 32). However, the power is not stable that it is possible to lose it (Anderson, 1990, p. 31; Moertono, 2009, p. 56). By the time a ruler loses his power, it is possible for him to be absorbed by another ruler who gains more power. The authority of a Javanese ruler does not recognise territorial boundaries, as power is flexible. Javanese power can be seen as a cone of luminosity, in which the power of a ruler is centralised and showing gradual decrease to the periphery (Anderson, 1990, p. 47) which depends on the “diminishing or increasing power” of the centre (Moertono, 2009, p. 124), thus it creates some kind of gradual hierarchical order.

This hierarchical order is reflected in space (Behrend, 1980, p. 183; Geertz, 1980, pp. 109-116). There are two patterns in the kraton’s layout: the hierarchical pattern of centre and periphery or ‘inside and outside’ (Geertz 1980, p. 109) which, according to Behrend, is shown in radial patterns in the architecture of the kraton (Behrend, 1980, p. 183), and the pattern of public-private from the north to the south (Santosa, 1997, pp. 48-51). The hierarchical pattern of centre - periphery and radial pattern is continued outside of the kraton, where there are compounds of *abdi dalems*’ or royal courtiers’ settlements, whose locations are mainly based on necessity (Sullivan, 1992, p.23). There is a surrounding wall enclosing those compounds, now popularly called *Beteng* in Yogyakarta or *Baluwarti* in Surakarta. Outside the walled area was *Negara* or the place of patih, nobles, princes, and other kraton officials. Outside of *Negara*, there was the area of *Negaragung* where the land for agrarian activities was located. The area beyond *Negaragung* was called *Mancanegara*⁴⁸ which are foreign countries under the governance of *bupati* (Soemardjan, 1981, p. 27). Those layers created a radial and hierarchical pattern in which the kraton is at the centre, holding the highest hierarchy. This pattern is often considered as “attempt[s] to replicate the cosmos” (Evers & Korff, 2000, p. 67) in Indic and Buddhist cosmology (Evers & Korff, 2000 p. 29; Smith & Reynolds, 1987, p. 4). This pattern was also an attempt to distribute power, as it clearly defined the social stratification. The king lives in the kraton with his family and his everyday servants. The next layer, *Negara*, was settled by princes and nobles who were given

⁴⁸ At present the term ‘mancanegara’ is used to refer to other countries. In the case of the kraton, this term was used to refer to other *Negara*.

some land in *Negaragung*⁴⁹ to exploit and to manage taxes for the king. *Negaragung* was settled by common people who worked on the land and gave taxes to the princes and nobles, who would then distribute the tax to the king. *Mancanegara* was considered too far from the centre, so that the king appointed several people as a *bupati*⁵⁰ to manage that area.

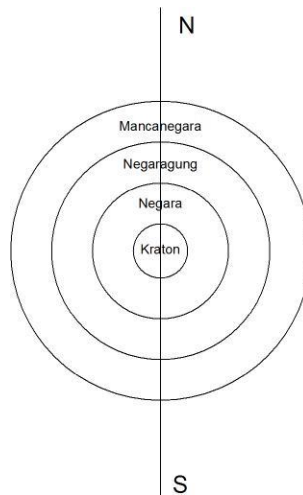


Figure 2.1. The pattern of the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta: hierarchical circles and north-south axis.

From the previous paragraph, we can see that hierarchical patterns and centre/periphery are representations of power in that they embody the social hierarchy. This, however, is not a Javanese privilege as central location and hierarchical pattern are commonly found elsewhere to represent social hierarchy. They are also not the only ways to embody power. In this research I will include other forms of power, particularly those of ‘power over’ as this type of power is the one relevant to the topic of social hierarchy and domination. Dovey (1999) mentions several forms of ‘power over’ including force, coercion, seduction and authority (Dovey, 1999, p. 10). Force is an entity without any option but compliance, which takes form as walls and locked bars. Coercion is less overt than force, in that it allows people to react voluntarily but threatens them with sanctions or consequences. This includes organisation of time and space to control social interaction, control of visibility and invisibility, space and time fragmentation and orientation loss (Dovey,

⁴⁹ The land is in the unit of *cacah*, literally means number of people living in the area (Lombard, 1996b, p. 37).

⁵⁰ Bupati is a position to rule the mancanegara area, in which the area was divided into several

1999, p. 11). Seduction manipulates the desires of the subject by structuring a spatial order to be considered natural and unchangeable (Dovey, 1999, p. 12). The last is authority, which is the strongest form of ‘power over’. This appears as symbols of authority, such as rituals, ceremonies and symbolic display (Dovey, 1999, p. 12).

Those forms of ‘power over’ have different levels of strength: authority has the highest level, followed by seduction, coercion and force (Dovey, 1999, pp. 11–12). This is because authority is the most obscure and it gave no option but compliance, while force, which also gave no option but to comply is not so obscure. The more obscure a practice, the stronger it is to reproduce domination. Those forms also swiftly move from one form to another (Dovey, 1999, p. 12) so that it is possible for one single detail to convey several forms of ‘power over’.

If we put the theories on Javanese kraton’s layout into Dovey’s forms of ‘power over’ we could see that the theories on a Javanese kraton’s layout deal with the third form of power over: seduction, in which the layout is considered to be cosmological, natural and unchangeable. Other forms of ‘power over’ are absent in Javanese theories. This research tries to include other forms in addition to seduction. Seeing the kraton’s layouts as a seduction implies that the layout was made to manipulate subjects, therefore eliminate the essentialist perspective.

E. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I will now turn to the conceptual framework for this research. Based on Bourdieu’s theory of practice, in which there are interactions between structure and agency in the form of habitus, capital, field and practice, the theories on Javanese cosmological layout and Javanese power can be seen as a form of seduction, as a practice of ‘power over’. This seduction is one of four forms of reproduction of ‘power over’ or domination. What I do in this research is to include other forms of ‘power over’ practices such as force, coercion and authority, along with seduction, in order to have a whole picture of the practice of ‘power over’ in the built environments of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

As the cosmological narrative of both kratons always includes the landscape around them, I will have to analyse the landscape before zooming in to the city and

territorial units called *kabupaten*.

architecture to see the forms of ‘power over’ practices in each scope. The practices of ‘power over’ in the case studies will be analysed, based on the level of strength of each of them.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

This chapter discusses methodological issues raised by this research. It contains four subsections, on general aims in section [A], research method in section [B], data collection in section [C], and data analysis in section [D].

A. GENERAL AIMS

This research investigates how power is manifested in, and reproduced by, the built environment in Yogyakarta and Surakarta by exploring how the power of the kraton in each city is being translated in terms of the built environment and how they contribute to the future practices.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

Situated in the comparative case study research approach, this research had its case studies selected based on similarity. The similarities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta have been discussed in chapter one: both have royal courts in each of them serving as the core of the cities, both are descendants of the Mataram kingdom- the greatest kingdom of Java. Both kratons are recognised as centres of Javanese cultural authority, both have similar layouts for the kratons and the cities along with their similar cosmological narratives. The difference that I highlight in this research is the difference of power level between the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta that leads to the different fate of both cities in terms of territory, the recognition of the kraton's property, and the kraton's political role.

The main question of this research is how to explain the difference of power level of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta in terms of built environment. The power structure is a product of previous practice and at the same time restricts future practices. This makes this research exploratory instead of causal; to find out what generates the power structure

and what is influenced by the power structure embodied in built environment. The exploration is driven by the theoretical framework already discussed in chapter 2.

The hypotheses of this research, then, are:

- The power structure of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta are embodied in the built environment and related arts.
- The power structure of the kraton of Yogyakarta has been reproduced within the city more than that of the kraton of Surakarta.

The kinds of practices included in this research are architectural and urban practices, related arts, and behavioural in the form of force, coercion, seduction and authority. They all form a silent ideology in reproducing a power structure. This research will also include narratives and discourses related to the built-environment, such as cosmological narratives and architectural debates. Those are something embodied through consciousness, to help in putting a power structure into unconsciousness by experience.

C. DATA COLLECTION

I use several methods in gathering the data, including direct observation, interviews, other data such as planning documents, secondary data from news media, other research about the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta and the kraton-owned publications. However, the majority of my research depends on direct observation and secondary data. Interviews are conducted only to gather additional data.

Fieldwork was undertaken from December 2010 to February 2011 in which several interviews, documents, secondary data and photographs, both of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, were taken. Historical material is taken from the archive in the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, previous research, the kraton-owned publications and other books.

C.1. Direct observation

Direct observation was mainly conducted in the area of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta to observe the behaviour of the

people in day-to-day activities. This includes how people interact with each other and how they behave in relation to space.

As my fieldwork was limited to the period from December 2010 to February 2011, this cannot cover all the data needed for this research. Particularly for special occasions which I could not attend, I used secondary resources from previous research such as those of Anderson (1967) and Santosa (1997).

C.2. Interviews

Interviews were conducted to collect the data on several aspects such as the relationship between agencies, the influence of the kraton on the people and the planning process of the city.

- **Format**

I used the format of a semi-structured interview, which gives the interviewees more freedom and therefore gives me an opportunity to get more than what I had planned.

- **Sampling Strategy**

I use purposive sampling in this research in which I take samples to represent the agencies involved in urban process, such as the municipal government, provincial government, NGOs, academics, the kraton and common people. The main sources for this research are the kraton people, municipal and provincial government, and kraton related academics.

There is an issue in interviewing the kraton related people, however, as they usually exaggerate the mystical aspects of the kraton. This is why I place the interview as an additional method in data collection.

C.3. Secondary sources

Secondary sources are one of the main data sources for this research. I use documents on urban planning, architectural drawings, historical maps, news, and previous research.

- **Urban planning documents**

This data was gathered from the municipal governments of both Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Some information was gathered online through the governmental websites and some data was gathered directly from the municipal government offices. The documents include those on urban policy and urban development plans. There is no issue on the plan as they come in precise scale.

- Architectural drawings

This data was collected from the kraton owned consultants. However, some of them are not precise and I have had to generate my own maps by combining the maps from the kraton's consultants, previous research or publications, and satellite maps. Some 'unnecessary' buildings might not be included, particularly in the case of the 'Inner Kedhaton' courtyard where so many small buildings were placed. While this courtyard is mostly not included in my analysis, I only include some significant buildings in this courtyard.

- Historical maps.

The historical maps included in this research are mainly from Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam; kraton owned publications; Digital Atlas of Indonesian History and previous research.

The maps, however, do not always come in precise scale. Some of them, particularly those from the Digital Atlas of Indonesian History, come in the form of schematic maps that need more data from other sources, whether in the form of other maps or description. My own maps are generated from the historical maps being traced over the basic map from Bakosurtanal and Google Maps. When the data is not enough to generate a precise map, I have tried to be as precise as possible, while noting the possible invalidity.

- News

The news items address the kraton related events that took place in both cities. I relied on the Indonesian national online news such as www.kompas.com, www.kr.co.id, www.suaramerdeka.com, www.detik.com, www.timlo.net, www.pikiranrakyat.com, also governmental websites.

- Previous research

Previous research provided important additional data in generating drawings, discourses, and interpretation of data. They helped me in finding the data uncovered by news or governmental sources. They also helped in providing more precise maps than my own.

Some of the research I used for this research were Anderson, (1967) and Santosa (1997) to help with interpretation of power in architecture; Sullivan (1992) to provide additional information on the boundary of Negara even though not in a precise scale; Cairns (1997), Jessup (1985), Kusno (2000), and de Vries & Segaar-Howeler (2009) to help with colonial architectural debate; and Association (2002), Miksic (2004), and Woodward (2010) to help with cosmological narratives.

D. DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data collected through direct observation, interviews and secondary resources is driven by and focused on the theoretical framework already discussed in chapter 2. This means that my analysis is mainly based on Bourdieu's theory on silent ideology and structure/agency division and Dovey's forms of 'power over'.

A synchronic analysis is conducted to compare Yogyakarta and Surakarta and diachronic analysis is conducted to compare each city in different times. The reason for this is to explore not only the difference between cities, but also the difference in each city through time, to find the relationship between power levels of the kraton and built environment

through time. This analysis will be in narrative form to show it in its own context. The diachronic analysis on the architecture of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta, however, was not possible due to the lack of architectural data; therefore I will go directly to the present, without eliminating any available -though limited- historical data which is mainly from Sabdacarakatama (2009) for the kraton of Yogyakarta and Miksic (2004) for the kraton of Surakarta.

Moreover, as the cosmological narrative mentioned in chapter 1 is related to the landscape, I will have to do an analysis of the landscape before going into the urban and architectural context.

CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPE AND POWER

This chapter addresses the issue of landscape in Central Java in order to contribute an environmental and material dimension to the wider theme of power and the built environment that this thesis has been addressing. As we will see, the characteristic of the landscape, with its ability to support rice agriculture in particular, plays a very important part in the development of political power and statecraft in Java. How the ruling class uses the potential of the landscape for establishing its power is what I want to address in this chapter.

What I will do in this chapter is describe in section [A] the potential of the landscape of the Central Java area where both cities are located; how it influences the everyday lives of the people living in the area in section [B]; before moving to how the kratons use the landscape to legitimate themselves in section [C]. In section [D] I will discuss the present situation related to the issue of landscape in the area.

A. THE LANDSCAPE OF CENTRAL JAVA

In this section I will describe the landscape of Central Java in order to present a sense of the landscape of Yogyakarta and Surakarta as an existing potential for establishing power. I will focus the description on the tectonic and volcanic forces which formed the island, and which have resulted in high soil fertility and population density that led to the establishment of a kingdom.

A.1. Tectonic and Volcanic Forces on Java

The island of Java lies along the south-western part of the Pacific Ring of Fire which consists of a series of volcanoes, the result of tectonic plate movement in the area. In the case of Java, the tectonic forces are between the Eurasian plate in the north and the Australian plate in the south. The Australian plate subducts the Eurasian plate, creating trench right along the south side of the island of Java, which is in the Indian Ocean, or more popularly known by Javanese as the South Sea. This tectonic process also forms a series of volcanoes on Java. There are more than 40 volcanoes on the island, 11 of which are located in the province of Central Java. This makes Java an area of tectonic and volcanic activity.

Those tectonic and volcanic activities generate earthquakes and volcanic eruptions which are very common in the area. However, massive earthquakes only happen occasionally and volcanic eruptions seldom cost many people's lives, despite their frequency. Exceptions happened in the last decade, with the Yogyakarta earthquake of 2006 (6.2 on the Richter scale) which claimed more than 5700 lives and Merapi eruption in 2010 which claimed more than 300 lives.

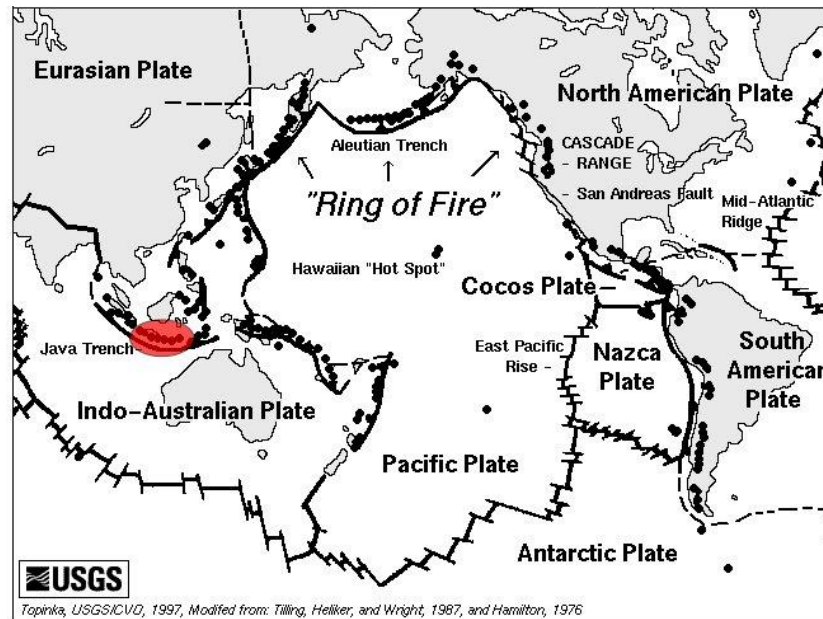


Figure.4.1. The location of Java (highlighted in red) in relation to the earth's tectonic plates, in this context the boundary of the Eurasian and Indo-Australian plates. This resulted in the high number of volcanoes along the plate boundary.
Derived from: USGS 1997 .

The tectonic and volcanic activities not only generate earthquakes and eruptions but have also made a great contribution to the geological formation of Java. The island is more than 1000 km long and around 100 km wide. Tectonic and volcanic forces have formed volcanic ridges and folded, mainly limestone, hills along its spine. This geological formation divides the northern and the southern parts of the island. Along the south coast some folded hills can also be found, which prevent access to the Indian Ocean or South Sea.

Volcanic ash contributes to the fertility of the soil. In the case of

Java, this mainly happens in Central and East Java, where the volcanic ash is not so acid in its chemical properties as compared to that of West Java (Geertz, 1963, p. 39-40; Van Ranst, Utami, & Shamsuddin, 2002, p. 193). Most land in the area of Central and East Java, then, is high in fertility as the result of volcanic activity.

However, to say that all parts of Central Java are fertile is misleading, as there are some parts that are dry and sterile. As I pointed out earlier in this section, there are lime stone hills scattered along the island, some of which are clustered in the south coast and some others are located along the spine. The southern folded zone of Central Java is truncated in the Yogyakarta area, creating access to the Indian Ocean. The northern folded zone located along the spine covers only some part of it, continuing the volcanic ridge from the west part of Central Java.

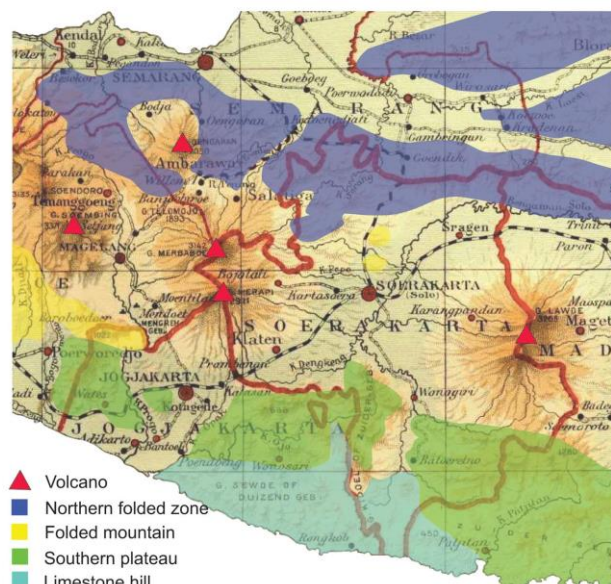


Figure 4.2. The location of Yogyakarta and Surakarta between the series of mountains, folded and limestone hills in Java. The area coloured in blue and green are folded hills mainly of limestone. Derived from Fisher, 1966.

The cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located on the south side of the province of Central Java. They are located close to several volcanoes: Merapi, Merbabu and Lawu (Figure 4.2). Yogyakarta is around 30 km to the south of Mount Merapi. Surakarta is located

between Mount Merapi and Mount Lawu. Mount Merapi is the most active volcano, not only on the island but also in all of Indonesia. It is also considered to be one of the most active volcanoes in the world. To the north of Surakarta, there is the northern folded zone, called the *Kendeng* hills; along the south coast, there is a long southern folded zone called *Gunung Sewu*. This folded zone stretches from the southeast side of Yogyakarta to Pacitan in East Java. Gunung Sewu is widely known for its sterility and dryness, and this area is quite isolated and poor. This sterility mainly happens to the west side of the Gunung Sewu which is located to the south of Yogyakarta. The eastern part of the hills, which is to the south of Surakarta, is more fertile due to a large deposit of volcanic clastic (Bartstra, 1976, p. 23). The limestone area to the north of Surakarta has an issue of ground water deposit that it is generally drier than the southern part.

A.2. *Hydrology*

The fertility of the soil, as mentioned in the previous sub-section, is not only the result of volcanic materials but also of a sufficient hydrological system; in other words the river system that brings the fertile soil from the peak of the mountain to the plain below it. There are four main hydrographical basins in Central Java area, Progo, Serayu, Serang and Solo (Degroot, 2010, p. 38). The Progo basin, considered as the main river in Central Java, flows from the Mount Sindoro directly to the Indian Ocean, receiving tributaries from Mount Merbabu and Merapi. The Serayu basin is from Mount Sindoro, going through the west side to Wonosobo, Purwokerto and Cilacap where it meets the Indian Ocean. The Serang flows to the northwest from Mount Merbabu to Purwodadi and ends up in Java Sea, close to Kudus and Demak. The Solo basin, or Bengawan Solo, the longest river in the island, flows from Gunung Sewu hill to the northeast, receiving tributaries from the Mount Merapi and Lawu and ending up in the north of Gresik in East Java area. Beside those four main rivers, there are many smaller rivers running to the Java Sea and Indian Ocean from the mountains and hills, such as the rivers of

Bogowonto to the west, Pemali, Comal to the north, Bodri, Kuto, Jratunsaluna and Wiso Gelis to the northeast. Those river systems bring the extraordinarily rich volcanic ash to the plains around them which could be hundreds of kilometres away from the origin, hence contributing to the fertility of the soil in the area.

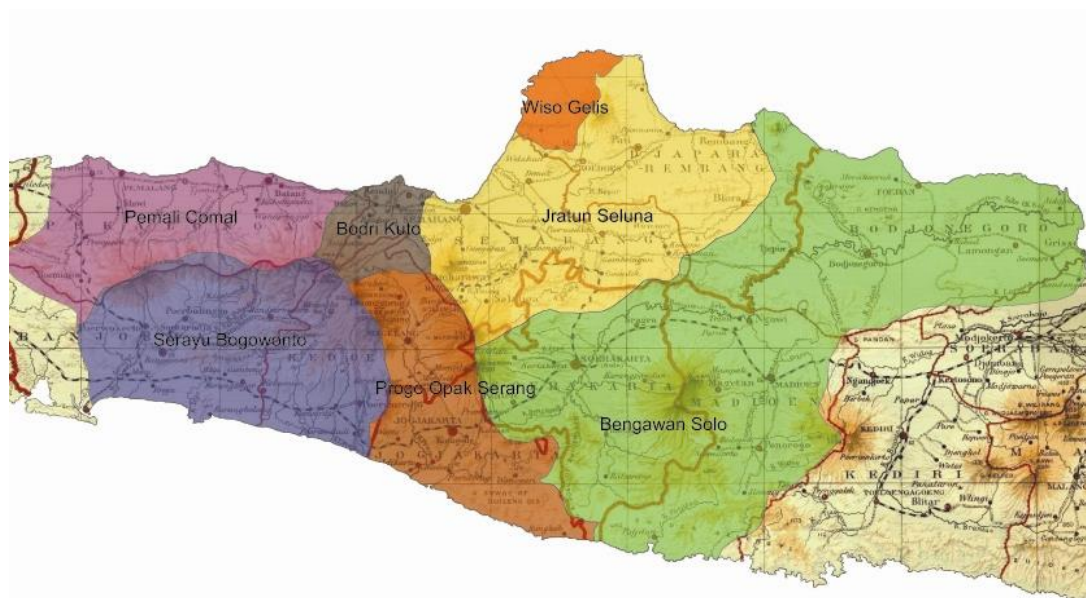


Figure.4.3. River basins in Central Java Area. Some of the biggest are Serayu, Progo, Serang (located in the same area as Progo) and Bengawan Solo. We can see that all of them serve the southern part of the Central Java area. Progo and Bengawan Solo are located around Yogyakarta and Surakarta, making them very fertile and giving them potentials to be the centres of civilisation.(Derived from pu.go.id).

In the Yogyakarta and Surakarta area and their surroundings, we can see that the river system from Mount Merapi, whose volcanic ash is considered the finest in richness, flows from the mountain to Yogyakarta and Surakarta area⁵¹ more than to the north side (Mohr, 1938, p. 256). This resulted in the extraordinarily fertile soil in the area of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, if compared to the north side of Mount Merapi⁵². This fertility contributed to the growth of population in the area (Mohr, 1938, p. 256). Moreover, Geertz argues that Javanese kingdoms tended to grow

⁵¹ Together with other rivers flowing from Mount Merbabu and Mount Lawu.

⁵² Many scholars agree that in the case of the East Indies, there was a close relation between fertility of the soil and the number of population. It is the main reason why the island of Java is the most populated island in the archipelago (Mohr, 1938, p. 254, Bationo, Waswa, & Kihara, 2007, p. 89) and in a smaller scale it is also the reason why some areas are more populated than the others.

in the fertile areas, on the plains⁵³ between the volcanoes as we can see in Figure 4.4. (Geertz, 1963, pp. 38-46), as those places were the ones with the highest populations and with kingdoms based on agrarian activity⁵⁴.

⁵³ On the consideration upon the plain, see the next section, *Barrier, boundaries and territories*.

⁵⁴ Most of the Javanese kingdoms were based on agrarian activity and were located in the fertile plain in between the mountains and limestone hills particularly between Mount Sindoro, Mount Merbabu, Mount Merapi and Mount Sumbing (Geertz, 1963, p. 41).

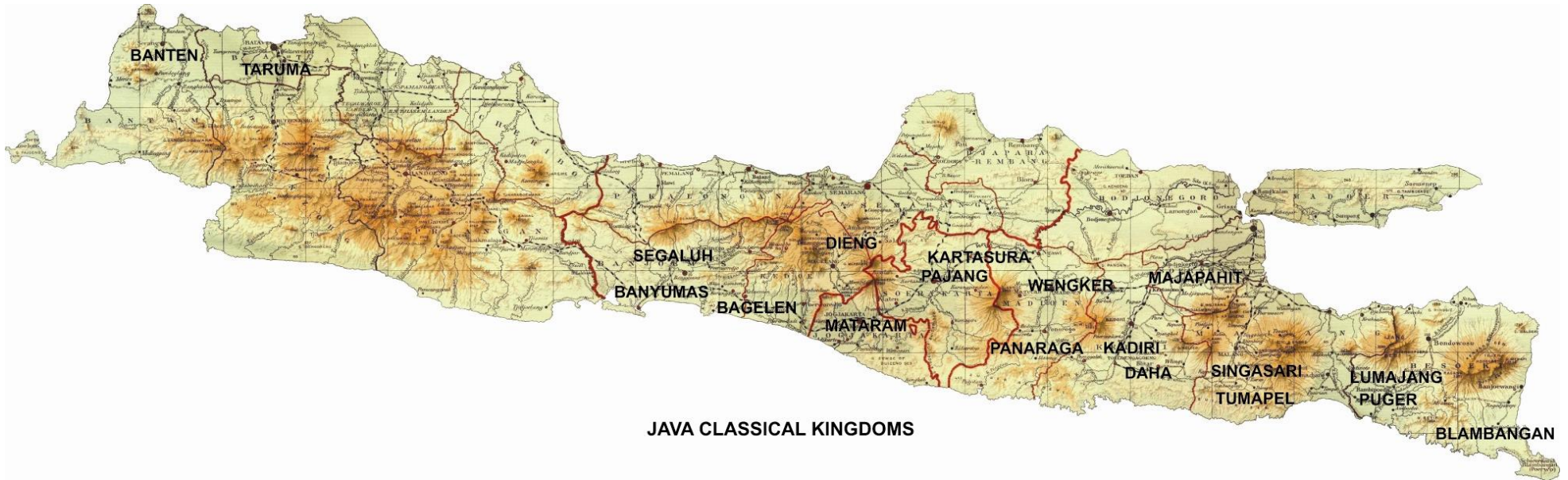


Figure 4.4. The locations of Javanese kingdoms through history are between the series of volcanoes. This location choice was intended to get the benefit of soil fertility from the volcanoes while keeping themselves safe and have an easy access of the plains. Derived from Geertz, 1963.



Figure.4.5. The river systems in the area around Yogyakarta and Surakarta. We can see that there are many rivers going from the mountains to the Indian Ocean in the southern coast. Progo and Opak lie far outside of the city of Yogyakarta and Bengawan Solo runs across the city of Surakarta. All of them receive tributaries from the slope of Merapi volcano which brings the volcanic materials in the form of lava and pyroclastic flows to the area of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.
(Derived from Degroot, 2010)

B. CONSEQUENCES OF THE LANDSCAPE

We could see from the previous section that tectonic and volcanic forces, along with the hydrological system, have made Java extremely fertile, particularly very good for wet rice cultivation. This allowed civilisations to develop in certain areas of the island.

In this section, I will discuss the consequences of the condition of the landscape, particularly of Central Java, which will help to explain how landscape can be used to support power.

B.1. Agriculture

I have pointed out earlier that agriculture, particularly wet rice

cultivation, is very important in Java. The earlier Javanese kingdoms, such as Mataram, were built in the most fertile area of the island which fits wet rice cultivation very well. The main income of the kingdom was therefore from rice (Geertz, 1963, p. 45).

In the case of Mataram, the area spread between four volcanoes, Mount Merapi, Mount Lawu, Mount Sumbing and Mount Merbabu, with several rivers from the mountains going to the sea. The volcanic ash from Mount Merapi has been identified as the finest and richest for soil fertility (Mohr, 1938, p. 255). The many rivers of big, medium and small size in the area, that we can see in Figure 4.5, which flow from the mountains to the valleys, bring the ash needed and support wet rice cultivation. Not only that, they provide enough water for the valleys but also make it easy for the people to create small, simple irrigation channels, each of which serves a small group of rice fields (Degroot, 2010, p. 64) . This is in line with the nature of wet rice cultivation which needs only small irrigation networks to serve small units, instead of a big group of farms (Bray, 1994, p. 105).

Wet-rice cultivation, as the main agricultural form in Java, has an importance in defining how the statecraft worked (Bray, 1994). This relates to the nature of rice and its cultivation and the technical development of rice cultivation. Rice has a high productivity that is successful in supporting life in highly populated areas like Java (Bray, 1994, pp. 13-16). Rice cultivation also absorbs lots of labour, which fits highly populated areas very well, considering that labour is in abundance while land is scarce. This condition has meant that the technical development of agriculture does not follow Western agricultural evolution⁵⁵. In the area based on wet-rice cultivation, the development is mainly about intensification of land, labour absorption, low capital investment (Bray, 1994, p. 26) and small farm

⁵⁵ Western agricultural evolution involved scarce labour and abundance of land which then resulted in extensification of machinery and high capital investment.

units (Bray, 1994, p. 56). Some of the advancements in technical development are from new variants of rice which enable multi croppings every year, and the development of irrigation, drainage and flood control system. However, the unit size of rice farms remains small, usually family-owned⁵⁶ as they are easier to control and to work on⁵⁷.

The nature of rice cultivation has influenced the social organisations created from the agrarian society (Bray, 1994, p. 65). In this case it relates to the irrigation system. The irrigation system which fits the nature of wet-rice cultivation is the small unit type, which is organised communally. This contributed to the organisation of Javanese society by the time of the Mataram kingdom, in which there was a distribution of power from the king to the royal family who then appointed representatives to manage the land in small units. This resulted in a hierarchical organisation from the king to the people.

B.2. Barriers, boundaries and territories

From the description mentioned in section A we can see why the Mataram kingdom and its predecessors were established in the area of what is now known as Yogyakarta and Surakarta. We can discuss how the geographical situation of the area might influence the development of the kingdoms in those locations. As described in the previous sub-section, the soil fertility and hydrographical situation contributed to the population and thus, state development. However, nature can also set up boundaries for the development of a state (Moertono, 2009, p. 126). These include rivers, mountains, hills and swamps, as well as sterile and dry areas. States usually developed in

⁵⁶ Geertz (1963) argues that this is because of a cultural factor which he calls 'shared poverty'. Bray (1994) and Alexander and Alexander (1978) disagree with this argument. Bray underlines the nature of rice cultivation as the main factor to cause the unit of farm to be small (Bray, 1994, p. 185).

⁵⁷ One of the characteristic of wet rice cultivation is that it depends highly on manual labour which need high skills, and also water control.

the valleys which are easy to reach and to live in (Scott, 2009, p. 4). Based on traces of temples in the area of Central Java, most traces of civilisation, in the form of temples, can be found in the plain area with environmental conditions suitable for wet-rice cultivation (Degroot, 2010, p. 95) as the main agrarian activity in the region. The environmental conditions mentioned include the altitude, slope, geological formation, river system and ground water deposits. Geological formation, groundwater deposits and river systems relate to soil fertility and hydrography, while the altitude and slope relate to the natural features as barriers, as it is difficult to cultivate wet rice on a slope and at high altitude. So it is reasonable to suggest that civilisations in Central Java develop mostly in the valleys between mountains and hills and that those mountains and hills act as barriers for those civilisations to develop.

By being a barrier those natural features can also set the boundaries of a territory as they are easy to identify (Moertono, 2009, p. 126). It is also impossible for a civilisation to develop beyond the peak of an active volcano, for example, as it is not only dangerous but also difficult to reach and to live in. This can be seen clearly in the case of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

If we go back to Figure 4.2, we can see that Yogyakarta has Merapi volcano to the north, Gunung Sewu to the southeast, the South Sea to the south and Menoreh limestone hills to the west. Meanwhile Surakarta has the limestone hill of Kendeng plateau⁵⁸ to the north, Mount Lawu to the east, Gunung Sewu to the south and Mount Merapi to the west. Those natural features act as barriers for the development of each city. The mountains are difficult to reach and there is a danger in living on the slope of an active volcano, even though there is no exact measurement on how far from the peak is

⁵⁸ The limestone hill extends to the valley to the south which resulted to some dry area in the valley to the north of Surakarta.

considered safe. Degroot shows that traces of civilisation can be found closer to the peak on a particular side of the volcano, but they can only be found further away on another side (Degroot, 2010, p. 91). The limestone hills are dry and difficult to live in and the slope of the hills makes the area more difficult to reach. In addition, the slope of those hills and mountains and the lack of groundwater in the limestone hills do not support wet rice cultivation. The violent South Sea, with its deep trench along the south coast of the island, is a strong barrier as it is not suitable for navigating (Degroot, 2010, p. 62). The properties of those natural features prevented the state from developing into those areas.

We can see the influence of landscape on boundaries and territories in Figure 4.6. In this picture the island of Java is divided into several territories based on culture: Sunda, Pasisir, Kejawen and East Hook (Geertz, 1963, p. 42). What can be seen from the picture is that the boundaries of those territories are set upon the landscape, particularly of mountains and hills. Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located in the Kejawen area, which set its boundaries upon the mountainous spine of Java. The area to the north of the spine is called Pasisir or the north coast. This area was the area of maritime trade in which Java found itself to be an important nexus of global trade in the archipelago, which also had its own products for trading (Christie, 1992, p. 15). Kejawen, on the other hand, was mainly agrarian and located to the south of the spine.

However, the division mentioned above is not a territorial division but more of a cultural division. To understand the territorial division of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, we need to go back in time to the time of the Mataram kingdom. From Figure 4.7. to Figure 4.9. we can see the Mataram territory since 18th century, after the capital of Mataram was moved to Surakarta. The maps illustrate the territorial arrangements of 1749, 1755 and 1830. The 1749 map shows the

territory after Mataram passed the area of Pasisir to the Dutch. As the boundary between Kejawen and Pasisir was set over the mountainous spine of Central Java, this spine was once again set as the boundary between the territory of Mataram and the territory of the Dutch. The next territorial arrangements are –again- based on this boundary.

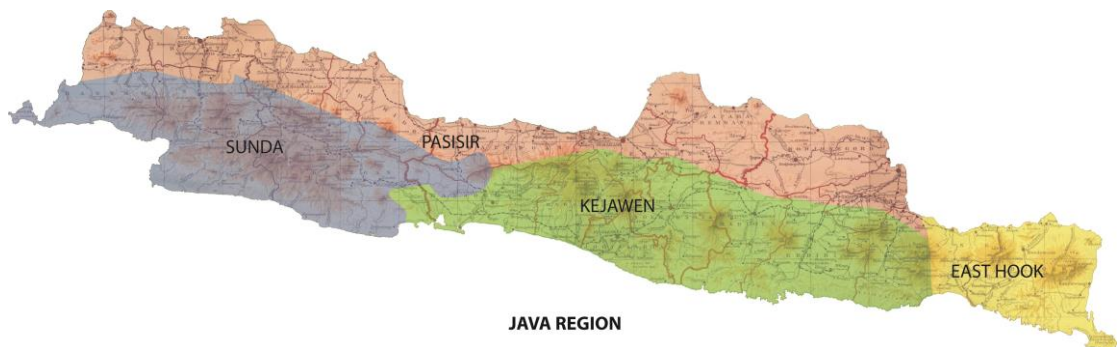


Figure.4.6. The division of Java (Derived from Geertz 1963)



Figure.4.7. The territory of Mataram in 1749. As Pasisir area was passed to the Dutch, the boundary of Mataram territory was set upon the mountainous spine that previously divided Pasisir and Kejawen. (Derived from Cribb, 2007).

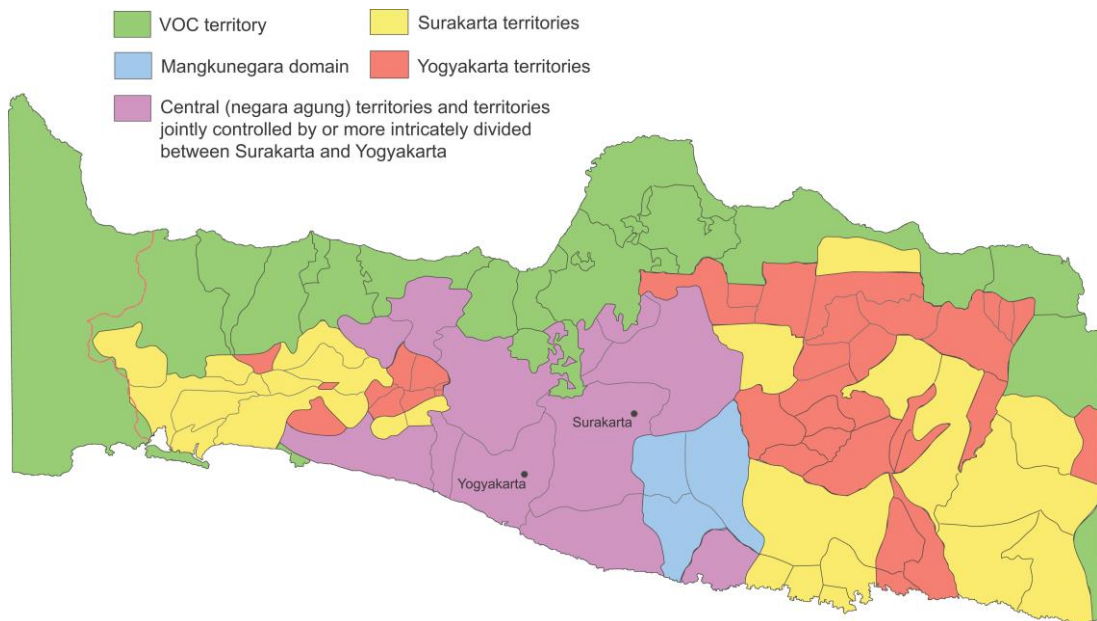


Figure.4.8. The territory of the Dutch (VOC), the kraton of Yogyakarta, the kraton of Surakarta and the minor court of Mangkunegaran in Central Java after the divisions. (Derived from Cribb, 2007)

After the Giyanti treaty of 1755 the territory of Mataram was divided into two for the kratons of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and later each of them was divided again for the minor courts of Mangkunegaran (in 1757) and Pakualaman (in 1812). Those territorial divisions were fixed by that time, but were able to be changed due to later agreements with the Dutch (VOC)⁵⁹. In this division, as we can see in Figure 4.9., the northern boundary of all those territories is set upon the mountainous spine of Java.

The influence of landscape on the territorial arrangement can be seen more obviously in the next arrangement of 1830. That year, after the Java War⁶⁰, the Dutch colonial government⁶¹ changed the territories and created new units of administration in Java. We can see

⁵⁹ The agreement between a kraton and minor court with the Dutch was being renewed every time a new king was being crowned.

⁶⁰ This five-year-war made Holland lose much of its resources so that the Dutch colonial government demanded the royal courts give up most of their territories in return.

⁶¹ In the end of the 18th century the Dutch East Indies Company was dismissed but was acquitted by the Dutch government. Later on, the Dutch formed a Dutch colonial government in the archipelago.

in Figure 4.9. that each of the four courts lost much of their territory⁶². We can see that the boundaries are set upon the landscape. Yogyakarta area, which includes those of the kraton of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman, had the area between the Menoreh hills to the south, Mount Merapi to the north and some ridges of Gunung Sewu to the east. Meanwhile Surakarta, which includes the territories of the kraton of Surakarta and Mangkunegaran, had the area between Mount Merapi and Merbabu to the west, Kendeng hills to the north, Mont Lawu to the east and another ridge of Gunung Sewu to the southeast. Some part of the boundary between the territories of the kratons of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman is set on the Opak river, while some part of the boundary between the territory of the kratons of Surakarta and Mangkunegaran is set upon some ridges of Gunung Sewu.

It is based on the 1830 arrangement that the next territorial arrangement was set. We can see from Figure 4.10. that the territories of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are reserved for the changes in 20th century. Yogyakarta and Pakualaman were joined to form the *gouvernement* of Yogyakarta, while Surakarta and Mangkunegaran were joined to form the *gouvernement* of Surakarta, with mostly similar territorial boundaries. Some small changes that occurred are that the territory of the kratons of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman was extended to some areas previously belonging to the kratons of Surakarta and Mangkunegaran located inside the Yogyakarta area. Another change occurred in Surakarta after 1946 (Figure 4.11) in which the territory of Surakarta decreased more because the adjacent areas of Sragen, Boyolali, Klaten, Wonogiri and Kutha Mangkunegaran⁶³ detached themselves from the kraton of Surakarta. Later in the same year, some of the kraton of Surakarta's territory also

⁶² In this case they were forced to give their Mancanegara area to the Dutch as a compensation for Dutch's financial loss over the Java War. All that was left for them after 1830 was the area of Negara and Negaragung.

⁶³ Later, the Kutha Mangkunegaran was named Karanganyar.

detached itself to form a new town, Sukoharjo. The kraton of Surakarta's territory decreased significantly to the scale of a city whose boundary was set by the Bengawan Solo river to the east and to the south. Since then, there has been no change in the territory of either Yogyakarta or Surakarta.

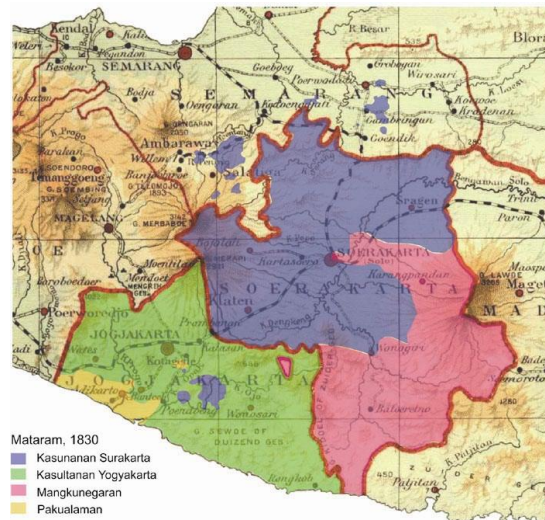


Figure.4.9. The territories of the Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Pakulaman and Mangkunegaran after Java War 1830. The Mancanegara area was appropriated by the Dutch. We can see that the combined territory of the kratons? of Surakarta and the minor court of Mangkunegaran is located between Merapi, Lawu, the South Sea and Kendeng hills. Meanwhile the combined territory of the kratons? of Yogyakarta and the minor court of Pakualaman is located between Merapi, South Sea, Menoreh hill and Gunung Sewu. (Derived from Cribb, 2007).



Figure.4.10. The units of administration in Java in 1931-1942. The territories of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta after Java war had been preserved. each of them formed *gouvernement* or a province with the minor court. The boundary of the gouvernement of Yogyakarta is now reserved as the boundary of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, while the gouvernement of Surakarta area will be split later into several districts or *kabupaten* (Derived from Cribb, 2007)



Figure.4.11. Surakarta and the adjacent areas which detached themselves from it in 1946. The territory of Surakarta decreased to less than a half of the previous territory later in the same year to form the district of Sukoharjo from part of Surakarta which is located between Wonogiri, Karanganyar (Kutha Mangkunegaran) and Klaten. The outer boundary of the whole area is still similar to that of 1830, which is set upon the landscape.

(Derived from Cribb, 2007).

From the description mentioned above we can see that the landscape has played its role as barriers for the development of the state and influenced the territorial boundaries for both Yogyakarta and Surakarta, even after several political decisions by the Dutch and the Indonesian government.

C. THE LANDSCAPE AND POWER

So far, I have discussed the potential of the landscape and how it influences the lives of the people living in that landscape. In this section, I would like to go further into how the landscape is used to legitimise the power of the kratons.

There is a narrative on Javanese cosmology which uses the landscape for power. This narrative discusses the position of the kraton and the king as the centre of the realm. This is particularly shown in the title of the kings. The title of the king of the kraton of Surakarta, *Paku Buwana*, means ‘The Axis of the World’. This shows the position of the king and kraton as the centre of its realm. The title of the king of the kraton of Yogyakarta, *Hamengku Buwana*, means ‘He

Who Preserves the World' which shows the role of the king. The king in Java is believed to have an obligation to keep the world 'in safety'. Moreover, the complete title of the king of Yogyakarta is *Hamengku Buwana Senapati ing Ngalaga Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalifatullah*. *Senapati ing Ngalaga* means commander in war, while *Panatagama* means *ulama* or Islamic priest. In addition, *Kalifatullah* means Allah's representative on earth. This title shows that the role of the king includes that of a religious and military leader and that he is a representative of God. The titles of the kings in both places already showed an effort to legitimate the king as a governing, military and religious leader. To keep the realm in safety, the king is believed to have alliances with supernatural creatures occupying and controlling natural forces in certain area, such as *Ratu Kidul* or 'The Queen of the South' of the South Sea, *Kyai Sapujagad* of Merapi volcano and *Sunan Lawu* of Mount Lawu (Miksic, 2004, pp. 102-103).

The narrative mentioned above is translated into the location of the city, rituals and spatial layout.

C.1. *The location of cities*

Both cities are located in the plain area between the mountains and hills of Central Java and between the rivers that flow from them to the ocean.

We can see how Yogyakarta and Surakarta locate themselves in the existing landscape in Figure 4.12. In this picture we can see that Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located close to several natural features such as Merapi volcano, South Sea or Indian Ocean, Menoreh hill, Gunung Sewu hills and Kendeng hills. From figure 4.12, we can see that the locations of the cities are relatively midway between the hills, mountains and South Sea. Yogyakarta is located about 30 km to the south of Merapi volcano and 30 km to the north of South Sea, 26 km to the east of Menoreh hill and about 20 km to the west of Gunung Sewu. Meanwhile Surakarta is located around 45 km to the east of Merapi volcano and 49 km to the west of Mount Lawu, 33 km to Kendeng hills and 90 km to the South Sea. The location of cities

shows a support to the cosmological narrative in which the king and the kraton is located at the centre of the realm. This form of ‘power over’ is a form of seduction in that it creates an unquestionable, cosmological order.

Apart from the cosmological reason for choosing their locations, those locations benefit from easy mobility as they are in the centre of the plain area, relatively safe from the danger of volcanic eruption and from attack by outsiders or traitors⁶⁴. The plain area is also beneficial for rice cultivation.

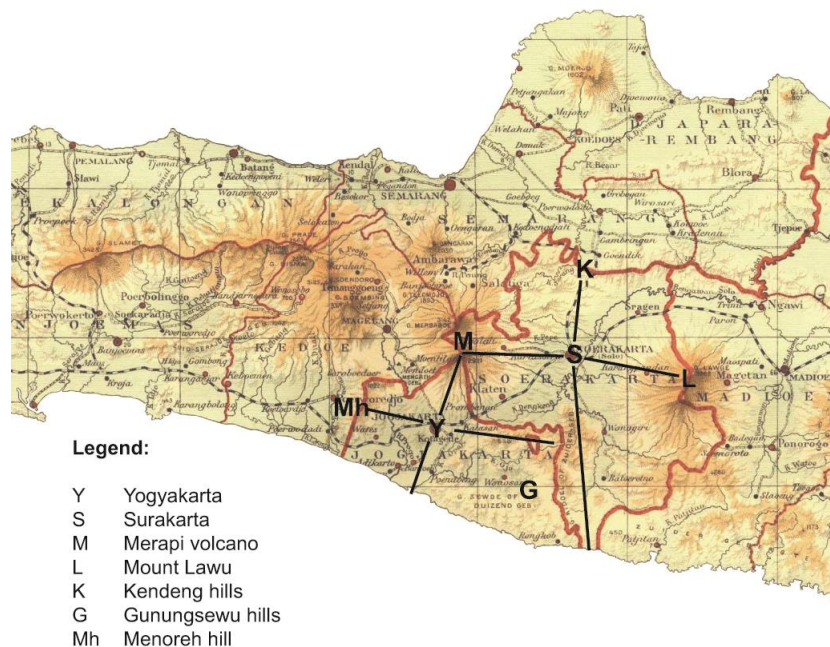


Figure.4.12. The location of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in relation to the boundaries of their territories.

The preference of the location of both cities can also be related to the rivers in the area. If we go back to Figure 4.5. we can see that the city of Yogyakarta lies in between the river of Code, Gajah Wong

⁶⁴ Many Javanese sources mention the existence of hills, mountains and forests as the place for a prince to gain support and power on the run. This is also supported by Scott who argues that the places difficult to reach and to live in are usually used for those unwilling to be governed by the

and Winongo. Meanwhile Surakarta lies in the junction of Bengawan Solo and Pepe rivers. The location which is close to the river network brings benefit to agricultural activity and in the case of Surakarta, to trade.

The rivers in the city of Yogyakarta are mostly similar in size, heading in the same direction, which is to the South Sea and they do not serve as a transportation network. If we go back to Figure 4.5. we can see that there are actually some opportunities for the city of Yogyakarta to be built further from the rivers in the area close by. There are bigger plains between the rivers of Winongo and Progo to the west of the city of Yogyakarta, and between the rivers of Opak and Oyo to the east which are possible to be used as the site for the city.

The existence of rivers was particularly important for Surakarta as it benefited from the river of Bengawan Solo for trade. Bengawan Solo flows from Gunung Sewu to Gresik, a city some 300 km away⁶⁵ in East Java which was close to Surabaya, the biggest trade port of East Java. It should be noted that even though both kingdoms were based on agriculture, they were actively involved in trade through the north coast of Java, just like the Javanese kingdoms before them⁶⁶. The economy of Surakarta, particularly before railway network was established, was much better than that of Yogyakarta due to the existence of this river. However, the river is notable for its risk of flooding. Floods occur regularly every year, particularly in the rainy season, even though the water height may vary each year. The

state (Scott, 2009, p. 4).

⁶⁵ The length of the river itself is around 520km.

⁶⁶ Trade in Java had been established in large scale as early as 10th century (Wisseman, 1978, p. 20) and blossomed as international trade in 11th century (Prince Mikasa no Miya Takahito, 1988, p. 97) with its products of rice, salt, pepper and other staples. The Mataram kingdom was founded during what Reid called '*the age of commerce*' in Southeast Asia (Reid, 1990). This kingdom, then, based itself on trade by monopolising – particularly rice- to sell (Alatas, 2010, p. 193; Kiernan, 2008, p. 146; Owen, 2014, p. 148). The importance of Pasisir to Mataram can be seen from the rebellion by prince Mangkubumi. The decision of the king of Mataram, Pakubuwana, to lease Pasisir to the Dutch in 1749 was one of the reasons for Prince Mangkubumi, who will then be the first king of Yogyakarta, Hamengkubuwana I, to rebel.

flood of 1966 was the most disastrous, with the whole city inundated. Just like Yogyakarta, there were also chances for the city of Surakarta to be built further away from the rivers of Bengawan Solo and Pepe.

The reality that both cities were built in their preferred locations despite the chances of other locations brings some questions. The kratons' own explanations for this are that the locations are chosen based on prophecies. Several other explanations, however, are possible for this preference. The first is related to agriculture as the main activity in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The existence of several rivers makes it easier for the people to build small irrigation networks needed for wet rice cultivation as the main activity in both of them. The second explanation relates to Indic belief that sacred temples and holy places are located close to rivers (Bhardwaj, 1983, p. 86). In this case, it is argued that there were still traces of Indic culture in Java in the 18th century and that the kraton was considered as a sacred building (Woodward, 2010, p. 261). The third explanation is that the locations were intentionally chosen in the centre of the plain between the natural features to legitimise the kratons.

C.2. *Spatial layout*

The narrative is also translated into the spatial layout of the whole kingdom, in which the kraton is located at the centre, surrounded by hierarchical circles and with the two axes emerging from the kraton in cardinal directions. The spatial layout that follows a 'cosmological order' is a form of seduction to manipulate subjects. However, this cosmological layout also has practical consequences related to power relations which will be elaborated in the following subsections.

a. Hierarchical circles

The hierarchical circles consist of an area of Negara, followed by the next circle of Negaragung and Mancanegara. Diagrammatically it is shown as concentric circles with the kraton at the centre (Figure 4.13). In reality, however, the kratons are not exactly at the centre,

particularly before the 1830 territorial arrangement, because by that time their territories consisted of separated clusters randomly distributed in Java⁶⁷ (Figure 4.8.). However, the layering of Negara, Negaragung and Mancanegara is real, particularly for administration purposes, with the kraton as the centre located inside Negara (Soemardjan, 1981, p. 27). This division also includes the aspects of power distribution, taxation and monopoly.

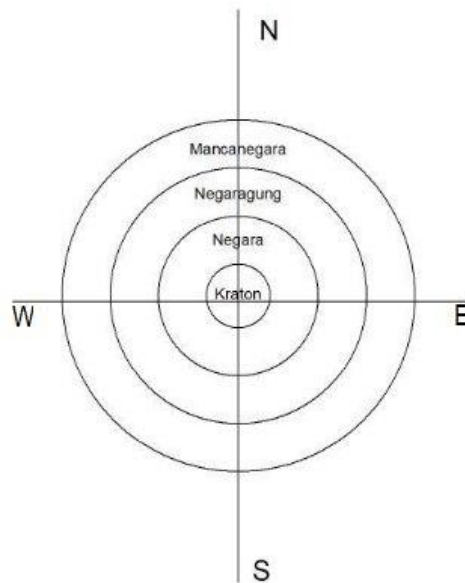


Figure.4.13. The most accepted cosmological layout of Javanese cities. This layout includes hierarchical circles of the kraton-Negara-Negaragung-Mancanegara and two axes.

In the cosmological narrative, the king is considered as the centre of those circles (Moertono, 2009, p. 15) in which the kraton is located at the centre of Negara. The kraton, then, is the centre of the whole layout even though, in itself, it has its own hierarchical layers which will be elaborated in chapter 6.

This division is a means of power distribution from the king to the nobles and *priyayis* in the form of coercion. The boundaries between circles were not permanently built that it made it possible for the

⁶⁷ This arrangement was indicated as the Dutch's effort to break the power of all the kratons by preventing coordination among their own territories.

people to take a non compliance but with a risk of a sanction for breaking the rule. The rule was that the king and the royal family lived in the kraton, while the nobles lived in Negara. They were not allowed to live in the Negaragung area, even though they were given rights to hold a *lungguh* land in Negaragung area. They then appointed one official, called *bekel*, usually from among the nobles, to administer tax and security in one small unit of the lungguh land in the Negaragung area. From this description we can see that not only the division served the power distribution, but also served a hierarchy in that it allowed only particular people to live in a certain part of the circles, such as the nobles and royal families in Negara, and common people and village officials in Negaragung. This division can also be a means of control by the king of the nobles and royal families, since the most potential to be a traitor rests with the nobles and members of the royal family (Soemardjan, 1981, p. 28). Keeping them as close as possible to the kraton can minimise the risk of betrayal.

The division of Negara-Negaragung-Mancanegara also serves the taxation system and monopoly of agricultural products by the kraton. Common people who lived in the Negaragung area were obliged to pay tax upon the land⁶⁸ in a particular percentage, which was two fifths, to the king, while they also had to give one fifth to the village authorities and left two fifths for the peasants (Moertono, 2009, pp. 155-156). This sharing model was also applied in the Mancanegara area which was governed by a *bupati* (provincial governor) but in different percentages. In this case the king received only $6/25$ share of the production with two fifths for the peasants, one fifth for the village notables, $2/25$ for the *bupati* and another $2/25$ for the *bupati* officials. Those percentages are the basic sharing system for the area of Negaragung and Mancanegara, even though in practice the percentage may have varied depending on the situation in each *kebekelan*

(Boomgaard & Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 22-28). The taxation system for the people living in Negara was never mentioned in the literature. This might be because the ones who lived there were the nobles and royal families along with their courtiers, who were not subject to tax. The tax sharing system made sure the king would have two fifths of all the harvest in the Negaragung area and 6/25 of all the harvest in Mancanegara. The harvest was not only used for their own consumption, but also for trade through the north coast ports. The tax sharing system led to the king monopolising trade of agricultural products in the area.

However, as mentioned in the previous section, the hierarchical circles were no longer relevant after 1830, when all the area of Mancanegara was occupied by the Dutch who commanded the people living in the area to cultivate particular kinds of plants that the Dutch needed for trade. The taxation system in that area was different in that the people in the area had to pay taxes to the Dutch Regent. In the area of Negaragung a similar taxation system was still being used until 1914⁶⁹ when the lungguh land was dismissed in practice. Before 1914, it was common to find some lungguh land being leased to plantation companies, which resulted in difficulties for the people living in the area, as they had to cultivate only certain kinds of plants instead of the ones they needed for their living, while they still had to pay taxes. In 1914, particularly in Yogyakarta, the kraton dismissed lungguh land. The people who lived in the Negaragung area were granted hereditary usage rights over the land they lived on. This made changes which differed from the case of Negaragung and Mancanegara. In the Mancanegara area the people had to pay taxes to the Dutch while they were also obliged to cultivate particular kind of plants that the Dutch needed. In Negaragung, the land was given to the people with usage

⁶⁸ This is based on the *cacah* or the number of the land's shareholders (Moertono, 2009, p.151)

⁶⁹ This particularly occurred in Yogyakarta where a new legislation on the dismissal of lungguh

rights. This difference made another kind of layering which does not involve hierarchy, as both of them belonged to different authorities.

b. Cosmological axis

The cosmological axis is one of the spatial orders of the kraton, which is also a form of seduction. These axes head towards natural features around both cities. As the cosmological axes are claimed to point to natural features where supernatural creatures live, the natural features included in the narrative are considered sacred.

For the kraton of Yogyakarta, the sacred places related to the cosmological narrative are the Merapi volcano and the South Sea; for the kraton of Surakarta the sacred places included in the narrative are the Merapi volcano, Mount Lawu, the South Sea and Krendhawahana forest.

If we relate the sacred places to the natural features as barriers, we can see some overlaps between them, in which the Merapi volcano and the South Sea in Yogyakarta also act as natural barriers and set the boundary for the territory. However, the hills in the east and west of Yogyakarta are absent in cosmology except as ‘distractions’ in Woodward’s version of Islamic cosmology (Woodward, 2010, p. 154). In Surakarta, Mount Lawu, the Merapi volcano and the South Sea as barriers, overlap with them as sacred places. However, the north sacred place is different. The other one barrier, which fits its boundary after 1830, Kendeng hill is not considered sacred. Instead the kraton of Surakarta considers Krendhawahana forest⁷⁰ as the northern sacred place. This forest is located much closer to the city than Kendeng hill.

Moreover, both Yogyakarta and Surakarta have more sacred places than the ones included in the narrative. The kraton of Yogyakarta also

system was passed in 1914.

⁷⁰ This is also the interest of Stephen C. Headley who questions why such ritual is conducted in that particular place and why the ritual is dedicated to Durga, a hindu goddess (Headley, 2004, pp. 1-5).

considers Mount Lawu⁷¹, Imogiri graveyard, and Dlepih Kayangan in the district of Wonogiri, to the south of Surakarta, as sacred. The kraton of Surakarta has other sacred places in Imogiri graveyard, and Dlepih Kayangan which is believed as a sanctuary of Panembahan Senapati⁷², the founder of Mataram. All of them are absent in their cosmological narratives.

As I pointed out in the previous paragraph, the location of many of the sacred places overlap with the natural features around Yogyakarta and Surakarta, which also overlap with the boundary of their territories, particularly the territories after 1830. The exceptions are the sacred forest of Krendhawahana, Imogiri graveyard, and the sanctuary of Dlepih Kayangan. Most of those sacred places also overlap with the cardinal directions, except for Dlepih Kayangan and Imogiri graveyard. It should be noted too that for Yogyakarta the sacred places which overlap the cardinal directions are the Merapi volcano and the South Sea only, which are to the north and to the south of the city, right on the boundary of its territory. In its cosmological narrative, Merapi volcano and the South Sea have significance, while Mount Lawu, the royal grave of Imogiri, and Dlepih Kayangan are excluded. This is different from the situation in Surakarta where there are four sacred places in four cardinal points⁷³, all of which are included in the narrative of cosmology. Three of them are in the boundary of Surakarta territory after 1830, except the sacred forest of Krendhawahana, which is located right in the boundary of Karanganyar or Kutha Mangkunegaran territory with Boyolali

⁷¹ It used to be conducted annually but in 20th century it was decided by the king Hamengkubuwana IX to conduct the ritual every 8 years (Association, 2002, p. 125).

⁷² The existence of Panembahan Senapati is still questioned. Some believe that he is nothing but a myth created by Sultan Agung to legitimise himself as the king of Mataram; however, others believe that he existed.

⁷³ The South Sea, however, is not exactly in the south side of Surakarta, and the kraton of Surakarta usually organises ritual in Parangkusumo beach, to the south of Yogyakarta, which is also the place for the ritual of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

territory⁷⁴. The royal grave of Imogiri and the Dlepih Kayangan sanctuary, however, are excluded from the cosmological narrative just like that of Yogyakarta.

C.3. *Rituals*

Ritual is one strong form of ‘power over’ reproduction in that it symbolises the authority in an unquestionable manner. Both kratons hold rituals to their sacred places, some of which are the locations of the natural features around them. Some of those sacred places, as mentioned in the previous sub-section, are included in the cosmological narrative while some others are not.

As mentioned earlier in the previous sub-section, the location of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are approximately in the middle of their territories, which are the territories after the 1830 arrangement. They are claimed to be located in the intersection of two axes, the north-south axis and east-west axis, each of which connected two landscape features. The position of the kraton which is at the centre is described as the balance point, in which the kraton is the power which balances the forces of the landscape features located in cardinal directions. The landscape features in this case are Merapi volcano, Mount Lawu, South Sea and Krendhawahana forest. The kraton is claimed to be the fifth force to balance the forces of the other four. The alliances the kraton made with the supernatural forces who occupy those landscape features are a means to keep the balance, therefore keeping the safety of the realm just like the meaning of *hamengku buwana*. To support this, the kratons conduct rituals in those places which are considered sacred. The main sacred places for Yogyakarta are the Merapi volcano and the South Sea; the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile Surakarta has four sacred places including a sacred forest, Krendhawahana to the north, the Merapi volcano to the west, the South Sea, and Mount Lawu. As

⁷⁴ Both of them detached themselves from Surakarta in 1946 and now they are districts as part of

mentioned before, those sacred places are considered to be occupied by supernatural forces, whose alliances will be beneficial for the kratons in terms of power⁷⁵. To have alliances with the supernatural powers, the kratons conduct ceremonies called *Labuhan*⁷⁶ regularly to the sacred places. This kind of ceremony is basically conducted to give sacrifice- in the form of foods, garments and the king's fingernails- to the supernatural creatures⁷⁷ (Casimir, 2008, p. 279; Donovan, 2010, p. 122; Schlehe, 2010, p.115).

As I mentioned earlier, the rituals conducted to build alliances with supernatural creatures in those sacred places are called *Labuhan* -with an exception that in the Krendhawahana forest for the kraton of Surakarta- which provides foods and garments to the supernatural creatures.

However, if we consider the location of those places which are mostly in the boundary of their territories, the rituals might serve political cause, which is to minimise the risk of danger of the boundary from the outsiders and the unknown evil (Wessing, 1993, p. 1). Political refugees, bandits and traitors are included in this case, as they usually occupy difficult places such as mountains, forests and hills⁷⁸ (Scott, 2009, pp. ix-x) in which those sacred places are located, in order to hide from the authorities.

While *Labuhan* is claimed to be conducted for making alliances with the supernatural powers, therefore gaining more power for the king, in practice however, the garments and foods, claimed to be provided for the supernatural, are then being distributed among the people attending the rituals who believes that those garments and foods have

the province of Central Java.

⁷⁵ This relates to the notion that a powerful king will have alliances from the rulers around his territory and the supernatural forces. The more alliances he made, the more powerful he is.

⁷⁶ Both the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta use the same term for the ceremonies.

⁷⁷ However, in practice, the foods and garments are being distributed among the participants.

⁷⁸ That isolated areas such as hills and mountains are usually used for political refugee, bandits and traitors is also mentioned in Javanese sources.

blessings from the king⁷⁹. As ritual basically acts as a control by showing conflicts and the solutions to them (Bell, 2009, p. 35), those rituals show the solution of the conflicts between the king and the people by underlining the position of the king as the representation of the Divine to give blessings to the people. This legitimises his position not by making alliances with the supernatural powers but by making himself legitimated by the people. The act of generosity is also the basic means of domination according to Bourdieu's theory. By giving food and garments to the people regularly, the kraton sets its domination upon its people. Moreover, the pomp of the ceremonies itself has a role of showing the splendour of the kraton which is very important for a theatre-state⁸⁰.



Figure 4.14. Labuhan ceremony of the kraton of Yogyakarta in Parangkusumo beach. This ritual is conducted every year with it being conducted on a bigger scale every eighth year
(Photo courtesy of Detik Foto)

We need to look into more details on rituals to see how the cosmological narrative is translated in both places. There are two kinds of Labuhan, *Labuhan ageng* and *Labuhan alit*. The term *ageng*

⁷⁹ It is usually called *ngalap berkah* or trying to gain blessings from the king.

⁸⁰ Moreover observations on the importance of pomp and the theatre-state can be found in the account of Geertz (1980) whose account is about 19th century Bali, but can be applied to the case

means ‘big’ so Labuhan ageng means a big scale Labuhan ceremony, while *alit* means ‘small’ so Labuhan alit means a small scale Labuhan ceremony. Labuhan ageng is conducted every 8 years, while Labuhan alit is conducted on all other years. The kraton of Yogyakarta organises Labuhan regularly every year to Merapi volcano, Parangkusumo beach, Mount Lawu and Dlepih Kayangan. All of them are carried out at the same day every year which is every 30 Rajab⁸¹. In this ritual, all the people involved have to wear batik clothes to bring the offering to the sea. The Labuhan offering consists of the king’s clothes, woman clothes, flowers, incense, and rice cakes. The kraton Surakarta organises Labuhan only ‘when needed’⁸² in Parangkusumo beach and Merapi volcano claiming that it is the obligation of the kraton of Yogyakarta to organise Labuhan regularly⁸³. Instead of Labuhan, the kraton of Surakarta organises *Mahesa Lawung* ritual annually in Krendhawahana forest and Labuhan in Mount Lawu. There is a disagreement between the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta upon the concept of Labuhan. For the kraton of Yogyakarta, Labuhan means giving food and garments (to the supernatural creatures) for safety and wealth of Yogyakarta while for the kraton of Surakarta Labuhan means cleansing the bad luck and dirt⁸⁴. This brings an implication on the objects used for Labuhan. While the kraton of Yogyakarta is mentioned as using the king’s clothes and female clothes along with flowers and food, the kraton of Surakarta uses broken and old-used-

of Java because of the cultural linkage between them.

⁸¹ Rajab is an Islamic calendar month, also known as Rejeb in Javanese calendar month. The Labuhan is carried out as a celebration of the coronation of the current king which was in 30 Rajab.

⁸² What it means with ‘when needed’ is when something bad happens –whether in Surakarta, its surroundings or in Indonesia.

⁸³ <http://www.jogjatv.tv/berita/08/02/2013/Labuhan-ageng-kraton-surakarta-hadiningrat-buang-sesuker>

⁸⁴ <http://www.jogjatv.tv/berita/08/02/2013/Labuhan-ageng-kraton-surakarta-hadiningrat-buang-sesuker>

things⁸⁵. The one which fits the cosmological narrative is the Yogyakarta's Labuhan. It is also the Yogyakarta Labuhan that is being attended by people for gaining the blessing from the king (*ngalap berkah*), hence it contributes to support the power of the kraton.

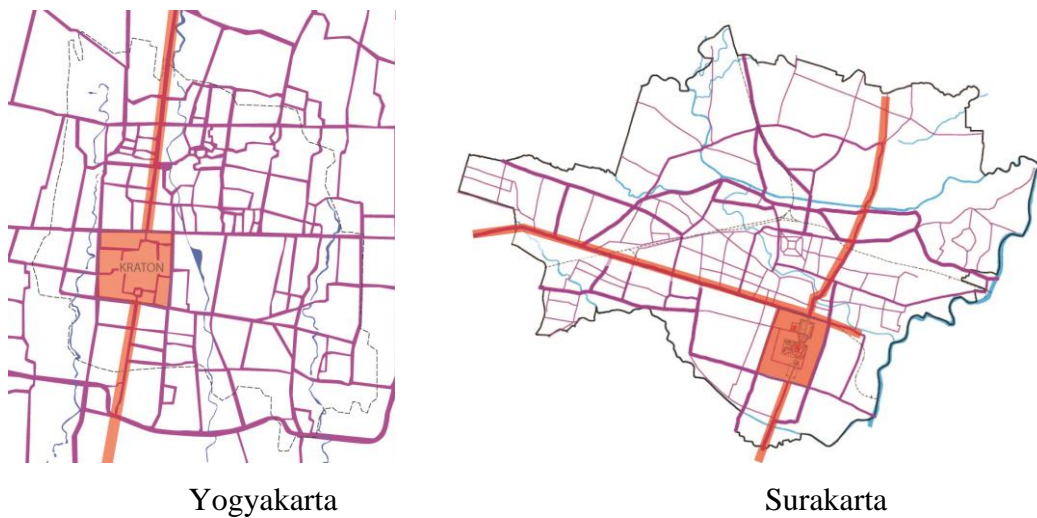


Figure 4.15. The axes of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The axis of Yogyakarta runs straight from north to south through the kraton (highlighted in red). Even though there is another straight line in east-west orientation, the absence of sacred place to the west makes it impossible for it to be a cosmological axis. The axes of Surakarta are not straight, but bendy or truncated, even though there are four sacred places in four cardinal directions. (Derived from Bing maps, Solo Kota Kita)

In spatial terms, the track from the kraton of Yogyakarta to Merapi volcano and Parangkusumo beach can be seen as a straight line. Meanwhile the one from the kraton of Surakarta to Mount Lawu, Krendhawahana, Merapi and Parangkusumo is winding or even truncated by Bengawan Solo. However, the path from the kraton of Yogyakarta to Mount Lawu and Dlepih Kayangan is more winding than that of the kraton of Surakarta. While the kraton of Surakarta's axes to the four cardinal directions is not really straight, the axes of the kraton of Yogyakarta can only make one straight axis and the other one does not form any axis at all as they head to the same direction which is to the east. This might be why Mount Lawu and

⁸⁵ <http://www.jogjatv.tv/berita/08/02/2013/Labuhan-ageng-kraton-surakarta-hadiningrat-buang-sesuker>

Dlepih Kayangan is absent from the cosmological narrative of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

From Figure 4.15. we can see how the cosmological narrative is reflected in space. The structure of Yogyakarta shows the straight axis clearly while the structure of Surakarta is less clear except to the west and to the south⁸⁶. The visibility of the axes helps to support the narrative, just like the case of Yogyakarta. In Surakarta, the axes are invisible as they are not supported by the urban structure so that they are somewhat imaginary.

D. THE PRESENT SITUATION

D.1. Volcanic and tectonic activity at present

The volcanic and tectonic activity in the region is increasing at present as a result of the critical stresses of the Eurasian and Indo-Australian plate (Walter et al., 2007, p. 1), particularly after the 2004 earthquake in Aceh, which was 9.3 on the Richter scale. The Yogyakarta earthquake of 2006, 6.2 on the Richter scale, affected not only the area in the city of Yogyakarta but also the surrounding area spreading to Surakarta. The Merapi volcano increased its activity with the last eruption in 2010 claiming hundreds of lives, with several villages being destroyed in the Yogyakarta area. Those activities were centred in the Yogyakarta area, in making this the area that has been most affected. Surakarta was only affected a little by those volcanic and tectonic activities.

Those catastrophic events should have dismissed the legitimacy of the kratons, particularly the kraton of Yogyakarta, as the cosmological narrative mentions that the king has alliances with the supernatural creatures whose power claimed to protect the area. The reality, however, is different. The catastrophe of 2006 and 2010

⁸⁶ The path to the south which heads to Parangkusumo beach is bending towards the west in the outside of the city.

showed the role of the kraton of Yogyakarta in the area instead of dismissing its legitimacy. In the earthquake event, the people from the southern area who suffered most from the earthquake, such as those from the district of Bantul, moved to safety in the north Alun-alun and the Pagelaran of the kraton. This also happened in the case of Merapi eruption in 2010 in which many people from the northern part of the region fled to the city, taking shelter in some of public buildings such as sport halls, mosques, schools and also the kraton⁸⁷. The kraton of Surakarta also offered some of its buildings to the evacuees even though the number of them was relatively smaller than that in Yogyakarta⁸⁸.

The legitimacy of the kraton of Yogyakarta was particularly challenged in the event of the Merapi eruption of 2010. The ‘spiritual gatekeeper’ of Merapi volcano, the kraton official responsible for holding the annual ritual in the volcano called Mbah Maridjan refused to leave his village, which is 5 km from the crater of Merapi despite the government official warning⁸⁹. The reason for this was that he believed that the eruption would not do any harm since there was no sign from the supernatural creatures of Merapi volcano⁹⁰. He and his followers were killed when their villages, Kinahrejo and Turgo, were destroyed by pyroclastic flows from the volcano. In this incident, the kraton of Yogyakarta, in order to avoid any hint of blame for making those victims believe in such narrative, quickly made a public statement that it was the belief of Mbah Maridjan himself as an individual, not the belief of the kraton that had caused this tragic

⁸⁷ The king allowed the people to flee to the north Alun-alun and Pagelaran area.

⁸⁸ This is normal considering the distance of Surakarta and Merapi volcano, and that most of the fleeing victims were from the territory of Yogyakarta.

⁸⁹ His refusal was blamed for making the evacuation process difficult because many people refused to leave despite the danger.

⁹⁰ He survived Merapi eruptions several times before 2010 when he refused to leave his village with the same reason.

event⁹¹. This statement is in contrast with the narrative about the alliance between the king and the supernatural forces whose power was used to protect the city. In the events mentioned above, it is the kraton who played the role of people protector, not by preventing the volcano from erupting but by providing shelters for the evacuees. The legitimacy of the kraton of Yogyakarta seems to be stronger despite this case.

D.2. Agriculture and Taxation

At present, both Yogyakarta and Surakarta rely more on services, industry, trade and tourism than on agriculture (B.P.S.K Surakarta, 2010, pp. 247-248; BPS DIY, 2009, p. 272) in which in both places the incomes from trade and tourism are about 25% of their total income. Yogyakarta has the most income from services followed by trade and tourism while Surakarta has its most income from trade and tourism followed by industry. In the scope of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, however, the outer districts such as Sleman, Bantul, Kulon Progo and Gunung Kidul rely more on agriculture. This can also be found in Surakarta, in which the outer districts of Surakarta such as Sragen, Wonogiri, Karanganyar and Sukoharjo rely more on agriculture. This makes an almost identical layout with the division of Negara-Negaragung, in which Negara is the city and Negaragung is the area around the city used mainly for agriculture. The difference between the division of Negara-Negaragung and the present layout is that the outer areas have their own autonomy. However, the districts of the city of Yogyakarta are still under the authority of the king, while the outer districts of the city of Surakarta are autonomous.

In terms of taxation, the taxation system is now national in its scope. However, the speciality of Yogyakarta leads to a different system in which the kraton and the minor court are exempted from tax

⁹¹ However, the kraton gave Mbah Maridjan an extraordinary promotion after his death, and

over their land as long as the land is being used for the people and cultural purposes. They are not exempted from tax if the land is used for economic purposes. This is different with the kraton of Surakarta, which has to pay tax over its property.

The kraton of Yogyakarta leases its land to the people rent-fee, formalised by a certificate called *kekancingan*. The people get usage rights over the land but they have no rights to sell the land. However, the lack of control over its property makes many people use the kraton land without *kekancingan* certificates, and even the people with *kekancingan* certificates are able to register the land in their own names and sell the land. This is the main reason why the kraton of Yogyakarta has difficulties in collecting the database of its own property. The poor administration of the kraton of Yogyakarta over its property sometimes brings difficulties and even conflicts⁹². Up to the present there is an unresolved conflict over the land in the district of Kulon Progo, claimed to be Pakualaman Ground⁹³, which is used by the people but the kraton of Yogyakarta and the minor court of Pakualaman ask them to move because they need the land for a mining industry project, in which both courts hold 30% shares.

Just like the kraton of Yogyakarta, the kraton of Surakarta also releases certificates called *serat palilah* for the land and property in the *Baluwarti* area to be rented by the people. However, the status of the land in the *Baluwarti* area is so obscured that even the kraton has no clue as to what belongs to the kraton (Isbandiyah, 2008, p. xlviii).

From the description above, we can see that the outer districts of both cities are mainly living from agriculture just like *Negaragung* area, but they are autonomous. The taxation system in both areas has

appointed his son as the new gatekeeper of Merapi.

⁹² This is one of the conditions needed for the kraton to have the province of Yogyakarta formalised as a Special Region. In 2012 the central government passed a new law on the speciality of Yogyakarta, on the condition that the kraton has to have a modern administration.

⁹³ Pakualaman Ground (PG) is used to refer to the land of the minor court of Pakualaman while Sultan Ground (SG) is used to refer to the land of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

also changed considerably into a modern system. The kratons can no longer depend on an income based on tax; instead they lease their land and property for a small rental fee. The reason for the very cheap rent fee is that the kratons do not want to burden their people. The kratons play a role on *mengayomi*⁹⁴ which is considered important for their legitimacy.

D.3. *The cosmological narrative*

As mentioned previously in this section, the kraton of Yogyakarta publically stated that the belief system of the kraton which was different from that of Mbah Maridjan, the gatekeeper of Merapi. The kraton also insisted on several occasions that the only one to give blessings is Allah, not the king, despite the fact that many people still believe that the king can give blessings to them. Those statements are basically Islamic concepts which do not always agree with the narrative about alliances with the supernatural creatures and about the king as the representation of the Divine.

The modern society in both cities seems to disagree with such narrative, and most of them have modern religions. The majority of the people in both cities are Moslems, with a much lower percentage of Protestants⁹⁵ and others. In the city of Yogyakarta, the number of Moslems is around 77.8% while Catholics is around 12.7%, Protestants is around 8.5% and other religions are around 1% (B. P.S.K. Yogyakarta, 2009, p. 59). In the city of Surakarta, the number of Moslems is more than 75% while Protestants and Catholics are each around 11% while other religions are around 3% (B.P.S.K. Surakarta, 2010, p. 43).

However, the rituals mentioned in the previous section are still

⁹⁴ Mengayomi means to make (the people) feel safe and secure.

⁹⁵ It should be noted that Indonesia formally recognises five religions: Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu and Buddha.

organised by both kratons⁹⁶ with some adaptations if needed. While the rituals are laden of belief values of the kraton as the centre of the cosmos, the king of the kraton of Yogyakarta insisted on several occasions that the only one to give blessings is Allah, not the king. This, however, is not always followed by the people particularly those of abdi dalems who still believe in the blessings and the power of the king. In Surakarta, this belief is also still being held by the abdi dalems; however it is worth noting that royalty has never claimed anything about the belief.

This shows that there are changes in the cosmological narrative used by the kratons which has been adapted to the present situation of the society. Yogyakarta, however, still underlines the importance of the cosmological axis, particularly for tourism adverts⁹⁷. The act to highlight the importance of particular space of the city is a way to reproduce domination.

E. CONCLUSION

The establishment of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are inseparable from the tectonic and volcanic forces that formed the island of Java. Those forces made the island, particularly in the areas of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, very fertile and suitable for wet rice cultivation. This determined the location and the type of social organisation established in the area.

As a social organisation was established, it needed a means to legitimate itself which can be in the form of narrative which, in the cases of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, took the form of rituals and hidden spatial layout. Some of them were shown to be unfit or incomplete for the narrative but the narrative continues to exist up to the present.

⁹⁶ There is a negligible number of adaptations to the previous rituals.

⁹⁷ The Department of Culture, provincial government of Yogyakarta published a video on the cosmological axis, which was created through consultation with PT. Kertagana, a kraton-owned consultant.

CHAPTER 5: POWER STRUCTURE IN URBAN CONTEXT

In the previous chapter I have discussed the general landscape of Java along with the landscape in the region of Yogyakarta and Surakarta and how they relate to the issue of power of both. From chapter 4 we have seen how the landscape of Java, with volcanoes and hydrographical system in the region, supports the lives of the agricultural society and in turn determines the social organisation of the agricultural kingdom. We have also observed how the natural features in the region have been used by the kingdoms to legitimise themselves through cosmological narratives, the seduction of the cosmological orders and the authority of symbolic rituals.

In this chapter we will zoom in to the urban scale to get further insights into the layout of the two cities and how that layout relates to the power of the kratons. I will focus on the urban morphology of both cities in section [A], the urban layout in section [B], the activation of space in section [C], and conclusion in section [D].

A. URBAN MORPHOLOGY

The kraton is the first structure to be built in each city from which the city grows. To get more understanding of the practice of power in the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, we need to discuss the morphology of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

It should be noted that in the history of Mataram, the first capital of the kingdom was in Kotagedhe, located to the southeast of the present Yogyakarta, before moving to Kerta (1601), Plered (1613), Kartasura (1677) and Surakarta (1744) (Qomarun, 2000, p. 82). Kerta and Plered are located in the district of Bantul to the south of the present Yogyakarta, while Kartasura is located to the west of Surakarta. After the Giyanti treaty (1755) the kraton of Surakarta still used the previous structure of Mataram, while the kraton of Yogyakarta was built close to the first site of Mataram, Kotagedhe. The first structure of the kraton and its surroundings in each site show continuity. This can be seen in Figure 5.6. which shows the plans of the kraton of Kerta and Kartasura. The plan of Kerta shows

only five things included in the kraton: Alun-alun, the Great Mosque, Sitinggil, Srimanganti and the central courtyard. The plan of Kartasura, before extension, shows an addition of Pagelaran, Kemandhungan and rear courtyard. After extension, the rear courtyard turned into the Southern Alun-alun with an adjacent building to the north of it, which later became the Southern Sitinggil. The kraton of Surakarta, as it currently stands, has two Alun-alun, one tugu several hundred meters to the north of the kraton and seven courtyards. The kraton of Yogyakarta has an addition of a southern object to create the north-south axis, which is Pangung Krapyak. As Yogyakarta is the last site to build a kraton, the construction in Yogyakarta is the most recent evolution of Javanese cities (Ikaputra, 1995, pp. 25-26).



Figure 5.1. The evolution of Javanese kratons. A is the groundplan of the palace of Kerta. B and C are the groundplan of the kraton of Kartasura before and after extension. (Source: Miksic, 2004)

From Figure 5.1. we can see the evolution of the Javanese kraton

according to Miksic (2004). The Mataram kraton at Kerta had only one Alun-alun, around which were located the Great Mosque and Sitinggil. There were only three main courtyards of the kraton: Sitinggil, Srimanganti and Central Courtyard. The kraton of Kartasura had an additional rear courtyard, Pagelaran pavilion at the periphery of the Alun-alun and one additional courtyard located between Sitinggil and Srimanganti, called Kemandhungan. An extension took place in the kraton of Kartasura which expanded the kraton complex by adding small courtyards to the south of the Central courtyard. The rear courtyard was turned into the Southern Alun-alun. Later, when the kraton was moved to Surakarta, there was an additional monument outside of the kraton complex, which is *Tugu Pemandangan*. In the kraton of Yogyakarta, another object was added which is Panggung Krapyak, the southern object. This description shows that there is a gradual change to Javanese cities which ended with the city of Yogyakarta.

In addition, we should note that in a wider scale both Yogyakarta and Surakarta needed an access to the trade ports in the north coast of Java. For Yogyakarta, Semarang was the main trade port in the north coast which can be accessed through two routes. One route was through Magelang, to the west of the Merapi volcano, and the other was through Surakarta, to the east of the same volcano (Houben, Alkhatib, Risdiyanto, & Budaya, 2002, p. 12). For Yogyakarta, the existence of a road network connecting the city to other cities is considered very important, as land transportation was the only option to get to other cities. This is particularly shown in the popular names of two streets of Yogyakarta. The street towards the east from Tugu is popularly referred as '*Jalan Solo*' in which 'jalan' means 'street' and 'Solo' is a nickname of Surakarta. This street, then, is the street heading towards Surakarta. Another street heading north from the west of Tugu is named Magelang Street, which means that this street is headed towards the city of Magelang (Saleh, Dewan Kebudayaan Kota Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada Pusat Studi Kebudayaan, & Panitia HUT ke-250 Kota Yogyakarta, 2006, p. 4). Meanwhile, for Surakarta there was an option of river transportation via the Bengawan Solo river, particularly in relation to trade. The main port,

before the railway network was developed, was in Surabaya, East Java. Bengawan Solo river held a very important role in transporting harvest and goods from and to the ports. After the railway was established however, river transportation to the ports was no longer of any importance; instead the main transportation was now the train. This changed the port used by Surakarta for trade to that of Semarang. The main road network to serve the access to Semarang is the main road to the west, which was later named Slamet Riyadi Road, before going north. This road also serves the access to Yogyakarta and other smaller towns along the way to Semarang, such as Boyolali and Salatiga.

The situations mentioned above influence the urban morphology of both cities. In this section I will focus on the comparison between the urban morphology of Yogyakarta and Surakarta through time from the 18th century up to the present to see how the cities with similar core layout develop into different shapes.

A.1. Yogyakarta

The kraton of Yogyakarta was built on a site in Beringan forest in 1756, following the Giyanti treaty. In this site there was already some construction in the form of a guest house called *Garjitawati* which belonged to the Mataram king, Amangkurat IV (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 76). The first king, Hamengkubuwana I was the architect of the kraton and the city layout by that time⁹⁸. Among the first to be built were Malioboro Street – the street that functioned as *margaraja* or the royal road (Carey, 1984, p.54), *Tugu Golong Gilig* and *Panggung Krapyak*, both of which created the north-south axis of Yogyakarta. The *margaraja* was used for ceremonial events, including reception for guests who usually came from the north, as the main road to other towns was in the north of the *margaraja* (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 4). Tugu Golong Gilig, which was located right in the middle of the

⁹⁸ He was also mentioned to have an interest on buildings and contributed to the erection of the kraton of Surakarta in 1745 and some parts of the kraton of Kartasura (Saleh, Dewan Kebudayaan Kota Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada Pusat Studi Kebudayaan, & Panitia HUT ke-250 Kota

margaraja, is considered to be a reminder for the king about his role as the representative of Allah, like that implied in *sangkan paraning dumadi*. This monument, which was 25 metres tall, could be seen from the king's throne in Sitihihgil even though it was probably difficult to see it from the Sitihihgil before it was raised in 1769⁹⁹; especially considering the distance from Sitihihgil to Tugu Golong Gilig was approximately three kilometres. This tugu was later renovated by the Dutch, due to the damage from the 1889 earthquake in the form of a new monument which is known as *De Witte Pal* or *Pal Putih*, meaning the white monument. It is 15 metres in height.

From Figure 5.2 we can see the road network of the city of Yogyakarta as it was in 1765, which is dominated by the roads around the kraton and the *margaraja* straight to the north, which later will be named Malioboro,¹⁰⁰ ended in Tugu Golong Gilig. To the north there is an east-west oriented road which leads east to Surakarta and west to Magelang. By this time, the kraton buildings were still in simple form. This is because each of the Mataram divisions, the kraton of Yogyakarta, the kraton of Surakarta and the minor court of Mangkunegaran¹⁰¹ thought that the division was temporary (Saleh et al., 2006, pp. 28-29)¹⁰² and therefore would not invest in buildings.

Yogyakarta, 2006, pp. 75-76).

⁹⁹ 'Sitihihgil' itself means 'high ground' which refers to it as being higher than its surroundings.

¹⁰⁰ The name Malioboro, however, is not present in written sources before 20th century. There is a disagreement about the origin of the name Malioboro. Carey argues that it is from Sanskrit words *malya* and *bhara* which means 'garland bearing' (Carey, 1984, p. 51). It is also being perceived to have an origin of the name of one British military officer, Marlborough. Other perceptions upon this matter are related with the name of a sanctuary of Hamzah -the prophet's uncle in the Middle East, the *walisanga* - the Islamic *ulamas* who spread Islam in Java, and military command used for the kraton troops marching along the street (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 114).

¹⁰¹ The division of Mangkunegaran was made in 1757.

¹⁰² After several efforts to unify the divisions failed in the late 1760s, all divisions gave up and started to build permanent buildings of their own.



Figure 5.2. Yogyakarta in 1765. (derived from Sullivan, 1992)

From 1769 the kraton started to build many buildings as the unification of the divisions of Mataram was considered impossible with the birth of the crown prince of Mangkunegaran (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 29). By 1770s many buildings had been constructed including the Great Mosque in the west side of the north alun-alun and the tower in *Taman Sari* or the Water Castle, located to the west of the kraton that was built in 1758.

Outside of the kraton, the Dutch insisted to have a fort close to the kraton which was agreed by the king in 1772 but only built in 1788¹⁰³. The Beteng wall was built in 1785 with the help of the crown prince, who would become the second king, Hamengkubuwana II after the death of Hamengkubuwana I in 1792¹⁰⁴. He strengthened the Beteng wall by increasing its thickness. In 1811 the British annexed the archipelago. The British attacked the kraton and destroyed one of the bastions of the Beteng in June 1812¹⁰⁵. The political situation in

¹⁰³ The king was said to make the process slow intentionally, and built his own fort or Beteng first before finishing the Dutch fort (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 82)

¹⁰⁴ This king was remarkable in his anti-colonial attitude. He was soon replaced by the Dutch who crowned Hamengkubuwana III in 1810. However, he managed to take the throne back in 1811 when the Dutch was in its weakest in relation to British who annexed the archipelago from the Dutch. He was soon replaced by the British due to his attitude, in 1812. Later he was put on the throne again by the Dutch to gain sympathy from Javanese people during the Java War but the move failed as the Javanese wanted Dipanagara to be the king (Merle C Ricklefs, 1993, p. 152).

¹⁰⁵ This event is known as *Geger Sepehi* in which ‘Sepahi’ stands for Sepoy of British Indian army that attacked the kraton. Up to the present the ruin of the bastion has not been rebuilt.

Yogyakarta by that time was not stable so the British colonial government created a minor court, Pakualaman, out of the kraton in 1813. The palace for this minor court is located to the east of the kraton, in the *tanah perdikan*¹⁰⁶ of Pakualaman close to Gajahwong river. The area of the city was then widened to the east to include Pakualaman area.



Figure 5.3. Yogyakarta in 1824 (derived from Sullivan, 1992)

After another division, the political situation of Yogyakarta was still in turmoil due to several forced appointments of kings by the Dutch and the appointment of the kings of very young age¹⁰⁷. This ended up in the Java War from 1825 to 1830. The city of Yogyakarta in the period between 1792 and 1830 had practically no significant development.

After 1830 there was a new arrangement over the territories of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Each of them was acknowledged as a 'residency', governed by a Dutch Resident, a position in the similar

¹⁰⁶ Tanah perdikan is used to refer to a tax-free land granted by the king to a royal official.

¹⁰⁷ The Dutch dismissed Hamengkubuwana II and crowned Hamengkubuwana III who was still very young. Several years later Hamengkubuwana II took over the throne when Holland was at its weakest only to be replaced again by the British. The throne was given back to Hamengkubuwana III who died several years after that, making his 10 year-old-son to be crowned as Hamengkubuwana IV. He died in 1822 making his three-year old son to be crowned as Hamengkubuwana V. The absence of a strong leader made the political situation unstable.

level as governor. At the same time the Dutch passed a new economic policy, the Cultivation System in which the Dutch exploited the archipelago by forcing the peasants to cultivate only the trade crops for the Dutch in most of their lands with their own labours (Boomgaard & Amsterdam, 1989, p. 35). This situation resulted in an increase of the number of Dutch people coming to the area, whether as military officers, bureaucrats or those working for plantation companies (Saleh et al., 2006, pp. 96-98). The Dutch community needed more facilities in the city such as settlements, schools, hospitals, train stations. It was after 1830 that those new facilities were built. The Dutch Resident's¹⁰⁸ house was built from 1824-1869¹⁰⁹ in front of the Dutch's fort Vredeburg. Around it were Dutch settlements. A train station was built for transporting plantation products in Lempuyangan in 1872 by NISM (Nederlandsch Indie Spoorweg Maatschappij), a private company. Another train station – which was later called Tugu train station- was built close to the royal road in 1887 due to public interest in the railway as a mass transport system for passengers. The location of this train station made the journey to the kraton easier and later, in 20th century, it contributed to the development of the area of Malioboro and the kraton as the main tourist attractions of the city. Schools were built from 1832 with funding from the Dutch government, the kraton and private sources. Hospitals were built later in the 1920s, many of which were founded by religious organisations (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 99). Apart from Dutch community, there was also a Chinese community, which was granted land in Kranggan area by the king for their settlements. Their community grew outwards, up to the land around the royal road, mostly concentrated in the Ketandan area, close to Pasar Gedhe or the Big Market, later named Beringharjo market (Wardani, Soedarsono,

¹⁰⁸ Resident in here is a Dutch officer in a similar level as governor.

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.presidentri.go.id/istana/index.php/statik/sejarah/yogya.html>.

Haryono, & Suryo, 2013, p. 112). Most of the Chinese people opened shops along the street, which then grew to make this royal road the main commercial street of the city.

From 1915, a Dutch architect, Herman Thomas Karsten, played a prominent role in the urban planning and design of Yogyakarta¹¹⁰. He proposed expansion of the city area to the north and east, some part of which he designed for another Dutch residential area, named as *Nieuw Wijk* or *Kotabaru*, meaning the New Town. This settlement area was built in 1927. In 1946 the expansion of the city, as proposed by Karsten, was applied in which the city was expanded to 16.7 km² (Adishakti, 1997, p. 61). The city administrative area was later expanded to 32.5 km² in 1961.

As mentioned in chapter one, after Indonesian Independence was proclaimed on 17th August 1945 the kraton of Yogyakarta and the minor court of Pakualaman soon expressed their support for independence through a joint statement, dated 5th September 1945. Later in 1946 the capital of the newly born republic –Jakarta- was occupied by the Dutch. The king of Yogyakarta offered the city of Yogyakarta to be the temporary capital during that time. This brought some consequences for the city of Yogyakarta. Gedung Agung, previously the Dutch resident's and governor's office¹¹¹ was used for the presidential office¹¹². During the war of Independence which lasted to the end of 1949, practically there was no significant physical development in the city of Yogyakarta. However, several new

¹¹⁰ He was also involved in planning and designing other cities and towns in the East Indies such as Batavia (currently known as Jakarta), Surakarta, Semarang, Magelang, Bandung, Bogor, Malang, Banjarmasin, Cirebon, Madiun and Palembang. In Yogyakarta he also designed Sanabudaya Museum in the north alun-alun of the kraton.

¹¹¹ Yogyakarta area used to be recognised as an administration unit of *Residency* which was governed by a resident, and later the unit was changed by Dutch colonial government into a province which was governed by a governor.

¹¹² The president and vice president by that time, Soekarno and Hatta stayed in Pakualaman for the first three weeks in Yogyakarta due to the renovation conducted in this building which was damaged during the war. Up to the present, this building is recognised as one of the presidential palaces.

functions were introduced to the city including higher education, in which two of the oldest universities were founded in Yogyakarta. Gadjah Mada University, the state's first university was founded on 19th December 1949. Due to the absence of property, the university used the kraton's buildings for its lecture halls, including Pagelaran and Sitinggil pavilions, the northernmost buildings of the kraton, and noble houses such as *Dalem Mangkubumen*, *Dalem Pugeran* and *Dalem Condrokiranan* (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 56). Another university, Indonesian Islamic University, a private university was founded in June 1945¹¹³. Other functions related to modern organisation of the new state; provincial and municipal offices and parliament house. The provincial office used an existing building of the kraton named *Kepatihan* –or the house of the *patih*. The municipal offices were located in one of the kraton's properties located to the west of the kraton, even though later in 1970s those offices moved to Timoho, to the east of Pakualaman. Parliament house is located along Malioboro Street, to the north of provincial office.

After 1949 the state started to progress, including Yogyakarta which was no longer the capital of the state. Higher education institutions blossomed during the period of 1950-1960, when at least nine new institutions were founded. Gadjah Mada University, which previously occupied some of the kraton's properties, erected its own buildings in Bulaksumur, in the district of Sleman in 1951. Interestingly, the location of the university is considered to create another parallel north-south axis (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 110).

Tourism in Yogyakarta started to blossom in 1970s when new hotels were built around Tugu train station and the area around Malioboro. Bigger hotels were built in Jendral Sudirman Road and Adisucipto Road. Together with education, tourism holds importance

¹¹³ This university was previously known as *Sekolah Tinggi Islam* or Islamic College in Jakarta. Because of the Dutch occupation on Jakarta, this college moved to Yogyakarta and named

in Yogyakarta as the main source of income of the city (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 59).

As mentioned previously, the administrative territory of the city of Yogyakarta in 1961 was 32.5 km²; however the real built up area was around 15.7 km² in 1970s. In 1980, the built up area reached 19.9 km² and in 1990 this figure increased to 37.5 km² and 63.5 km² in 2000s (Marwasta, 2010, p.5). This shows that rapid change occurred during the period 1980 – 2000 in which the built up areas increased by 300%. Since 1990s, the city has grown beyond its administrative boundary to the northeast, integrated with the district of Sleman¹¹⁴ and to the east, where the corridor along the way from Yogyakarta to Surakarta shows rapid growth (Giyarsih, 2010, p. 28).

Universitas Islam Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic University (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 260).

¹¹⁴ This is mainly influenced by the presence of higher education institutions in the Sleman area including Gadjah Mada University, Indonesian Islamic University, Yogyakarta State University, Sanatadharma University, Atmajaya University, State Islamic University. The Indonesian Islamic University took the growth 13km further to the north with its new integrated campus.



Figure 5.4. Yogyakarta in 1980 (derived from Sullivan, 1992)

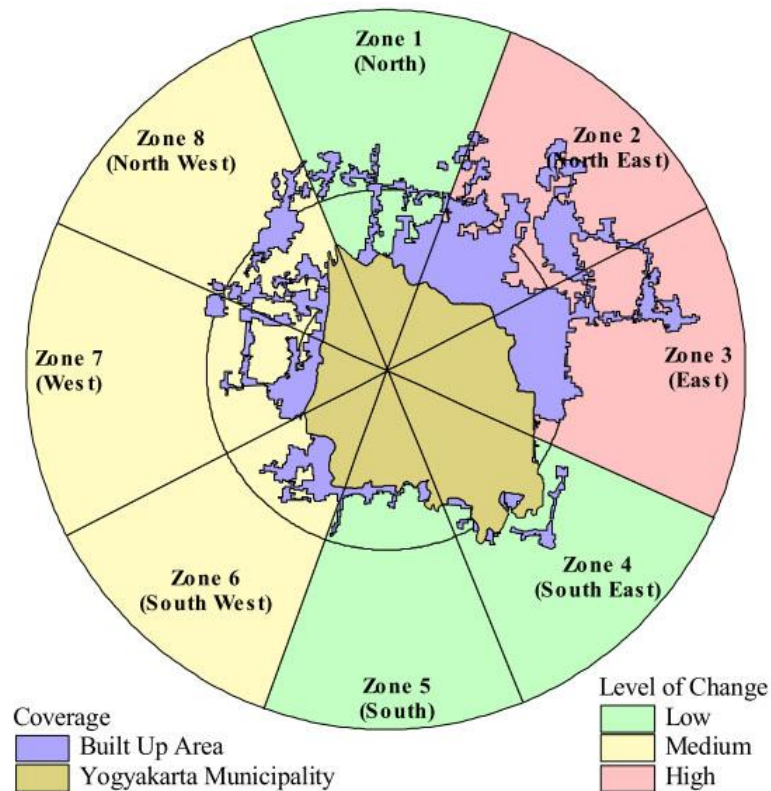


Figure 5.5. The level of change of the city of Yogyakarta from 1990 to 2000 (image source: Marwasta 2010)

From Figure 5.5., we can see that the level of change of the city is most rapid to the east and northeast. It is of medium level to the west, northwest and southwest and a low level to the north, south and southeast. This is mostly influenced by the location of higher education institutions which are mainly located in the northeast (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 112) and a transportation network in the form of part of ring road built in the northeast in 1980s¹¹⁵(Marwasta, 2010, p. 6). The low level of growth to the north, south and southeast can be related to a geographical situation in which there is no significant destination to the north, south and southeast¹¹⁶. There are, however, other cities to the west and to the east. As mentioned before, the main access to

¹¹⁵ The ring road was completed later in 1990s.

¹¹⁶ To the north there is Merapi volcano, to the south there is South Sea which has no port and to the southeast there is the dry Gunung Kidul.

Semarang from Yogyakarta is through Surakarta and Magelang. In the past, Magelang was one of the centres of civilisation in Java¹¹⁷ but it lost significance to Yogyakarta due to the access to Semarang after 1970s in relation to the railway network. Both were served by railway but due to the Merapi eruption, whose lava destroyed the main railway bridge connecting Magelang and Yogyakarta, the railway network no longer served the route of Yogyakarta-Magelang¹¹⁸. This made the route to Surakarta as the only route to Semarang. Another advantage of Surakarta, if compared to Magelang, is the location of Surakarta which enables it to be a transportation hub for the trains from the west (Yogyakarta), the north (Semarang) and the east (Madiun, East Java); all of which are significant cities in Java. This situation makes it reasonable for the growth of this city to be more rapid to the east than to the west.

¹¹⁷ This can be seen from the abundance of archeological remains in the area of Magelang including Borobudur temple, Mendut temple, Pawon temple, not to mention other small temple ruins scattered around the area.

¹¹⁸ This in some way relates to geographical issue in which Magelang is situated in a high plain between four mountains that makes it more difficult to build transportation network, in this case is the railway network.



Figure 5.6. The city of Yogyakarta in 2010

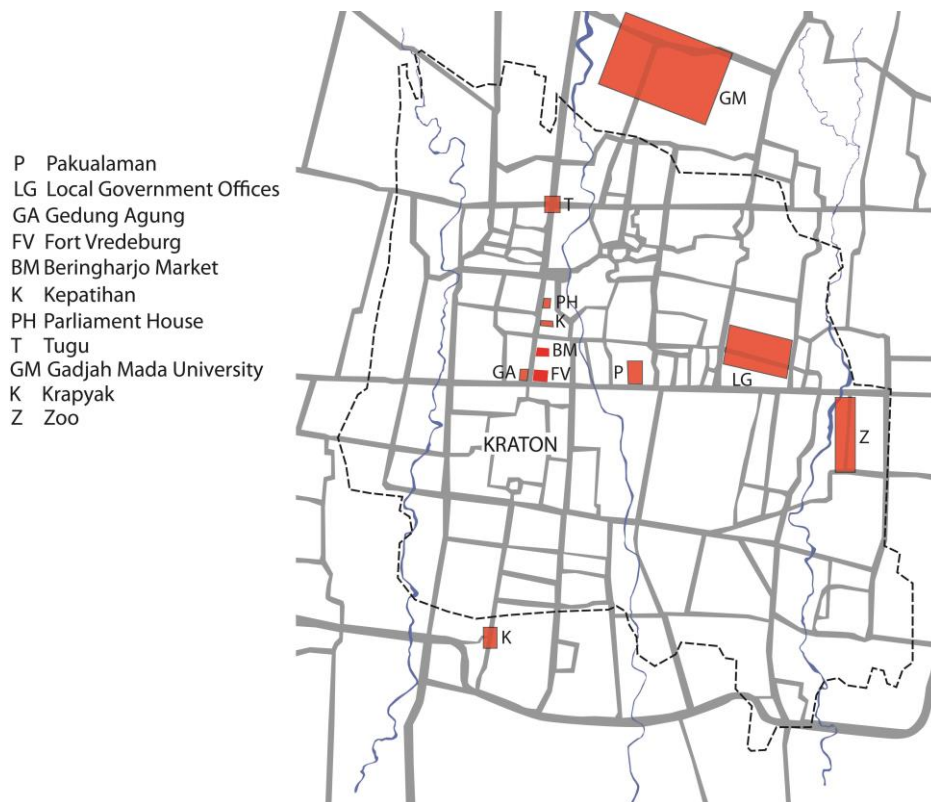


Figure 5.7. The location of other important buildings in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in relation to the kraton.

A.2. Surakarta

The city of Surakarta is considered to have originated from the kraton of Surakarta; the first construction to be built as the city nucleus. However, there were already some constructions before the kraton was constructed in 1745. The area of the present Surakarta was a waterfront village named Sala, which dated back to 1500s with trade as the main activity (Qomarun & Ikaputra, 2007, p. 114). This is related to the Bengawan Solo river, whose role was vital to trade¹¹⁹ in that it enabled the people to transport goods from and to the inland of Java. There were around 44 ports along the Bengawan Solo with that of Sala as the innermost, and Surabaya as the outermost (Qomarun & Ikaputra, 2007, p. 114). There were also other settlements, separated

¹¹⁹ The trade via Bengawan Solo river was related to that from Malacca and Java Sea.

to the west of the location of the kraton, namely Laweyan and Pajang¹²⁰ (Qomarun, 2000, p. 82) in which Pajang was the kingdom before Mataram.

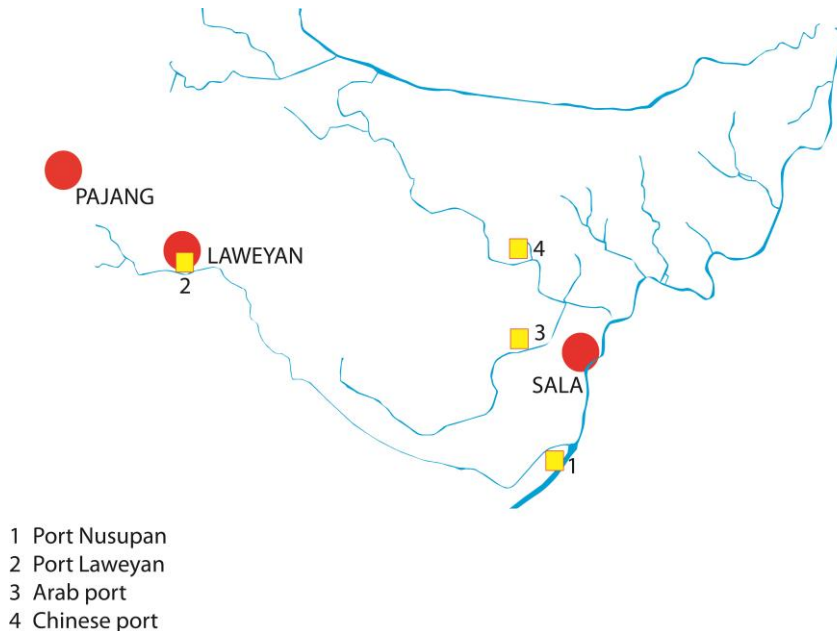


Figure 5.8. The existing condition of the area of the present Surakarta before the kraton of Surakarta was built. The red circles are the existing villages before Surakarta, and the yellow squares are the existing ports along the Bengawan Solo river network. (Derived from Bing Maps and Qomarun, 2010).

The location of the kraton of Surakarta is about two kilometres to the west of the Bengawan Solo river. The kraton was built with a royal road to the north ended by a small monument named *Tugu Pamandengan*¹²¹. The minor court of Mangkunegaran was created in 1757, occupying the space to the northwest of the city by that time. Just as with Yogyakarta, the Dutch proposal to build a fort to the northeast of the kraton was agreed in 1772 and was built in 1775 (Saleh et al., 2006, p. 82), much earlier than that of Yogyakarta¹²². Around the fort was the Dutch settlement.

¹²⁰ Pajang was a kraton before Mataram.

¹²¹ ‘Pamandengan’ is a Javanese term to refer ‘sight’. Implied in the name is that this monument is used for the king to concentrate in meditation by looking at it (Miksic, 2004, p.104).

¹²² The Dutch fort of Yogyakarta was built much later on 1788.

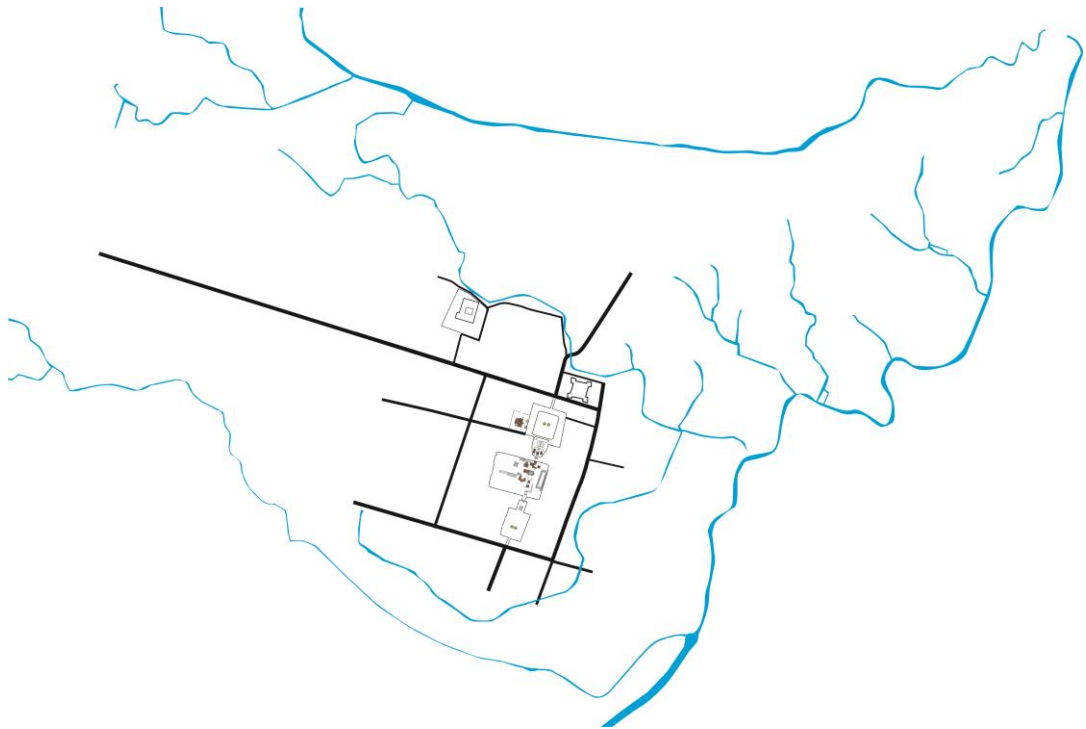


Figure 5.9. The kraton and its surrounding in 1778. The main road network was already built around the kraton and to the north and south along with the old road to the west. We can also see the Dutch fort right to the north of the kraton and the minor court of Mangkunegaran to the northwest of the kraton. (Derived from Bing Maps, Royal Tropical Institute, J. Miksic, 2004; Saleh et al., 2006).

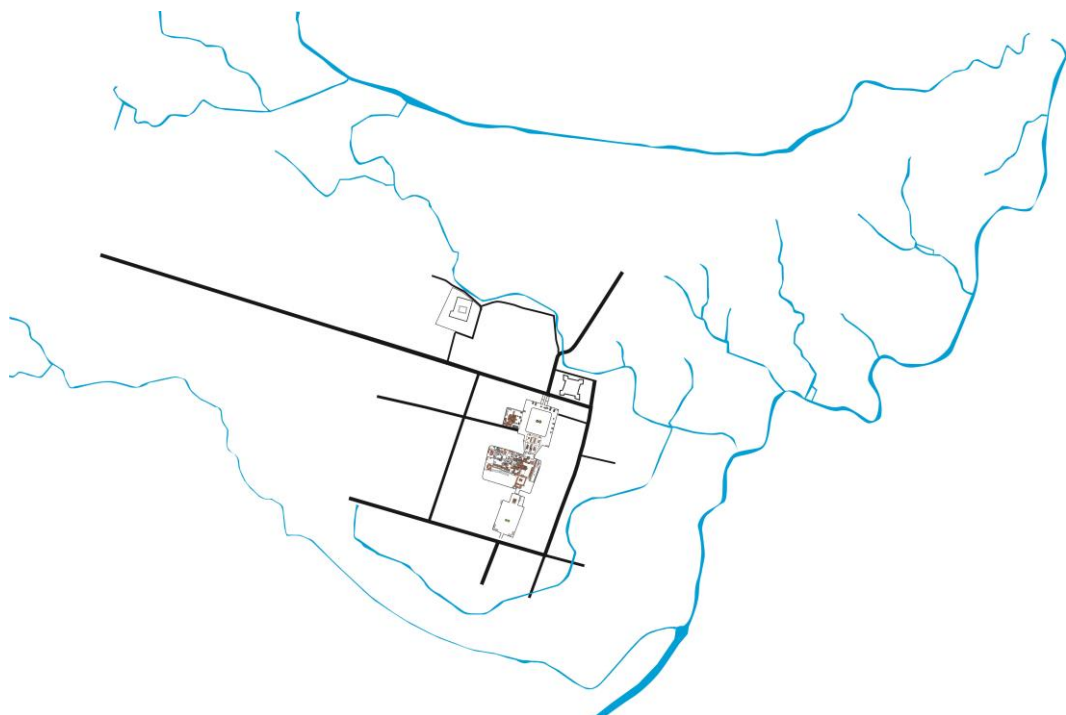


Figure 5.10. The kraton and its surroundings in 1821. (Derived from Royal Tropical Institute and Bing Maps)

In 1835 the Dutch passed a rule called *Wijkstelsel* (quarter system) which determined the segregation of settlements to prohibit the amalgamation between the native people and foreigners in the city of Surakarta (Fernando & Bulbeck, 1992, p. 12; Mutiari, 2010, p. 210); the city was divided into several settlement quarters based on race. The Javanese community lived around the kraton of Surakarta and the minor court of Mangkunegaran. The Dutch community lived around Fort Vastenberg while the Chinese community lived in the area around *Pasar Gedhe* or the Big Market, separated by the Pepe river. The Arab community lived in the area to the east of the kraton, *Pasar Kliwon* and *Kedhung Lumbu*. The preference of the location of those quarters was based on the previous arrangement that was founded on the location of ports. Javanese, Chinese and Arab people had their own ports along Bengawan Solo river (Qomarun, 2000, p. 81).

The development of a railway network in 1857 reduced the role of the Bengawan Solo, which at the same time had its depth decreased due to soil erosion,¹²³ thus making it difficult for ships to enter. The main transportation mode changed into land transportation. Meanwhile the shallow depth of the Bengawan Solo brought flood risks that forced the Dutch government along with the kraton and Mangkunegaran to build embankment in the south and east side of the city and new canals from Pepe and Laweyan rivers to prevent floods (Qomarun, 2000, p. 83).

In the period between 1900 and 1945 several major works were conducted in the city of Surakarta, including an electricity network, clean water, railway and tram networks (1905) and the

¹²³ This is indicated by Qomarun (2000) as an effect of Cultivation System policy passed in 1830. This economic policy maximised the Dutch exploitation over the East Indies by forcing the peasants to cultivate only the trade crops for the Dutch in most of their lands with their own labour. The Dutch paid for the crop, which helped the peasant with the landrent or land tax (Boomgaard & Amsterdam, 1989, p. 34-35). This policy also forced the use of more land that, in turn, decreased the amount of forest thus inducing land erosion.

erection of two bridges across the Bengawan Solo river: *Jurug* bridge and *Bacem* bridge in 1915 (Qomarun, 2000, p. 83). During this period, new facilities such as theatres, stadiums, conference halls, radio stations, cinemas and equestrian fields were built.

During the period of 1945-1949, practically there was no significant development of the city of Surakarta due to the war of Independence. There was an anti-monarchy movement in Surakarta which led to riots between 1945 and 1946. This forced the national government, which was based in the nearby Yogyakarta, to dismiss the special status of Surakarta and take over the governance. Just like that of Yogyakarta, the Kepatihan building was used for governmental function, in this case as the city hall. Later in 1948 many parts of the city were ruined as the result of the Dutch military attack.



Figure 5.11. The city of Surakarta in 1938. The railway network was already developed, the embankment to the east and south of the city was already built. The city has grown to the north and to the west.

(Derived from Royal Tropical Institute, Miksic, 2004 and Bing Maps)

After the period of 1945-1949, the nation started to develop, including in the city of Surakarta. There were several disastrous moments, such as the flood of 1966, which inundated the whole city, and the riots of 1980, 1998 and 1999. The developments that took place between those moments were the growth of industries in the 1970s, banks in the 1980s and tourism in the 1990s. In the 1998 riot, many parts of the city were burnt especially those considered to belong to people of Chinese descent¹²⁴. In 1999, the city hall and some other buildings were burnt¹²⁵. The city was started to be rebuilt in the early 2000s (Licha, 2004, p. 180) by involving people participation.

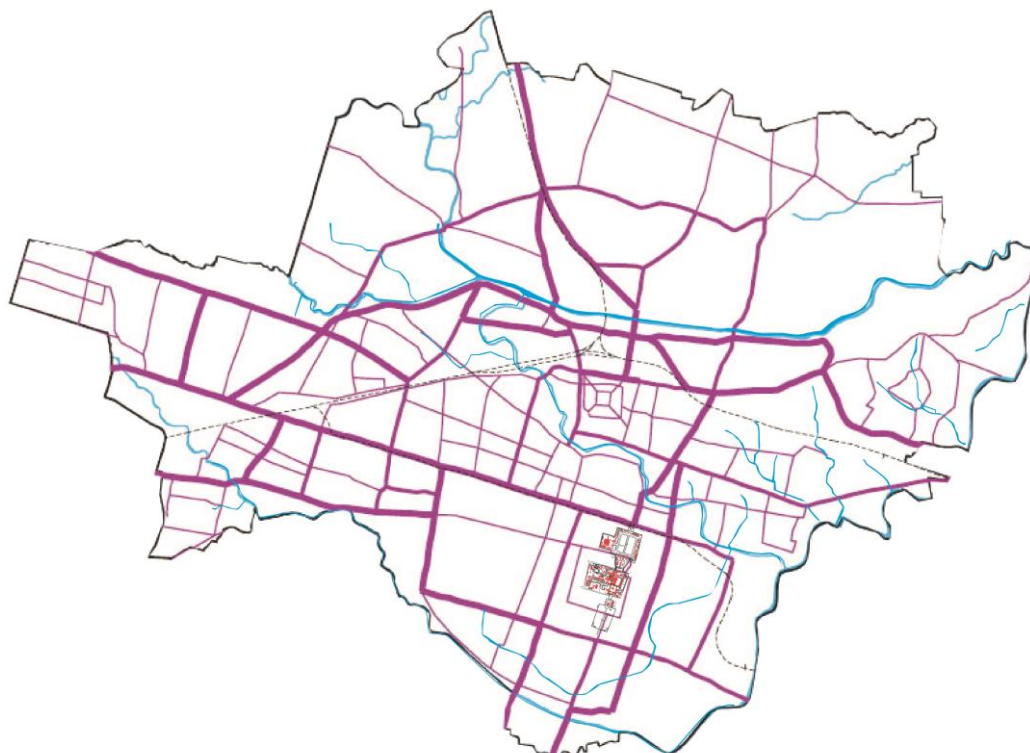


Figure 5.12. The city of Surakarta in 2010.
(Derived from Solo Kota Kita and Miksic, 2004)

¹²⁴ This riot was suspected to be provoked by military people during the political demonstration of May 1998, demanding the president by that time, Suharto, to resign.

¹²⁵ This riot was triggered by a national political situation, in which the party who gained most votes by that time lost a presidential election. This party, PDI, had a strong base in the city of Surakarta.

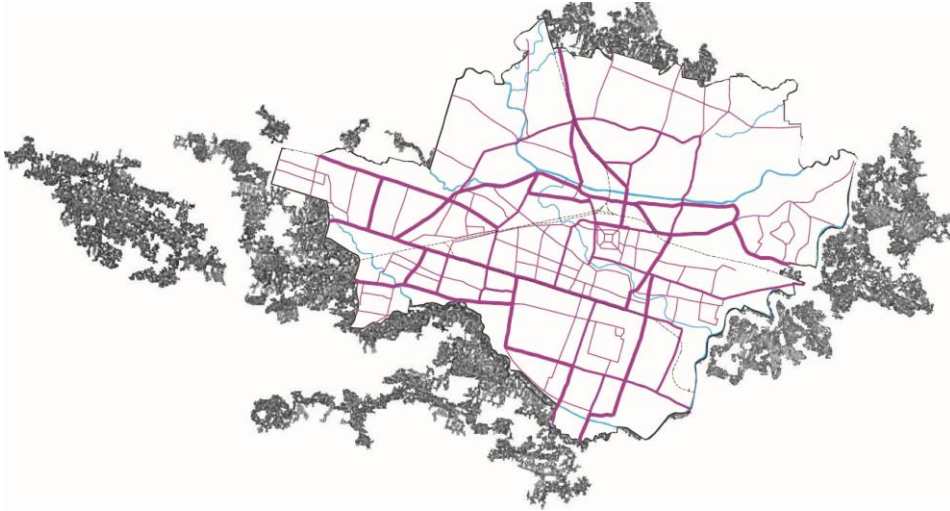


Figure 5.13. The urban sprawl of the city of Surakarta. We can see that the city has grown beyond its administrative boundary to the west, southwest, east and north. (Derived from Bing Maps and Solo Kota Kita)

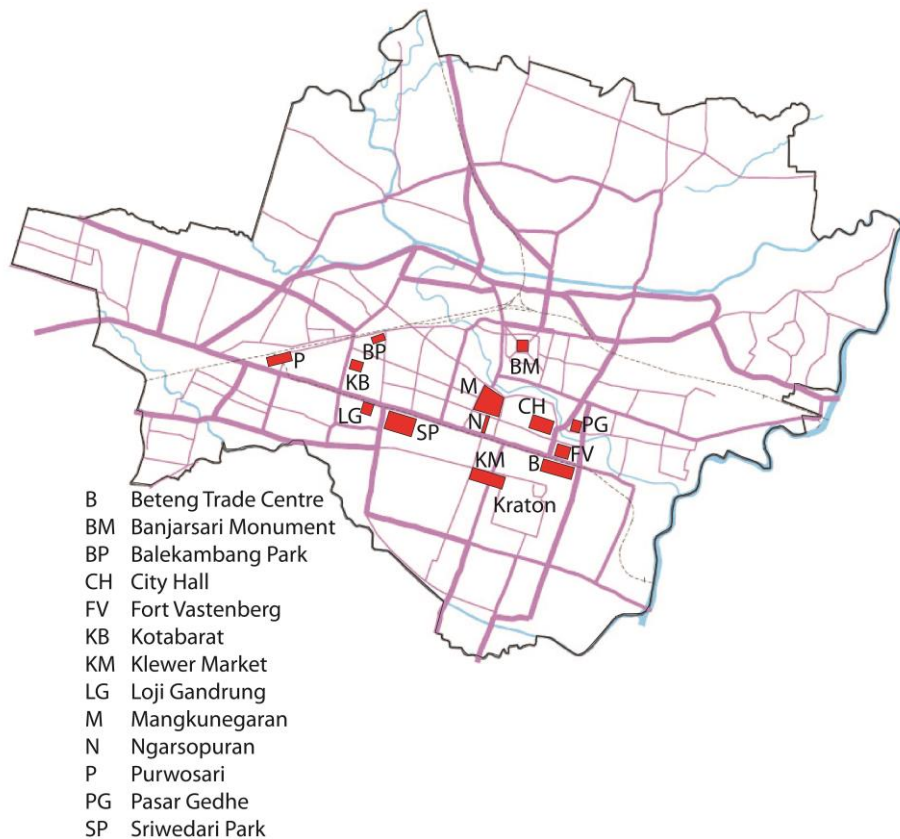


Figure 5.14. The city of Surakarta and its landmarks most of which are considered as heritage and date back to Mataram and colonial times.

Currently the city of Surakarta has grown beyond its administrative boundary mainly to the southwest as seen in Figure 5.13. In this figure we can see that the city of Surakarta has grown

beyond its administrative boundary to the west, north, south and east. The highest population density is to the west, which is along the corridor to Yogyakarta and also Semarang. The areas to the south and north are mainly residential, while that to the east is located along the corridor to Sragen¹²⁶ and Tawangmangu. The growth of the city of Surakarta, then, is determined by the routes to other cities, which in this case are Yogyakarta, Semarang, Sragen and those of East Java. The existing road network to the north is not the main route to other cities, while that to the south only leads to minor cities such as Sukoharjo and Wonogiri.

From the description about the morphology of Yogyakarta and Surakarta mentioned above, we can see that the growth of both cities is determined mainly by routes to other cities or the road network. In the case of Yogyakarta, the margaraja which functioned as the main connection from the kraton to the road leading to Magelang and Surakarta, and therefore significant for transportation, still holds importance up to the present. Meanwhile, the margaraja of the kraton of Surakarta does not connect the city of Surakarta to other cities. This different level of significance of the margaraja contributes to its strength in the eyes of the people.

B. THE URBAN LAYOUT

I have mentioned in chapter 2 and chapter 4 about hierarchical circles and axes related to cosmological narrative. There are Negara, Negaragung, and Mancanegara, with the kraton located in the centre of Negara and axes in cardinal directions. We have discussed the implications of the hierarchical circles for the taxation system of agricultural activities in the previous chapter and the relationship of the axes to the landscape. In this section, I will focus the discussion on the urban context.

Hierarchical circles and cosmological axes can be found again in the urban context in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. However, this layout, which is claimed to be

¹²⁶ This corridor is the main route to East Java.

cosmological, is not the only thing in urban context to convey power structure which can be seen in more details in the following subsections.

B.1. Hierarchical circles

In the cosmological narrative of the kraton, there are hierarchical circles consisting of Negara, Negaragung, and Mancanegara. In the urban context, some hierarchical circles can be found too.

I would like to zoom into the urban context to see the circles. Both cities have several circles with the kraton at the centre, followed by the walled area of Beteng or Baluwarti. The first circle of Yogyakarta consists of the whole kraton, while that of Surakarta only consists of the area around the central kraton (Northern Srimanganti, Kedhaton and Kemagangan or Southern Srimanganti). The walled Beteng area of Yogyakarta is bigger than that of Surakarta, started from the Northern Alun-alun to the Southern Alun-alun. In both places, this walled area consists of settlements of the kraton's abdi dalem and troops. The Beteng wall of the kraton of Yogyakarta is two to three meters thick, five meters-high with bastions on its corners¹²⁷. There are five gates to enter the Beteng area, named *Plengkung*. Those gates used to be closed at night and opened during the day for the access of those living inside the Beteng area. These walls and gates are forms of force, in that they limit the access of the people to the inner area. However, since the period of Hamengkubuwana VIII, the gates are never closed. This makes the area inside the walls to be accessible from the area outside the walls, therefore making it less strong in term of resisting force. The distinctive shapes of the gates are a form of authority even though with the absence of the clear symbols of the kraton, this form of authority is not really strong;

¹²⁷ One of four bastions has been destroyed during British attack on 1812. Currently there are only three of them left.

particularly if compared with those of Surakarta which bear the symbols of the kraton.

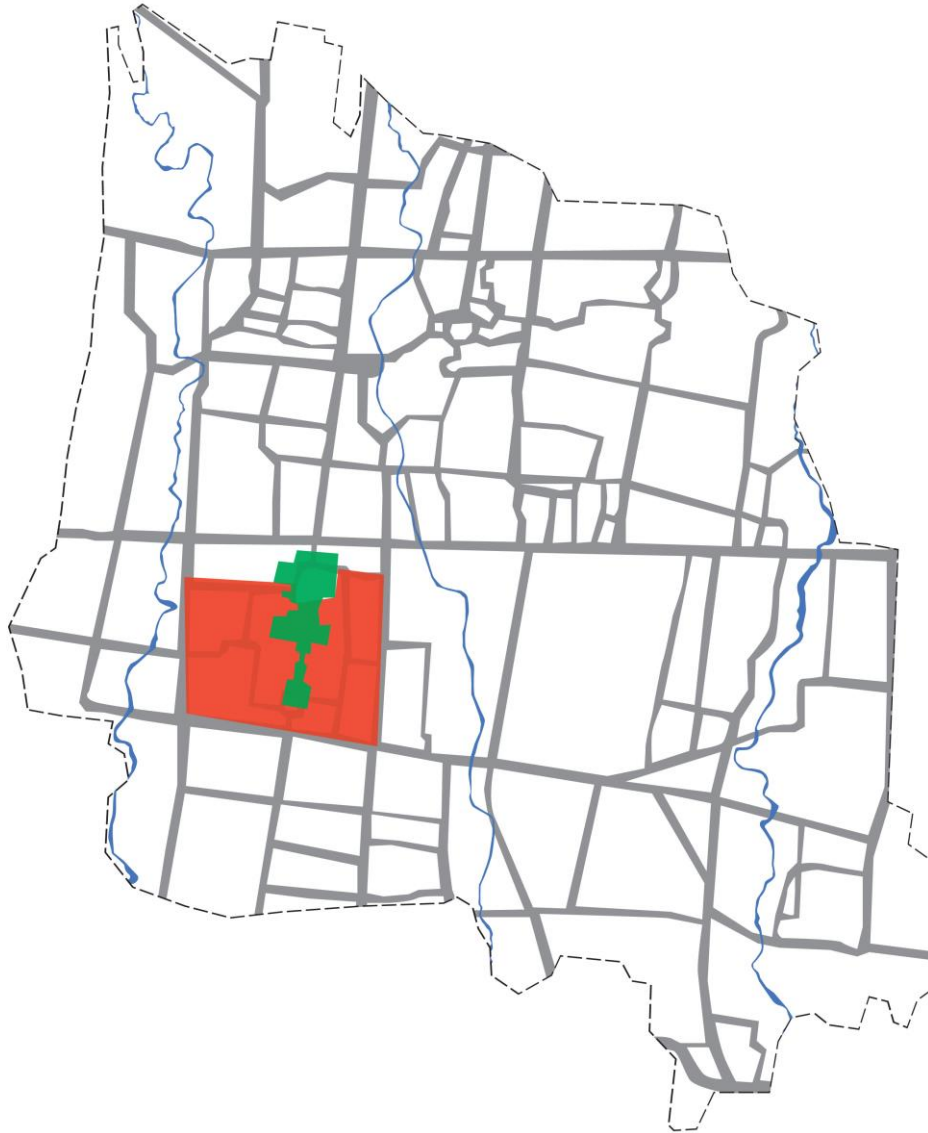


Figure 5.15. The circles of Yogyakarta. The first is the kraton (green) and the next circle is Beteng (red). Beyond the Beteng wall is the city as the last circle in the context of the city.
(Derived from Google Maps)



Figure 5.16 A gate connecting the Northern Alun-alun or the first circle of the kraton to the Beteng area.



Figure 5.17 Plengkung Tarunasura or Plengkung Wijilan, one of five gates connecting Beteng area to the city of Yogyakarta. This gate is one of two gates that are still in their original forms.

(Image courtesy of www.gudeg.net)

Outside of the Beteng's walled area, there are city gates which are not acknowledged by the kraton in their publications. These gates are also not very well maintained, and left redundant, unlike those of Surakarta which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

The situation is different with that of the kraton of Surakarta. The walled area of the kraton of Surakarta, named Baluwarti, started from the Brajanala gate to the Southern Brajanala gate; both being considered as two of the kraton's gates, unlike those of Yogyakarta which are not part of the kraton's gates. The courtyards where those gates are located, Northern Kemandhungan and Southern

Kemandhungan of the kraton of Surakarta are open and integrated with the Baluwarti area, so that closing those gates will restrict the access of the people of Baluwarti to the outer area. The gates of the Baluwarti area are still in use nowadays, being closed at night and opened during the day to provide access to the people living in the area. This is an act of force to support the kraton's domination over the people living in Baluwarti area, mainly *abdi dalems* or royal courtiers, because they determine when to get out of the area and when to go back again¹²⁸. By determining when to open and to close the gates, the kraton also shows domination over the people living outside of the area, by deciding when they could enter Baluwarti.

Outside of Baluwarti there is another circle, which is the city boundary. The boundary of the city of Surakarta is defined clearly by the existence of city gates. Unlike that of Yogyakarta, these city gates are acknowledged by the kraton of Surakarta. The gates were built by the kraton even though the date is still unknown, and they bear the coat of arms of the kraton or a writing of 'PB X' to signify the king who built them. The symbols of kraton on those gates show the use of authority as a form of 'power over'. The use of a coat of arms and the initials of the king make the symbols stronger than those in Yogyakarta, which only come in distinctive shapes, as the symbols are stronger. City gates, however, could not prevent people from moving in and out of the city. The role of the gates of city boundaries is as symbols of authority.

¹²⁸ In 2004, the people living in Baluwarti reported the kraton to the police because the kraton of Surakarta closed all the gates all day due to the internal conflict between Hangabehi and Tejowulan about the succession after the death of Pakubuwana XII. Hence, the people living in Baluwarti lost access to the area outside the wall. (<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2004/08/31/05847285/Warga-Baluwarti-Laporkan-Keraton-Solo-ke-Polisi>).

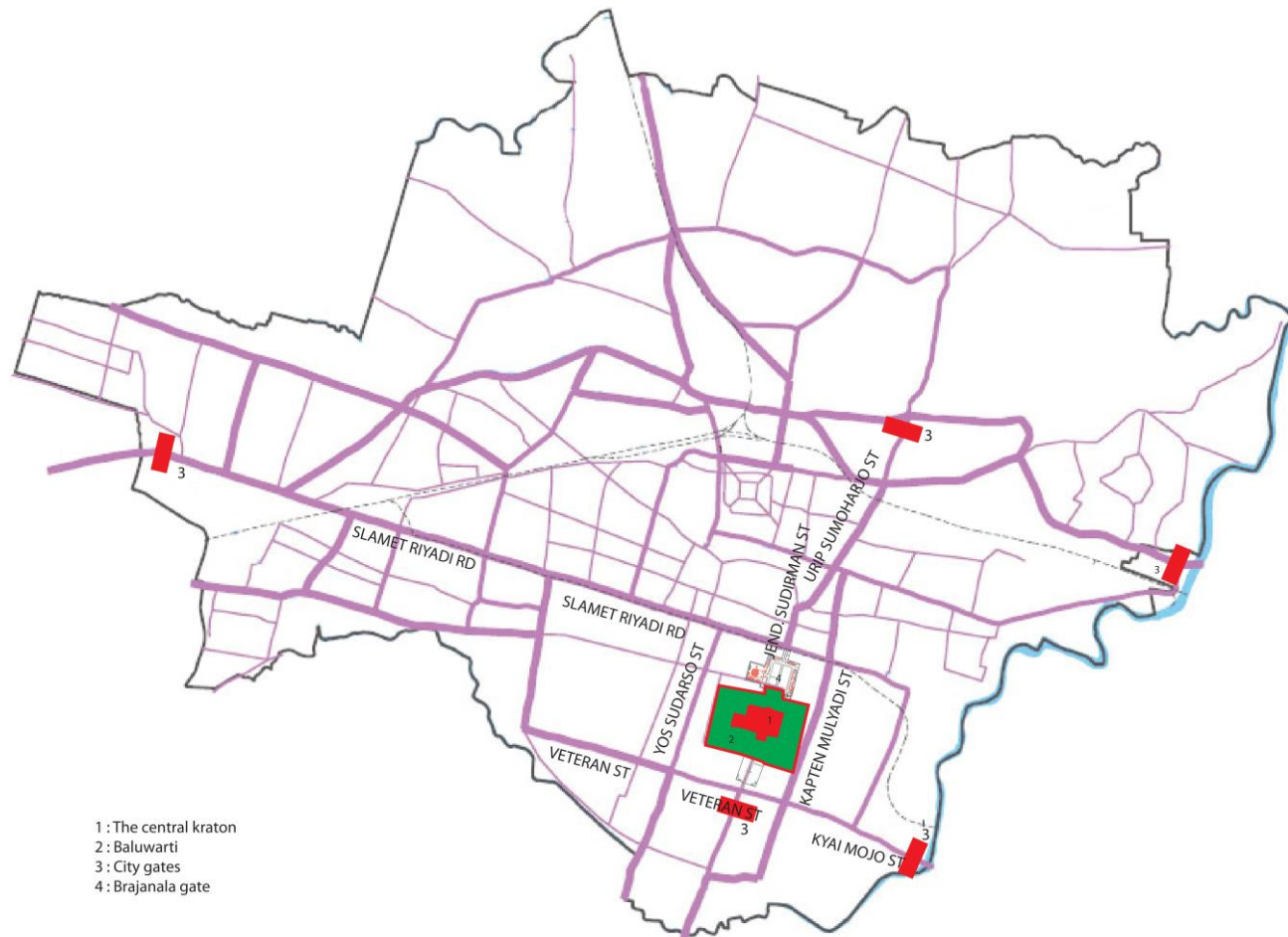


Figure 5.18 The location of circles of the city of Surakarta. There are three circles in total. The first circle is the inner area of the kraton, followed by Baluwarti, the block boundary and city gates. The small red rectangles are the city gates.
 (Derived from Solo Kota Kita and Miksic,2004)



Figure 5.19 One of the city gates of Surakarta. (Image courtesy: Miksic, 2004)



Figure 5.20 One of the gates connecting the Northern Alun-alun of the kraton to the city of Surakarta. This gate uses the kraton's coat of arms, symbolising the authority of the kraton of Surakarta. (Image courtesy: Miksic, 2004)

It should be noted that neither official publication of the kraton of Yogyakarta *Kraton Jogja: The history and cultural heritage* (2002) and the kraton of Surakarta, *Kraton Surakarta* (2004) mention anything about those circles in their cosmological concepts. One member of the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta, however, described the circles of

Surakarta as being hierarchical¹²⁹. Apart from that, the walled circles and gates show a practice of power by using force and authority.

B.2. Axis

I have discussed the cosmological axis in chapter 2 and chapter 4. In this section, I would like to proceed further to the cosmological axis in the urban context.

The official book published by the kraton of Yogyakarta, *Kraton Jogja: The history and cultural heritage* (2002) only mentions the north-south axis, while the kraton of Surakarta's official publication, *Kraton Surakarta* (2004) mentions both a north-south axis and an east-west axis. However, both of them refer to the same concepts in relation to those axes. The existence of a cosmological concept creates a seduction in the form of a divinely ordered urban structure.

The concepts underlying the spatial order mentioned above are related to the kingship of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The first is *sangkan paraning dumadi* which is an understanding about the unity of man and God. This concept is also translated as *habluminallah* in Islam, which refers to the relationship between man and God. The second concept is *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* which is the unity of the king and the people (Association, 2002; Miksic, 2004, p. 104). This can be translated into *habluminannaas* in Islam, meaning the relationship with other human beings. The kraton sources mention these two concepts in relation to the axes, particularly the north-south axis.

According to the kraton of Yogyakarta, the north-south axis from the Indian Ocean to the Merapi volcano passing through the kraton, signifies the *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* or *habluminannaas*, while the same north-south axis from *Panggung Krapyak* to *Tugu Golong Gilig* passing the kraton signifies *sangkan paraning dumadi* or *habluminallah* (Association, 2002, p. 28). The axis from Indian Ocean to the Merapi volcano through the kraton signifies the position of the kraton to be the

¹²⁹ Based on an interview with KGPH Puger on 28th December 2010, 10.00 am.

point of balance that stabilises the (supernatural) forces of the Indian Ocean and the Merapi volcano; that is, the unity of the king and his subjects. This act of balancing and stabilising is considered to be one obligation of a king. The explanation of the concept of *sangkan paraning dumadi* in the form of the north-south axis from Panggung Krapyak to Tugu Golong Gilig will be discussed in detail in the next chapter as it relates to architecture.

The kraton of Surakarta has another perception of these concepts. The concept of *sangkan paraning dumadi* is signified in the layout of the kraton from the Gladhag gate to the centre of the kraton, Kedhaton (Miksic, 2004, p. 104). The concept of *manunggaling kawula lan gusti*, however, is said to be signified in the details of the architecture (Miksic, 2004, p. 106). This is different with that of the kraton of Yogyakarta in that the concept of *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* in Yogyakarta is reflected in the macro scale, while *sangkan paraning dumadi* is reflected in a smaller scale. That of Surakarta has *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* reflected in the details of architecture while *sangkan paraning dumadi* is reflected in the architectural layout. None of the kraton of Surakarta's cosmological concepts is said to be reflected in the urban scale, such as those of the kraton of Yogyakarta, though. Both of the concepts of the kraton of Surakarta will be discussed later in the next chapter, as they directly relate to issues of architecture. For the city layout outside of the kraton, the kraton of Surakarta has a concept of *Pajupat* which involves four cardinal directions and one centre in which the four converge. This concept dates back to the pre-Islamic era. In this concept, there are four forces in four cardinal directions, which are stabilised by the centre; the kraton. As mentioned earlier in the previous sub-section, the concept of *Pajupat* cannot be found in the cosmological narrative of Yogyakarta¹³⁰. Some studies mention that there are objects in cardinal directions of the

¹³⁰ In a wider scope, as mentioned in chapter 4, some argue that *Pajupat* also exists, apart from the north-south axis, as there is an east-west axis. This east-west axis is claimed to be formed by Mount Lawu and Dlepih Kayangan (Nas, 2011, p. 100). However, the claim is wrong because none of them is located to the west of Yogyakarta, therefore makes it impossible to make an east-west axis.

city of Yogyakarta in the form of mosques. These mosques are called *Pathok Nagara*¹³¹ mosques. There are five of them: Mlangi, Plosokuning, Babadan, Dongkelan, and Wonokromo. Mlangi is located in the west, Plosokuning is in the north, Babadan is in the east, Dongkelan and Wonokromo are in the south. However, the locations of those mosques are not exactly in the cardinal directions of the kraton. Mlangi is located in the northwest, Babadan in the northeast, Dongkelan in the southeast and Wonokromo in the southwest. Their number and locations make it impossible to make straight axes just like that of the north-south axis mentioned before. Suhardjo (2004) argues that there are only four mosques, without Wonokromo mosque, to create the axis of *kiblat papat lima pancer* or Pajupat because he considers that the location of the mosque of Wonokromo is somewhat strange. However, it is also possible that those mosques actually do not contribute to any axis but to the city boundary (Muttaqin, n.d., p. 12), as ‘pathok’ in Javanese can be used to refer to a border sign. There is also a possibility that those mosques act as a symbol of the five pillars of Islam¹³² (Budi, 2005, p. 6). The official publication of the kraton of Yogyakarta itself does not mention anything about the Pathok Nagara mosques in its description about cosmology. Because of this speculation, I would not consider it for any additional axes of Yogyakarta.

To see how the axis is placed in the layout of the cities, we need to see the cities and their axes once more. In Figure 5.22. we can see that the north- south axis of Yogyakarta is very clear as it is shown in the straight road network going from north to south through the kraton. Moreover, there are two objects to the north and the south, *Tugu Golong Gilig* to the north and *Panggung Krapyak* to the south. Meanwhile the layout of the city of Surakarta in the same figure shows that both the

¹³¹ Literally, ‘pathok’ can refer to many things including ‘peg’, ‘sign’ and ‘pillars’. The Pathok Nagara mosques however, are the mosques built under the order of the king. Those mosques were built in *tanah perdikan* or tax-free village in which resided an Islamic ulama and his *pesantren* or Islamic school (Budi, 2005, p. 6; Carey, Britain, & branch, 1981, p. 302) .

¹³² Budi quotes Carey that before 1830 there were four Pathok Negara mosques around Yogyakarta and Surakarta with another one at the centre, to represent the five pillars of Islam.

The visible axis of Yogyakarta makes it easier to be used to strengthen the cosmological narrative of the kraton. This axis overlaps with the royal road or margaraja as mentioned in the previous section. As the margaraja of Yogyakarta has significance in the urban life, in that it connects the city of Yogyakarta to other cities around it, it strengthens the axis and reproduces the power structure that comes with it. This is different with the axis of Surakarta which is invisible and the overlapping street makes no significant contribution to the urban life because it does not connect the city to other cities.

The insignificance of the overlapping street weakens the axis more. The visibility / invisibility and significance / insignificance of the axes mentioned above, are forms of coercion in which people could see the significance and centrality of certain spaces among others, apart from their awareness of the cosmological narrative. The straight axis makes it easier to see the existence of the kraton, and while the axis itself is significant in urban life, it makes sure that more people are to experience this space and are made aware of the existence and significance of the kraton.

C. THE ACTIVATION OF SPACE

This section focuses on the present activation of space which is very important for the reproduction of the structure. As mentioned in section A, some of the kratons' buildings and structure are used for new important functions, such as that of new governmental offices. Also in the previous section, we can see that the royal road or margaraja, which also serves the cosmological axis in Yogyakarta, still has significance unlike that of Surakarta. The activation of old structure, which conveys a power structure, is an act of reproduction of domination. The reproduction can be in the form of using the old structure for new functions, particularly governmental, political and cultural, thus re-activating the structure that already existed. In this case, the urban planning made by the government as the regulation is

one key to the space activation. People can also activate the space apart from the regulation. This section will focus on this spatial activation and goes into detail to see the practice of power; not only those related to cosmological narrative but also other forms of ‘power over’.

C.1. Yogyakarta

The centre of the urban system of Yogyakarta is located right to the north of the compounds of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The junction right to the north of the north Alun-alun is also considered as the ‘point zero’ (*titik nol*) or the centre of the city. The street to the north of the kraton compounds, Malioboro, is the main commercial street of the city of Yogyakarta, which is also the location of the provincial offices¹³³ including the parliament house. The area of the kraton serves tourism and culture, as well as the city image along with other areas such as the Pakualaman¹³⁴, Malioboro Street, Mangkubumi Street¹³⁵, Kotagede¹³⁶, Kotabaru¹³⁷ and Terban¹³⁸. It is also the main area to be preserved along with Kotabaru, Kotagede, Mangkubumi and Malioboro Street, Pakualaman, river basins of Code, Winongo and Gajahwong. Also preserved are several main roads of Yogyakarta, including the north-south oriented road from the south alun-alun heading to the south, which is part of the north-south axis which has been discussed in the previous section.

The consequences for the local governmental regulation mentioned above are that the area of the kraton of Yogyakarta and Malioboro Street become the centre of tourism, commercial, cultural and political activities.

The document on an urban layout plan, usually called RTRW, of

¹³³ It should be noted that the provincial offices of the Special Region of Yogyakarta are located in one of the kraton’s noble houses called *Kepatihan*.

¹³⁴ The minor court of Yogyakarta.

¹³⁵ The street to the north of Malioboro Street, commonly recognised for its colonial buildings.

¹³⁶ Kotagede is the first capital of the Mataram kingdom, located in the southeast side of Yogyakarta. The capital of Mataram was moved several times including to Kerta, Pleret, Kartasura and Surakarta.

¹³⁷ Kotabaru, literally means ‘New Town’ is an area to the north of the city which was designed in early 1900s by Thomas Karsten, a Dutch architect, for Dutch settlements.

¹³⁸ Terban is an area adjacent to Kotabaru, mainly consisting of colonial buildings.

the city of Yogyakarta shows that the kraton and its surroundings located inside the Beteng wall, Pakualaman and Kotagedhe are the main tourist attractions of the city. The kraton, however, has the biggest scale of tourism among the three.

Based on the governmental plan for urban layout, the commercial zone of the city is located all over the main streets and roads of the city. The main shopping street of the city is Malioboro. We can see from Figure 5.23. that the commercial zone is concentrated in the area around Malioboro. The area of the kraton, however, is free from commercial activities. In reality, based on my direct observation, there are some commercial activities inside the Beteng area, even though on a somewhat small scale such as street vendors, very small souvenir shops and a small traditional market.

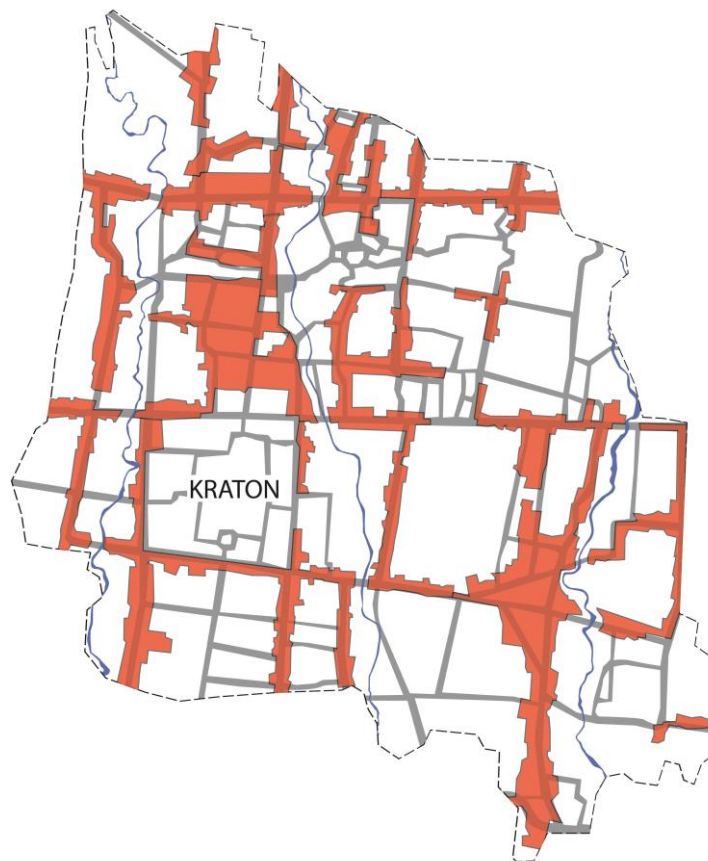


Figure 5.23. Commercial zone of the city of Yogyakarta.
(Source: RTRW Yogyakarta 2010-2029)

Malioboro Street is also the main place for political events –along

with the north alun-alun as it is the place of the provincial office and parliament house. Some of the most prominent political events are as follows:

1. The demonstration of 20th May 1998 which was led by the king Hamengkubuwana X to support *Reformasi* movement –literally means ‘reformation’- whose aim was to sue the president of the Republic of Indonesia, by that time Suharto, to resign¹³⁹. Around a million people joined this event, which started from the boulevard of Gadjah Mada University, the first university of the state¹⁴⁰. From there the people then paraded to the north alun-alun through Malioboro Street. During that day, the shops along Malioboro Street and Beringharjo market were all closed, and some people along the way provided food and drink for free for the attendees. The issue was national and in this event the king Hamengkubuwana X and the prince Pakualam VIII made a joint declaration calling for the people to support Reformasi, pray for the nation and calling for the military to protect the people. This event is remarkable because it was conducted in peace and no violence was recorded¹⁴¹.
2. *Pisowanan Ageng* in October 2008 as a support for the king Hamengkubuwana X to be a candidate for the presidential election of 2009. This event took place in the point zero of Yogyakarta, in which people willing to attend gathered in four points -in the west, east, north and south- before proceeding to the north alun-alun to see the king Hamengkubuwana X. Those collecting points were Gamping, Druwo, Rejowinangun and *Monumen Jogja Kembali*¹⁴². This event

¹³⁹ <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/indonesian/Reformasi/Chronicle/Kompas/May21/sult01.htm>

¹⁴⁰ This university is also related closely to the kraton. This is because the kraton let the university use some of its buildings in the kraton compounds for lecture rooms and offices, before the university buildings and facilities were built in the area of Sleman, to the north of the city of Yogyakarta. The present king, Hamengkubuwana X is also an alumnus of this university and he is actively involved in the alumni organisation.

¹⁴¹ This can be compared to other political events in other cities, particularly Surakarta, which led to violence, riots and even clash between the people and the military which took many lives during the political unrest of 1998.

¹⁴² Literally means ‘Monument of the return of Yogyakarta’, it is a monument built during the reign of Suharto to commemorate the return of the city of Yogyakarta to the republic after being occupied by

was attended by around 50,000 people and supported by local artists. His candidacy failed as he lacked support from areas other than Yogyakarta and Central Java.

3. The demonstration of 13th December 2010, named *Sidang Rakyat* or 'People's Assembly', to put pressure on the local parliament to support *Penetapan* or the automatic appointment of the king of the kraton and the prince Pakualam as governor and vice governor as the main point of being a special region. This event was a reaction to the polemic issued by the president of the state by that time - Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono- that the national government intended to dismiss the automatic appointment of governor and vice governor, as it was considered against democracy. In this event, thousands of people, including students from other parts of Indonesia such as Papua who temporarily lived in Yogyakarta, gathered in the north alun-alun of the kraton then moved to the parliament house in Malioboro Street where the parliament had the final meeting to consider their support upon the issue of automatic appointment of governor and vice governor and the issue of special status. Outside the parliament house there were orations by the royal family of the kraton and the minor court and by other people including those from outside of Yogyakarta. As mentioned in chapter one, the special status of Yogyakarta gives the kraton most power in three aspects. Those are acknowledging the kraton's territory to be the same level as a province, automatically appointing the king of the kraton governor, and preserving the kraton's properties including all the land in its territory except those already given away by the kraton. However, the law of the speciality of Yogyakarta had never been passed and it was in this point that the state intended to pass one with a consequence that some of the rights, including the automatic appointments, might be changed. The kraton and the minor court needed as much support as possible to reserve their previous rights. This event was unsuccessful in that most

the Dutch.

members of the parliament, particularly those belonging to the Democrat Party, the most dominant political party by that time, disagreed with the kraton and suggested the governor should be elected democratically instead of being appointed automatically¹⁴³. Other members agreed with the kraton though.

4. *Syawalan* (celebration of Eid) in 2011 organised by the provincial government was held in the Pagelaran pavilion of the kraton instead of Kepatihan. The celebration included a parade of the governmental staffs from Kepatihan to the kraton. This event is political, as those people insisted on the appointment of the king Hamengkubuwana X as governor and the prince Pakualam as vice governor¹⁴⁴.
5. The celebration of the inauguration of the king Hamengkubuwana X and prince Pakualam IX as governor and vice governor in 10th October 2012. In this event, all the shops and vendors in Malioboro Street were closed. Instead, the sellers and food vendors made one hundred *tumpeng*¹⁴⁵ served along Malioboro Street for everyone to eat for free¹⁴⁶ while others organised to watch the inauguration live on television in Beringharjo market, in front of *Gedung Agung*¹⁴⁷ – literally means ‘the Big Building’- where the inauguration took place, as well as in the Pagelaran –the front part of the kraton¹⁴⁸. The people call this event as *Pesta Rakyat* or ‘people’s party’.

¹⁴³ There was an incident related to this in which one of king Hamengkubuwana X’s brothers was an active politician from the Democrat Party. He resigned from his role in this political party following the party’s attitude against the kraton.

¹⁴⁴ <http://m.pikiran-rakyat.com/node/157406>

¹⁴⁵ *Tumpeng* is a big set of meal –usually for more than 20 people- consisting of cone-shaped rice to resemble a mountain, placed on a big round bamboo tray along with vegetable salad and other side dishes.

¹⁴⁶

http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/10/10/16373541/100.Tumpeng.Berjajar.di.Malioboro?utm_source=WP&utm_medium=Ktpidx&utm_campaign=

¹⁴⁷ This building is located in the point zero, just in the opposite of the Dutch Fort Vredeburg. It was the place of Dutch resident using the kraton’s land. After Independence, when the capital of the republic was moved to Yogyakarta between 1946 and 1949, this building was used for presidential offices.

¹⁴⁸

http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/10/10/1045483/Pedagang.Pasar.Beringharjo.Gelar.Nonton.Bareng?utm_source=WP&utm_medium=Ktpidx&utm_campaign=

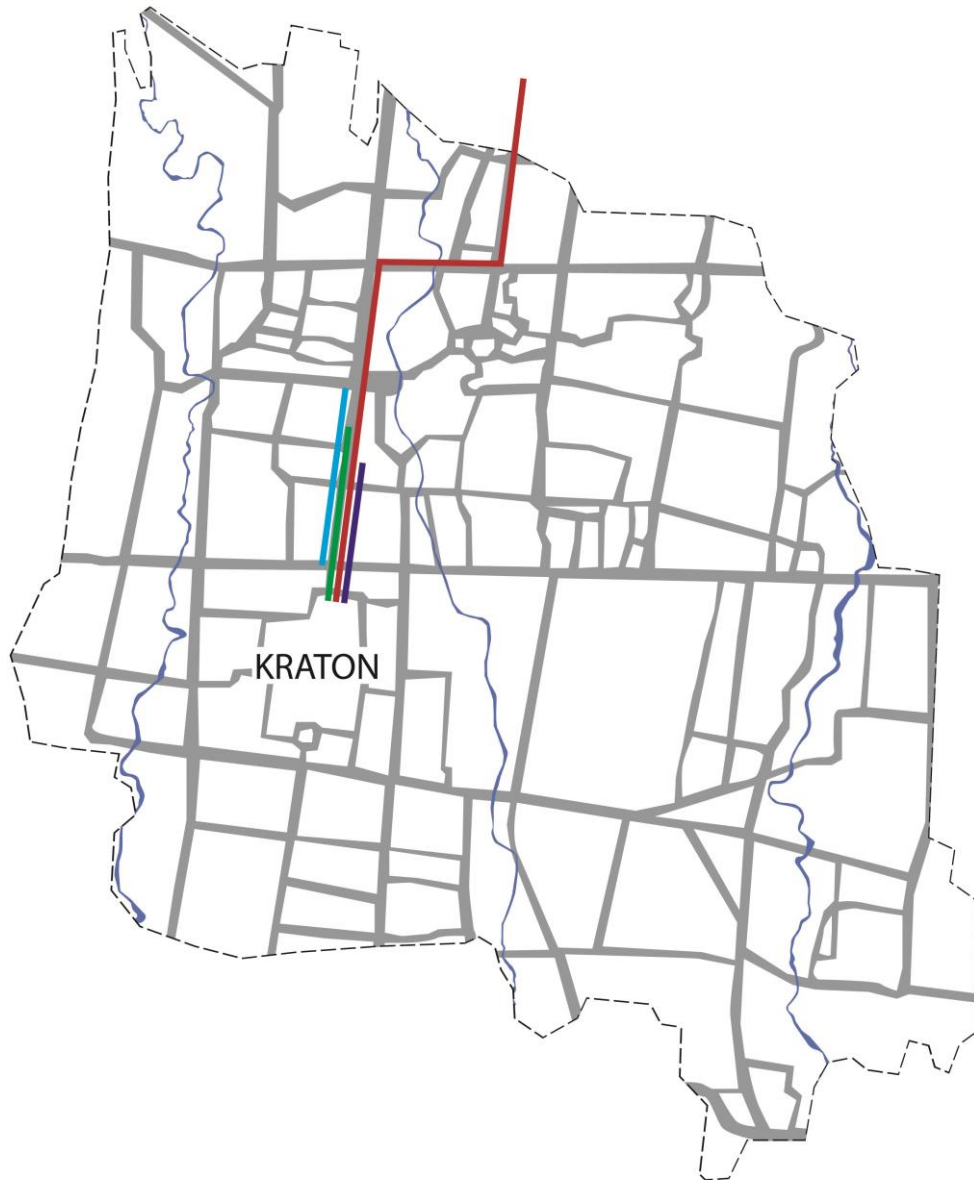


Figure 5.24. The location of some prominent political events. The celebration of the appointment of the king as governor is shown in blue. The demonstration to support *Reformasi* is shown in dark red. The demonstration to give pressure to the regional parliament to support *Penetapan* is shown in green and Syawalan is shown in dark blue.



Figure 5.25. The route taken for Pisowanan Ageng, shown in red. As seen in this picture, there are four collecting points in cardinal directions from which the people gathered and proceeded to the north alun-alun together.

The kraton and Malioboro Street are also significant places for cultural events. This includes the regular kraton rituals, city festivals and special events. In the scope of the city, there are several rituals including *Garebeg* and *Lampah Bisu* with the main ritual being *Garebeg*. There are also special events of the kraton such as the coronation of the king and *Dhaup Ageng* or royal weddings. The city festivals are mostly carried out for tourism, including the Jogja Java Art Festival and *Festival Budaya Tionghoa* or Chinese Cultural Festival.

Garebeg is a ritual focused on the relationship of the kraton to

Islam. There are three kinds of Garebeg every year, *Garebeg Mulud*, *Garebeg Besar* and *Garebeg Syawal*. Garebeg Mulud is held in the month of *Mulud*, the month of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. Garebeg Besar is held to celebrate the Islamic holiday of Eid Al-Adha. Garebeg Syawal is held to celebrate Eid. During the Garebeg ceremony, several *Gunungan* -a thanksgiving offering that consists of agricultural harvests cooked and uncooked being arranged in the shape of a mountain- are distributed among the people. It symbolises thanksgiving for the prosperity and the king's generosity to the people (Association, 2002, p. 125). This generosity plays an important role in legitimating the king and the kraton because it is the only means to domination (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 190). This domination can be seen from how people see the offerings and the king's alms. The offerings and alms given away by the king are considered to have blessing, and those who manage to obtain them, through scrambling, will have prosperity and happiness. That is why the act of getting the offering from the kraton is called *Ngalap Berkah*, which means 'gaining the blessing'.

The biggest Garebeg among the three Garebeg is Garebeg Mulud. The difference between this Garebeg and the others is that this Garebeg is combined with a ritual called *sekaten* which takes place in the Great Mosque. Sekaten is a play of a sacred gamelan set for a whole month. However people usually use the term 'Sekaten' to refer to the bazaar that takes place in the north alun-alun accompanying the gamelan play. The Garebeg Mulud, carried out in the 30th day, is the main event to end the Sekaten and the bazaar. Another difference with the other Garebeg is the number of gunungan used in this ritual which is more than the others¹⁴⁹. In this case, the number of gunungan is usually six with five of them are being distributed in the Great Mosque and one is distributed in Pakualaman. The other Garebeg uses fewer gunungan, for example Garebeg Syawal only uses one big gunungan. The gunungan were carried from the kraton to the Great Mosque in a parade by the kraton's guards to

be blessed in the mosque before being distributed in the mosque yard. From the Great Mosque one *gunungan* was paraded to Pakualaman by the guards to be distributed to the people there. From 2011, however, there is a change in Garebeg ritual in relation to the number of *gunungan* provided. The number of *gunungan* for Garebeg, which was six, turned into seven with one newly added *gunungan* being distributed in Kepatihan, the governor office.

Lampah Bisu means ‘walking in silence’. This ritual is not sponsored by the kraton of Yogyakarta, but by the *abdi dalem* of the kraton. It is held every new year’s eve of the Islamic calendar. In this ritual, people proceed from the Kamandhungan courtyard of the kraton, walking out of the *Beteng* wall and going anticlockwise around the *Beteng* wall in silence. The Lampah Bisu ends in the north alun-alun of the kraton. The meaning of this ritual is to celebrate new year by doing self-reflection.

Both rituals mentioned above are regular events conducted every year. There are several special events including royal weddings, the king’s coronation and others.

Special events of the kraton that I would like to mention here are the coronation of the king Hamengkubuwana X, and two royal weddings, one of the eldest daughter of the king Hamengkubuwana X and another of his youngest daughter. The coronation of Hamengkubuwana X was held in 7th March 1989 after the deeply-mourned passing of Hamengkubuwana IX in 3rd October 1988. The accession process was held in Sitinggil pavilion of the kraton, followed by a *kirab* –literally means parade accompanied by royal troops – from the front gate of the kraton going through the way between the two banyan trees¹⁵⁰ in the north alun-alun and encircling the *Beteng* area.

The two royal weddings I am going to discuss here are of the first

¹⁴⁹ In Garebeg Syawal, for example, the number of *gunungan* is only one but in a bigger size.

¹⁵⁰ Going between the two banyan trees is very important that if it is missed in the procession, the accession is not acceptable. In the case of Hamengkubuwana X coronation however, one of the banyan trees fell down after the passing of Hamengkubuwana IX and needed to be replaced before the

and the last daughters of the king Hamengkubuwana X¹⁵¹. The reason for this is because the weddings of the other daughters of the king were held only inside the kraton. No parade in public space was taken. The weddings of the first and the last daughters, however, included a parade in the city spaces.

The first royal wedding is of the king's first daughter, GKR Pembayun on 28th May 2002. The procession was mainly held inside the kraton with a reception in Bangsal Kencana of the kraton, followed by a kirab encircling the Beteng area. The kirab went through the front gate of Pagelaran, between two banyan trees of the north alun-alun then round the Beteng area. This kirab was accompanied by palace troops.

The second royal wedding of the king's youngest daughter took place in the kraton with a reception in the Kepatihan instead of the Bangsal Kencana of the kraton like her sisters' weddings. It was not supposed to use the urban space for wedding ceremony as the kirab is a privilege of the first daughter only. However, in this most recent royal wedding that took place on 18th October 2011, following the ceremonies inside the kraton the bride and groom along with their families were paraded on royal carriages from the kraton to Kepatihan where the wedding reception was held. Just like that of her eldest sister, this parade was accompanied by the kraton troops and horses. The wedding reception that took place in Kepatihan was claimed by the kraton as an effort to go back to the tradition practiced during the reign of Hamengkubuwana VII¹⁵², which is one characteristic of 'invented' tradition. This parade was also accompanied by *Pesta Rakyat* or people's party in which people voluntarily performed arts and provided free food along the way. During the parade the Malioboro Street was closed and the traffic was diverted. This is not only because the parade needed so much space but also because it went along the opposite direction on the

kirab (Hughes-Freeland, 1991, pp.134-135).

¹⁵¹ The king Hamengkubuwana X has five children all of which are girls.

¹⁵² based on personal communication with GKR Bendara, the youngest daughter of the king Hamengkubuwana X on 16th May 2013.

one-way-street Malioboro to go to the Kepatihan.

Jogja Java Art Festival is the main festival of the city of Yogyakarta as it is held to celebrate the anniversary of the city. This event was launched for the first time in 2008 to be held annually. This festival culminates in a carnival named Jogja Java Carnival. The carnival starts from the parking lot of Abubakar Ali, proceeds along Malioboro Street to the north alun-alun. The participants of this event are artists not only from the city of Yogyakarta, but also from the other parts of Indonesia and even from other countries¹⁵³.

Festival Budaya Tionghoa or Chinese Cultural Festival is an annual festival started in 2005 to celebrate Chinese new year. This event is held in the Ketandan area, close to Beringharjo market, which has been the Chinese settlement area since the colonial period. The festival consists of several events, one of which is a parade from Ketandan to the point zero, in the form of Jogja Dragon Festival. The participants of this event come not only from Yogyakarta area but also from outside of the special region. In this event, the king Hamengkubuwana is involved in opening the festival. Moreover, the kraton's troops are also involved in leading the parade.

¹⁵³ <http://travel.detik.com/read/2011/05/04/110909/1512660/1025/3/jogja-java-carnival-2010>

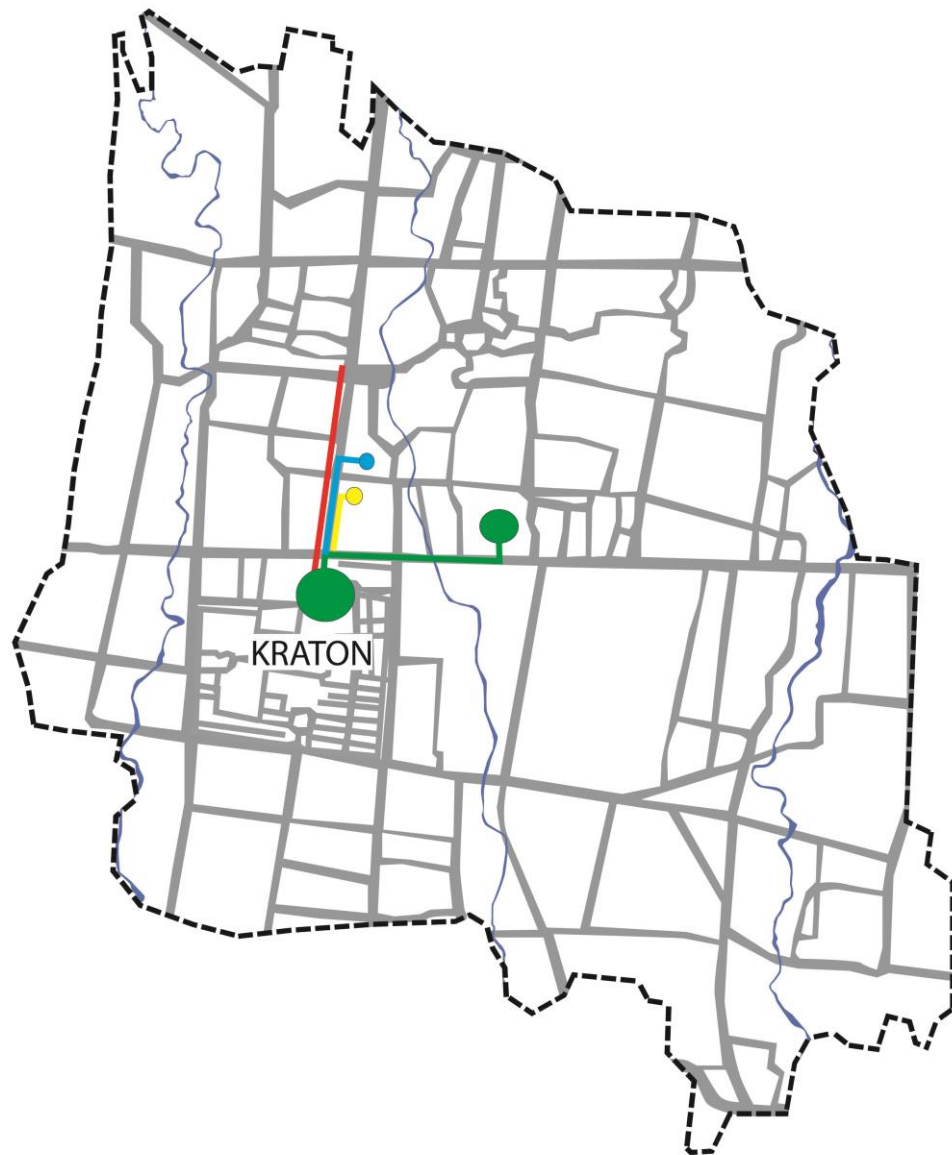


Figure 5.26. The route of several regular cultural events in the city of Yogyakarta. The line shown in red: Jogja Java Carnival, green: Garebeg Mulud, blue: the new additional route for Garebeg Mulud since 2011, and yellow: Jogja Dragon Festival.



Figure 5.27. The route taken for Lampah Bisu, shown in red.



Figure 5.28. The space used for special events of the kraton. The king's coronation *kirab* is shown in red. The *kirab* for the royal wedding of the first child is shown in green. The royal wedding of the king's youngest daughter in 2011 is shown in yellow.

The description mentioned above does not mean that there are no other cultural events taking place in the city. The minor court of Pakualaman, for example, carries out several rituals around its palace. However, their scale is much smaller, the location is not in the city centre and they are not well publicised¹⁵⁴.

From Figures 5.24 to 5.28 we can see that Malioboro Street and the north alun-alun are still preferred as the place for events including

¹⁵⁴ For example, the palace of Pakualaman opens three days a week from 9.30am to 1.30pm but it is not well publicised, resulting in a very small number of visitors.

festivals and political events, even though the kraton's own rituals before 2011 did not use Malioboro Street. The activation of Malioboro Street and the north alun-alun of the kraton by those events underlines their importance, and this also fits the cosmological narrative of the kraton; particularly about the axis. It is the significance of this axis that is being repeated over and over again in describing the city. The Department of Culture of the city consulted the kraton-owned- consultant, PT. Kertagana, to produce and publish a video about the cosmological axis of the city. However, we can see that this spatial activation is not only by the kraton's rituals but mainly by new activities. The new activities, which are basically unrelated to the kraton, are connected to the kraton by the involvement of kraton troops or the king who ambiguously acts as governor and king at the same time. This ambiguity can be seen in the name used for his position as governor which is *Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana X*, his royal title instead of his real name, Herjuno Darpito¹⁵⁵. The involvement of the kraton and the king in new activities makes such activities connected to the kraton.

The rituals such as kirab Jumenengan, kirab of the royal wedding and lampah bisu are held on the same route, encircling the Beteng area. Garebeg is different in that it includes the route from the kraton to Pakualaman. The Garebeg and special events after 2011, however, have changed in that both of them use Malioboro Street and Kepatihan. Garebeg ritual now includes Kepatihan in addition to Pakualaman. There is no official explanation about this change. The Royal Wedding that included a reception in Kepatihan and parade from the kraton to Kepatihan, however, was explained by the kraton as going back to the previous tradition of Hamengkubuwana VII in which he used Kepatihan as a place for wedding receptions. This break from the previous 'tradition' while seeking a legitimate reason from the past is a characteristic of 'invented' tradition. The most probable explanation for

¹⁵⁵ After his automatic appointment was agreed by the state in 2012, another problem was raised in that the state wanted the king to have his real name in his position as governor but the king refused

the reason of these invented traditions is to emphasise the connection between the kraton and Kepatihan, which is the governor's office. This was a shrewd move considering the 2011 situation, in which the speciality of Yogyakarta, mainly the automatic appointment of the king as governor, was under question by the state. Those 'new' traditions are political, coincidentally occurring in the same route and the same year. The same route –in an opposite direction- was also used for Syawalan 2011. So after 2010 we can see that the space between the kraton and Kepatihan becomes more active. This highlighted the connection between the kraton and provincial government, as implied by the Penetapan movement: the automatic appointment of the king to be governor of the special region.

Moreover, the commercial zoning of the city supports the kraton in that the kraton and its surroundings, located inside the Beteng, are protected from the commercial activities. This makes the kraton visible and in turn makes it the main destination when entering the area. This can be compared with that of Surakarta which will be discussed in the next section.

C.2. Surakarta

The situation is different in Surakarta as can be seen in Figures 5.29. and 5.30. In this city the focus of development lies in the area of the kraton, Mangkunegaran, Slamet Riyadi Road, along with the parallel streets from the kraton and Mangkunegaran area; Dr. Rajiman and Ronggowarsito Streets. Slamet Riyadi Road is the biggest road in the city. It is one way which is heading from west to east and it accommodates commercial activities and offices. The street of Dr. Rajiman is commercial, full of local shops mainly of batik, souvenir, gold and shoes. More importantly, Klewer market, the biggest batik market in the province of Central Java, is located in this street. Ronggowarsito Street is also commercial but in a smaller scale than Dr.

and chose to have his royal title for his position as governor instead.

Rajiman Street.

Unlike in Yogyakarta, where the *margaraja* had become the main street of the city, the main thoroughfare of the city of Surakarta is Slamet Riyadi Road. This road is planned for mixed use, such as commercial and offices. The *margaraja* of the kraton of Surakarta, Jendral Sudirman Street, is short but some important facilities are located there, such as post office, banks, and the city hall which occupies *Kepatihan*, the residence of the patih or prime minister of the kraton, which previously belonged to the kraton.

In the RTRW¹⁵⁶ map of the local government of the city of Surakarta, the area of the kraton is considered as the conservation area along with the area of Mangkunegaran palace, Sriwedari Park and Balekambang Park. Sriwedari Park is a park previously belonging to the kraton while Balekambang Park belonged to the minor court of Mangkunegaran. The area on the north-south axis of the kraton is a commercial zone which, in this case, is in local scale. The area around the north alun-alun of the kraton however, is for commercial use not only on a local scale but also on a regional scale, such as that of Klewer market, Beteng Trade Centre and Pusat Grosir Solo. Those three commercial centres dominate the commercial activities around the kraton. This does not mean that smaller scaled commerce is absent in this area. The north alun-alun is currently full of local shops selling souvenirs, glasses and batik clothes. At night time, the street in front of Beteng Trade Centre becomes a culinary shopping street known as Gladhag Langen Bogan, or culinary shopping of Gladhag.

I will do some mappings of city-scaled activities, just like that of Yogyakarta in the previous sub-section, in order to see how the people activate the urban space. In this case, I will map the economic, political and cultural events or activities in the urban spaces.

The economic or commercial activities of the city of Surakarta are concentrated in the area of the kraton. We can see from Figure 5.26.

that most commercial activities are concentrated in two blocks around the kraton, with two centres for regional trade in the area extremely close to the kraton. This is very different from that of Yogyakarta, in which the commercial activities are concentrated outside of the kraton, leaving the kraton area relatively free from commercial activities, except for very small shops, traditional market and street vendors.

Regardless of the number of political events in the city of Surakarta, the space used for the events is usually Gladhag, commonly known as the point zero of the city, as seen in Figure 5.28. Other locations commonly used are the city hall or local place related to the topic of the event. Since 2006 however, the city hall has never been used for political events¹⁵⁷. This makes Gladhag¹⁵⁸ as the main place for political events in the city of Surakarta. Some political events had ended in riots that destroyed many parts of the city in 1998 and 1999. The 1998 riot started from a students' political demonstration in Slamet Riyadi Road, demanding president Suharto resign. The gathering went out of control with the crowd burning and looting shopping malls, banks and shops; it then spread sporadically to other parts of the city, leaving the city in terror for several days. The 1999 riot was different in that it was not started by a students' political demonstration and it was concentrated in the Gladhag area, burning the city hall and several buildings¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁶ RTRW or *Rencana Tata Ruang dan Wilayah* is a governmental document on urban planning.

¹⁵⁷ The reason for this is because the government has been more open since 2006 that the people can come to the office and talk directly to the mayor or his deputy.

¹⁵⁸ Even though in some media it is mentioned that the political events take place particularly in front of Bank Indonesia-which is to the north of Gladhag by 15 metres-, based on my own experience the political events in Gladhag always take place in front of BCA to the west.

¹⁵⁹ It is suspected that the failure of Megawati Sukarnoputri to be the republic's president is the main reason for this riot and that the riot was organised by Megawati's political party, PDIP. However, this suspicion has never been confirmed.



Figure 5.29. The commercial zone of the city of Surakarta (Source: RTRW Surakarta 2007-2026, direct observation).

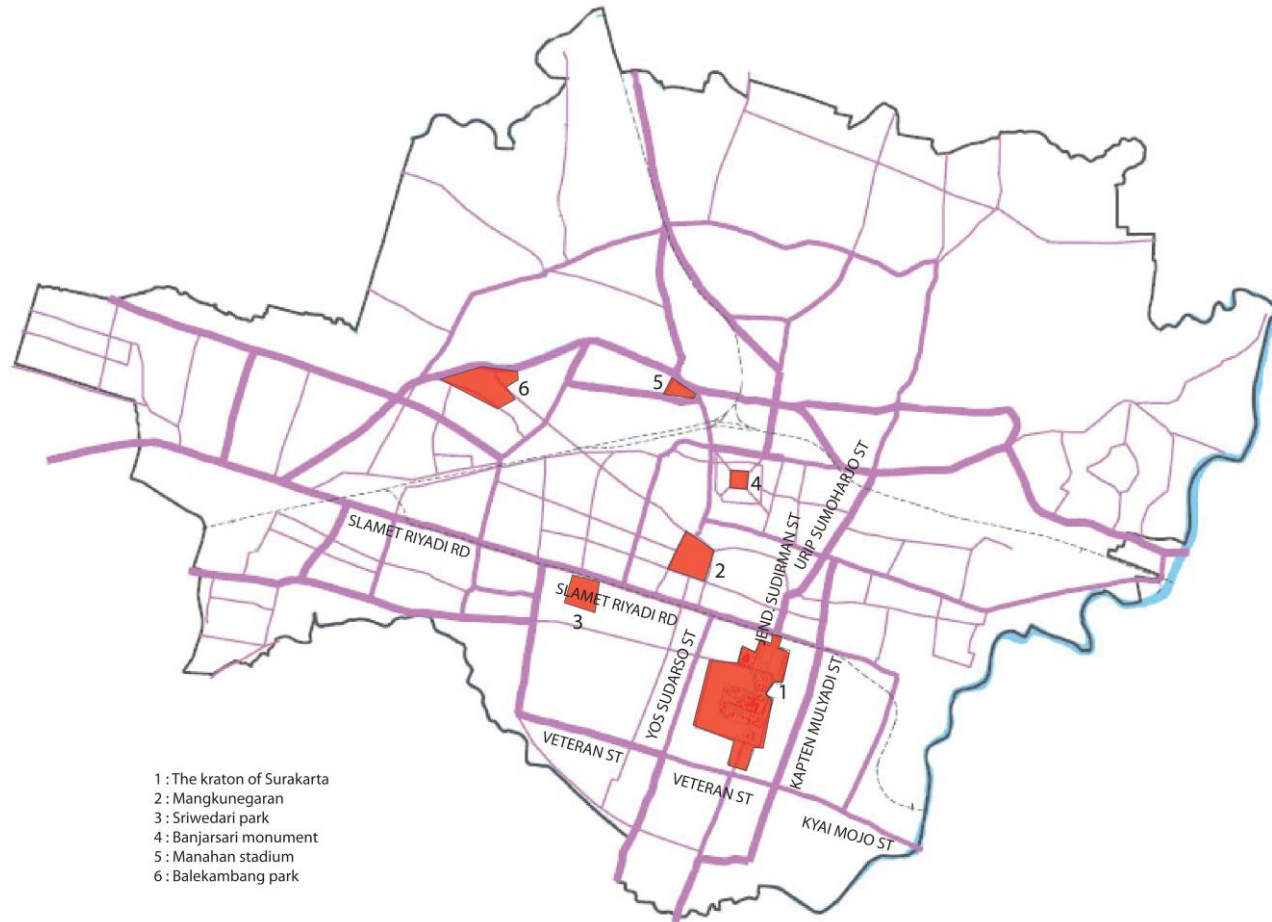


Figure 5.30. The urban heritage of the city of Surakarta according to RTRW 2007 – 2026.



Figure 5.31. The main space used for political events.

In terms of cultural events, there are several regular rituals and city festivals. The regular rituals consists of the Garebeg of the kraton, which like that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, consists of three; Garebeg Mulud, Besar and Syawal; and *Kirab Pusaka* or Heirlooms parades of the kraton and of the Mangkunegaran which are held separately in different areas of the city but on the same day which is in 1 Sura, or the Islamic new year. The king's coronation parade is supposed to be in this list but in the last twenty years it has never be held by the kraton and neither are special events. The city festivals have bloomed in the last ten years. The local government created new events and festivals for tourism by referring to the 'traditional' such as batik, wayang and dance. Some events are related to 'tradition' in a particular way such as 'ethnic music', 'traditional children games' 'traditional food' and gethek (a kind of water transportation, considered as 'traditional'). In this case I will discuss those which occupy urban spaces.

Just like that of Yogyakarta, there are three types of Garebeg: Besar, Syawal and Mulud in which Garebeg Mulud is the biggest and accompanied by Sekaten in the Great Mosque and a bazaar in the north alun-alun. The difference between the Garebeg of the kraton of Surakarta with that of the kraton of Yogyakarta are on the number of gunungan used which is around eight¹⁶⁰ and that the gunungan of Surakarta are distributed only in the Great Mosque area, while those of Yogyakarta are also distributed in Pakualaman and Kepatihan. Just like Yogyakarta, the number of gunungan in Garebeg Besar and Garebeg Syawal is less than that of Garebeg Mulud: only two of them. The procession of Garebeg brings the gunungan from the kraton to the Great Mosque for prayers and then distributing it to the people who will scramble to have any part of the gunungan as they believe it will give them prosperity and happiness. In the case of Surakarta, however, there is a problem of distribution in which the people usually act out of control and start to scramble before

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.timlo.net/baca/59950/gunungan-diarak-menuju-masjid-agung/>

the prayers are finished and the gunungan is ready to distribute¹⁶¹ despite their belief that the gunungan has the blessings that they need.

In spatial terms, the space involved in the procession of the Garebeg is only in the kraton and north alun-alun area. This is true for all types of Garebeg of the kraton of Surakarta. While the alun-alun is actually part of the kraton, this ritual is actually held inside the kraton's own property.

The second ritual that I would like to discuss here is *Kirab Pusaka* which is held every 1st of *Sura* or Javanese –and Islamic- new year. This ritual is similar to the *Lampah Bisu* of Yogyakarta in that it encircles the walled area of Baluwarti or Beteng. The difference between them is that the Kirab Pusaka is officially organised by the kraton of Surakarta to bring its heirlooms out into a parade led by water buffaloes, named Kyai Slamet, which are also considered as heirlooms. There is no restriction of speaking just like that of Yogyakarta, even though it is suggested to keep silent and say prayers during the procession. Starting at midnight, the route taken for this ritual is from Kamandhungan to the north alun-alun –Gladhag – Jendral Sudirman Street – Kapten Mulyadi Street – Veteran Street - Yos Sudarso Street – Slamet Riyadi Road and back to north alun-alun.

¹⁶¹ <http://www.solopos.com/2013/01/24/demi-berkah-mengais-sisa-gunungan-dilakoni-371841>

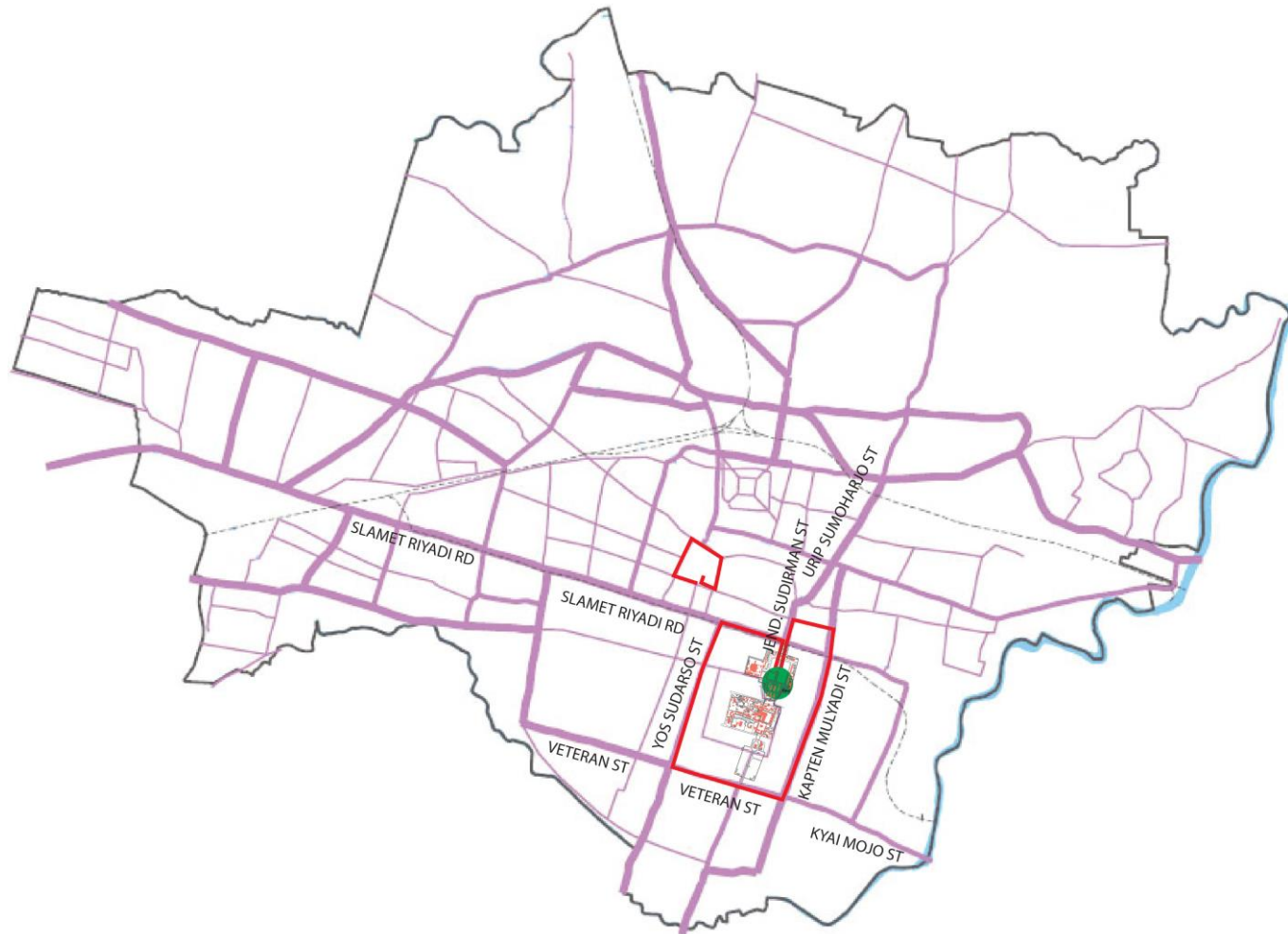


Figure 5.32. The city spaces used for rituals. The red refers to the route of Kirab Pusaka of the kraton and the minor court Mangkunegaran. The green refers to Garebeg and Sekaten.

There is another ritual held on the same day¹⁶² in the city, the Kirab Pusaka of the minor court of Mangkunegaran. This ritual is also similar to that of the kraton of Surakarta in that it is held by showing the heirlooms in a parade encircling its palace to celebrate the Javanese new year. However, it is usually started at 7 p.m. and the route is around Puro Mangkunegaran.

Other events that occupy the urban spaces of Surakarta that I would like to highlight here are the Solo Carnival, Solo Batik Carnival, Solo Dancing Festival, Solo Car Free Day, Grebeg Pangan, Festival Jenang, Grebeg Sudiro and Parade Hadrah.

The Solo Carnival is the main carnival of the city of Surakarta to celebrate the city's anniversary. This carnival is held in Slamet Riyadi Road. The people are welcome to join this event, which has a different theme every year, along with government officials. The mayor and vice mayor of the city are always involved in this event.

The Solo Batik Carnival is a carnival to promote batik clothes. Being held for the first time in 2008, it is now a regular event in the city. This carnival takes place along Slamet Riyadi Road even though later the venue was extended to include Jendral Sudirman Street and the city hall¹⁶³. In this latter carnival, it starts from the city hall, going through Jendral Sudirman Street before turning right to Slamet Riyadi Road and finishes in Purwosari.

The Solo Dancing Festival or *Solo Menari* is an event in which thousands of dancer perform a colossal dance in several venues of the city. The venues for this event are centralised in Slamet Riyadi Road particularly around the main shopping malls; Solo Grand Mall and Solo Paragon Mall, and Sriwedari Park. In 2011 other venues in

¹⁶² Basically, both rituals are held on the new year eve of Javanese lunar calendar – which is similar to the Islamic calendar. This, however, sometimes resulted in that both are held in different days. This is because the kraton of Surakarta uses the calendar set by Sultan Agung of Mataram while the minor court of Mangkunegaran uses the official calendar of the government (<http://news.detik.com/read/2010/12/06/230712/1510432/10/malam-1-suro-istana-mangkunegaran-kirabkan-pusaka>).

¹⁶³ <http://www.solopos.com/2013/04/10/solo-batik-carnival-vi-pendaftaran-dibuka-panitia-hapus-ticketing-395576>

Mangkunegaran area were added. In 2013, the venues included Jendral Sudirman Street.

The Solo Car Free Day is a regular event which is held every Sunday morning from 5 to 9 a.m. in Slamet Riyadi Road from Purwosari to Gladhag. This event was launched for the first time in 2010 as a means to reduce pollution caused by traffic. However, Solo Car Free Day became popular because there are public activities attached to it. Those activities include sports, education, arts and culture and entertainment; each of which occupies a certain part of the space¹⁶⁴. This event is always attended by the city officials, such as the mayor or vice mayor, therefore making it a means to meet the people directly. Some festivals such as Grebeg Pangan and Festival Jenang are held during the Car Free Day.

Grebeg Pangan is an event organised by the Office of Food Security to celebrate World Food Day in October. It aims to promote healthy food. The event uses *gunungan*, just like in the kraton's *Garebeg*, consisting of healthy vegetables and 'traditional' food. The number of *gunungan* can exceed 40, which are the contribution of several offices and organisations including those from the area nearby Surakarta¹⁶⁵. Just like in the kraton's *Garebeg*, the *gunungan* are then distributed to the people attending the Car Free Day. The main venue for this event is in front of Sriwedari Park and Slamet Riyadi Road.

Festival Jenang is another event attached to the Solo Car Free Day. In this event several kinds of *jenang*, porridge made of flour or rice grain and sometimes eaten with side dishes, are distributed among the people. This event aims to promote traditional food. Even though it is attached to the Car Free Day, the venue of this event is in Ngarsopuran, which is the street connecting Slamet Riyadi Road to Mangkunegaran.

Grebeg Sudiro is an invention of the people of *kelurahan*¹⁶⁶ Sudiroprajan. This *kelurahan* is a mixed settlement of Chinese descent

¹⁶⁴ <http://dishubkominfo.surakarta.go.id/kegiatan/solo-car-free-day>

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.solopos.com/2012/10/14/hari-pangan-sedunia-ada-gunungan-makanan-sehat-di-car-free-day-338782>

¹⁶⁶ *Kelurahan* is the lowest level of governmental administrative unit in Indonesia. This unit is

and Javanese people. It is the initiative of those people to celebrate Chinese new year in the form of Garebeg. In this event, which is held in the area around Pasar Gedhe, several gunungan are distributed among the people. Those gunungan consist of Javanese and Chinese traditional food. The event is also accompanied by Chinese and Javanese performance by people wearing Chinese and Javanese clothes. This event aims to promote integration between people of Chinese descent and Javanese people. This issue is very important in the city of Surakarta, as it has suffered around 40 riots through history, in which the Chinese are usually the target¹⁶⁷.

Parade Hadrach is a parade of Islamic arts to celebrate Isra Mi'raj¹⁶⁸. This parade is held from Kotabarat to the city hall, through Slamet Riyadi Road. Other events such as SIEM, SIPA, Festival Dolanan Anak (Children's games festival) are held in particular parts of the city which are identified to be important for city branding¹⁶⁹ such as Ngarsopuran, the Banjarsari monument, Sriwedari Park, Balekambang Park, Fort Vastenberg, and Bengawan Solo.

governed by civil servant called *Lurah*.

¹⁶⁷ However, anti-Chinese riots are identified to be provoked by military or the state when things get out of control (Panggabean & Smith, 2011) so such events relate heavily to the inability of the state to control them.

¹⁶⁸ Isra Mi'raj is the miraculous night journey of the prophet Muhammad in Islamic tradition.

¹⁶⁹ City branding is the focus of the local government since 2006 as they prepare the city for tourism.



Figure 5.33. The spaces used for city festivals. Those cultural events are concentrated in Slamet Riyadi Road and several places considered as 'heritage'.

From Figure 5.31. to Figure 5.33. we can see that the city events are concentrated in Slamet Riyadi Road particularly in Gladhag with a possible extension to Jendral Sudirman Street and the city hall. The north alun-alun of the kraton is only used for the kraton's own events such as Sekaten and Garebeg. However, the area around the kraton is the centre of commercial activities of the city with Klewer market and Beteng Trade Centre, including PGS as the main commercial centres in the area. This, unlike that of Yogyakarta, makes the Klewer market the main destination when entering the area of the kraton. The centre of activities in the area, then, is Klewer market (Ruwaidah, 2008, pp. 121-125) instead of the kraton.

From the above description about spatial activation in both cities, we can see that in Yogyakarta, the route along Malioboro Street which overlaps the north-south axis is still significant, while the route along Jendral Sudirman Street which overlaps the axis of Surakarta is no longer significant at the urban level. Instead, the most significant urban space is Slamet Riyadi Road. The centrality of those spaces is a form of coercion, and this leads to the significance of Malioboro Street in Yogyakarta and Slamet Riyadi Road in Surakarta. While Malioboro Street leads to the kraton of Yogyakarta therefore making it visible, the significance of Slamet Riyadi Road in Surakarta makes the kraton of Surakarta invisible. This is made worse by the addition of the new landmark of the city, Tugu Slamet Riyadi, which is 2.5 times taller than Tugu Pemandangan of the kraton of Surakarta. The new landmark therefore dominates the view in this area and makes the kraton even more invisible.

The events and activities that activate the urban space could also be seen in more details. The zoning of commercial activities in Yogyakarta makes the area of the kraton free of commercialisation and makes the kraton the main destination in the area, while the opposite happens in Surakarta, where the area around the kraton is the main commercial part of the city. The main destinations in the area are Beteng Trade Centre and Klewer market. Meanwhile the political events in Yogyakarta are highly dominated by the kraton, in that they embody the domination through experience.

Most political events in Surakarta show no involvement of the kraton. Moreover, the cultural events, not only the rituals but also the city festivals of Yogyakarta, show the domination of the kraton through the involvement of the king, royal family or the kraton troops in city festivals. The kraton of Surakarta, in the other hand, is not involved in the city festivals, except for those taking place in the kraton. The Garebeg ritual of the kraton is also being copied into several new ‘traditions’ such as Grebeg Pangan and Grebeg Sudiro¹⁷⁰. The involvement of the kraton in the events contributes to its visibility, and is an act of coercion. The rituals are symbols of authority. In Yogyakarta, the kraton is the only one to organise Garebeg rituals, thus it has the authority. In Surakarta, the Garebeg has been copied into several other rituals in the name of Garebeg. This causes the authority of the kraton to be questioned. The kraton of Surakarta is not the only one to have the authority to create and organise rituals.

The attributes used in the cultural events should also be taken into account; this particularly applies to cultural events. The kratons’ own rituals always involved special clothes and special attributes for the abdi dalem, kraton troops and royal family. The Garebeg, for example, always include gunungan, a mound of food and vegetables being distributed to the people. This gunungan represents agricultural wealth by using vegetables and more specifically glutinous rice as the most precious type of rice for the Javanese¹⁷¹.



Figure 5.34. Garebeg ritual in Yogyakarta (left) and Surakarta (right). Both of them include gunungan, a mound of food representing agricultural wealth. Some of them are made of raw vegetables and some of ready to eat food made from glutinous rice.

(Image sources: Association, 2002; Miksic, 2004)

¹⁷⁰ Garebeg is also known as Grebeg.

¹⁷¹ The food in the gunungan is always made of glutinous rice crackers.

The case is different in the new inventions of Surakarta that copy the Garebeg ritual, Grebeg Sudiro and Grebeg Pangan. While both of them use food in their gunungan, the kinds of food used are different. In Grebeg Sudiro, apart from raw vegetables, there are also many kinds of snack popularly called *jajan pasar* or the snacks usually sold in traditional market, and *kue keranjang*, a kind of cake usually distributed during Chinese new year celebrations, as seen on Figure 5.35. Grebeg Pangan, intended to promote healthy food, uses traditional food in its gunungan. The types of food used in the two new Garebegs, however, are flexible in that they might include other types of food. In the case of Garebeg Pangan, people from outer districts such as Boyolali, Wonogiri, Karanganyar and Sragen are welcome to contribute more gunungans and there are no restrictions on what kind of food is to be included. This, however does not make the food used in the kraton's Garebeg to be considered distinctive as rice cakes is as popular as other kinds of food used in the new Garebegs. The glutinous rice cakes might have been considered special in the past but in modern days, it is nothing more than traditional food, something considered of similar level to the other traditional foods used in the new Garebegs. The new Garebegs, then, make the kraton's Garebeg to be in similar level or even lower, in that Garebeg Pangan could attract people from the outer districts to be involved, while the kraton of Surakarta had lost its attachment to the outer districts since 1946.



Figure 5.35. The gunungan used for *Grebeg Sudiro (left) and *Grebeg Pangan (right).
(Image sources: Wikipedia and SoloPos).

Other kraton owned cultural events such as the king's coronation, royal wedding and *Kirab Pusaka* involve the use of royal carriages, kraton troops along with their particular clothes and royal regalia. While some of the abdi dalem, such as *lurik*, are

widely used outside of the kraton, the clothes of the king, royal family, and kraton troops are unique, in that can only those particular persons can wear them. These attributes show the authority of the kraton.



Figure 5.36. The parade of Dhaup Ageng or royal wedding in which the bride and groom were paraded from the kraton of Yogyakarta to Kepatihan on a royal carriage in distinct clothes and make up along with the abdi dalem.
(Image source: SoloPos.com)



Figure 5.37. The *Kirab 1 Suro* of the kraton of Surakarta. The abdi dalem walk around the block of the kraton along with royal regalia including water buffaloes called *Kyai Slamet*. The abdi dalem dress up in special clothes consisting of plain tops and batik bottoms along with the accessories such as blangkon, kris dagger, and samir.
(Image courtesy of Sragen Pos)

Other cultural events in both cities are mostly contemporary in their attributes. However, in Yogyakarta, the kraton is always involved in the contemporary event, whether in the presence of the king or royal troops –along with their attributes. In Surakarta, the kraton is not involved in any of the new events. Instead, it is the

government, the mayor and vice mayor, who are always present in those events, sometimes in distinctive costumes considered to represent Javanese culture. In both cases the role of the kraton in urban context can be seen from those events. The kraton of Yogyakarta shows its role as the patron of the city while in Surakarta it is the local government which occupies such a role.



Figure 5.38. The previous mayor of Surakarta in the carnival, wearing Javanese costume. (Image courtesy of Wawasan)

D. CONCLUSION

The morphology of the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta shows that the growth of the city is influenced most by the connectivity to other cities around them. While Yogyakarta grew to the north and east, Surakarta grew to the west. The royal road of Yogyakarta still holds significance in an urban context as it connects the city to other cities. However, the royal road of Surakarta is insignificant because it does not connect the city to other cities around it; instead, it is the east-west oriented road, later named Slamet Riyadi Road, that provides the access to other cities.

After comparing the urban issues related to power in both cities, we can see that the practice of power in both cities is more than an issue of cosmology. While both cities show a difference in cosmological narrative, even though both came from similar concepts of power, the narrative is also represented in physical terms. The use of walls, fortification and gates to signify the hierarchical circles could show the practice of power apart from the narrative by using force and authority. The axis that is shown in the urban structure contributes to the practice of power by its centrality and visibility, both of which are forms of coercion.

A further look into the activation of space shows that urban policy in

Yogyakarta, along with political and cultural events of the city, contribute to the activation of the royal road or Malioboro Street that reproduces the domination of the kraton by making the path central and making the kraton visible. The involvement of the kraton in urban events makes the role of the kraton visible and with its symbols being used in those events, recognises its authority. Meanwhile, the activation of space in Surakarta shows the significance of Slamet Riyadi Road instead of Jendral Sudirman Street. This renders the kraton almost invisible. This status is also made worse by the urban policy allowing commercial centres very close to the kraton, which in turn makes the kraton even less visible by creating more attractive commercial centres around it. The invention of new Garebegs decreases the authority of the kraton, as the people and the state also have authority to create and hold such rituals.

We will discuss further about the power structure in a smaller scale, architecture, in the next chapter, which will strengthen the structure already embodied through urban space.

CHAPTER 6: POWER STRUCTURE IN ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

In chapter 5 we have seen how the power of the kratons is implemented in the urban environment and how urban space is activated by the economic, political and cultural activities that contribute to the reproduction of domination or the power structure of the kratons in the scope of the city. I also discussed the relevance of the cosmological narrative to Yogyakarta and Surakarta. In this chapter, I will focus on how the power of the kratons is reflected in architectural space, particularly that of the kraton compounds, and how this contributes to the reproduction of power structure.

To discuss the reproduction of power structure in the scope of architecture, it is important not to consider architecture in isolation, excluded from the life of the users. All aspects of the life of the kraton must be considered in order to make sense of the power issues of the architecture of the kratons. To do that, I will start with the Javanese architecture in section [A] followed by the colonial architectural debate in section [B], the comparison between the kraton compound in both cities in section [C] the architecture and the practices of power in section [D], and conclusion in section [E].

A. JAVANESE ARCHITECTURE

This section focuses on what is currently acknowledged as ‘Javanese architecture’. I will discuss the origin of it, the types and their meanings, construction and the related rituals. I will also discuss the position of the ‘Javanese architecture’ at present in Javanese society.





Figure 6.1. The carving of Borobudur temple that shows a stilt house that resembles that of Sundanese and Batak (top left), the Batak houses (top right) and the Javanese house as represented in the Beautiful Indonesia Project (bottom).
(Images courtesy of Wiryomartono, 1995, Royal Tropical Museum, and Gunawan Kartapranata)

To discuss Javanese architecture, we need to go back to chapter 2 in which I discuss the essential approach to Javanese culture. Javanese culture is considered to be something that essentially exists in a certain form regardless of time. The lack of data on Javanese architecture in early ages,¹⁷² either in the form of buildings or writings,¹⁷³ might be one of the reasons. The only buildings that survive from early ages are in the form of *candi*, or temples, which are made of stones or bricks. Those temples were built between 5th and 15th centuries, marking the influence of Indic and Buddhist culture in the archipelago. It should be noted that one of the carvings of Borobudur and Prambanan, the two biggest temples in Indonesia, shows a wooden stilt house which resembles the architecture of Sundanese or Batak (Lombard, 1996a, p. 314; Waterson, 1990, p. 3). Sundanese is one cultural unit in the west part of Java while Batak is one unit of culture in the island of Sumatra, more precisely around the city of Medan located some 2000 kilometres away from Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The presence of Sundanese or Batak architectural resemblance in the carvings of those temples means, for some scholars, that the architecture of Java used to be in a different form from what is known now as ‘Javanese architecture’ (Wiryomartono, 1995, p. 71). Lombard identifies that kind of stilt house is an influence from China and had disappeared from Java as early as the 10th century (Lombard, 1996a, p. 314).

¹⁷² This is because most buildings in early Java were built of wood or bamboo that made it impossible to sustain for a long period of time.

¹⁷³ Javanese people used leaves as the medium for writing instead of paper; this makes it difficult to be

Since then, it is argued, there is a missing connection between the stilt house and Javanese architecture as it is currently understood. There is also a possibility that the carvings of Borobudur and Prambanan temples do not represent the reality in Java during the time they were built but the reality somewhere else such as in India (Robertson, 2012, pp. 150-152). This shows that the idea Javanese architecture used to be in the form of the stilt house, is still subject to debate.

Another medium for passing the knowledge on Javanese building is through writings. It is very difficult to find Javanese writings on building construction before 19th century. In 19th century there was a book entitled *Kawruh Kalang* (1882) which was written for the Amsterdam exhibition on 1883, in which the Dutch government exhibited the traditions of the East Indies including models of Javanese houses in details. This book was produced by the kraton of Surakarta and was one of the main writings on Javanese buildings; it consists of the construction technique, the measurement system, the house types and related rituals. The studies after the 19th century are mainly based on this book, even though some of them do not clearly state *Kawruh Kalang* as the source (Robertson, 2012, p. 16). Some of the most important publications on Javanese architecture in the 20th century are those of Wibowo, et al. (1998) and Reksodihardjo et al. (1984) which comprise the governmental project¹⁷⁴ on inventarisation and documentation of local cultures. The materials used for those books are mainly similar to that of *Kawruh Kalang* even though, in the case of Wibowo et al. (1998), it was entitled *Arsitektur tradisional Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* or ‘The traditional architecture of the special region of Yogyakarta’. The similarity of the material of this book with that of *Kawruh Kalang*, which originated from the kraton of Surakarta shows that there is similarity in practice of traditional architecture in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. It should be noted that *Kawruh Kalang* does not mention anything about ornaments and decorations. Wibowo, et al. use ornaments of the kraton of Yogyakarta to represent the ornaments of the traditional architecture of the special region of Yogyakarta, while Reksodihardjo uses the ornaments of the kraton of Surakarta and other buildings in Central Java area to

preserved as leaves decay quickly.

¹⁷⁴ This project was conducted by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1980s. It defines local cultures of Indonesia including architecture, traditional ceremonies, traditional clothes, traditional weapons, and so on.

represent the ornaments of Central Javanese architecture. As official publications of the government, I consider the publications of Wibowo and Reksodihardjo very important, in that they define which is to be considered ‘Javanese traditional architecture’. For that reason, I will use their publications particularly for describing the construction, types, and related rituals. For other aspects such as layout, which is not discussed in Kawruh Kalang, Wibowo and Reksodihardjo and cosmology, I will refer to other publications such as Santosa (1997), Frick (1997), Tjahjono (1989), Miksic (2004) and Woodward (2010).

A.1. Roof

Javanese architecture consists of several types which are named after the roof type: Joglo, Tajug, Limasan, Kampung, and Panggangpe. Joglo is derived from Tajug and Panggangpe is derived from Kampung. Those roof shapes, however, are the consequences of the construction system and it is the construction system that actually determines the type of a building.

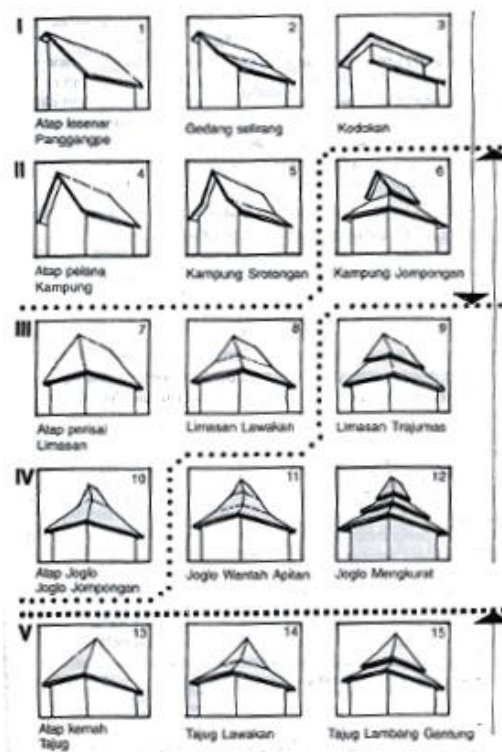


Figure 6.2. The common types of Javanese architecture (Frick, 1997)

However, before going to those types, it is worth to know the

basic construction of Javanese house. Henri Maclaine Pont, a Batavia born architect who started his career in the East Indies on 1911, after finishing his studies in Delft, made his theory on the evolution of Javanese architecture. He argued that Javanese architecture is derived from tent structure (Frick, 1997, p. 33; Kusno, 2000, p. 40). From this tent structure four main posts are located in the middle to support several beams. We can see the diagram for this evolution in Fig 6.3. His theory on the origin and evolution of Javanese architecture might have been influenced by Quatremere de Quincy who categorised architecture from its origin: cave, tent and hut¹⁷⁵. The tent as the origin of Javanese house in his argument is in line with Quatremere de Quincy's opinion that tent is the origin of oriental architecture.

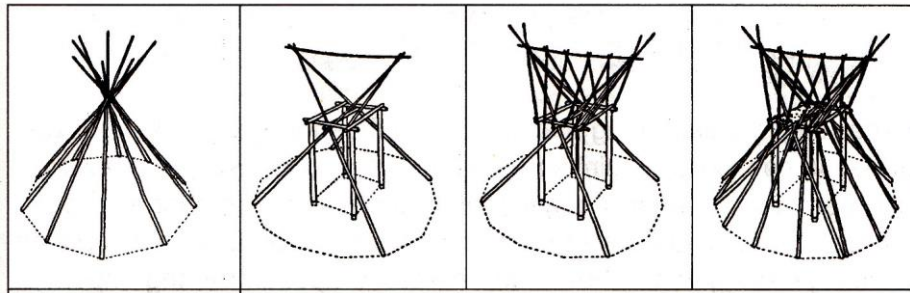


Figure 6.3. The evolution of Javanese house according to Maclaine Pont, as depicted by Frick, 1997. This not only shows the evolution of tent structure to sakaguru of Javanese house but also the evolution of tent structure to stilt house like that of Batak, showing the relationship between Batak stilt house and Javanese structure.

(Image source: Frick, 1997)

The four posts located at the heart of the building, called *saka guru*¹⁷⁶, are central in Javanese construction. It is the basic roof construction in Javanese architecture. The posts support four main beams, consisting of two *blandar*¹⁷⁷ and two *pengeret*¹⁷⁸. The whole construction is then supported by two *sunduk* and two *kili* both of which are located under the main beams. We can see the main configuration in Figure 6.4.

¹⁷⁵ While de Quincy argues that it is only the one derived from hut to deserve to be called architecture, Maclaine Pont considered Javanese houses to have potential for future development (H. I. Jessup, 2010, p. 141).

¹⁷⁶ Literally, *saka* means support or origin and *guru* means teacher. This means that *saka guru* "sets the model to be followed by other sakas" (Tjahjono, 1989, p. 113).

¹⁷⁷ Blandar is the long beam.

¹⁷⁸ Pengeret is the short beam.

On top of this configuration, particularly in Joglo and Limasan types, lies a *tumpang sari*, which is a construction of stacked beams creating an inverted pyramid over the saka guru configuration to support the roof. *Tumpang sari* is considered to be a unique construction of Javanese architecture. The joint system used in the whole configuration – of sakaguru and *tumpang sari*- is of tongue and gull (Figure 6.6) joints. This type of joint is considered suitable for lateral forces such as earthquake, which are common in Java (Prihatmaji, Kitamori, & Komatsu, 2010, p. 6). The joint system is also meant to be dismantled and assembled easily (Robertson, 2012, p.31); thus the house can be removed to other places easily.

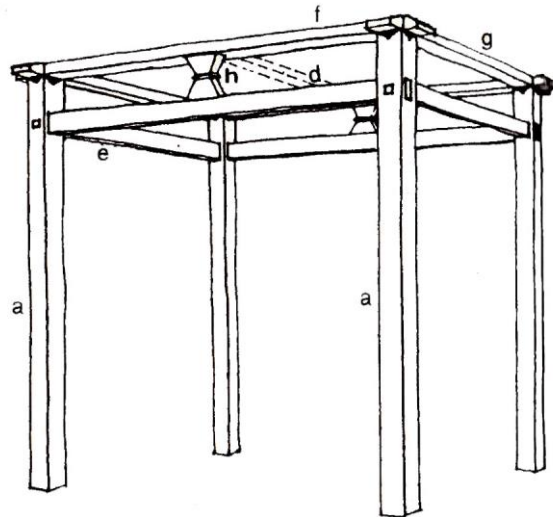


Figure 6.4. Saka guru and the upper beams. a: *saka guru* d: *sunduk* e: *kili* f: *blandar* g: *pengeret*.
(Image source: Frick 1997).

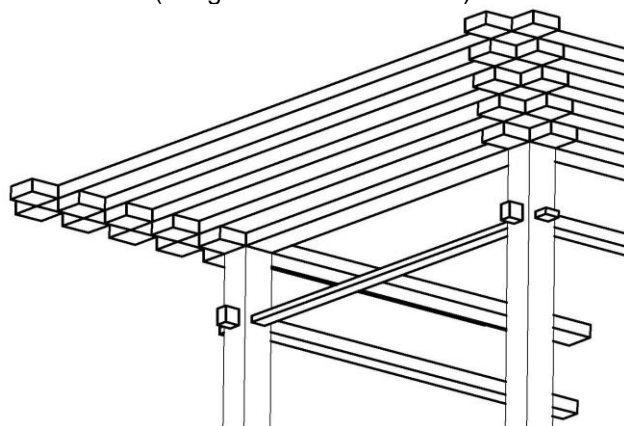


Figure 6.5. *Tumpang sari*
(Image source: Wibowo et.al., 1998)

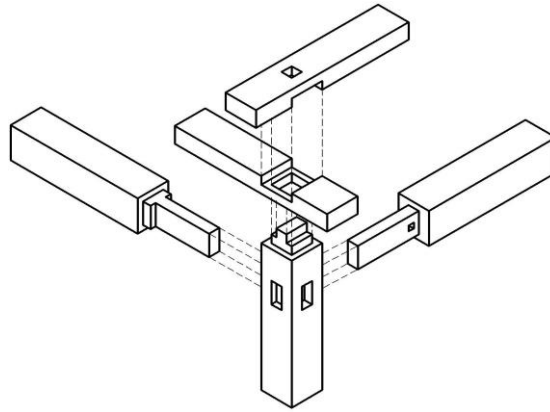


Figure 6.6. The joint system for post and beams in Javanese construction with tongue and gulls system.
(Image source: www.unika.ac.id)

Over the *tumpang sari* are rafters and tiling battens. There are two ways to place rafters, centred and parallel as seen in Figure 6.7.

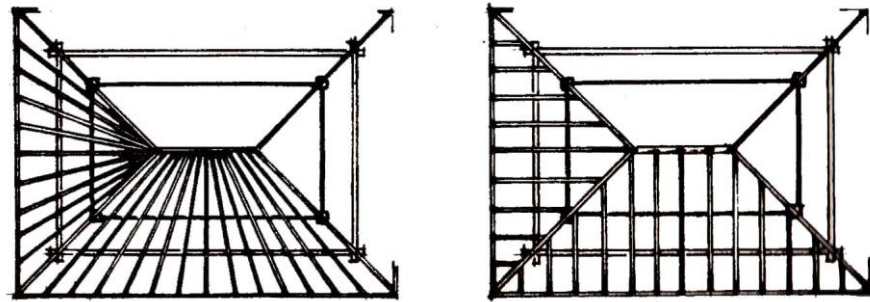


Figure 6.7. Two ways of rafter placement: centred (left) and parallel (right). The type of roof in this example is Limasan.
(Image source: Frick, 1997)

The construction of *sakaguru - tumpang sari* is the basic construction of a single pavilion of Javanese architecture. The space between the *saka gurus* is named *pamidhangan* and the roof above it is called *brunjung*. If the building needs an extension, it will be located around the *pamidhangan* with a lower roof around *brunjung*. The space around is called *penanggap*, a name that is also used to refer to the roof above the space and the posts (*saka*). A similar way is taken if another extension is needed in which a lower roof is built supported by new posts around *penanggap*. The name for the next extension is *penitih* which refers to the space, the roof and the posts. This configuration can be seen in Figure 6.8.; an example of an axonometric Joglo construction can be seen in Figure 6.9.

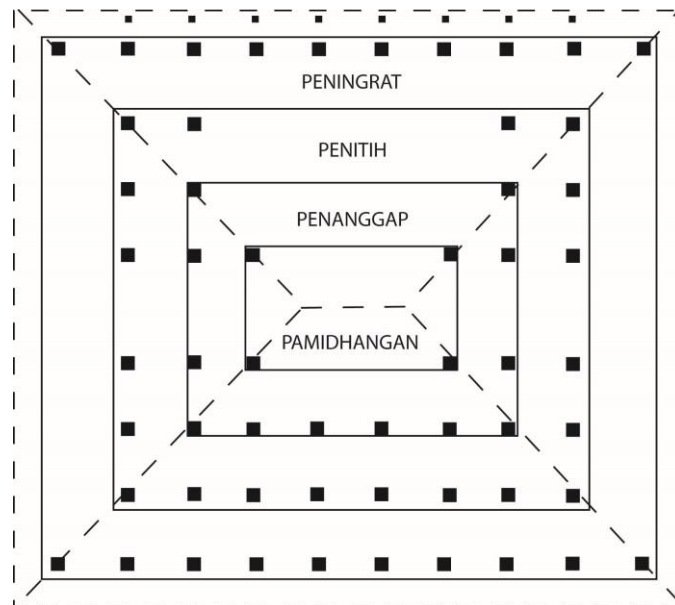


Figure 6.8. The basic construction in the centre (Pamidhangan) and its layers of extensions. (Derived from Wibowo et.al, 1998).



Figure 6.9. An axonometric drawing of Joglo pavilion. The central roof with the steepest angle named brunjung is supported by four saka gurus and tumpang sari. Two layers of extension are built around the brunjung/pamidhangan with lower angle of roofs. (Image source: Indonesian Heritage)

Due to the nature of the roof types mentioned before, it is very likely for Joglo and Tajug to have extensions in surrounding circles and very unlikely for Panggangpe to have one. This is because of the shape of the Panggangpe construction, which is asymmetrical. This type of construction is mainly used for temporary shelter or small insignificant buildings (Bourdier & AlSayyad, 1989, p. 214) while Joglo and Tajug

are used for more elaborate buildings. Limasan and Kampung types are common to be built with extension, but are also commonly found in basic forms.

It is the difference of extensions and the construction used for building the extensions that creates variants of every roof type. This can be seen in Figures 6.10 to 6.19. From those pictures, we can see that the variants of Panggangpe, Kampung and Limasan can be made of one sided or two sided extensions, and of combining two or more basic roof types into one. In the Limasan type, more variations are made of the surrounding extension but different construction. In the more elaborate roof type, Joglo and Tajug, their variants are mostly of the construction system and details used.

There are slight differences in the variants of roofs in the accounts of Wibowo and Reksodihardjo. Most of them are similar except Panggangpe Empyak Setangkep which is only mentioned in Wibowo and Panggangpe Kodokan which is only mentioned in Reksodihardjo.

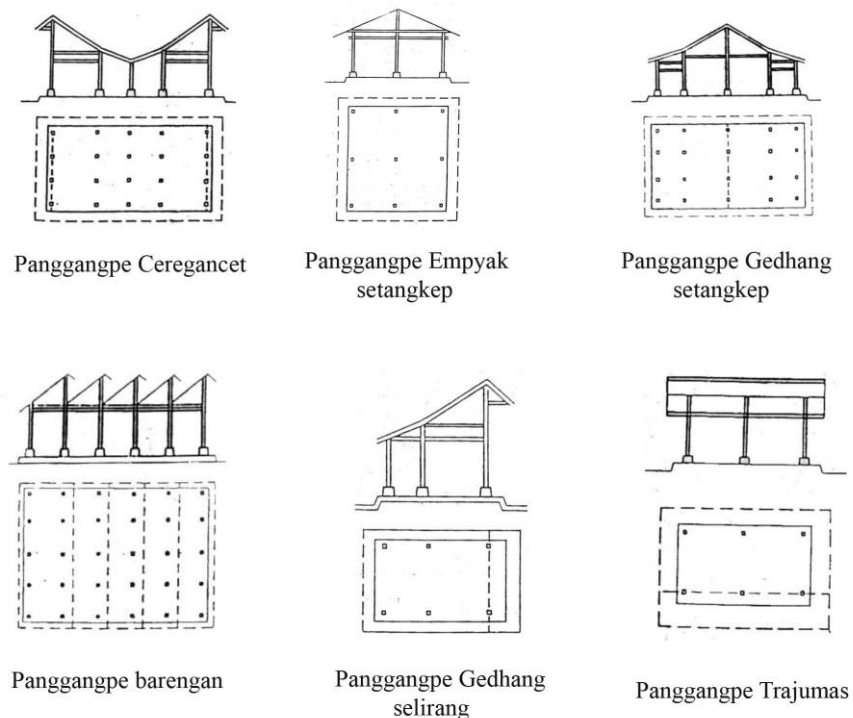


Figure 6.10. The variants of Panggangpe type according to Wibowo (Image source: Wibowo et.al.,1998)

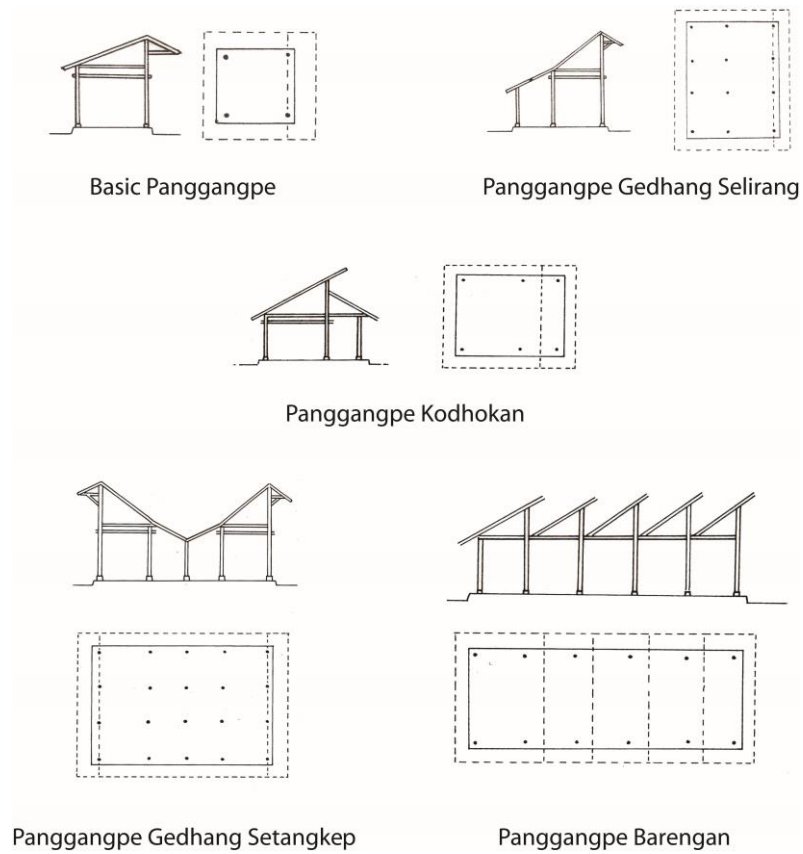


Figure 6.11. The variants of Panggangpe type according to Reksodihardjo
 (Image source: Reksodihardjo et al., 1984)

This difference can also be found in other roof types. The variants of Kampung roof in both accounts are mostly similar except for Ceregancet and Lambang Teplok which are only mentioned by Wibowo. Jompongan, Trajumas and Gajah Ngombe are only mentioned by Reksodihardjo.

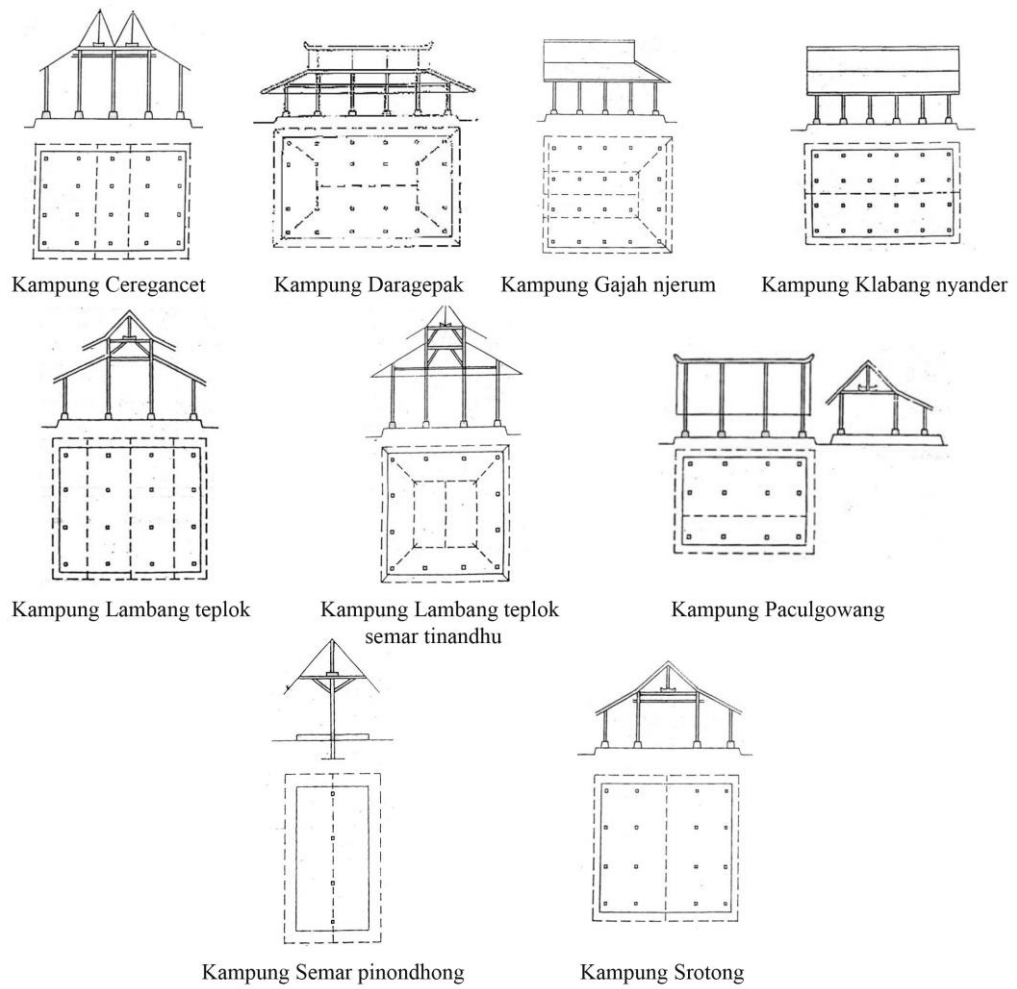


Figure 6.12. The variants of Kampung type according to Wibowo.
(image source: Wibowo et.al., 1998)



Figure 6.13. The variants of Kampung type according to Reksodihardjo
(Image source: Reksodihardjo et al., 1984)

A Limasan roof has more variants than the others. However, the ones mentioned by Wibowo and Reksodihardjo are mostly similar except Limasan Apitan, Apitan Pengapit, Ceregancet, Lambangsari, Lambang Teplok, Semar Tinandhu, Trajumas, Trajumas Lawakan, and Lambang Gantung Rangka Kutuk Ngambang which are mentioned by Wibowo only, and Maligi Gajah and Trajumas Lambang Teplok which are mentioned only by Reksodihardjo.

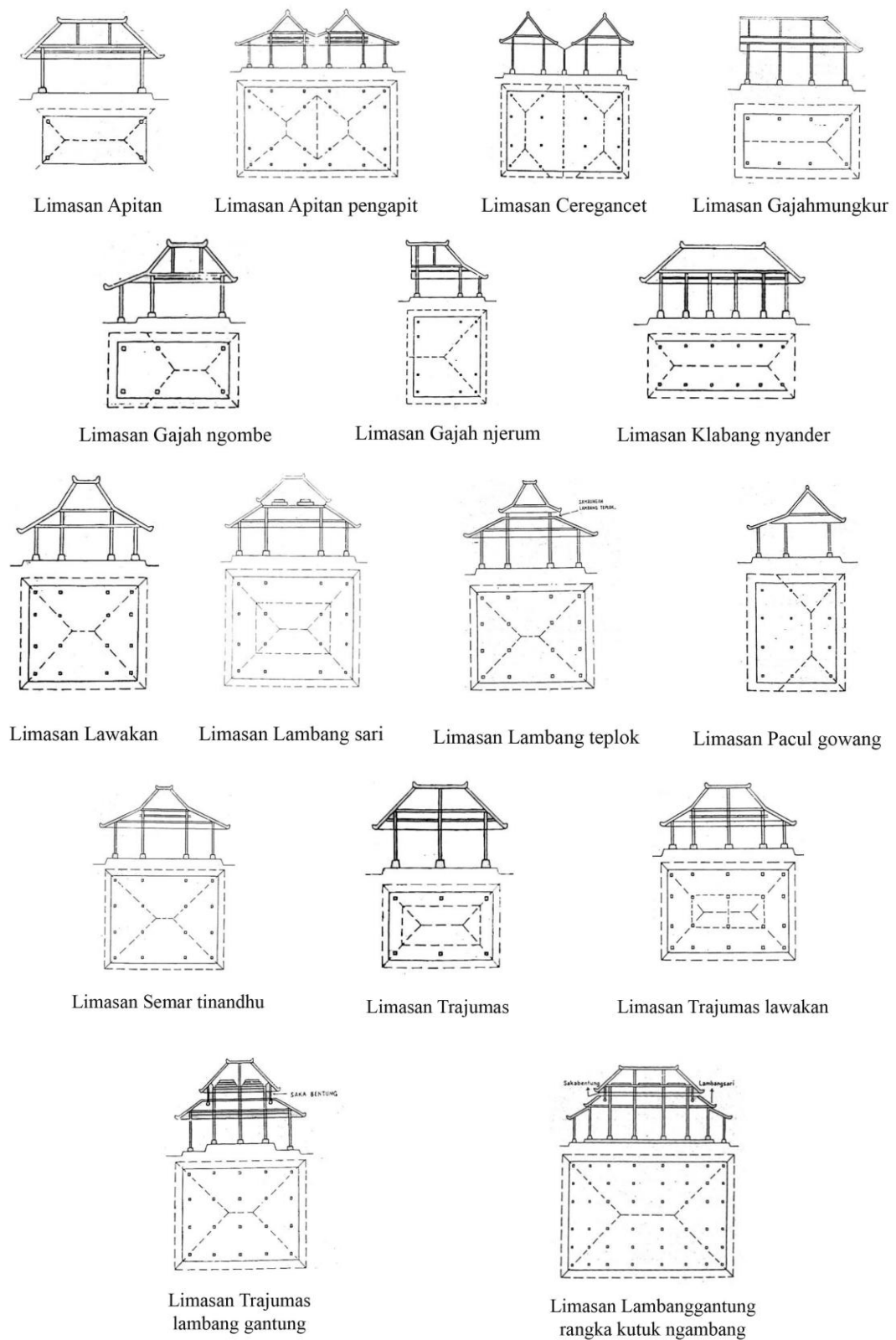


Figure 6.14. The variants of Limasan type according to Wibowo. (Image source: Wibowo et.al., 1998).

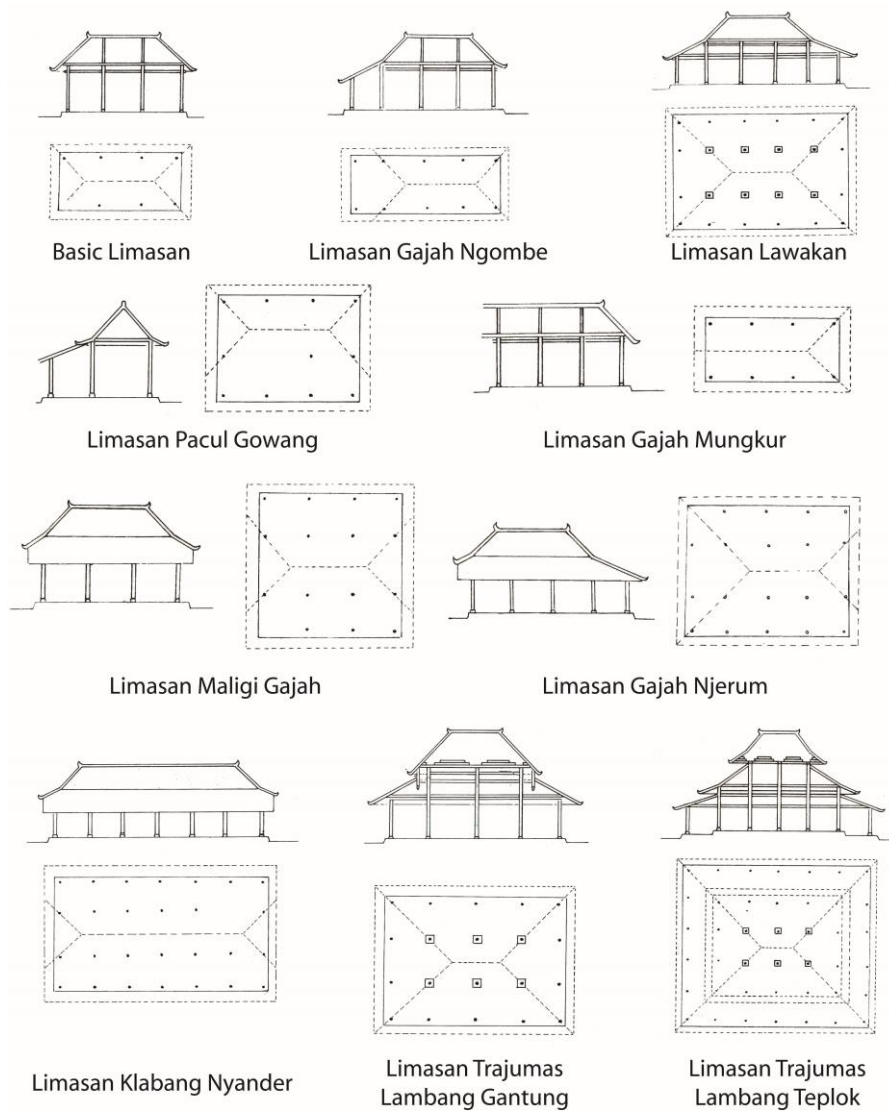


Figure 6.15. The variants of Limasan type according Reksodihardjo. (Image source: Reksodihardjo et al., 1984)

There are seven variants of Joglo according to Wibowo and six according to Reksodihardjo. Three of them: Joglo Jompongan, Mangkurat, and Pangrawit are being mentioned by both.

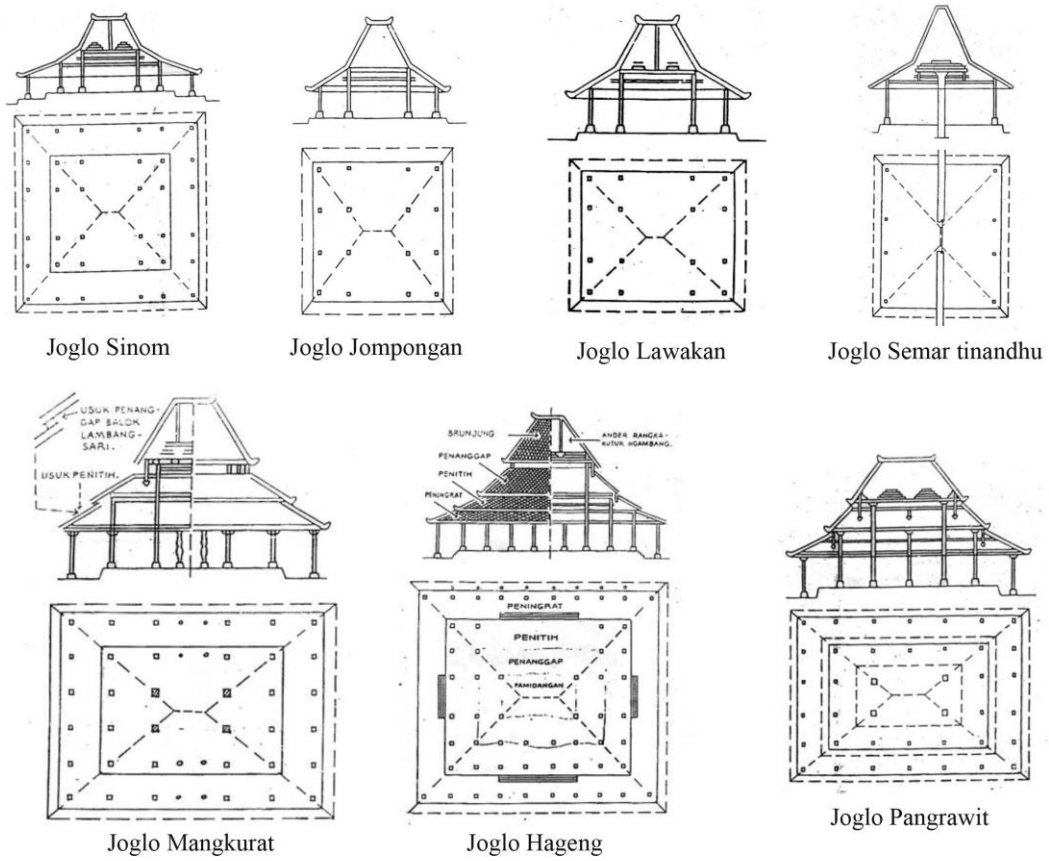


Figure 6.16. The variants of Joglo type according to Wibowo. (Image source: Wibowo et al., 1998).

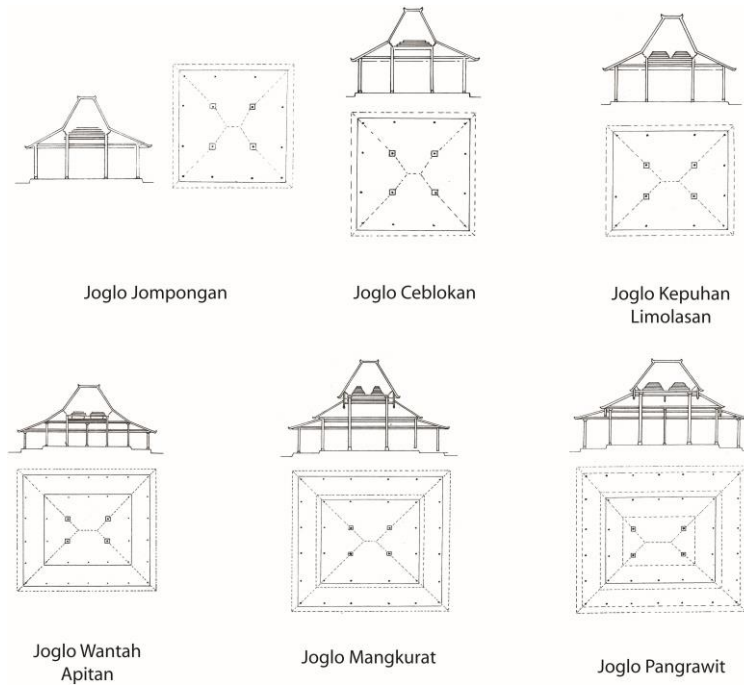


Figure 6.17. The variants of Joglo type according to Reksodihardjo. (Image source: Reksodihardjo et al., 1984)

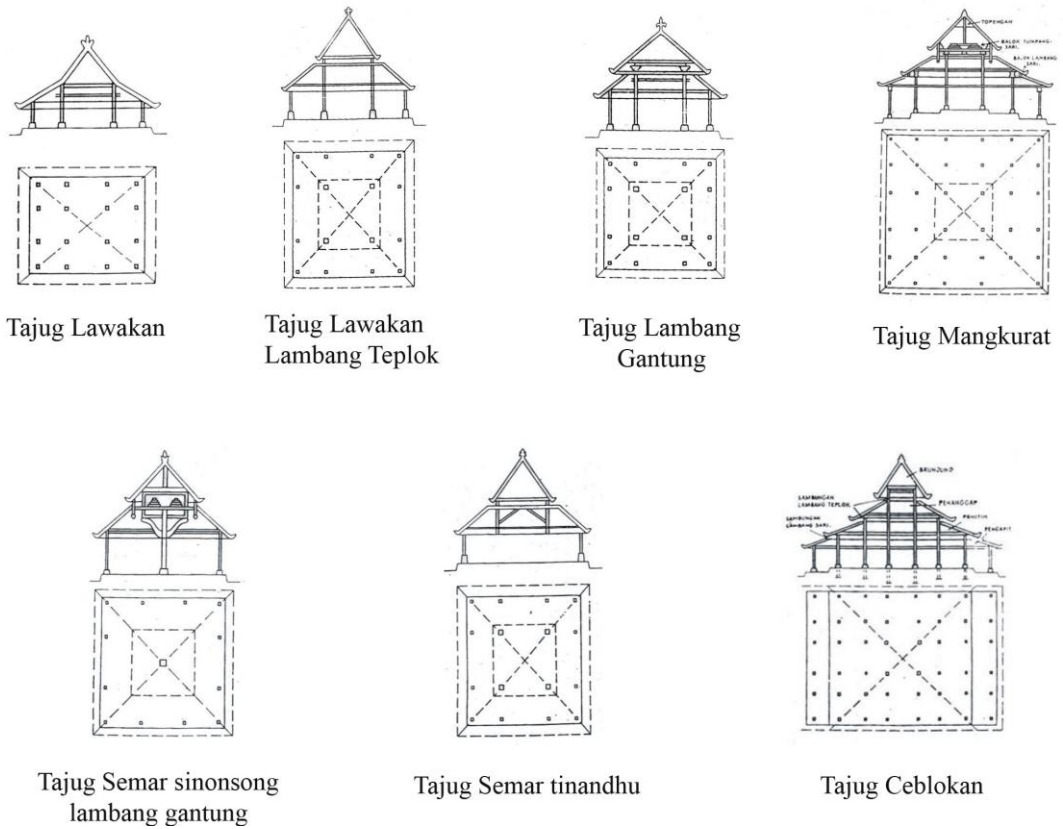


Figure 6.18. The variants of Tajug type according to Wibowo. (Image source: Wibowo et. al., 1998).

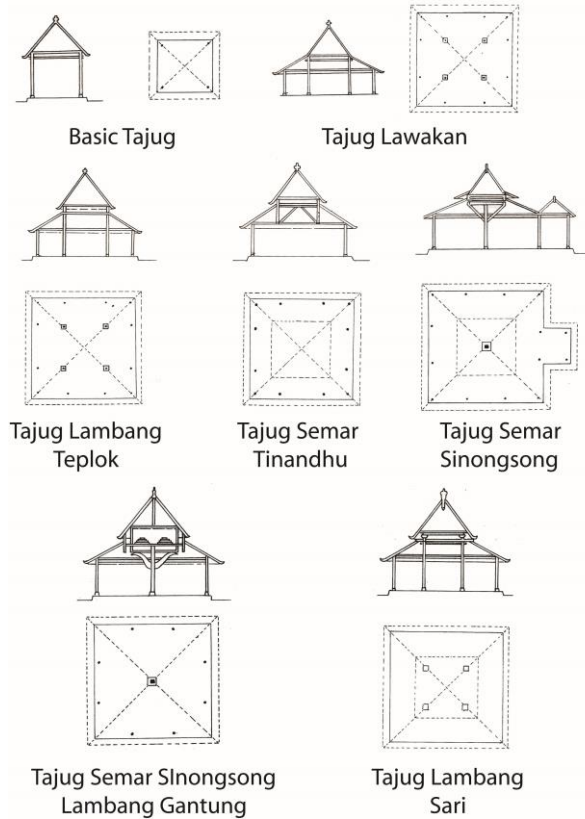


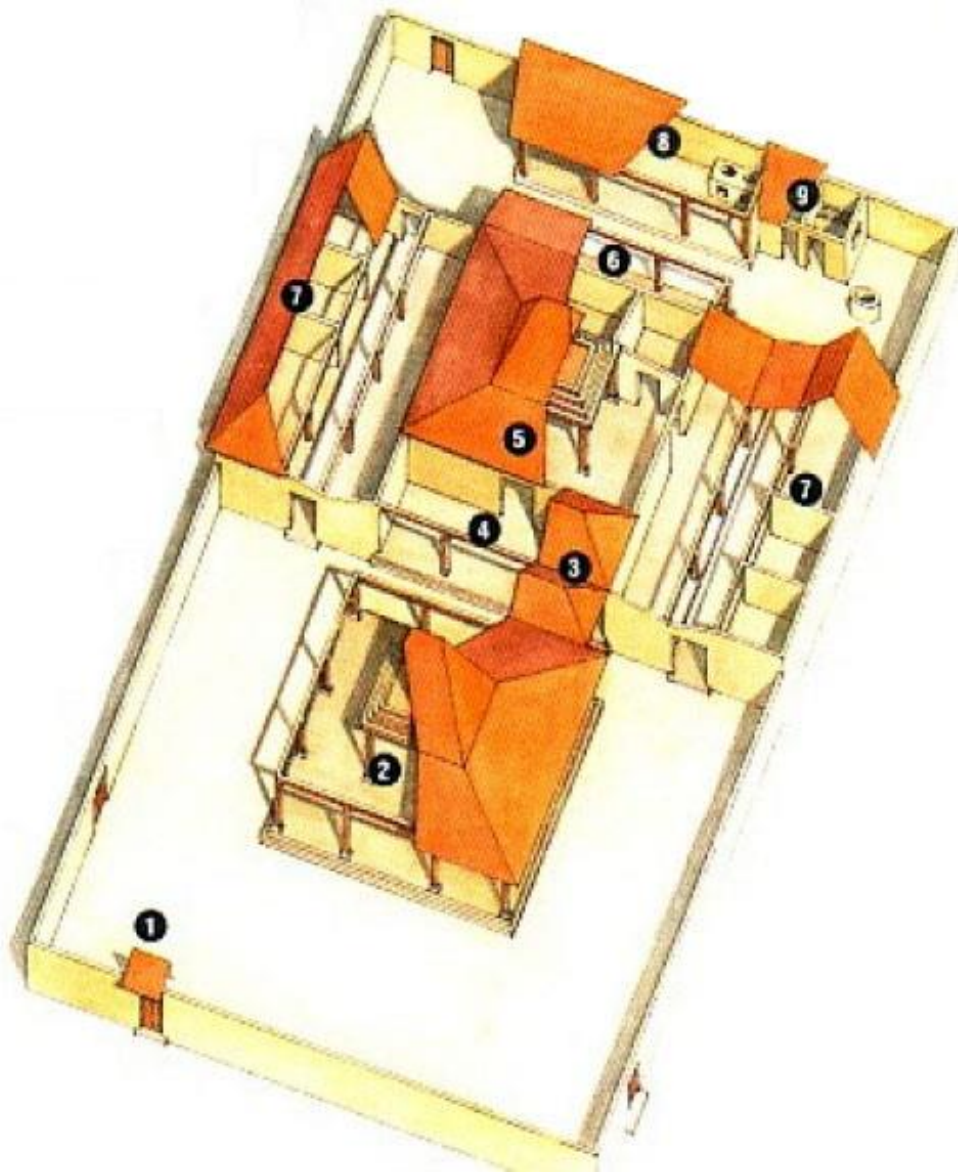
Figure 6.19. The variants of Tajug type according to Reksodihardjo. (Image source: Reksodihardjo et al., 1984)

Wibowo has three different variants of Tajug roof which are Lambang Gantung, Mangkurat and Ceblokan, while Reksodihardjo has two different variants which are Semar Sinonsong, and Lambang Sari.

As I pointed out earlier in Chapter 1, there is a relation between roof types and status in which common people can only use simple types such as Panggangpe, Kampung and certain variants of Limasan. Those of high status can use the elaborate type of Limasan and Joglo. Tajug type is reserved for mosques even though the existing variants suggest a relationship with status too, in which the more complex variants are reserved for mosques that belong to those of high status. One of the reasons why particular types are reserved for high status people is that those particular types such as Joglo and Limasan need more wood to build, thus need more money, so that only the rich can afford to have one.

A.2. *The layout*

The roof types and roof construction, as described in the previous subsection, is based on an assumption that each building stands on its own. The reality, however, is different. It is true for simple buildings but for more elaborate buildings usually they come in a compound consisting of several pavilions with different roof types. A typical layout of a Javanese house consists of several pavilions: *pendhapa*, *dalem*, *gandhok*, *pringgitan* and *dapur* the main of which is the *dalem* whose meaning is 'house'. *Pendhapa* is the front part, usually in the form of an open pavilion. *Pringgitan* is a space between *pendhapa* and *dalem*. *Dalem* is the main house, which usually consists of four main rooms, one big hall and three small rooms called *senthong*. *Gandhok* is an extension to the left and right side of the main house, usually in the form of linear buildings. *Dapur* means kitchen. It is separated at the back part of the compound. It usually comes with a well and a shower room. This typical Javanese house can be seen in Figure 6.20.



1: gate 2: pendhapa 3: pringgitan 4: emper 5: dalem
6: senthong 7: gandhok 8: dapur 9: shower room

Figure 6.20. The typical Javanese house. The main buildings, pendhapa and dalem have Joglo roofs while the others have a mix of Limasan, Kampung and Panggangpe roofs. (Image source: Whitten & Whitten, 1996)

In reality, however, Javanese houses do not always come in a similar layout as the one mentioned above. Simple houses come in a single building called *omah*¹⁷⁹ (Santosa, 1997, p.3), usually accompanied by a small space for a kitchen and a separate well with shower room. The

¹⁷⁹ Omah is a Javanese term for 'house' which can be referred to marriage, wife, household, domestication, thus it relates to domesticity (Santosa, 1997, p. 3). This term is usually considered to be the low term (*kasar*) for house, while the high term (*alus*) for house is *dalem*.

omah consists of one big open plan room which occupies two thirds of the whole house and three small senthongs. When the house owner needs an extension, he will expand his house to include a more permanent dapur and *gandhok*, depending on what he can afford. As the king and the royal family are the richest in the kingdom, they can afford to build an elaborate type of house called *kraton* for the king and *dalem* for the nobles. That is why the most complete and elaborate Javanese houses are considered to be the ones of the kraton and noble houses.

Even though they come in different forms from the simplest to the most elaborate, there are several patterns of duality as pointed out by Santosa (1997) which are the dualities of male/female and inner (private)/outer (public). Javanese houses are usually south oriented except for that in the Kedhaton courtyard of the kraton which is east oriented¹⁸⁰. The layout of the main house, omah in simple houses and dalem in more elaborate houses, is divided into public and domestic domains and there is a division of male and female area in west and east side (Santosa, 1997, p. 50). The public domain is located in the front part. In a simple omah it exists in the form of the hall inside which is used for receiving guests, while in more elaborate dalem it exists as a separate building, the *pendhapa*. The kraton is an elaboration of the omah and dalem into a bigger scale in which the public domain of *pendhapa* is represented by *Sitihinggil* and the private domain of dalem is represented in the compound in Kedhaton courtyard (Santosa, 1997, pp. 37–48).

¹⁸⁰ Santosa argues that this is because the east is the direction of the sunrise and the king is the only person allowed to have access to sunrise (Santosa, 1997, p. 39).

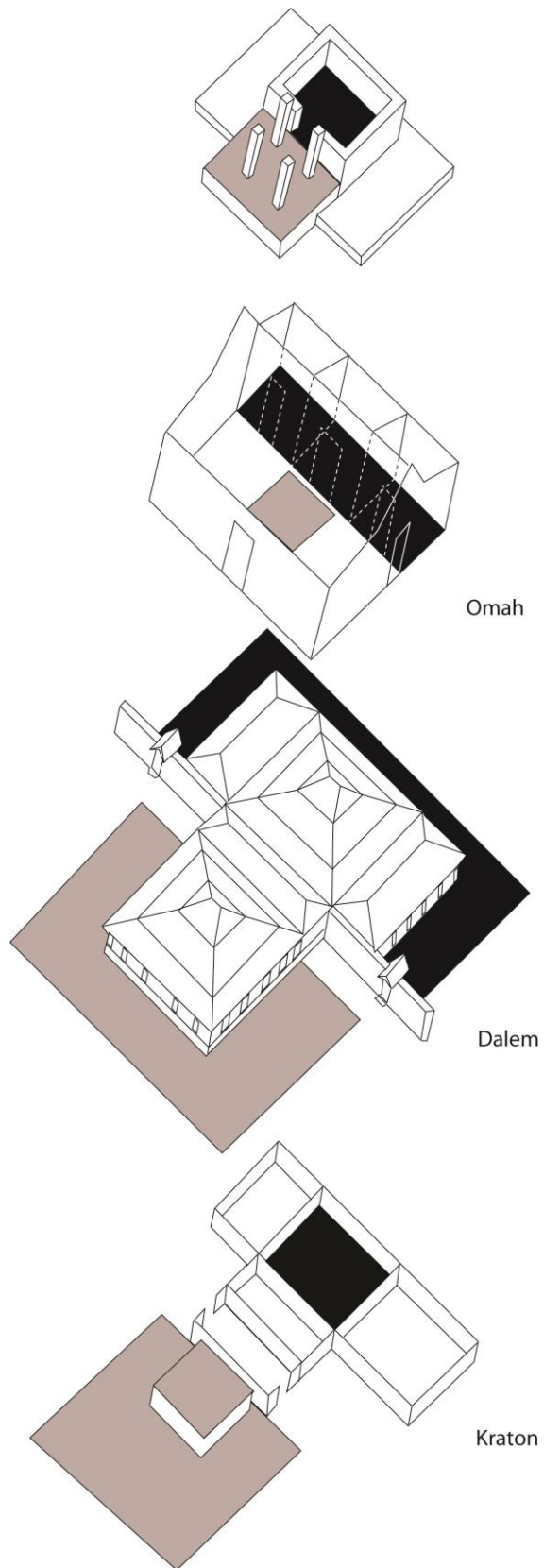


Figure 6.21. Comparison between the basic senthong, simple omah, dalem and the kraton. The grey area refers to public domain and the black area refers to private domain. (Image source: Santosa, 1997)

Inside the private domain of the omah and dalem, there is a sacred room which is barely used in everyday activities. This room, called *senhong tengah* or the middle senhong, is only used in wedding ceremonies for the newly-wed couple (Tjahjono, 2008, p. 205). The other senhongs to the east and west of the middle senhong are used for bedrooms for the master of the house and his wife. The public domain in front of the senhongs is mainly used for receiving guests. There is a division in this space in which the central part of this space, right between the saka gurus¹⁸¹, is only for the master of the house to receive guests while female guests for his wife are received to the side of the space in an informal setting. The formal space is represented in a set of table and chairs for receiving guests, while the informal space to the east and west sides is represented in *amben*, a wooden construction which is not considered as furniture but more as an elevated floor (Santosa, 1997, p. 19), which accommodates many functions including sleeping, eating, preparing and storing food, receiving guests, and the likes. The *amben* is the most active space in the simple house for daily activities. The most active space in a dalem is the *gandhok*. Just like *amben*, it is the multifunctional living space which can accommodate sleeping, eating, sitting, relaxing, watching TV, and the likes. The centre holds importance in a Javanese house, as reflected in the middle senhong.

If we relate the layout of a Javanese house with the roof types discussed in the previous sub section, we can see that in a compound of dalem, for example, there are several roof types used. The main public domain in the dalem, *pendhapa*, and the private domain of dalem are built in Joglo style while the others such as *gandhok*, kitchen, well and gate are built in Limasan, Kampung or Panggangpe style.

¹⁸¹ Located between the four saka gurus means that this space has the highest roof in the house and the highest elevation. .



Figure 6.22. The Great Mosque of Yogyakarta.
(Image courtesy of www.tembi.org)

Just like that of Javanese houses, elaborate Javanese mosques also have two main parts, the enclosed part and the veranda called *serambi*¹⁸². The veranda which is located at the front part of the mosque is usually in Limasan style while the enclosed part in the rear is in Tajug style. The veranda is identified by De Graaf to be the Mataram influence which was added to the enclosed part of the mosque for the first time in the end of 17th century (De Graaf, 1963, p. 1). The new addition was first added in the mosque of the kraton of Kartasura, which was then being copied for mosques in other parts of the Mataram territory. The Tajug roof of the rear part of mosque usually contains of several layers of roof which, according to De Graaf, represent the status of the mosque (De Graaf, 1963, p. 2). However, the layers of roof can be considered a consequence of extensions of the central part of a building as discussed in the previous sub-section. The mosque needs more space so that several extensions to penanggap and penitih or more are needed. Thus, the layers of roof are more a consequence of the size of the mosque than of status, even though the size of it might be related to status. Other thing that is unique to Javanese mosques is the absence of the minaret, which is usually a distinct feature of mosques. This is mainly because Javanese people use a

¹⁸² De Graaf mentioned it as *surambi*, but it is well known as *serambi* in Indonesia. This might be because the sound of 'e' in *serambi* is similar to the sound of 'u' in English. The meaning of *serambi* is simply a veranda.

bedhug, a kind of drum, to mark praying times, along with the prayer calling or *adhan*, so it is thought that they do not need a minaret as a medium to do prayer calling (De Graaf, 1963, p. 2). Other additional parts of mosques such as ablution rooms and toilets are located at the rear in *kampung*, or *Panggangpe* style.

A.3. *Other construction*

I will focus this section into the aspects of construction, including that of foundation, wall and floors. This excludes, but relates to the roof construction, which I have discussed previously in sub-section A.1.

The foundation in Javanese architecture is mainly of hardened soil. The common method used to harden the soil on the building site is *brug* in which a wooden tool consisting of a wooden stick with wooden panel underneath is used to knock and harden the soil (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 111). When the soil is hard enough to function as a foundation, the construction posts are erected. Between foundation and post there is a stone called *umpak* functioning as column base. *Umpak* usually comes from a black stone carved into a particular shape called *Padma*¹⁸³ which usually includes a simple ornament drawn or carved on it. A hole is made in the centre of the top of the *umpak* to hold wooden post on its place. Some extra space is made to give room for the wood's expansion and for a water resistant layer. This is to avoid contact of the wood with the humidity of the soil. This kind of construction consisting of foundation, *umpak* and wooden posts with tongue and gull joints is considered to be effective to support the house against lateral force (Prihatmaji, 2007, p. 6), such as earthquake which is common in Java¹⁸⁴. Another common type of foundation is *ceblokan* in which the post is buried instead of sitting on an *umpak*. A stone is placed at the bottom of the post. The post also has to be protected with a waterproof layer to prevent decay (Frick,

¹⁸³ *Padma* means lotus. The shape of *Padma* is derived from the shape of lotus flower.

¹⁸⁴ In chapter 4, I already discussed the general landscape of Java in which the island is situated right in the overlapping area of Australian and Eurasian tectonic plates. This resulted in this area to be very unstable. This also resulted in extremely high volcanic activity in this area.

1997, p. 162; Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 116). This type of foundation is usually used for secondary buildings (Frick, 1997, p. 162).

The floors in Javanese house are flexible. It might come as a dirt floor called *jogan*, plastered floor or tiled floor in a more modern house. The floor is usually elevated from the ground outside. It is also common to have stratified elevation in which the floor is elevated from the ground outside in the *penitih* circle, and elevated more in *penanggap* circle with the highest elevation is under the *brunjung* or *pamidhangan*.

The walls in a Javanese house are usually semi-permanent, made of bamboo plaits which allow the air to travel through. This makes the presence of windows unimportant as the air can circulate through the wall, therefore windows are sometimes absent in Javanese house. The absence of windows, however, makes the building dark which, according to Santosa, is one way to divide the public and private domain in a simple house. The darkness of the inner house makes the inside invisible from the outside, so making the inner house private¹⁸⁵. However it is also usual for this darkness to be considered unbeneficial that some people use a transparent roof tile to let the light in or add windows to the wall, which are usually arranged to be symmetrical to the left and right of the main door (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 123). In more modern houses, the bamboo plaits are replaced by wooden planks or brick walls which, unlike bamboo plaits, have insufficient air circulation that makes the presence of windows and ventilation more needed.

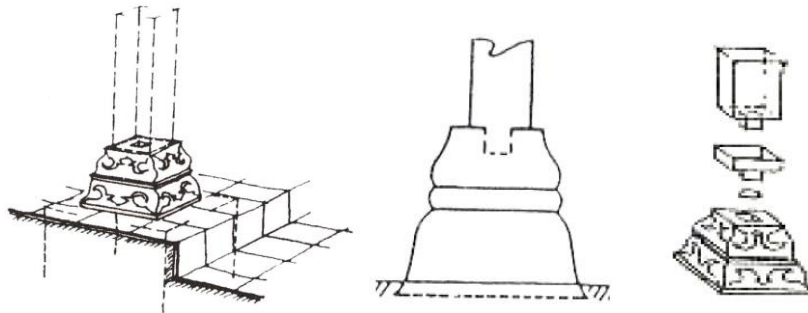


Figure 6.23. Umpak
(Image source: Frick, 1997; Prihatmaji,2007)

¹⁸⁵ The main door of the house is usually open during the day; darkness can keep it private.

A.4. *Ornaments*

The ornaments in Javanese architecture are usually constructional – which means inseparable from the construction. They are usually engraved on the beams and columns and at the doors and windows. Wibowo et al. distinguish the ornaments into several groups: floral, animal, nature, religious and others (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 139) in his account on the ‘traditional architecture’ of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in which he gathered his data mostly from the kraton of Yogyakarta. Reksodihardjo, however, shows a difference in the ornaments, since he gathered the ornaments mainly from the kraton of Surakarta and Central Java area.

In each place there are special ornaments reserved for the kraton or the king. Kala or Kemamang is used only for the kraton, particularly the kraton of Yogyakarta. Mirong is used in sacred spaces of the kraton. Golden colour is also reserved for the kraton. The kraton of Surakarta also uses Mirong for some of its sacred spaces. Golden colour is also used for ‘king related’ spaces.

The ornaments of Yogyakarta, according to Wibowo, can be grouped into floral ornaments, animal, nature, religious, and others. The floral ornaments consist of *Lung-lungan*, *Nanasan*, *Kebenan*, *Saton*, *Tlacapan*, *Wajikan*, and *Padma*. Most of them are engraved on constructional beams. The animal ornaments consist of *Kemamang*, *Garudha Peksi*, dragon, and cockerel. Most of them are not constructional as they are used on gates or roof pitches. Kemamang or Kala is reserved for the kraton’s use. Natural ornaments consist of *Gunungan*, *Mega mendhung*, *Banyu tetes*. They are constructional except for *Gunungan* which is used on a roof pitch. Religious ornaments consist of a kind of abstract Arabic calligraphy for particular words such as ‘Allah’, ‘Muhammad’ and ‘subhanahu’. These ornaments are constructional and usually used in king-related spaces, particularly the one named *Mirong*. Other ornaments are *Makutha*, *Kepetan*, *Panahan*, *Praba*, *Mustaka*. Some of them are constructional, and others are not, depending on where they are placed.

Praba is usually used for the kraton. The kraton also uses a particular type Mustaka, which is red in colour, to signify its ownership of a religious building such as mosque.

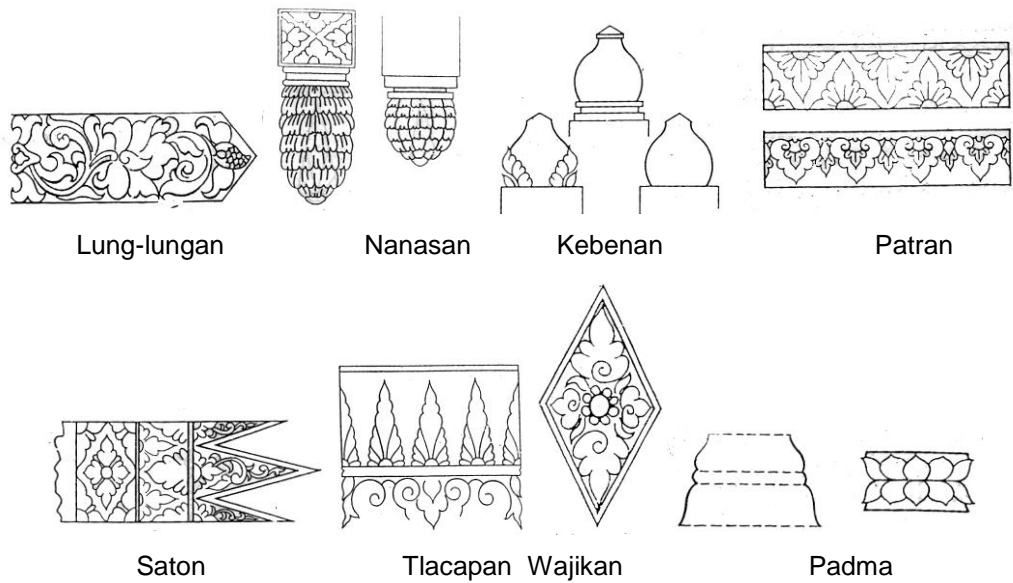


Figure 6.24. Javanese floral ornaments.
(Image source: Wibowo et.al. 1998)

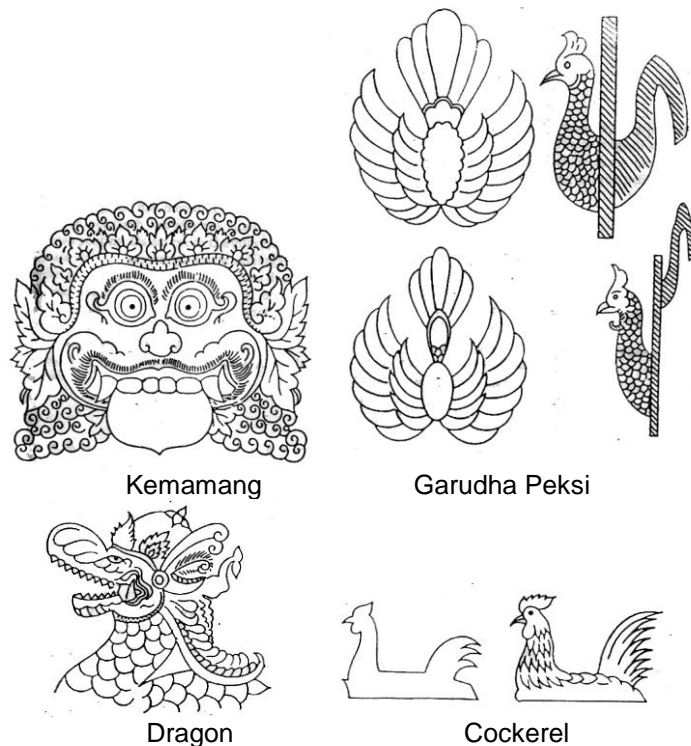


Figure 6.25. Animal ornaments.
(Image source: Wibowo, et.al., 1998).

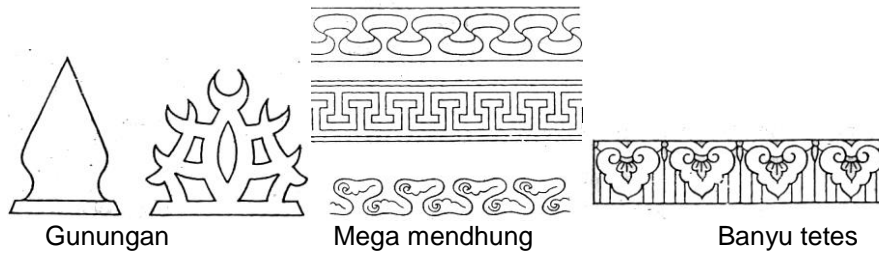


Figure 6.26. Nature ornaments.
(Image source: Wibowo, et.al., 1998)

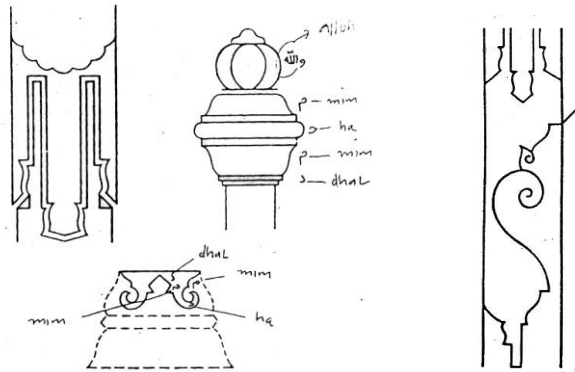


Figure 6.27. Calligraphy in Javanese ornaments. The one on the right is Mirong which is only used for king-related spaces.
(Image source: Wibowo, et.al., 1998).

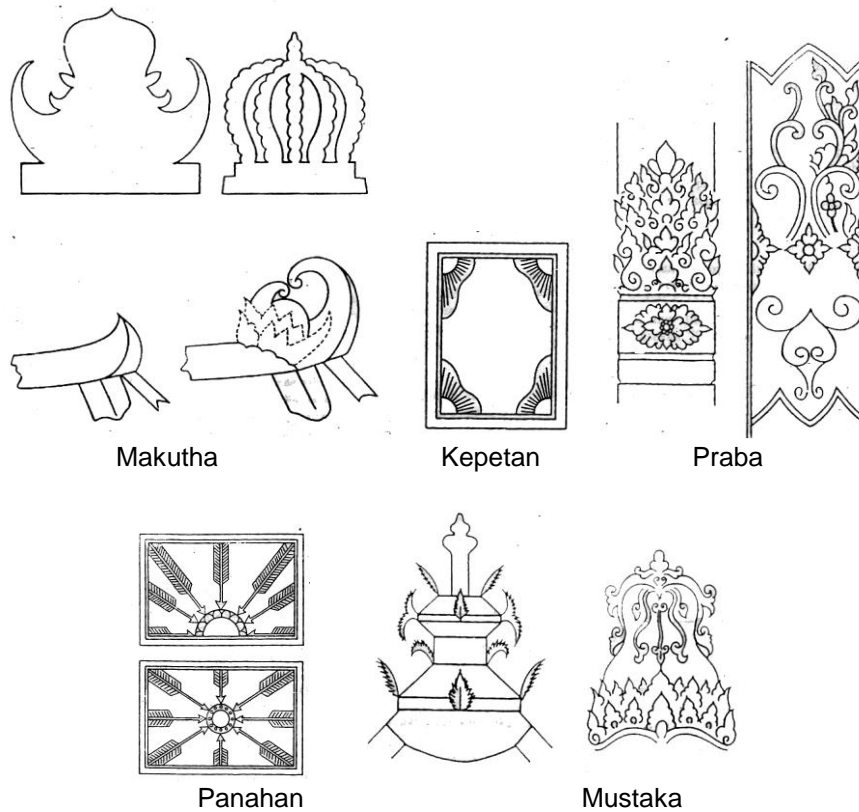


Figure 6.28. Other ornaments
(Image source: Wibowo, et.al, 1998)

The ornaments, according to Reksodihardjo in his account on the architecture of Central Java, consist of geometric designs, animals, floral, human body, nature, religious, and arabesque. He based his research on the kraton of Surakarta, the palace of the minor court of Mangkunegaran and other public buildings across Central Java area. Most of the ornaments are engraved. Unlike that of Wibowo, his account does not make clear about the kraton or the king-related ornaments. This will be explained more in the sub section about the kraton of Surakarta.

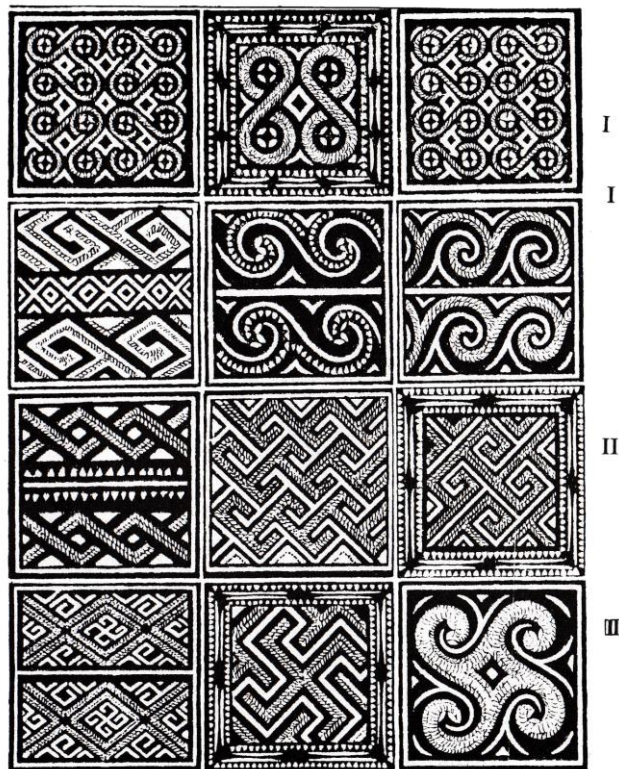


Figure 6.29. Geometric ornaments
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)

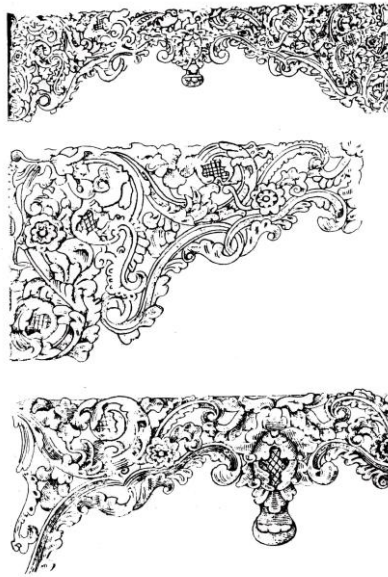


Figure 6.30. Floral ornaments
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)

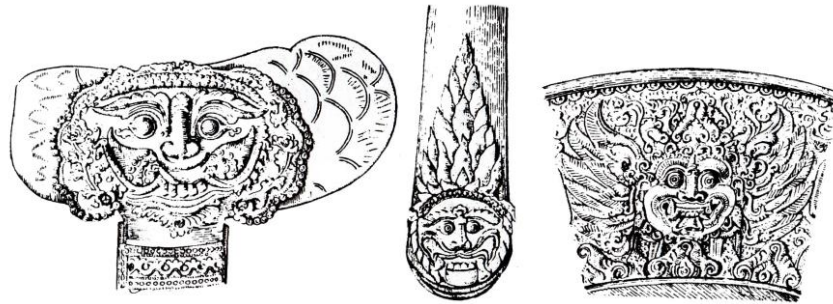


Figure 6.31. Human body ornaments
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)

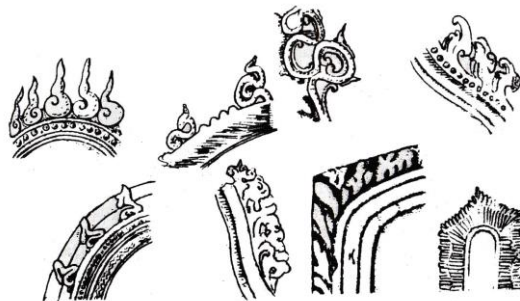
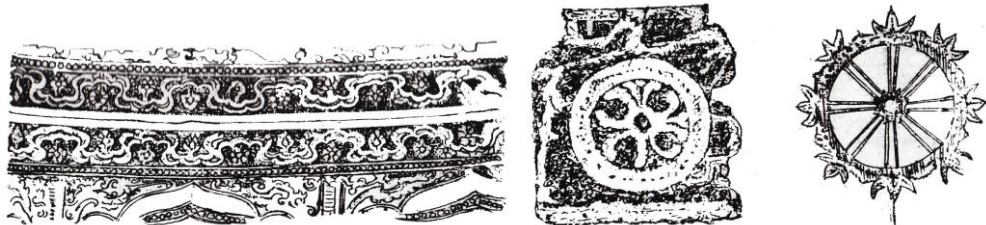


Figure 6.32. Natural ornaments
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)



Figure 6.33. Religious ornaments
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)

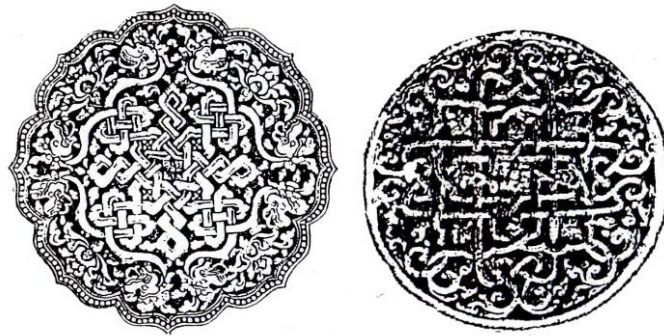


Figure 6.34. Arabesque
(Image source: Reksodihardjo, 1984)

It should be noted that in both places some Javanese ornaments, particularly those of animals, can act as *sengkalan memet*, which is a way to represent the year through drawing or ornaments. In *sengkalan memet* each number can be represented by several particular objects, for example number two can be represented by ‘bird’ or ‘horn(s)’ and number seven can be represented by ‘mountain’ or ‘horse’. The whole *sengkalan memet* can then be decoded into a set of numbers which, if

being read from back to front, shows a particular year¹⁸⁶, usually the year when the building is erected.

The difference between the ornaments mentioned by Wibowo and those mentioned by Reksodihardjo is mainly because of an agreement between the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta. Right after the Giyanti treaty of 1755 that divided Mataram kingdom into Yogyakarta and Surakarta, both kratons decided to make a difference in their use of ornaments. The kraton of Yogyakarta preferred to use the ancient ornaments while the kraton of Surakarta invented new ones (Sutton, 1991, p. 20). This brings a consequence in that some old ornaments like those found in the kraton of Yogyakarta are being used in both places while those invented by the kraton of Surakarta cannot be found elsewhere.

A.5. *Other standards and rituals.*

The Javanese house comes with a set order and rituals. This order includes the selection of site, orientation, materials, the date and time to build the house. There is a belief that if the wrong site, orientation, materials, date and time are chosen, they will bring bad luck to those living in the house and if the right site, orientation, materials, date and time are selected, they will bring happiness and wealth.

According to Wibowo and Reksodihardjo, there are several categories of site, each with their own characteristics and names, to consider for building a house. Eleven categories are considered ideal while six are considered to bring bad luck¹⁸⁷. The site of the kraton of Yogyakarta falls into an ideal category which is *Sangsang Buwono* or *Kawula Katubing Kata*, which is a site surrounded by mountains or hills and located between two rivers or *Srimangepel*. The case is different with the kraton of Surakarta, where the kraton is located in a swamp area. It

¹⁸⁶ There are two kinds of sengkalan memet which are *Candra sengkala* and *Surya sengkala*. The difference between them lies on the calendar system being used. Candra sengkala uses lunar calendar and Surya sengkala uses sun calendar.

¹⁸⁷ For more details, see Reksodihardjo, Sudibyo, & W.E, 1984 and Wibowo et al., 1998.

was agreed by the king and his ministers that the site which was located in the village of Sala was proper for building the kraton. The decision was mainly based on prophesy (Poedjosoedarmo & Ricklefs, 1967, p. 98) that the kraton would prosper and last if built on the site; therefore there is no logical explanation over why it was considered proper. However, the process of establishment turned to be difficult in which the swampy land was so difficult to dry. The village chief, Kyai Sala, was said to have made a prophesy to help solve the problem, in which a set of sacrifices had to be prepared¹⁸⁸. This is in line with that mentioned by Wibowo and Reksodihardjo, that in the case when it is inevitable to build a house in a bad site, there is a consequence to do a ritual to repel the bad luck of the site; this ritual will include sacrifice. The sacrifice to repel bad luck of the site according to both of them is usually in the form of a head of a water buffalo but can be in any other forms being buried on site.

In terms of material, the best considered material for house is teak wood. Other kinds of woods and bamboo are also permitted, particularly for those who cannot afford building a house of teakwood. Teakwood is considered so special that Javanese people divide wood into two groups: teak and others, in which teakwood is considered a luxury that reflects status and prestige. It is one of the main products of Java which in 17th century had spread all over the island particularly in its spine. This wood had been the interest of Dutch VOC and colonial government who tried to control their access on it (Peluso, 1991, p. 65). Acknowledged for its versatility and durability, the Dutch mainly used it for building their ships, even though they also used it for forts and bridges, factories and railway (Peluso, 1991, pp. 65–72). Up to the present, Java has the biggest teak wood plantation in the world which is around one millions hectares out of the world's 2.7 million hectares (Dwi, Guizol, Roda, & Purnomo, 2006, p. 1) .

¹⁸⁸ www.kratonsurakarta.com/solo . It is explained that the sacrifice of Gong and dancer's head was interpreted as an amount of money for Kyai Sala. This resource, however, has not been verified or validitated, just as Florida says about Javanese literature. What I underline here is the idea of making sacrifice to solve problems.

The quality of teak, however, is varied. Javanese people have several parameters in selecting good quality teak. Teak grown in the mountain with red soil is considered to be of better quality than teak grown on black soil; three grades of quality are generally recognised (Reksodihardjo et al., 1984, p. 124; Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 100):

- a. *Jati*¹⁸⁹ *Bang*. This is teakwood that is hard, smooth textured and oily. This is the best quality of teak, strong and durable.
- b. *Jati Kembang* or *Jati Sungu*. This is black teakwood whose wood grain shaped like flowers or horns¹⁹⁰. This kind of teak is considered good enough for building but the quality is lower than *Jati Bang*.
- c. *Jati Kapur*. This kind of teakwood is soft with coarse grain and whitish colours. This kind of teak is the lowest in quality. However, if this kind of teak is grown in the good soil, the quality might increase.

Moreover, Javanese people believe in other characteristics of teakwood in which there are ten types to bring goodness and sixteen types to bring bad luck¹⁹¹. The bad types are avoided when building a house. However, avoiding them is only possible when people cut the trees all by themselves. This is because the types refer to the state of the tree or the way it falls when being cut. At present when wood is bought from the market instead of cut from the forest, the only thing to do when selecting teak wood is by using the three categories of *Jati Bang*, *Jati Kembang* and *Jati Kapur* mentioned earlier. The kraton of Surakarta up to the present, however, still uses the extensive parameters in selecting teak wood for its buildings as there is a preserved forest in Danalaya, Wonogiri, to the south of Surakarta which serves the kraton of Surakarta exclusively¹⁹². The kraton of Yogyakarta does not have a particular forest from which to have its teak wood so they need to look around for the best

¹⁸⁹ The term *jati* means 'teak'.

¹⁹⁰ The name given refers to the characteristics in which the term *kembang* means 'flower(s)' and *sungu* means 'horn(s)'.

¹⁹¹ For more details see Reksodihardjo, Sudibyo, & W.E, 1984 and Wibowo et al., 1998.

¹⁹² This is based on a personal communication with Titis Pitana, a member of the kraton of Surakarta's architecture consultant.

quality of teak and the proper dimension of teak wood¹⁹³.

Other rules to follow when building a house are *petungan* or the rule of calculation and the ceremonies involved in the process of building. The right calculation is believed to bring prosperity, health and happiness to the lives of the people in the house. The main things to calculate are the dimensions of *blandar* (long upper beam) and *pengeret* (short upper beam) and the number of rafters with different rules for different parts of the house. The *blandar* and *pengeret* of the main house or *dalem* have to have one measuring unit – which in this case is feet remaining after dividing by five (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 106). For example, the length of *blandar* is 16 feet and the length of *pengeret* is 11 feet. 16 and 11 when divided by 5 will have 1 remains. The *pendhapa* and *pringgitan* have a different rule of calculation in which the dimensions of *blandar* and *pengeret* of them should have two measuring units remain after being divided by five (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 107). For example, the length of *blandar* is 17 feet and *pengeret* is 12 feet. 17 and 12 when divided by 5 will have 2 remain. *Gandhok*, kitchen and shower room have another rule in which the dimensions of *blandar* and *pengeret* should have three unit remains after divided by 5 (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 108). This rule is also applied in mosques. Other buildings such as gates¹⁹⁴ and gazebos have a different rule which does not involve the dimension of *blandar* and *pengeret* but the number of rafters. The rule for those outdoor constructions is that the number of rafters if divided by five should have four units remain (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 109). Calculation is also needed to decide the location of gates. The site of the house is measured and each side of it is divided evenly into five or nine units some of which are considered good locations and some others are considered bad as seen in Figure 6.37. The gates should be located in any

¹⁹³ This is based on a personal communication with Revianto Budi Santosa, a member of Cultural Board of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

¹⁹⁴ Gates or *regol* in Javanese are usually in the form of roofed doors which occasionally include small shelters or benches for resting sometimes accompanied by a barrel of drinking water. The roof for this construction is usually *Limasan semar tinandhu* or *Joglo semar tinandhu* which do not have *sakaguru* and *tumpangsari* (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 110).

of good units.

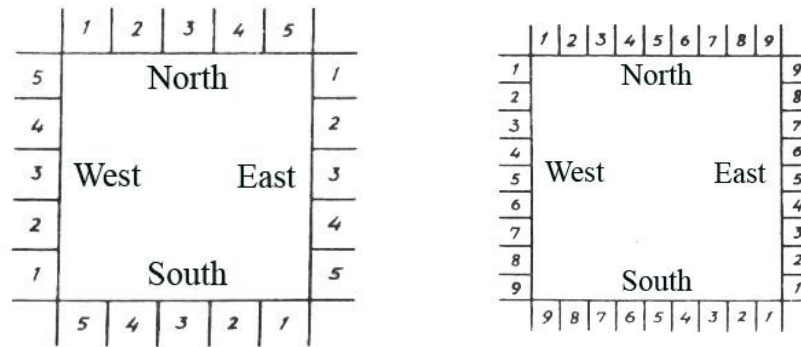


Figure 6.35. The calculation for gate location. Each unit number has its own meaning. In the first picture, 1= goodness and safety, 2= successful effort, 3=badness, 4=shame and doubt, 5=badness and haunted. In the second picture, 1=soil means good, 2=carriage means good, 3=giant means bad, 4=river means bad, 5= soil means good, 6=carriage means good, 7=giant means bad, 8=river means bad, 9= soil means good
(Image derived from Wibowo et.al. 1998)

The process of building a house needs at least four ceremonies, two before starting, one during the building process and another after the house has been settled. The two ceremonies before the beginning of the building process are the ceremony to repel bad luck and the ceremony to tame the supernatural forces in the site. The ceremony during the building process is the main ceremony, conducted when erecting the main construction of the house, particularly the top beam named *Molo*. The last ceremony is conducted 35 days¹⁹⁵ after the building is finished.

The ceremony to repel bad luck, named *tulak bala*, has to be organised on Javanese sacred days, which are Tuesday Kliwon or Friday Kliwon. In this ceremony, a set of leaves and flowers is buried in four corners of the site in the middle of the night. There are two kinds of ceremony to tame the supernatural forces in the site, *senthir* and *tumpeng* which refer to the things used in the ceremony. *Senthir* is a small oil lamp and *Tumpeng* is a mound of rice accompanied by side dishes. The process of both ceremonies is similar. The only thing to differ is the object used in the ceremony. In this ceremony, a *senthir* or a *tumpeng* is put in the middle of the site in the middle of the night and taken away

¹⁹⁵ 35 day is special for Javanese as Javanese people use ordinary calendar with seven days a week combined with five *pasaran* which consist of Pahing, Pon, Wage, Kliwon, and Legi. The same day with the same *pasaran* recurs every 35 days. The period of 35 days is called *selapan*.

before sunrise. The tumpeng is then distributed to family and neighbours.

The main ceremony when building a house is *Masang Molo* – literally means erecting Molo. This ceremony even though named after the top beam, Molo, is actually a ceremony of erecting the whole structure of the building¹⁹⁶. This ceremony should be conducted in one day only, which includes activities of engraving Molo, preparing other beams and erecting the beams including Molo into the whole structure of the house. In the procession there is a set of offerings which consists of a bunch of bananas, a bunch of rice, a live cockerel, a young golden coconut, sugar cane, a mirror and a set of equipment for betel eating¹⁹⁷. This set of offerings is brought up through the process of erection, and being put on the top beam already erected and moved along with the process until it reaches the Molo when all the structure has finished.

The last ceremony is conducted on the 35th day after the building is finished. In 35th day or *selapan* the house is considered to be complete and strong¹⁹⁸ (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 218). The ceremony involves prayer and distribution of food to the invited neighbours.

The books by Wibowo and Reksodihardjo are a means of reproduction of the power structure embodied in the architectural order. In this case, both accounts have roles as agents. From the description above about the Javanese construction system, lay out, ornaments, and other standards including material selection and rituals related to building, we could also see that the standard and order of Javanese architecture are so extensive. This becomes an issue in modern times, where the availability of land and wood has decreased and the builders do not have enough knowledge about the traditional construction system. The needs of the kraton to build something in that way can only be met by particular stakeholders. For those reasons, both the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta have their own consultants

¹⁹⁶ The logic behind this is that it is impossible to erect Molo without constructing the others so erecting Molo means erecting the whole structure.

¹⁹⁷ The original term in Indonesia is '*makan sirih*', literally means eating betel. However, it is actually munching betel to spit it out again.

¹⁹⁸ The house is personified as a human being whose existence is celebrated with ceremonies on the 35th day after being born (Wibowo et al., 1998, p. 218)

who deal exclusively with the kraton's buildings.

This also leads to exclusivity in which the Javanese 'traditional' architecture only belongs to the people who can afford it. Most people at present cannot afford building in the style of Javanese architecture. Even when they can afford it, the modern lifestyle most people have now does not fit this type of building. This causes Javanese architecture to be used exclusively and only for particular people, such as the kraton as the patron of Javanese culture. This exclusivity makes the kraton's architecture perceived as reserved and untouched by common people, while at the same time considered to be *adiluhung*, or having a very high value, based on the traditional wisdom. This is similar to what Florida said about Javanese traditional literature which "has [...] been essentiali[s]ed into an aestheti[s]ed object of tradition, a fantastic object whose contours are determined by [...] conventional wisdom on the nature of 'Javanese-ness'" (Florida, 1995, p. 22). It is now "an imaginary ideal, or a spectral reminder of a vanishing past, rather than a diverse field of concrete" architecture (Florida, 1995, p. 22) except, of course for the kraton. This made the Javanese traditional architecture to be related to the kraton or as a symbol of authority of the kraton.

B. COLONIAL ARCHITECTURAL DEBATE

Another important debate on 'Javanese architecture' is about whether Javanese house can be categorised into 'architecture'. The attitude of Dutch architects in the East Indies toward indigenous buildings was varied. Wolff Schoemaker, one Dutch architect in one of his speeches concluded that there was no building in Java that deserved to be categorised 'architecture' (Kusno, 2000, p. 30). This is not surprising considering the buildings found in Java by that time were very different from those found in the West. Gottfried Semper acknowledged the specificity of architecture, and structured his theory around the basic elements of wall, hearth, mound, and roof as the basic elements. Indigenous buildings of the East Indies mainly have no hearth and if they have one, it is placed in the margin just like the location of the kitchen in the Javanese house. Hearth, which in Semper's argument occupies a significant position for ritual gathering (Hvattum, 2004, p. 13) in the form of kitchen, in a Javanese house is usually considered additional and does not need special space; it can be placed outdoors with only a simple roof to cover it from rain. It is also

considered to be a profane space that it needs to be placed at the rear side. Some parts of Javanese house also have no walls, such as the pendhapa of the Javanese house, as walls are not really needed to protect against the climate. The importance of walls, which according to Semper is originated from textile arts, in Javanese house is merely for making private spaces. This can be seen in the case of Prabasuyasa and Prabayeksa, the main dalem of the kraton. The walls of these buildings are designed to be removable because during special occasions the walls are removed to open the whole dalems. While textile arts, which are represented in walls, are considered to be the origin of all arts including architecture according to Semper (Hvattum, 2004, p. 70), a wall has less significance in a Javanese house. The ornaments as argued by Semper to be originated from textile arts are not found in a Javanese house, whose ornaments are mainly three dimensional and constructional. Moreover, the 'traditionality' of a Javanese house also contributes to it becoming unacknowledged as 'architecture', as it is considered to lack invention by simply imitating previous buildings and orders¹⁹⁹. The discourse of the 'traditional', however, originated from colonial discourse which put the 'traditional' of the East as the binary opposition of the 'modern' of the West. The reality was that the Javanese [architecture] was more varied than what is covered by the discourse of the 'traditional' (Antlöv & Hellman, 2005, p. 4). Those notions about the Javanese house contribute to its unacknowledgement as 'architecture'.

Following the Ethical Policy that was passed in the early 20th century, there was a rising awareness of local values by the people of the East Indies (Jessup, 1985, p. 140). Hendrik Petrus Berlage, a student of Semper, upon his coming to the East Indies on 1923, defined Indies architecture as a synthesis of two elements, the West and the East (Kusno, 2000, p. 32). His opinion is influenced by Semper on the specificity of architecture (Hvattum, 2004, p. 57). Architecture, according to Semper, depends on the particular natural condition. Therefore, the forms of architecture found in Netherland could not be used in the East Indies without any adaptation to the local condition. This is different with Schoemaker's opinion about this issue. Schoemaker argued that as there was no local architectural tradition qualified enough

¹⁹⁹ Semper rejects imitation as one architectural principle (Hvattum, 2004, p. 48). He argues that arts (including architecture) to be originated from the creative instinct of men (Hvattum, 2004, p. 181).

to be used as the starting point. The architects had to call for other [great] civilisations, which existed long before in the form of *candi* or Hindu-Buddhist temples, mainly influenced by Indic culture (Cairns, 1997, p. 78). Berlage disagreed with him and argued that *candi* was alien to the existing Javanese tradition and considered it irrelevant (Cairns, 1997, p. 78). Berlage's opinion was shared by Henri Maclaine Pont and Thomas Karsten (Jessup, 1985). Both of them tried to synthesise modern architecture and indigenous buildings in their designs for public buildings in the East Indies. Thomas Karsten used Javanese *pendhapa* as the source of ideas for his designs on Yogyakarta's Sonobudoyo Museum and Semarang's People Theatre (Kusno, 2000, pp. 33–34). Henri Maclaine Pont made a more significant contribution, particularly to Javanese architecture, in that he not only designed buildings based on indigenous principles and modern architecture but also made a 'scientific' analysis of Javanese *pendhapa* to prove that indigenous buildings fitted perfectly with the principles of modern architecture, and that only a little process was needed for it to get into the modern world (Kusno, 2000, p. 39). One of his analyses was about the origin of the indigenous architecture. Following Quatremere de Quincy's theory about the origin of architecture, he traced the evolution back from the tent to Sundanese (de Vries & Segaar-Howeler, 2009, p. 38) and Javanese buildings, with Bangsal Kencana of the kraton of Yogyakarta and Bangsal Witana of the kraton of Surakarta as some of the examples (Kusno, 2000, p. 41). He also used indigenous principles in designing new public buildings such as the Trawulan museum, Pohsarang church and the most famous of all: the Technische Hoogeschool Bandung. Even though his efforts did not receive much appreciation from indigenous people (Kusno, 2000, p. 42), his 'scientific' analysis of indigenous buildings made it acceptable for those buildings to be categorised as architecture. In the case of the Javanese house, however, it was only the *pendhapa* part that was considered architecture (Cairns, 1997, p. 79).



Technische Hoogeschool 'Institut Teknologi' Bandung (ITB) 1918-1920



Figure 6.36. Maclaine Pont's designs in the East Indies: Technische Hoogeschool and Pohsarang church. (Images: de Vries & Segaar-Howeler, 2009)

In his analysis, Maclaine Pont chose the pendhapas of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta to represent Javanese pendhapa, therefore representing the indigenous. The acknowledgement of the kraton's pendhapa as 'architecture' then dominated the architectural debate in the East Indies. This acknowledgement contributes to the reproduction of the power structure in which the kraton gained domination in the architectural debate over other indigenous forms in Java.

Even though Pendhapa already gained architectural status in this discourse, the Javanese royal courts did not seem to have interest except for the minor court of Mangkunegaran, which let a Dutch architect, Hermann Thomas Karsten, design the

main pendhapa of *Pura Mangkunegaran* and its extension at the rear, an octagonal building named *Pracimayasa* which can be seen in Figure 6.37. and Figure 6.38. Later, the main pendhapa of Mangkunegaran is referred as the model of Javanese house in the Beautiful Indonesia theme park in Jakarta, as seen in Figure 6.1. It is not clear, though, whether the collaboration with Dutch architect in building this pendhapa has an influence in making the decision to choose it to represent Javanese house in Beautiful Indonesia Project.

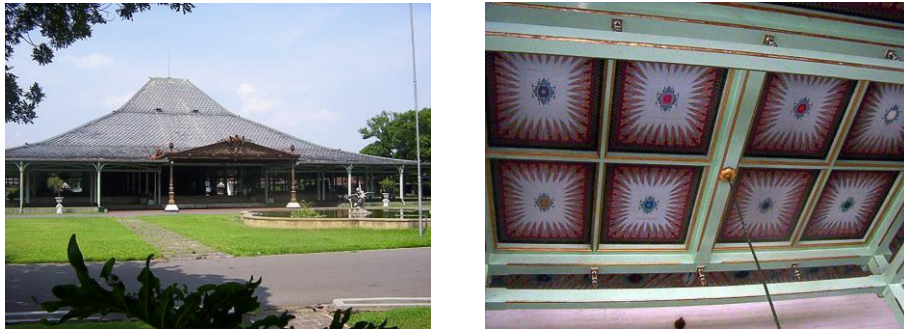


Figure 6.37. The main pendhapa of Pura Mangkunegaran designed by Karsten. The image on the left shows the use of a gable in front of pendhapa. The image on the right is the detail of the roof between the sakagurus.



Figure 6.38. Pracimayasa located at the rear of Pura Mangkunegaran, designed by Karsten. The left image is the overall building with three-tiered roof and the right image is one detail of the roof construction.

Both the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta adapted Western architecture in a different way from the Dutch architects mentioned above. Both of them use cast iron columns imported from western countries and concrete columns, which look like classical columns, along with pediments and arches. There is no data on which country is the origin of the cast iron columns in the kraton of Yogyakarta. The cast iron columns of the kraton of Surakarta, however, show their origin at the base of the columns on which a text in Dutch language is placed. This can be seen in Figure 6.39.



Figure 6.39. The text at the base of the iron cast column in Maligi, the extension of Sasana Sewaka, the main pavilion of Kedhaton of the kraton of Surakarta.



Figure 6.40. The cast iron columns used in the kraton of Yogyakarta. The left image is the columns used in Pagelaran and Sitinggil pavilions while the right image is the column used in Bangsal Kencana, Kedhaton.



Figure 6.41. The cast iron columns used in the kraton of Surakarta. The left image is the column located along the Museum building if seen from Kedhaton. The middle is the column in Maligi, the extension of Sasana Sewaka, Kedhaton. The right image is the column in Sewayana pavilion, Northern Sitinggil.

The use of classical columns can be seen in front of Pagelaran pavilion, the northernmost building of the whole compound of the kraton of Yogyakarta, the northern gates of the kraton of Yogyakarta, and at the gates of the kraton of Surakarta.



Figure 6.42. The classical columns along with pediments of Western architecture used by the kraton of Yogyakarta. Those structures are accompanied and sometimes distorted by Javanese ornaments.



Figure 6.43. Pacahosan for the kraton guards located in the left and right of the gates of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The one on the left is the pacahosan on Brajanala gate, the middle image is the Pacahosan on Srimanganti gate and the right image is the pacahosan in Danapratapa gate. All of them have arches and small pediments distorted by Javanese ornaments.



Figure 6.44. The classical-like columns in the kraton of Surakarta. The left image is the columns on the Museum buildings. The right image is Bale Angun-angun at the side of Sewayana pavilion, Northern Sitinggil. The use of classical columns along with arches and classical pediment can be seen obviously.

Moreover, the kraton of Surakarta also displays European statues, particularly in the Kedhaton courtyard, the main and the most sacred courtyard, as seen on Figure 6.45. Those statues, some of which are identified as Christian angels and Ceres, are placed around Sasana Sewaka and the banquet hall, Sasana Handrawina. There is no information about why they are located in this place and why those profiles are chosen. Some smaller statues can also be found inside the pavilion. The display of

foreign statues can also be seen in Pura Mangkunegaran in which several statues are placed around the main pendhapa as seen in Figure 6.46. Those statues are gifts from other countries. In the case of the kraton of Surakarta, it is also possible that those statues are gifts which are being displayed.



Figure 6.45. The use of European statues around Sasana Sewaka, the main pavilion of the Kedhaton courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta.



Figure 6.46. The statues displayed in the main pendhapa of Pura Mangkunegaran. The one on the left is from China, the middle one is from Belgium and the right is from Italy.

It should be noted that there is a pattern in adapting Western architecture in the kraton, particularly that of the kraton of Yogyakarta. In my previous research, the Western architectural elements are placed in the extension of the main buildings of each courtyard while the main buildings remain ‘Javanese’. They are also used for supporting buildings but not for Pacahosan, except Pacahosan for the guards located at the gates (Purwani, 2001, p. 113). The kraton of Surakarta seems to use a similar approach in that the Western architecture is only used in the extension of the main buildings. However, there is a notable exception for Panggung Sanggabuwana. Unlike the kraton of Yogyakarta, in which Western architecture cannot be found in sacred places, the kraton of Surakarta Panggung Sanggabuwana, which is Western in shape and style, is considered sacred.

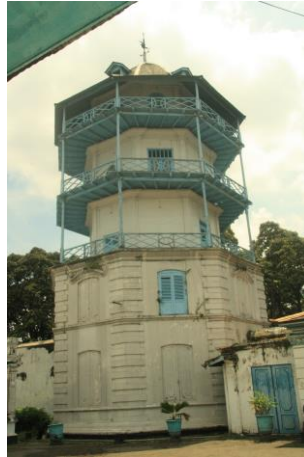


Figure 6.47. Panggung Sanggabuwana, an octagonal tower located between Srimanganti courtyard and Kedhaton with entrance located in Kedhaton courtyard. This tower is considered sacred that not everyone is allowed to enter.

The difference approach taken by Dutch colonial architects and the Javanese courts does not seem to influence what happened afterwards. The approach used by Dutch architects that used the indigenous building, in this case is Javanese *pendhapa*, as the starting point of design, was not popular. The kraton's approach which combines the east and west in particular ways is also not popular in that the whole kraton architecture is generally recognised as Javanese traditional architecture, which has an *adiluhung* value despite the existence of western architectural elements. The architectural practices in Java after Independence did not seem to try to mix two different types of architecture. Most buildings are now modern in style and Javanese elements, if any, could only be found in details²⁰⁰.

I am not going into detail about the adaptation of Western architecture in both kratons because it is an area outside of my topic. However, the fact that the kraton's architecture is still recognised as 'traditional' and 'adiluhung' shows that the kraton dominates the discourse of 'traditionality'; it is therefore considered as the source of the traditional. I will also use some facts related to this issue to make sense on patterns in section E.

²⁰⁰ This can be seen on the *Joglonisasi* which is a rule by the government of Central Java to make governmental buildings in the area of Central Java to have Joglo roof in New Order era. This approach is very different to the Dutch colonial approach and the kraton's approach on mixing two different architectures. This has been widely criticised as kitsch.

C. ARCHITECTURAL LAYOUT OF THE JAVANESE KRATONS

I will zoom into the layout of the architecture of the kraton in both cities, and describe them with images. As mentioned in chapter 1, both kratons have similar concentric layouts, each of which consists of seven hierarchical courtyards: Northern Sitinggil, Northern Kemandhungan, Northern Srimanganti, Kedhaton, South Sri Manganti, Southern Kemandhungan and Southern Sitinggil. From those seven courtyards, the central courtyard, Kedhaton, holds the highest position in the hierarchy. Their layout relates in wider scale to other objects, such as monuments or *tugu*. As mentioned in chapter 5, the existence of other objects strengthens the north-south axis in urban scale. As their existence is closely related to the kraton, I will put these objects along with the kraton, into the discussion of their architecture.

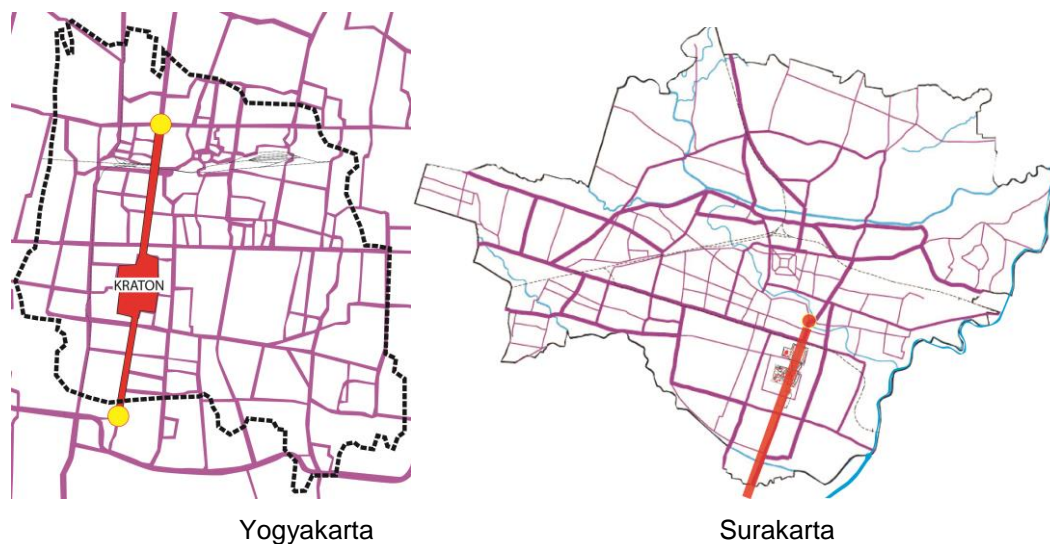


Figure 6.48. The axis of Yogyakarta and Surakarta that are formed by the kraton, other objects and road structure. The objects of Yogyakarta are *Tugu Golong Gilig* at the north and *Panggung Krapyak* at the south. The object of Surakarta is only one at the north, *Tugu Pemandangan*.

The objects related to the kraton of Yogyakarta in this context are *Tugu Golong Gilig* and *Panggung Krapyak*. *Tugu Golong Gilig* is a monument (*tugu*) topped with a sphere shape (Nas, 2011, p. 89). It is claimed to be 25 m in height²⁰¹ and built in 1756, and that it was used to help the king to meditate by focusing on it when sitting on his throne in Sitinggil. It was destroyed on 10th June 1867 due to

²⁰¹ Mr Winarno, the head of PT. Kertagana, the consultant of the kraton of Yogyakarta, however, told me that it was not possible for *Tugu Golong Gilig* to be 25 metres in height considering the building

an earthquake and was rebuilt on 1889 by the Dutch into a different monument called *De Witte Pal*, 15 m high, which remains up to the present²⁰². This monument is now commonly known as *Tugu Jogja*²⁰³ (Figure 6.49.). Panggung Krapyak is a building located in an area for hunting, in Javanese this hunting area is called *krapyak*, which now has turned into a settlement area. The village where this object lies is now called Krapyak village.



Figure 6.49. Tugu Jogja as the north object and Panggung Krapyak as the south object of the kraton Yogyakarta.

(Image source: www.gudeg.net and own photo)

In Surakarta, there is only one object related to the kraton to strengthen its axis. It is Tugu Pemandangan, which is a monument of around eight metres high located to the north of the kraton. Claimed to be built at the same time with the building of the kraton in 1744, this monument is placed before the intersection of the Jendral Sudirman Street and Pepe river, about 500 m to the north of the kraton of Surakarta. Just like that of Yogyakarta, this monument is also claimed to help the king to meditate when sitting in his throne in Sitinggil.

construction technology by the 18th century.

²⁰² http://portal.jogjaprovo.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1001%3Amuncak-tugu-pal-putih-diganti-dengan-yang-baru&catid=48%3Aberita-pemerintah&Itemid=30

²⁰³ Jogja is a popular name of Yogyakarta.



Figure 6.50. Tugu Pemandangan of Surakarta. The king of Surakarta is claimed to focus his sight on the top of this monument to help his meditation.
(Image source: Miksic, 2004).

As already shown in chapter 1, both the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta have almost similar layout which consist of seven hierarchical courtyards, each of which is separated by surrounding walls and gates, with two open spaces to the north and to the south of them. We can see it again in Figure 6.51. In this section I would like to zoom in to discuss their details.

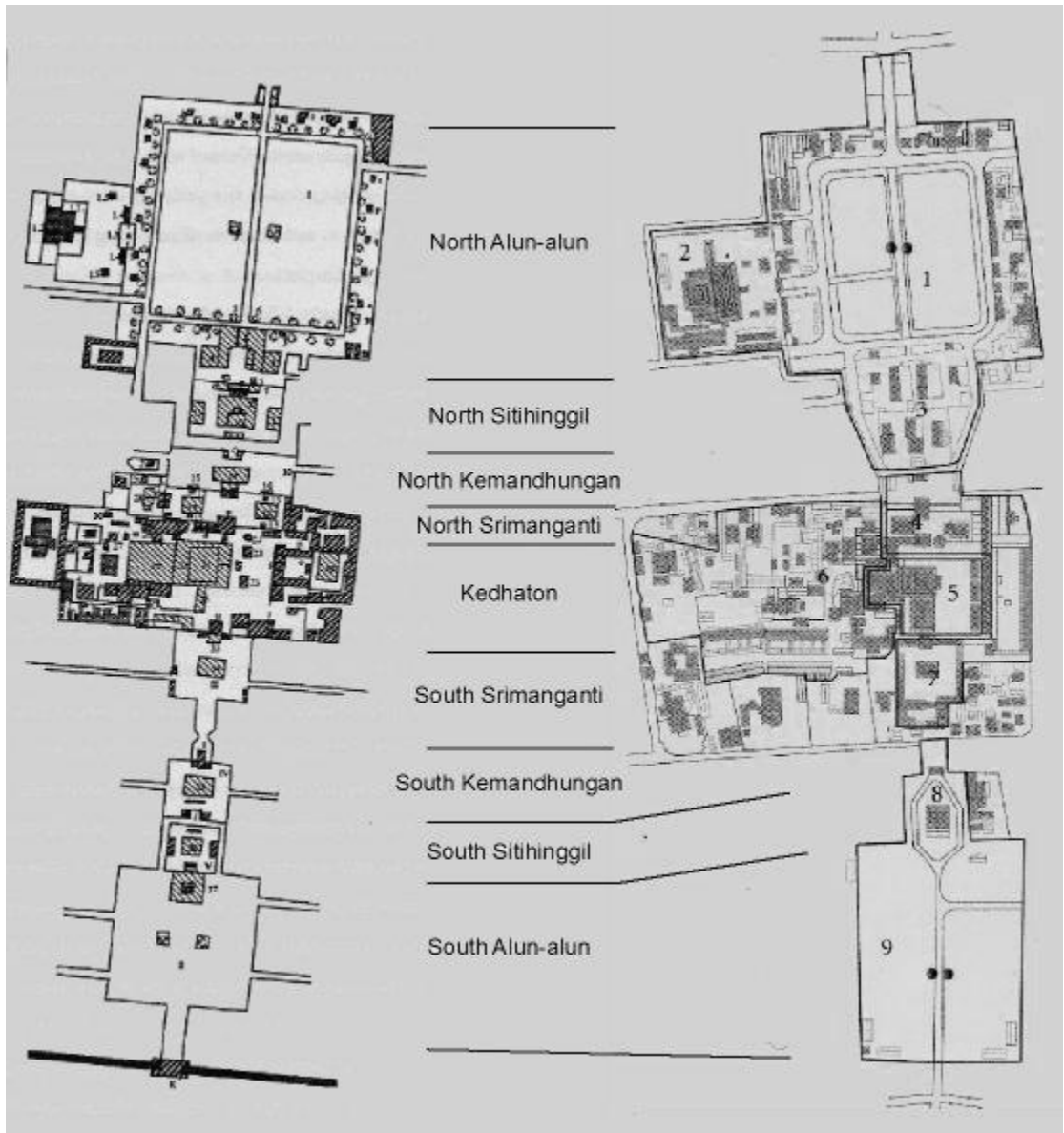


Figure 6.51. The comparison of the layouts of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right).

(Image derived from Adishakti, 1997 and Miksic, 2004).

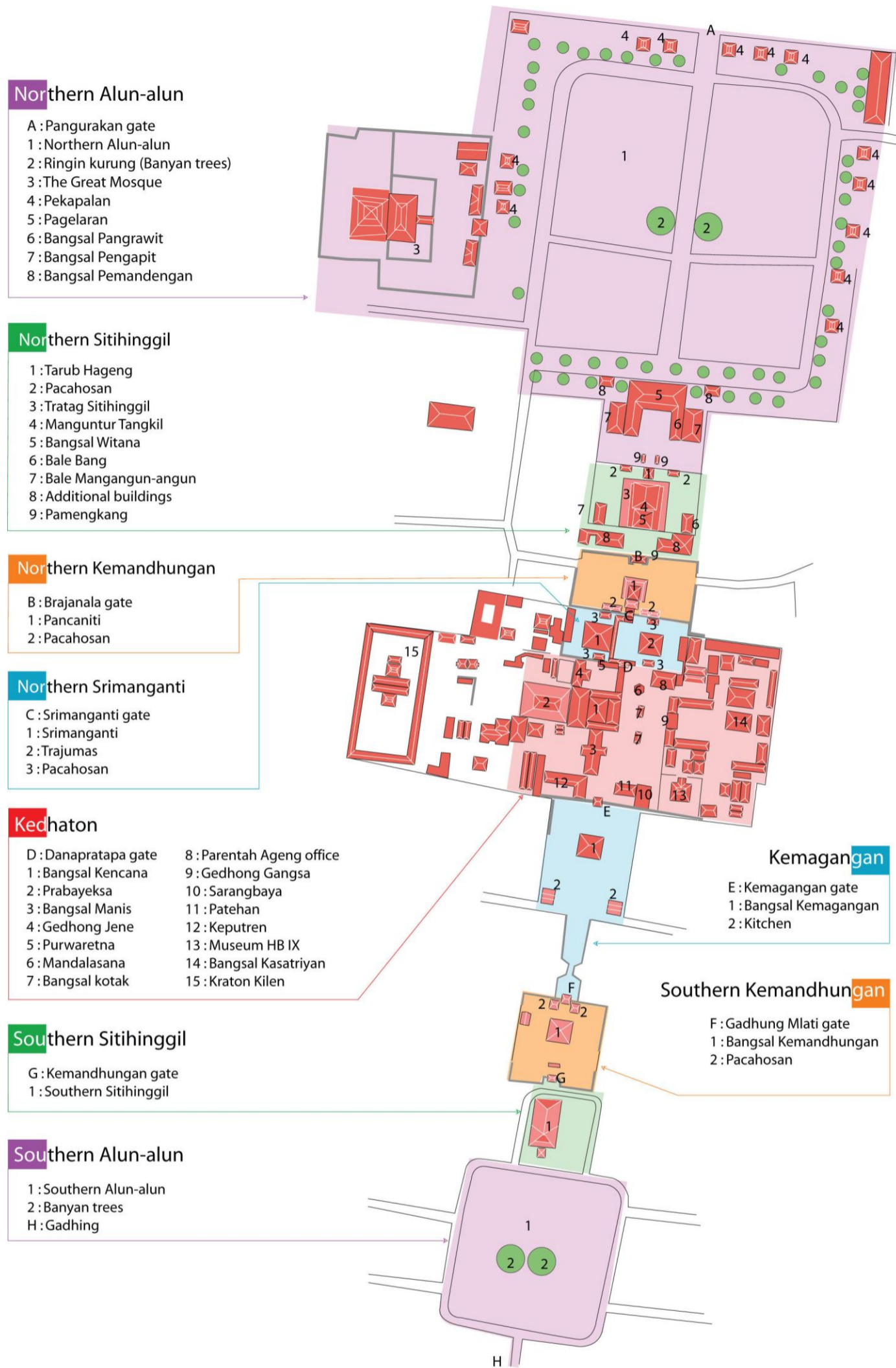


Figure 6.52. The map of the kraton of Yogyakarta (Derived from Adishakti, 1997 and Google Maps)

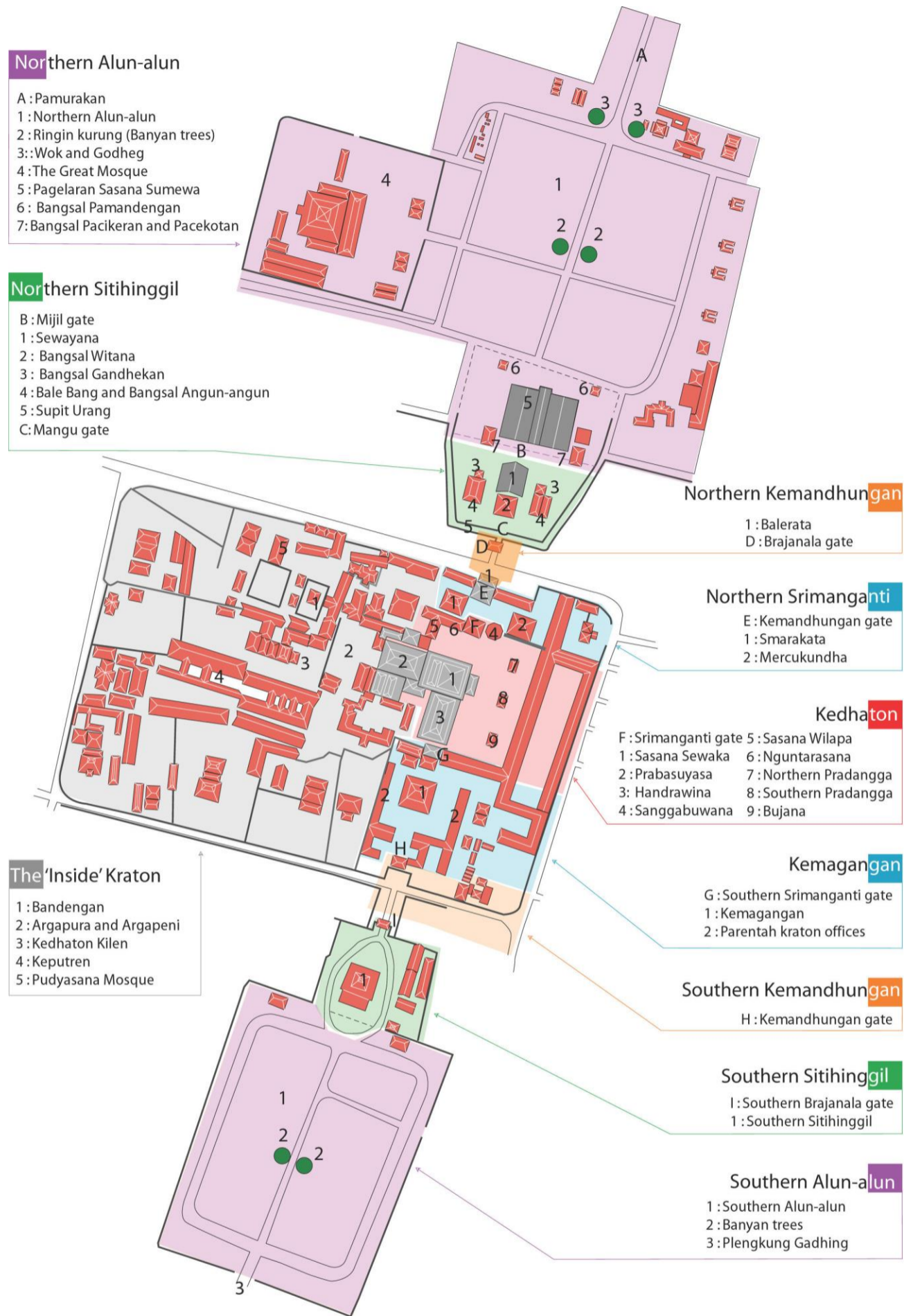


Figure 6.53. The map of the kraton of Surakarta.
(Derived from Miksic, 2004; the Kraton consultant and Google Maps).

C.1. Northern Alun-alun

Each of the area of the Northern Alun-alun of both Yogyakarta and Surakarta consists of the main north gate called *Pamurakan* or *Pangurakan* gate, the open space of Alun-alun, the Great Mosque, an open plan hall, the northernmost building of the kraton, and several small Joglo buildings around the Alun-alun called *Pekapalan*. The Pangurakan or Pamurakan gates in Yogyakarta and Surakarta consist of two layers of gates along the road towards the Northern Alun-alun. The Pangurakan gate of Yogyakarta is accompanied by palm trees while that of Surakarta is accompanied by two banyan trees called *Wok* and *Godheg*. *Wok* represents female and *Godheg* represents male. The Northern Alun-alun refers to the open space, which used to be of sand but now both the Alun-alun of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are grassy²⁰⁴ encircled by public streets. The streets surrounding the Alun-alun were built during Dutch colonial occupation even though the date is uncertain. The Northern Alun-alun in both places was used for military assembly, public assembly, military training ground and *tapa pepe*²⁰⁵. Currently, these open spaces are mainly used for parking when they are not used for rituals and festival. The Alun-alun of Yogyakarta is open with some plant pots around not only to make it more beautiful with flowers but also to avoid any vehicles such as buses and cars to go straight from any parts of the street to the Alun-alun. The Alun-alun of Surakarta is now encircled by a metal fence which, according to the kraton, is a means to stop cadgers from doing their activities inside the Alun-alun²⁰⁶. In the periphery of the area there are several small buildings called *Pekapalan*, which used to be the stables for the guests and military troops. Those *Pekapalan* now serve different

²⁰⁴ The Alun-alun was previously sandy. There is no available data about when it was planted with grass.

²⁰⁵ *Tapa pepe* is a kind of meditation by abdi dalem or commoners by sitting on the ground between two banyan trees of the Northern Alun-alun in white clothes. The aim of this meditation is to seek attention of the king to the case they bring. *Tapa pepe* is usually a desperate means to seek royal justice (Miksic, 2004, p. 107).

²⁰⁶ This is based on a personal communication with KGPH Puger, a member of the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta.

functions. In the kraton of Yogyakarta the remaining Pekapalan are used for offices while in Surakarta they are mostly used for commercial activities for the previously informal vendors. In between the Pekapalan were planted banyan trees. The number of banyan trees in the Northern Alun-alun area of Yogyakarta is sixty four which according to the cosmological narrative represents the age of the Prophet Muhammad in Javanese calendar. There is no data upon the number of banyan trees in the area of Northern Alun-alun of Surakarta. To the west side of the kraton lays the Great Mosque. The great Mosque of Yogyakarta is light yellow in colour, consists of the inner space and a veranda. The Great Mosque of Surakarta is blue in colour. It also consists of the inner space and a veranda. Both of them have three tiered Tajug roofs, one pinnacle, and one Limasan roofed veranda. To the south of the Alun-alun there is a hall in each of the kratons previously built as a non-permanent building called *tratag rambat*. The open hall in the kraton of Yogyakarta is now named *Pagelaran* pavilion while that in the kraton of Surakarta is named *Sasana Sumewa*. The *Pagelaran* pavilion comes with a Limasan roof combined with two non-structural pediments in the middle of the pavilion's north and south sides. Bearing those triangular pediments are two pairs of European-like columns for each pediment. Inside the *Pagelaran* hall are sixty two cast iron columns mainly dark green in colour, with a mix of red, white, and yellow on the ornaments. The front part of *Sasana Sumewa* is dominated by the big gables of its three parallel pitched roofs, whose middle roof is smaller than the others. Blue in colour, it is fully decorated in dark blue. Inside this open plan building are 48 white brick columns²⁰⁷. Inside *Pagelaran* and *Sasana Sumewa* hall there is a small elevated structure which has its own roof called *Bangsai Pangrawit*. This structure used to be the place where the king sat during certain occasions that took place in this hall. In the kraton of Yogyakarta, *Bangsai Pangrawit* is located to the left side of the hall. The central part

²⁰⁷ The number 48 is used not only in *Pagelaran* but also in other parts of the kraton of Surakarta such as *Pamurakan* and *Kedhaton*. This is claimed to represent the age of the king Pakubuwana X when

which lies from the front pediment to the back pediment is used for vehicle or carriage path. This is different from that of the kraton of Surakarta, where the Bangsal Pangrawit is located in the central part of the hall; people coming to Bangsal Pangrawit would go through a path between columns straight to Bangsal Pangrawit. The construction of Bangsal Pangrawit is made of wood with golden paint. Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Yogyakarta is elevated by one step and resembles the 'traditional' Javanese architecture with Limasan roofs, sakaguru and tumpangsari in green along with golden ornaments. The Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Surakarta is elevated by five steps, comes in wooden structure with Limasan roof, purple paint and slight golden ornaments but without tumpangsari structure. There is a rectangular flat stone placed in the middle of Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Surakarta which is claimed to be the throne of Hayam Wuruk of the 14th century Majapahit kingdom. On the left and right sides of Pagelaran and Sasana Sumewa there are two buildings, called *Bangsal Pengapit* in the kraton of Yogyakarta and *Bangsal Martolulut* and *Bangsal Singanagara* in the kraton of Surakarta. Bangsal Pengapit of the kraton of Yogyakarta now serve as a location for museum displays while those of the kraton of Surakarta serve as a shop and a ticketing office. The Bangsal Pengapit of the kraton of Yogyakarta have Javanese construction of Limasan Klabang Nyander with umpak, wooden columns and calligraphy ornaments with additional wooden panels and glass to create the display. Bangsal Martolulut and Singanagara of the kraton of Surakarta are built permanently in brick and are of modern construction. There are two more small buildings at the rear sides of Pagelaran and Sasana Sumewa which served as places for abdi dalems both called *Bangsal Pacikera*n in the kraton of Yogyakarta and *Bangsal Pacikera*n and *Bangsal Pacekotan* in the kraton of Surakarta. Bangsal Pacikera of the kraton of Yogyakarta has a simple Limasan construction with a very low roof that it is only possible for people to sit on the floor inside it rather than to stand in it.

doing the renovation.

These buildings were used for the executioners of the kraton called *Martolulut* and *Singanagara*. Bangsal Pacikera and Pacekotan of the kraton of Surakarta have similar construction but with different colours and higher dimensions in which these buildings allow people to stand up inside them. They were used for giving punishment and reward to abdi dalems.



Figure 6.54. The front part of Pagelaran of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Sasana Sumewa of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.55. The interior of Pagelaran (left) and Sasana Sumewa (right) seen from the centre front of the pavilions.



Figure 6.56. Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right). Both of them have two adjacent roofs and wooden structure.



Figure 6.57. The details of the roofs of Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right). Bangsal Pangrawit of the kraton of Yogyakarta has tumpangsari structure while that of the kraton of Surakarta has no tumpangsari.



Figure 6.58. The supporting building on the left side of Pagelaran (left) and Sasana Sumewa (right).

C.2. Northern Sitinggil

The first courtyard of the kraton, Northern Sitinggil, in each of the kratons, consists of several main buildings which are an open plan hall, two storage buildings to the left and right of *Tratag Sitinggil* and two small buildings to the front left and front right of the main hall. The main hall, called *Tratag Sitinggil* in the kraton of Yogyakarta or *Sewayana* in the kraton of Surakarta, is an open plan building. Both of them are used for the coronation of a new king. The *Tratag Sitinggil* of the kraton of Yogyakarta has columns from cast iron, just like those of Pagelaran pavilion but they are located only on the outer sides. *Sewayana* of the kraton of Surakarta has blue columns made of cast iron bearing a curved roof. There are two smaller buildings placed inside of, and adjacent to, *Tratag Sitinggil* and *Sewayana*. The one placed inside the pavilion is called *Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil*. *Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil* is where the throne of the king is placed. It has a higher elevation than the *Sitinggil* or *Sewayana* pavilion. The construction of both is

Javanese wooden construction. The one of the kraton of Yogyakarta has a Limasan roof laying over dark green wooden columns on umpaks, which are fully ornamented in calligraphy in gold paint. The one of the kraton of Surakarta also has a Limasan roof over four dark purple columns ornamented in gold paint. Behind Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil and adjacent to Tratag Sitihinggil or Sewayana pavilion, there is another open plan building called *Bangsals Witana* which is a place for women retainers and royal regalia. Bangsal Witana comes in Javanese Tajug construction with golden ornaments. Bangsal Witana of the kraton of Yogyakarta has Tajug lambang gantung construction, with the Pamidhangan area elevated by 50 cm from the Penanggap area. The Pamidhangan area of Bangsal Witana of the kraton of Surakarta is elevated by 20 cm. In the kraton of Yogyakarta there is an additional building right to the front of and adjacent to Sitihinggil pavilion, called *Tarub Hageng* whose function is as a transitional space. To the left and right of Tratag Sitihinggil or the rear left and rear right of Sewayana pavilion lie two similar buildings called *Bale Bang* and *Bale Mangangun-angun* in the kraton of Yogyakarta or *Bale Bang* and *Bangsals Angun-angun* in the kraton of Surakarta. Both of them are used for storing the kraton's gamelan instruments. The ones of the kraton of Yogyakarta come in modern construction with cast iron columns in a combination of green and white, while those of the kraton of Surakarta have European-like construction in blue and white.



Figure 6.59. Tratag Sitihinggil of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Sewayana of the kraton of Surakarta (right) both of them have cast iron columns.



Figure 6.60. Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.61. The roof structures of Bangsal Witana of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right). Both of them have tumpangsari and calligraphy ornamented columns. The one of Yogyakarta is more golden in colour while the one of Surakarta is red in colour.



Figure 6.62. The supporting buildings on the left of Trtag Sitinggil (left) and that on the left of Sewayana (right) whose functions are similar: to store gamelan instruments.

C.3. Northern Kemandhungan

Right to the south of Sitinggil courtyard, there is a space between it and the gate connecting to the next courtyard. This space is called *Pamengkang* in the kraton of Yogyakarta or *Supit Urang* in the kraton of Surakarta. The Pamengkang of Yogyakarta is used for the kraton royal guards while Supit Urang is currently used as a public street. The gate connecting the Northern Sitinggil courtyard and Northern

Kemandhungan courtyard is called *Brajanala* gate. This gate comes in Limasan construction in both kratons. In the kraton of Yogyakarta, this gate is always closed, except for the kraton's rituals, while in the kraton of Surakarta this gate is always open during the day, but closed at night as it serves as a public street connecting the settlement in Baluwarti area with the outside, along with Supit Urang and the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard. There are two openings on the sides of the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard; these connect the kraton to the Baluwarti settlements which are usually for the abdi dalems. In the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta there is a main building named the *Pancaniti* pavilion which functioned as the place for a law court. This pavilion comes in Tajug lambang gantung with Pamidhangan area elevated by 65 cm from Penanggap. There is no main building in the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta, except *Balerata*, which is a transitional space attached to *Kori Kamandhungan* or the Kamandhungan gate. The gate between north Kamandhungan and Srimanganti courtyard in the kraton of Yogyakarta is named the Srimanganti gate.



Figure 6.63. Brajanala gate and Pamengkang of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Supit Urang of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.64. The Brajanala gate of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right). Both are seen from the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard.



Figure 6.65. Pancaniti pavilion, the main building of the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Balerata, the main structure of the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta (right).

C.4. Northern Srimanganti

Separated by wall and gate, another courtyard, Northern Srimanganti lies to the south of the Northern Kemandhungan. This courtyard consists of two main buildings. In the kraton of Yogyakarta the main buildings are called *Trajumas* and *Srimanganti*. *Trajumas* is used for storing several gamelan instruments and royal carriages while *Srimanganti* is used for cultural performance. Both of them appear in traditional Javanese construction, *Trajumas* in *Limasan trajumas* and *Srimanganti* in *Joglo lambang gantung*, with wooden columns, *tumpang sari*, *umpaks* and *wajikan* and *padma*. Both of them are painted green, mostly plain except for the ornaments on the columns, *umpaks*, and roof. An additional space spreading from the *Srimanganti* gate to *Danapratapa* gate, the gate to *Kedhaton* courtyard, and adjacent to *Srimanganti* pavilion has cast iron columns painted in green. Apart from these main buildings, there are other buildings in this courtyard, including four *Pacahosan* which come in simple *Limasan* construction with low roofs that encourage people to crouch or sit crosslegged inside them. These small buildings, which function as the place for *abdi dalems*, are unornamented and painted in green.

In the kraton of Surakarta the main buildings of the *Srimanganti* courtyard are called *Smarakata* and *Mercukundha*. *Smarakata* is used for receptions and certain rituals of high ranked officials of the kraton, while *Mercukundha* is used for military purposes such as for the guards to meet the ruler and storing some wooden construction used for particular

ceremonies. Both of those buildings appear in a hybrid form in which they use concrete columns at the periphery but Javanese Limasan construction at the centre of them. Both buildings are plain in blue colour, mainly unornamented. Right next to the gate to Kedhaton of the kraton of Surakarta there is a tower called *Panggung Sangga Buwana*²⁰⁸. Such a tower does not exist in the kraton of Yogyakarta. Small buildings for abdi dalems or pacahosan cannot be found in the Srimanganti area of the kraton of Surakarta.

The gate connecting the Srimanganti courtyard with Kedhaton is called *Danapratapa* gate in the kraton of Yogyakarta and Northern Srimanganti gate in the kraton of Surakarta. Just like other gates of the kraton of Yogyakarta, *Danapratapa* gate comes in Limasan construction. However, the Limasan roof is cover by a triangular gable supported by two pairs of European-like columns ornamented in Javanese ornaments such as Saton, Nanasan, Dragon, Kala, and the kraton emblem. There are two statues of giants and two guard posts on the right and left of the gate. The guard posts come in European construction with arches and pediments. The Northern Srimanganti gate of the kraton of Surakarta comes in Limasan roof, which can be seen clearly. This Javanese roof is supported by Classical-like columns decorated in blue. There are several ornaments on this gate including the royal symbol, carvings of weapons and plants.



Figure 6.66. The main buildings of Northern Srimanganti courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta: Trajumas pavilion (left) and Srimanganti pavilion (right).

²⁰⁸ Literally ‘Panggung Sangga Buwana’ means ‘support of the universe’.



Figure 6.67. The main buildings of Northern Srimanganti courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta: Smarakata pavilion (left) and Mercukundha pavilion (right).

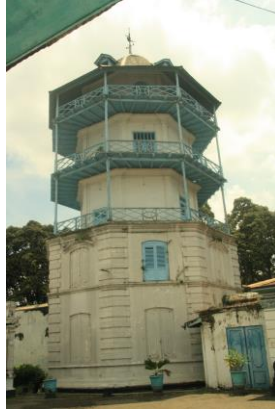


Figure 6.68. The tower of Sanggabuwana of the kraton of Surakarta.



Figure 6.69. The Danapratapa gate of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Srimanganti gate of the kraton of Surakarta (right). Srimanganti gate courtesy of Titis Pitana.



Figure 6.70. The Srimanganti gate with the kraton of Surakarta coat of arms on top of the door and carvings of plants on its left and right. The guards shown in this image are absent during everyday activities. (Image: Miksic, 2004)

C.5. *Kedhaton*

The next courtyard is the central, named *Kedhaton*. As mentioned before, this is the main courtyard of the kraton which has the highest hierarchy. Both courtyards of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are planted with *Sawo Kecik* trees. There are two main buildings in this courtyard, in the kraton of Yogyakarta they are named *Bangsals Kencana* and *Prabayeksa* while in the kraton of Surakarta they are named *Sasana Sewaka* and *Prabasuyasa*. Several other buildings exist in this courtyard such as buildings for music performance, the symbolic house of the king, and the kitchen. On the left and right sides of *Kedhaton* lie *Keputren* and *Kesatriyan*. The one of the kraton of Yogyakarta includes *Bangsals Kencana*, *Prabayeksa*, two *Kothak* pavilions, *Mandalasana*, *Gedhong Jene*, *Patehan*, *Manis* pavilion, *Danartapura*, *Parentah Ageng*, *Panti Sumbaga*, *Purwaretna*, *Gedhong Gangsa Pelog*, *Gedhong Gangsa Slendro*, and *Sarang Baya*. The one of the kraton of Surakarta includes *Sasana Sewaka*, *Prabasuyasa*, *North Pradangga*, *South Pradangga* and *Bujana* pavilions, *Sasana Handrawina*, *Sasana Wilapa*, and *Reksa Sugata*. The gate connecting the *Kedhaton* with the *Kemagangan* courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta is called the *Kemagangan* gate, while that of the kraton of Surakarta is called the *Southern Srimanganti* gate.



Figure 6.71. The main pavilions of the *Kedhaton* courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta, *Bangsals Kencana* (left) and *Sasana Sewaka* of the kraton of Surakarta (right). Both of them have Javanese structure at the centre and European styled cast iron columns at their periphery.



Figure 6.72. Gedhong Kuning of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Sasana Wilapa of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.73. Purwaretna of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Nguntarasana of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.74. One of the three supporting buildings of Kedhaton courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.75. Gedhong Gangsa of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and Museum building of the kraton of Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.76. The banquet hall of the kraton of Yogyakarta, Bangsal Manis (left) and Sasana Handrawina of the kraton of Surakarta (right).

C.6. *Kemagangan*

To the south of Kedhaton is the south Srimanganti which is commonly called Kemagangan or Magangan. Kemagangan in both kratons is a place for learning for abdi dalems and palace troops. The term *magang* refers to ‘apprenticeship’. In the kraton of Yogyakarta there is one main building right in the middle of it called *Kemagangan* pavilion, along with other supporting buildings, such as two *pacahosan* and two *Panti Pareden* and the two main kitchens of the kraton. Kemagangan pavilion comes in Javanese traditional construction in dark green colour. There is an access to a kraton owned souvenir shop and café in this courtyard which underlines its current role as a tourist destination. In the kraton of Surakarta there is a main building in this courtyard too. However the Kemagangan pavilion of Surakarta was burnt down and up to the present it has not been rebuilt. This courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta is completely closed to the public. The Kemagangan or south Srimanganti courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta is extended to a narrow walled space heading to the south, ended at the *Gadhung Mlati* gate. This space which is more like an alley has two small openings on its sides which lead to the settlements of the kraton’s abdi dalems. The Kemagangan courtyard of Surakarta has another extension in the form of a small courtyard before getting to *Gadhung Mlati* gate which connects Kemagangan to Southern Kemandhungan.



Figure 6.77. The gate from Kedhaton to Kemagangan of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

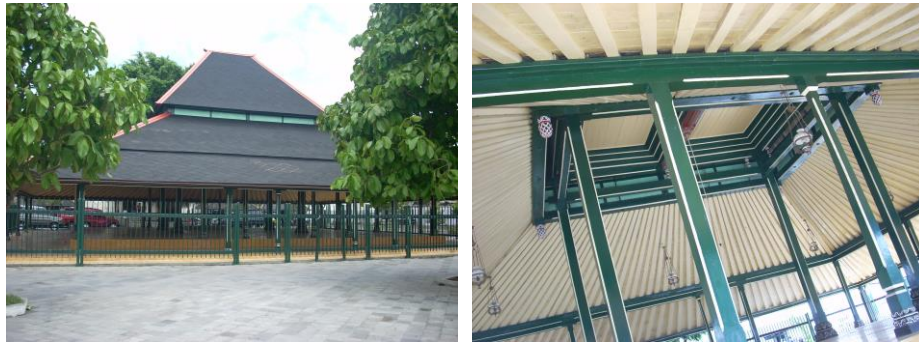


Figure 6.78. The main pavilion of Kemagangan of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the structure of the interior roof of it (right).



Figure 6.79. The gate connecting Kemagangan and Kemandhungan of the kraton of Surakarta (top) and the Kemagangan pavilion of the kraton of Surakarta (bottom). Images courtesy of Miksic (2004).

C.7. *Southern Kemandhungan*

The next courtyard is the Southern Kemandhungan. The Southern Kemandhungan of the kraton of Yogyakarta has one main building in the middle of the courtyard along with two supporting Pacahosan around it. It comes in traditional Joglo construction unpainted and undecorated. The Southern Kemandhungan of the kraton of Surakarta appear just like its Northern Kemandhungan but in a simpler form. It has no main building and appears as an intersection between three streets, two of which lead to the settlement area and the other one leads to the Southern Sithinggil and Southern Alun-alun.



Figure 6.80. The Kemandhungan pavilion of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the gate connecting Southern Kemandhungan and Southern Sithinggil (right).



Figure 6.81. The Southern Kemandhungan gate of the kraton of Surakarta (left) and the gate connecting it to the Southern Sithinggil (right). Images courtesy of Miksic (2004).

C.8. *Southern Sithinggil*

The last courtyard to the south is the Southern Sithinggil. This courtyard is practically closed to public in both kratons. The Southern Sithinggil of the kraton of Yogyakarta has one main building in Joglo Lawakan construction called the Southern Sithinggil pavilion which has an extension to the south of it called *Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad*, which

was built later, in 1956. Both are in the form of closed building, unlike the other main buildings of the kraton, and in modern construction but with Javanese roof. This building directly faces the Southern Alun-alun.

The Southern Sitinggil courtyard of the kraton of Surakarta is located partly in the Southern Alun-alun. The main building, the Southern Sitinggil comes in the form of open building with white concrete columns. Around it is a big cage for albino water buffaloes which are considered to be some of the heirlooms. It should be noted that the Southern Sitinggil of the kraton of Yogyakarta has its elevation raised just like that of the Northern Sitinggil. This is closely related to the name 'Sitinggil' means high ground that it refers to the raised elevation. The Southern Sitinggil of the kraton of Surakarta is different in that the elevation is not raised.



Figure 6.82. The Southern Sitinggil of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and that of the kraton of Surakarta (right).

C.9. *Southern Alun-alun*

After the Southern Sitinggil there is the Southern Alun-alun, an open space just like that of the north side. This Alun-alun is more private than the Northern Alun-alun. It is surrounded by walls and was used for internal business of the kraton. Just like that on the north, this Alun-alun also has two banyan trees right in the centre of it. Surrounding it are streets that were built later during the colonial period. Both the Southern Alun-alun of Yogyakarta and Surakarta at present, however, are used for public. The Southern Alun-alun of Yogyakarta is used for public leisure at night in which many fancy rides are offered along with food vendors. The Southern Alun-alun of Surakarta is also used for public leisure even

though in a very simple form with a lower number of food vendors and fancy rides²⁰⁹.

To the south of the Southern Alun-alun there is another gate connecting the area of the kraton with the outside area called Plengkung Gadhing, a similar name used both in the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta.



Figure 6.83. The Southern Alun-alun of Yogyakarta (left) and Surakarta (right).



Figure 6.84. Plengkung Gadhing of Yogyakarta (left) and Surakarta (right).
(Images courtesy of www.gudeg.net and Miksic, 2004).

D. ARCHITECTURE AND THE PRACTICES OF POWER

In this section, I focus on the hierarchical order of the architecture of the kraton, including the whole layout, the individual courtyard and the smaller scope of individual buildings. This hierarchy is also related to the people's activities conducted in space. There are cosmological narratives in both cities in relation to their architecture, which I will put forward at the beginning, and how the narratives are used to legitimise the kraton. While the practice of power is not merely based on these narratives, I will go into more details on any practice in architecture in both kratons. Later in this section I will present the kraton's code of behaviour and the order on the kraton arts, particularly in relation to space.

²⁰⁹ This alun-alun had been widely known as the place for prostitutes. The local government tried to

D.1. *Cosmological narratives*

The cosmological narratives of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta are different, despite their similarity in layouts and architecture. Woodward and Brongtodiningrat argue that the architecture of the kraton of Yogyakarta refers to Islamic Sufism, in which the path from the south point to the north point is considered to be a mystical path of the Perfect Man. The cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta includes the north-south axis, Pajupat, *Suluk* architecture, and *Jagad Walikan* or the world of upside down. The concept of a north-south axis and Pajupat are already mentioned in a previous chapter. *Suluk* architecture is defined as an architecture that is “expected to emanate a special beauty, a calm and dignity, which ultimately acknowledges the greatness of *Kang Murbeng Dumadi* (the Lord)” (Miksic, 2004, p. 189). *Jagad Walikan*, or the world of upside down of the kraton of Surakarta, refers to the north part and the south part which are mirror images of each other but the southern part is much simpler in its materials and construction (Miksic, 2004, p. 184).

Before going to the issue of the cosmological narrative of each kraton, we need to define the space included in the cosmology of the architecture of the kraton. The space related to this cosmological narrative not only includes the palace but also the northern and Southern Alun-alun and other objects outside of the compound that strengthens the north-south axis. There are two points in the kraton of Yogyakarta, Krapyak stage and tugu, while there is only one point of the kraton Surakarta, which is *Tugu Pemandangan*. Both kratons include those outside objects in each of their cosmological narratives.

a. Cosmological narrative of the kraton of Yogyakarta

The cosmological narrative of the kraton of Yogyakarta, in terms of architecture, starts from the south point of the Krapyak stage going northward. The path from Krapyak to Kedhaton is considered to symbolise the circle of life of a human being from a seed to an adult. The

dismiss this image that prostitutes are not allowed to do their activities in this area.

Krapyak refers to *alam barzak* or the place for the souls after their separation from the Divine but before their descent into embryos. The fenced hunting area is interpreted as a place to keep the deers (souls) before turning into embryos. Right to the north of the Krapyak is Mijen village. Mijen refers to the seed or *wiji*. The road from Krapyak to the kraton is planted with Asem (tamarind) trees and Tanjung trees. Asem is considered to refer to *nengsemake* or attractive and Tanjung is considered to refer to *disanjung-sanjung* or flattery. Both of them symbolise the life of a child which is spoiled by the parents. Arriving at the Plengkung Nirbaya, literally means ‘no difficulty’, the architecture symbolises the life of the child when he or she is already a teenager who has started to have sexual desire. The plants around the Plengkung Nirbaya, the tamarind trees have young fuzzy leaves called *sinom* which is also a word for the short hair of a girl’s forehead that is considered to be a mark of beauty. The other plants in this area are banyan trees called *Wok*, considered to refer to *brewok* or beard, as a symbol of puberty on a male. The next is the Southern Alun-alun which is considered to symbolise mature sexuality. The plants surrounding the Alun-alun are of two kinds of mangoes: *Pakel* and *Kweni*. *Pakel* refers to *akil baligh* or adult. *Kweni* refers to *wani*, meaning brave. Right in the centre of the Alun-alun there is a pair of banyan trees with trimmed crowns named *supit urang*. *Supit* literally means circumcision while *urang* is considered to refer to the clitoris. They are considered to symbolise sexual desire. There are five roads crossing right in front of the trees which are considered to symbolise five senses.

The next is *Tratag Sitihinggil* which is surrounded by *Gayam* trees. The *Gayam* tree is considered to have a sweet smell and is interpreted as the feeling of lovers. The pavilion of *Sitihinggil* is surrounded by red and white flowers of *Soka* and *Cempora Mango* trees which refer to the sperm of male and female to be brought together. The road surrounding the Southern *Sitihinggil* courtyard is named *Pamengkang* which refers to *mekangkang* or the position of a female

during sexual intercourse. The next courtyard, Southern Kemandhungan refers to *ngandhung* or pregnant. This courtyard is planted with *Kepel* and *Pelem* (mango). *Kepel* is considered to refer to *kempel* which means being brought together while *Pelem* refers to *gelem* or mutual understanding. Two openings on the sides of the courtyard symbolise passion and evil influences. The next stage of child development is Kemagangan courtyard with its gate, *Gadhung mlati*. The narrow alley of the south part of Kemagangan which turns into a wider courtyard is interpreted as the birth of a baby who has to pass a narrow passageway before being born to the wide world. The kraton's kitchens located in the left and right side of Kemagangan courtyard symbolise the needs of a baby to be well fed. The openings on left and right sides of the courtyard refer to distractions that might prevent the baby from getting in the right direction towards goodness in life²¹⁰ (Brongtodiningrat, 1978, p. 14). Kemagangan refers to *magang* or apprentice. The gate to Kedhaton courtyard is considered to symbolise the stage when a human being is ready for giving service to both the king and God.

The north part of the kraton is considered to symbolise the way the king establishes the unity of himself with God, and of himself with his subjects; in Islamic terms: *habluminallah* and *habluminannaas*. To go to Sitihinggil from Kedhaton, we have to go through the *Danapratapa* gate. *Danapratapa* can be related to *dana* and *tapa* which means gift and meditation. After passing through Srimanganti courtyard and Srimanganti gate, the king passes the *Pancaniti* pavilion. *Panca* in Javanese means 'five' and *niti* means 'to investigate'. The courtyard where the pavilion is located is the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard. The name *Kemandhungan* in this cosmological narrative is interpreted differently with that of the Southern Kemandhungan. In the Northern Kemandhungan, the name refers to *mandhung* which means 'to collect'. This courtyard is planted with *Kepel* and *Cengkir Gading* trees. *Kepel* refers to *kempel* which means 'solidify' in this context, while *Cengkir*

²¹⁰ The right path in this context is the journey towards Kedhaton.

Gading is translated into 'royalty' and 'complete submission to God' based on its golden colour. The total meaning of the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard, then, is that the king needs to unify his five senses to submit himself completely to God.

The next is passing through Brajanala gate. *Braja* means 'weapon' and *nala* means 'heart' the whole Brajanala refers to *jihad*, the holy war between passion and faith. Behind Brajanala gate there is a wall named *Renteng Mentog Baturana*. *Renteng* means 'doubt', *Mentog* means 'because', *Batu* means stone and *rana* means a screen to cover an open door. This wall is interpreted as a barrier of doubt. The king walks around the barrier wall to get to the Sitihinggil courtyard. In this courtyard there are Jambu Tlompok Arum or guava trees. The name *Arum* refers to 'fragrant' in which the trees are said to be especially fragrant. The king is expected to remember that his words have to be 'fragrant' or nice to other people. In the courtyard of Sitihinggil there are also Kemuning trees which are considered to refer to *hening* which means 'pure'. Those trees symbolise the purity of mind for the meditation to be done in the Sitihinggil pavilion. Inside the Tratak Sitihinggil are Witana and Mangunturtangkil. Witana refers to either 'a seat in heaven' or 'to begin (the meditation)'. During Garebeg rituals, royal regalia and sacred heirlooms are placed in the Witana pavilion, to the left and right of the king's throne which is located in Mangunturtangkil. According to Woodward, *manguntur* means 'raised seat' while *tangkil* means 'royal audience'. The location of Mangunturtangkil inside the Witana pavilion is said to be a symbol that a divine essence exists inside a physical body. The whole symbolisation of the Sitihinggil is that the king accepts homage from his subjects and at the same time he tries to have union with God through meditation. Right to the north of Sitihinggil pavilion, Tarub Agung is a place for low ranked officials who want to see the king. Agung refers to the greatness of God.

To the north of Sitihinggil courtyard is the Pagelaran pavilion. It is the main hall of the kraton. The meaning of Pagelaran is related to the

term *gelar* which can be translated into either 'title', 'bright' or 'to spread'. During a Garebeg ritual, the nobles of all ranks array before the king. Pagelaran pavilion is located right in the edge of the Northern Alun-alun. The Alun-alun is said to refer to the infinity of God. A pair of banyan trees named Kyai Dewadaru and Kyai Jagadaru was planted right in the middle of Alun-alun. Kyai Dewadaru is said to symbolise the unity of the king and the God while Kyai Jagadaru symbolises the unity of the king and his subjects. This Alun-alun was used for common people who wanted to bring a case into the king's attention by dressing up in white and bringing some offerings to put under the trees. They then sat on the ground of the Alun-alun unmoved and silently waiting until the king gave them his attention. The middle path of the Alun-alun is interpreted as a path to mystical union with God. This path goes straight to the north with several other paths crossing it. Those other paths along with other places along the path to the north are interpreted as distractions to the effort to have the union. Kepatihan and the market along the path are considered to be the main distractions of the way to unification. Kepatihan, the office of the *patih* or the prime minister, represents power and the market represents wealth. The path ends in *Tugu*, which symbolises the union of the king and the God.

In the procession of Garebeg, however, the king stays in Sitihinggil before going back to Kedhaton. The journey of the king from Sitihinggil back to Kedhaton is also interpreted into the cosmological narrative as the journey to the afterlife. When he goes back from Sitihinggil the king passes through the Northern Kemandhungan courtyard with its *Keben* trees; the name *Keben* refers to *tangkeben* or a command to close our senses when dying. The king goes further to the Srimanganti courtyard where he rests in the Srimanganti pavilion which symbolises the waiting period of man in his grave. Two *abdi dalem*s who come to the king when resting are interpreted as the angels who come to the grave of man. Next to the gate of Kedhaton, Danapratapa gate, there is the Purwaretna building (*purwa* means first or origin, *retna* means light)

which symbolises a deed for human to always remember his origin. Four windows of Purwaretna facing the four cardinal directions are interpreted as the four levels of *tawhid*: *shariah*, *thariqah*, *haqiqat*, and *ma'rifat*²¹¹. Danapratapa gate with *Jambu Dersana* trees (*Dersana* means 'prime' or 'good') on its left and right and two statues of giants on its left and right symbolising good and bad human passions; in total this is interpreted as 'the best human being is the one who gives (to others) and controls his passions [...] and is able to distinguish good and bad' (Brongtodiningrat, 1978, p. 23).

The king then proceeds to the Kedhaton courtyard and goes to *Bangsal Kencana* (*kencana* means 'light'). According to Brongtodiningrat, this pavilion is a symbol of the unity of the lord and his subjects. He does not provide any explanation for this except for the *candrasengkala* found in this pavilion which symbolises *Trus satunggal panditaningrat* which means 'being one with the lord'²¹². From *Bangsal Kencana* the king proceeds further to *Prabayeksa*, the most sacred building of the kraton. *Prabayeksa* means 'bright light' and inside this building there is a light named *Kyai Wiji*²¹³ that is not allowed to go out, so the journey of the king to *Prabayeksa* is interpreted as 'the journey of the soul following a bright light to the eternity of the afterlife'. Next to *Prabayeksa* there is *Gedhong Kuning*, meaning 'the yellow building' in which yellow is interpreted as the divine colour. This building symbolises the place for good souls in heaven (Brongtodiningrat, 1978, p. 23).

There is no explanation, however, on the connection between the three narratives mentioned above. Therefore the narrative of the Perfect Man, the *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* and the journey to heaven can be considered to be separated, even though they are all represented in the kraton architecture.

²¹¹ The origin of four levels of *tawhid* is Sufism just like the idea of the Perfect Man. This is one of the reasons for Woodward to argue that it is 'the imperiali[s]ation of Sufism in Central Java' (Woodward, 2010, p. 157).

²¹² As this is a *candrasengkala*, it refers to the year of building the pavilion which is 1719 Javanese calendar or 1793 of Gregorian calendar.

²¹³ *Wiji* itself literally means 'seed'.



Figure 6.85. The routes of cosmological narratives of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right).
(Maps derived from Google Maps, Adishakti, 1997 and Miksic, 2004)

b. Cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta

Now I would like to focus on the cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta which consists of four concepts: north south axis, Pajupat, Suluk architecture and Jagad Walikan.

As mentioned the north-south axis has been discussed before, including the Tugu Pemandangan, the north and Southern Alun-alun and the kraton compound. In the kraton compound, this axis is shown in the layout which consists of seven courtyards along it. The concept of Pajupat in a wider context has already been discussed in the previous chapter. In the context of architecture, this concept is shown on the orientation of several parts. *Gladhag* gate, the northernmost gate of the kraton and *Srimanganti* gate, the gate to the core of the kraton are facing

north, the place of *Durga* goddess. *Prabasuyasa*, *Sanggabuwana*, Southern Srimanganti gate, *Gadhing* gate and other kraton's meditation spots are facing south toward the place of the Queen of the South. The main hall of *Sasana Sewaka* and the banquet hall *Sasana Handrawina* are facing east which is considered sacred as the east is the direction of the sunrise. The west kraton or *Kraton Kilen* and *Argopeni* garden are facing west towards Merapi and Merbabu mountains, the place of the supernatural spirits *Kangjeng Ratu Sekar Kedhaton*, *Kyahi Sapuregol* and *Kyahi Sapujagad*.

The Suluk architecture of the kraton of Surakarta is said to appear in the “organi[s]ation of elements in the court's design, the spaces, colours, forms, buildings styles, decorations and ornamentation” (Miksic, 2004, p. 189). They are said to show beauty and dignity to acknowledge the greatness of the Lord. With this, there is no further explanation.

The architecture of the kraton from the Gladhag gate to the Kedhaton area is said to be full of symbols of the king and his connection with the universe (Miksic, 2004, p. 189). The Gladhag area, which consists of two gates, two fierce-looking statues named *Pandhita Yaksa* right in the left and right of the northern gate, numerous animals and monsters' statues located between the gates, and a pair of banyan trees, is interpreted as an initial experience of a person in his spiritual path towards *manunggaling kawula lan gusti*, or achieving a complete oneness with God. The statues refer one to be alert and prepared as the path towards union with God is full of dangers and obstacles. The statues of animals and monsters refer to the inner animal and monstrous urges of humans, which have to be controlled to achieve perfection. Of the two banyan trees in the Gladhag area, the one on the east is called *Wok* which refers to female and the one on the west is called *Godheg* or *Menggot* which refers to male. The pair of banyan trees is considered to symbolise fertility and to remind us that every human being is created by God through a man and a woman (Miksic, 2004, p. 107).

The Northern Alun-alun area of the kraton of Surakarta also bears

symbols. A pair of banyan trees in the middle of it which are named *Kyahi Jayadaru*- meaning ‘Light of Victory’- and *Kyahi Dewadaru* – meaning ‘Light of Glory’- refers to victory, glory, royal power, wisdom and protection (Miksic, 2004, p. 108). Another pair of banyan trees in the south side of the Northern Alun-alun which are named *Waringin Gung* – meaning ‘tall banyan tree’- and *Waringin Binatur* –meaning ‘short banyan tree’- are said to symbolise the attitude of the kraton of Surakarta which is *dhuwur tan ngungkul-ngungkuli, andhap tan kena kinungkulan* which means “not too tall, and although short, not to be underestimated” (Miksic, 2004, p. 108). Other banyan trees around the Alun-alun area refer to the position of the kraton which is to protect the people (Miksic, 2004, p. 108). On the west side of the Northern Alun-alun there is the Great Mosque of Surakarta. This mosque has three tiered Tajug roof and one pinnacle with a veranda in a Limasan roof. The three tiered roof and one pinnacle is interpreted as the four levels of Islamic worship; *shariah, thariqah, haqiqat, and ma’rifat*. There is a minaret in the north side of the mosque, which is located close to an ablution pool. The minaret symbolises phallus or *lingga* which represents male while the ablution pool refers to female. On the south side of the Alun-alun, right to the south of Waringin Gung and Waringin Binatur, there lies the audience hall Sasana Sumewa accompanied by other supporting buildings, such as Bangsal Pemandangan, Bangsal Pacekotan, Bangsal Pacikeran, Bangsal Mertolulut and Bangsal Singanagara. The whole layout of those buildings is said to symbolise a belief for a human being to control his emotions, to act with patience and wisdom, and to understand others so that he could distinguish between right and wrong and appreciate the power of God (Miksic, 2004, p. 129).

The first courtyard of the kraton, Sitinggil courtyard is separated from Sasana Sumewa area by a gate called *Wijil* gate. The name ‘Wijil’ refers to *Mijil* which means ‘appearing’ or ‘going out’ (Miksic, 2004, p. 130). The meaning of this gate is related to a suggestion for every human being to speak appropriately; in Javanese:

Awas amut tansah hanjaga wijiling wicara, aja nganti katalompen (Miksic, 2004, p. 130). The elevated ground of Sitihinggil and the shape of the Tajug roof of Bangsal Witana are interpreted as ‘mountain’ which in Javanese cosmology is considered to be the place where supernatural forces live. The Sitihinggil area is interpreted as one step further to perfection, by avoiding emotions, but the perfection of *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* is yet to be achieved as one is still subject to temptations. The temptations are symbolised by the cannons in the Sitihinggil area. Along the north side of Sitihinggil area, there lays an iron fence along which are placed eight cannons facing north. These cannons are named *Kyahi Bringsing*, *Kyahi Bagus*, *Kyahi Nangkula*, *Kyahi Kumbarawa*, *Kyahi Kumbarawi*, *Kyahi Sadhewa*, *Kyahi Alus*, and *Kyahi Kadhal Buntung* all of which are ‘male’ cannons. There is another cannon placed inside a secluded place in the middle of Bangsal Witana, named *Nyai Setomi*. This is a ‘female’ cannon, which is considered to symbolise passionate love, the greatest temptation of all. It is believed that there are nine main temptations of human being, which are symbolised in the eight cannons along the fence and one cannon in Bangsal Witana. To achieve perfection, one should be willing to leave worldly glory behind which, is symbolised in the *Renteng* and *Mangu* gates. *Renteng* is a wall covering the gate to Supit Urang on the south side of the courtyard. The name ‘*Renteng*’ refers to ‘concerns’. *Mangu* gate is the gate connecting Sitihinggil courtyard to Supit Urang. The name ‘*Mangu*’ refers to ‘hesitation’ (Miksic, 2004, p. 139). Both of them are considered to symbolise “the abandonment of worldly glory, based on unhesitating determination and concentrated behavior directing one’s heart and mind more and more toward God” (Miksic, 2004, p. 139).

Going south from Sitihinggil courtyard through the *Mangu* gate, one will reach Supit Urang, a curved road encircling the area of Sitihinggil and Pagelaran. This is said to symbolise the path taken by one who wishes to achieve perfection, a path of priesthood. Crossing Supit Urang, one reaches *Brajanala* gate which connects Supit Urang to

Northern Kemandhungan courtyard, the main entrance of the inner kraton. Just like that of Yogyakarta, the name Brajanala refers to 'weapon' and 'heart' which is interpreted as: to achieve final perfection one has to rely on his main 'weapon' which is his heart, his deepest feeling. Across the courtyard of Kemandhungan, there is a structure attached to the *Kemandhungan* gate named *Balerata*. This structure functions as the formal reception area of the kraton of Surakarta. There is a chronogram or *candrasengkala* in this building which can be read as *kaya marganing sarira tunggal* which means 'resembling the path to unity' which also refers to the year of 1853 Javanese calendar or 1922 Gregorian calendar. In front left and right of *Balerata* there are placed two statues of fierce looking giants named *Cingkarabala* and *Balaupata*. Both of the giants are believed to be the guards of heaven (Miksic, 2004, p. 143). Kemandhungan gate refers to *mandhung* which means 'to stop'. Everyone who wishes to enter the palace is expected to stop to prepare by doing reflections, looking inwards, as symbolised by three mirrors placed on three sides of the gate. The meaning of this gate then is about introspection and honesty (Miksic, 2004, p. 146).

Passing the Kemandhungan gate, one then enters the Northern Srimanganti courtyard where two main halls exist functioning for lower ranked guests to wait before being admitted to go to Kedhaton or simply wait to be greeted by the king or his relatives. The hall on the west is named *Smarakata* and the one on the east is named *Mercukundha*. The name *Smarakata* refers to 'sweet words spoken' while the name *Mercukundha* refers to *kandha kang sereng* or 'harsh words spoken' (Miksic, 2004, p. 151). The gate connecting Northern Srimanganti courtyard and Kedhaton is the Srimanganti gate. This gate is considered to symbolise the state when one is entering heaven and is "on the way to meet one's inner self" (Miksic, 2004, p. 156).

The Kedhaton courtyard is a broad space planted with 48 *Sawo Kecik* trees whose name is believed to refer to *sarwa becik* or 'good, beautiful and pleasant in every way' (Miksic, 2004, p. 157). The number

forty eight is considered to refer to the age of Pakubuwana X when renovating this courtyard. This inner courtyard is considered to symbolise heaven and the state of *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* or the union of the lord and his subjects. In this courtyard there is a five storeyed tower named *Sangga Buwana* which is considered sacred. This tower is used mainly for meditation for the king. Apart from that, this tower is considered to represent *lingga* or male, paired with the Srimanganti gate which is said to represent *yonis* or female. Both of them are said to symbolise the ‘vehicle’ of existence, in which one exists through his or her parents which are of male and female.

The southern part of the kraton from Kedhaton to Gadhing gate is said to represent *Jagad Walikan*, the world of upside down. The explanation for this is that the southern part of the kraton is interpreted to give an experience of “the process of birth in reverse” (Miksic, 2004, p. 189). From the Kedhaton courtyard, one passes *Magangan* or *Kemagangan* courtyard which literally means ‘apprenticeship’ and can refer to ‘youth’. The next courtyard, Southern Kemandhungan and south Supit Urang are interpreted as the position of legs during sexual intercourse. Going further to the south of Southern Alun-alun one gets to Gadhing gate which gives access to the royal burial ground of Imogiri; thus it symbolises the point of origin, God the creator or *sangkan paraning dumadi* (Miksic, 2004, p. 189). This *Jagad Walikan* in general has a similarity to that of the kraton of Yogyakarta which describes in more detail from the south point to Kemagangan courtyard about the life process of the Perfect Man from the point of origin to youth or apprenticeship.

Moreover, the cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta accommodates several elements of different religions which are shown in symbols of Hindu deities in Pamurakan, Northern Alun-alun, Sitihinggil wall, Brajanala gate, and Srimanganti gate, Buddhist symbols in Kamandhungan, and Islam. This reminds us cosmological axis in which one of them leads to Krandhawahana forest dedicated for Durga goddess,

a Hindu goddess. The appearance of several religions in the cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta means that the kraton accommodates not only Islam but also other religions as well (Miksic, 2004, p. 187).

Just like that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, the two narratives of the kraton of Surakarta are separated and there is no explanation upon their connection.

From the discussion about cosmological narrative of the architecture of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta above, we can see that both discourses have a similarity in the southern half of the kraton while the other half has different interpretation. The kraton of Yogyakarta has two interpretations on the northern half which consists of the journey of the king from Kedhaton to Tugu, which is about achieving *manunggaling kawula lan gusti* or unity of the king and God, and the king and his subjects. The second interpretation is related to the journey of the king back from Sitihinggil to Kedhaton which refers to the journey of man when he dies and goes back to the point of origin. The kraton of Surakarta has a single interpretation upon the northern half of the kraton which is the journey of man towards perfection and *manunggaling kawula lan gusti*. The north point represented by Tugu Pemandangan is excluded in the cosmological narrative, even though it is said separately that the tugu is used to help with the king's meditation.

It should be noted, however, that most of the kraton's buildings that exist now were built during the 20th century. For example, the Sawo Kecik trees in Kedhaton of the kraton of Surakarta were planted by Pakubuwana X to replace *wuni* and *jambu* trees on the first half of the 20th century²¹⁴ (Miksic, 2004, p. 157). The interpretation of the trees, which is said to be '*sarwa becik*' or 'everything is good and convenient' was then invented no earlier than the first half of the 20th century. This can also be found in the kraton of Yogyakarta where the giant statues on the left and right of Danapratapa gate were built during the early 20th century by Hamengkubuwana VIII (Sabdacarakatama, 2009, p. 147). The interpretation of those statues, which is as the good and bad of human passion, was invented no earlier than the first half of the 20th century.

²¹⁴ Interestingly, the kraton at present has a rule to not replace one tree with another kind of tree. This is based on my personal communication with KGPH Puger, a member of the royal family of the



Figure 6.86. One of the statues of giant (Dwarapala) located in front of Danapratapa gate, the kraton of Yogyakarta.

For those cosmological narratives to work, they need to be passed to the society which, in this case, is through writing. The kraton of Yogyakarta has its cosmological narrative widely known in a simple form, which includes the cosmological axis and the hierarchical layers, but not in detail. The cosmological narrative of the kraton of Surakarta is also known in a simple form which includes the cosmological axis, but is not as popular as that of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The kraton of Yogyakarta publishes its cosmological narrative for tourists, also through provincial and municipal government²¹⁵. By being passed to the society, this cosmological narrative in the people's cognition will help in communicating the power structure through experience. This kind of efforts is not taken by the kraton of Surakarta.

One example of the success in communicating the cosmological narrative to the society for the kraton of Yogyakarta is an event in 2005, in which a group of people consisting of abdi dalems, long descendants of the royal family, and common people who have an interest in culture attended an art performance which was considered to represent *pepe*, sitting in between the banyan trees of the Northern

kraton of Surakarta.

²¹⁵ By the time I write this thesis, there is a plan for the kraton of Yogyakarta to build a museum around the site of Tugu Jogja, named Golong Gilig Museum to highlight the importance of Tugu and the role of the kraton of Yogyakarta in the history of the city. This museum which is due to be built on 2014 is one of the means to deliver a power structure.

Alun-alun. The aim of this event was to show objections over the king's plan to build an underground parking space on the Northern Alun-alun. The reason for their objection was that the new parking space will ruin the cosmological axis²¹⁶. This event shows that the cosmological narrative has a strong affect on the people who see the kraton as high culture and who therefore feel the kraton should follow its cosmological narrative.

D.2. Experiencing power in space

To embody a power structure into people's unconsciousness, the architecture has to be experienced by the people. This is what Bourdieu called 'silent ideology' as the architecture can embody a power structure and put it into people's unconsciousness without them realising it. Miksic in his book, officially published by the kraton of Surakarta, mentions that to be a complete human being, one has to experience the architecture of the kraton of Surakarta from Kedhaton going south to the Southern Sitinggil.

If we go back to the 'cosmological layout' mentioned in the previous section, which consists of hierarchical circles and axes, we can see that the orderly layout as mentioned in the narrative cannot be experienced. What makes the circles hierarchical and what makes each axis convey power are still unanswered.

The circles which are separated by walls have several consequences. First, the walls and gates have something to do with access restrictions. Second, they have something to do with authority if they bear the kraton's symbols. However, the walls and gates might not have hierarchical order and the people who experience the circles could not recognise the hierarchy. To convey hierarchy in the circles, there has to be a pattern to show which circle has higher status and which has lower status than the others. To do so I will compare several parts of the architecture of the kraton to find the pattern.

The cosmological axis also needs more explanation in terms of experience. While the definition of an axis is "*A straight central part in a structure to which other parts are connected*" (Oxford Dictionaries), the meaning of an axis has something to do with centrality. This centrality implies that the centre is the main or

²¹⁶ <http://pustral-ugm.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/parkir-bawah-tanah-Alun-alun-utara.html>

primary of the whole structure, therefore it highlights the importance of the kraton which lays on the axis. The axis, especially the straight one, also works by creating visibility of the objects at its ends. By making it central, it makes sure that the existence of the kraton is visible by more people. By being central at the end of an axis, the kraton gains importance over anything else that is laid along the axis.

However, we need to remember that not everyone can experience every space in the kraton. Many parts of the kraton can only be experienced by particular groups of people. For example Prabayeksa and Prabasuyasa can only be experienced by particular people of the royal family and a small group of special abdi dalem.

Santosa argues in his account of the kraton of Yogyakarta that the relation between the architecture of the kraton and power lies mainly in the position of the king's official residence, Gedhong Kuning which is between *Keputren*, the compound for his wives and their families, and *Kasatriyan*, the compound for boys and unmarried men, that the king shows his control over access between both.²¹⁷ Santosa's analysis is about the power of the king over the people in domestic scope of the kraton. As my thesis is about the power structure in the society at present, my analysis will be different from Santosa's, particularly in its scope and time. To do that, I have to consider which space can be accessed and experienced by common people. For that reason, I would like to focus on the kraton space with free access and tourism routes of both kratons. This is because common people can only experience the architecture of the kraton through the accessible space and in the context of tourism. The everyday life of the kraton mostly can only be seen by them during their visits as tourists.

The free accessed space of the kraton of Yogyakarta consists of Pangurakan, Northern Alun-alun, Northern Kemandhungan, Southern Srimanganti, Southern Kemandhungan, Southern Alun-alun, and Gadhing. The freely accessed space of the kraton of Surakarta is more limited, which consists of Pamurakan, Northern Alun-alun, Pagelaran, Northern Kemandhungan, Southern Kemandhungan, Southern Alun-alun, and Gadhing.

²¹⁷ Santosa shows in details that even a boy who wants to see his mother has to get permission from the king (Santosa, 1997, p. 41).

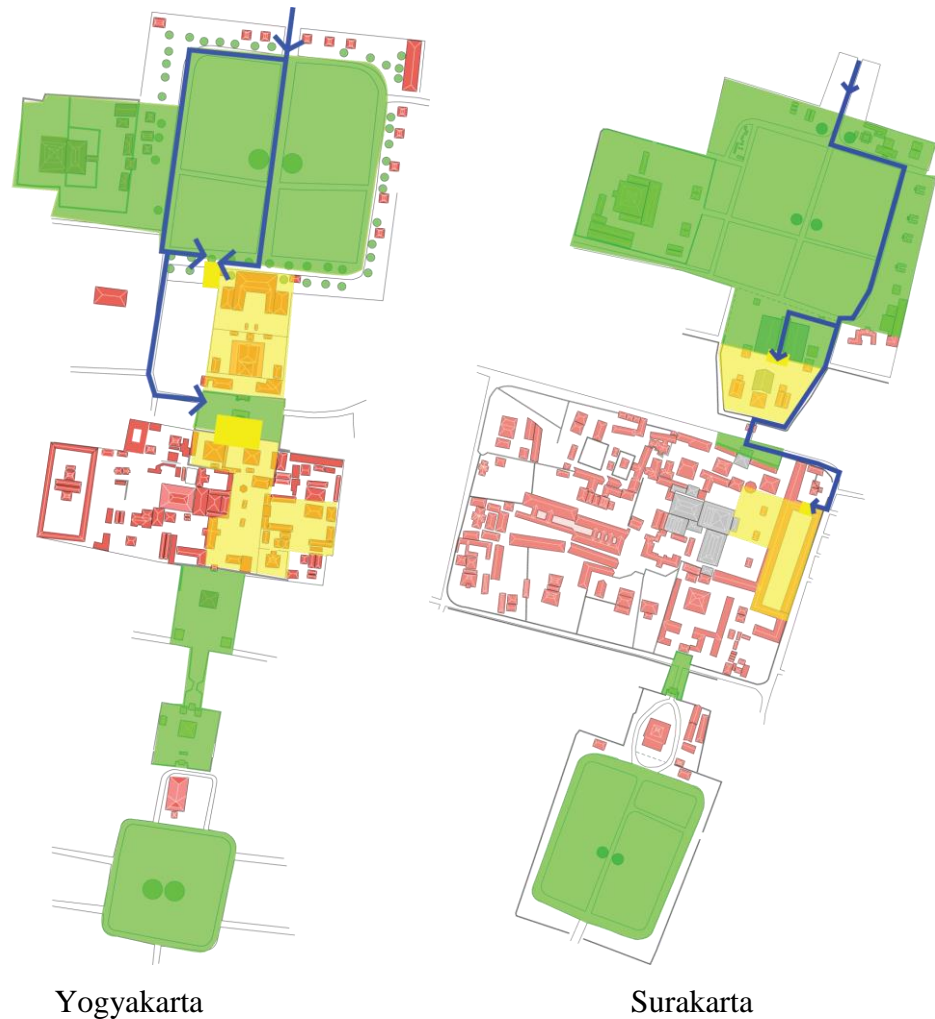


Figure 6.87. The access to the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right). The yellow highlight refers to free public access and blue highlight refers to paid access only. In the kraton of Yogyakarta there is an ambiguity in which the absence of clear sign makes it unclear whether the south Srimanganti and Southern Kemandhungan are tourist route or public access. The Kedhaton area, however, is not accessible by common people from the south even though there is no prohibition sign. The kraton of Surakarta only gives public access to Pagelaran (free), Sithinggil, the kraton's museum and part of Kedhaton.

The tourist route for the kraton of Yogyakarta is divided into two. The first route, the north section, consists of Pagelaran and Sithinggil area and finishes in Pamengkang and Brajanala gate. The second route starts from Northern Kemandhungan, Srimanganti and Kedhaton also Kasatriyan. This route however can be extended freely to the southern courtyards along to the Southern Alun-alun even though it seems that south Srimanganti, Southern Kemandhungan and Southern Sithinggil are not developed for tourism. This is because some parts of those courtyards are occupied by abdi dalems, who live in some of the buildings. Even so, the kraton seems to be considering extending its tourism route to the south by

building a fashion store and café named *Bale Raos*, in a joint cooperation with Sarinah, a big department store in Jakarta, in the south Srimanganti or Kemagangan.

The tourist route in the kraton of Surakarta is also divided into two, the north and the central parts. The north part consists of Sitinggil area only. Pagelaran area is open to public for free. The second route starts from the sides of Kedhaton to only some part of Kedhaton area. Half of the courtyard is prohibited for tourists and this is shown in sign boards.

From the Figure 6.87. we can see that the kraton of Yogyakarta has more space open to public and tourists and less space for the kraton itself. The kraton of Surakarta has less space open to public and tourists and more space for the kraton.

The division of the kraton of Yogyakarta's tourist routes into two makes it impossible for tourists to experience the whole journey from north to south. However, the free access provided in the southern half, except for Southern Sitinggil, gives a strong experience related to its axis.²¹⁸ The division of the tourist routes of the kraton of Surakarta, the tourist entrance which is located on the eastern side instead of the one on the centre of the axis, and the inaccessibility of other courtyards along the north-south axis give no clue upon its north-south axis.

To go into more details about the experience gained through the free access tourist routes in the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta, I would like to discuss more details in every route. This is to identify the experience which embodies the power structure and puts it into people's unconsciousness.

From the city beyond the border of the kraton of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, both kratons have distinctive gates to signify their existence in the centre of the cities. The Pangurakan gate of the kraton of Yogyakarta is accompanied by rows of palm trees while the Pamurakan gate of the kraton of Surakarta is accompanied by banyan trees. Along the road to the Northern Alun-alun from Pangurakan gate of Yogyakarta are several small shops and offices and several sidewalk food vendors. Along the road to the Northern Alun-alun of Surakarta are several sidewalk vendors selling food and souvenirs. The buildings around the Northern Alun-alun of the

²¹⁸ The division of the tourist route of the kraton of Yogyakarta is mainly about power distribution between the king's younger brothers in which KGPH Hadiwinoto is in charge of the front part, Pagelaran and Sitinggil and GBPH Prabokusumo is in charge of the central part, Srimanganti and Kedhaton. The suggestion of the cultural board of Yogyakarta to unite both into one single route is

kraton of Yogyakarta are mainly used for offices, a museum, meeting hall, with only one of them is used as a restaurant. Commercial activity can be found here in the form of informal street vendors; some of them are selling food along the sidewalk and some others selling souvenirs, particularly those located around the Pagelaran area. The buildings around Northern Alun-alun of the kraton of Surakarta are mainly used for commercial activity, except two buildings which are used for offices. The commercial activity in this area are small in scope but high in number. The vendors were previously sidewalk vendors who sold their goods along the sidewalks from Pamurakan to the area of Alun-alun, but who were then accommodated in the ex-Pekapalan buildings of the kraton. Sidewalk vendors still exist despite this effort.



Figure 6.88. The street vendors located around the entrance of the Pagelaran of Yogyakarta

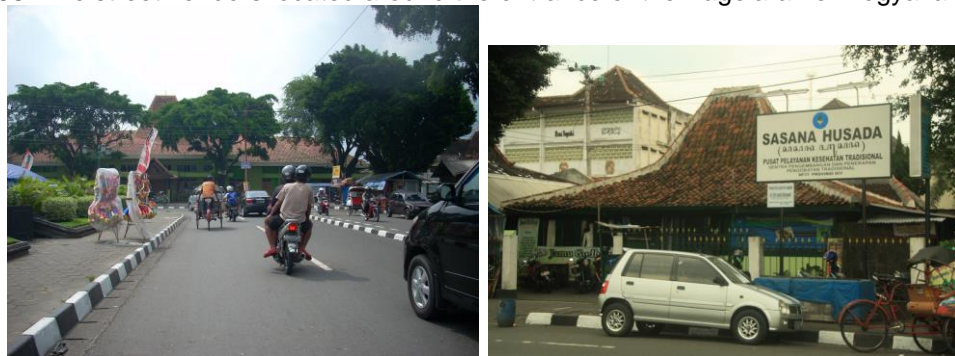


Figure 6.89. The standard traffic that goes to the direction of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and one of the Pekapalan buildings that is being reused as a traditional clinic (right)

The Northern Alun-alun at the centre of the area of the kraton of Yogyakarta is mostly empty with an exception for a small number of vehicles parking²¹⁹ and

then refused because of internal power distribution.

²¹⁹ The parking business in the Northern Alun-alun area belongs to a *preman*, or hoodlum, unrelated to the kraton. The same person also dominates Sekaten fair in which he buys all the stalls in the Northern Alun-alun from the municipal government and sells them to the sellers. He influences the layout of the Sekaten fair stalls which is only based on efficiency by dividing the Northern Alun-alun into similar sized rectangular stalls. The effort of the Cultural Board of Yogyakarta to make a layout which represents the Javanese cosmology was refused because of this.

food vendors. The small number of vehicles parking might be because the main parking area for buses, cars and motorcycles is located nearby, close to the Great Mosque and close to Kemandhungan, the entrance of the second tourist route of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The Northern Alun-alun of the kraton of Surakarta is surrounded by an iron fence erected by the kraton, which claimed it was to prevent food vendors and beggars coming in. However as the gate of the fence is always open for vehicle parking access²²⁰ in the Alun-alun, along with other small openings on the sides, this space is also occupied by food vendors and beggars. It should be noted here that there is another parking area nearby, which is close to the Great Mosque. This parking area is considered the main parking space and is always full, while the parking in the Alun-alun is considered an additional parking space. The traffic that goes to the area of the Northern Alun-alun of the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta are different. That of Yogyakarta mainly goes right from Pangurakan even though it is allowed to turn left; that of Surakarta is only allowed to turn left from Pamurakan. The traffic in the Northern Alun-alun area of Surakarta is in a much higher number than that of Yogyakarta. This is because the traffic that goes through the area of Northern Alun-alun of Surakarta might be of those going to the ex-Pekapalan buildings, *Baluwarti* settlement, the kraton, and most of all the *Klewer* market, the biggest batik market in the province of Central Java. The traffic going through the area of Northern Alun-alun of Yogyakarta mainly goes to the kraton and the settlement around it.



Figure 6.90. The crowded traffic that goes to Klewer market from the Northern Alun-alun of Surakarta.

²²⁰ The parking business that takes place in the Northern Alun-alun belongs to the royal family, that it makes it possible to use the space of the Alun-alun.



Figure 6.91. The inner part of the Northern Alun-alun of Surakarta, currently used for car parking while some food vendors and beggars also have their activities in there.

The situations of both Alun-alun are different during festive seasons, particularly of Sekaten and Garebeg. Sekaten fair is organised annually for a whole month before the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (12th Maulud in Javanese calendar) with a Garebeg organised at 12th Maulud. During that period, the spaces of the Northern Alun-alun of both cities are used for stalls selling foods, fashion, souvenirs, and many others, and also for entertainment. The Sekaten fair of Yogyakarta is organised by the municipal government while that of Surakarta is organised by the kraton. During that period in both cities the traffic has to stop outside of the area of Alun-alun because of the crowd. It will be even more crowded during the Garebeg ritual, which has more of an effect in Yogyakarta because of its route that extends beyond the kraton area to the minor court of Pakualaman and Kepatihan, the governor's office. For the Garebeg of the kraton of Yogyakarta several elephants have to be brought to the kraton along the street from Yogyakarta zoo, which is located close to Pakualaman. Those elephants are used for the troops bringing one *gunungan* to Pakualaman. The kraton of Surakarta only has the *gunungan* distributed in the Great Mosque, which is in the area of the Northern Alun-alun. Elephants are not needed in this case.



Figure 6.92. The situation of the northern part of the kraton of Yogyakarta (left) and the kraton of Surakarta (right). Red highlight refers to the route commonly taken in the area. Blue highlight refers to non-commercial area. Green highlight refers to parking lot. Yellow highlight refers to commercial area. From these pictures we can see that the main route taken in the area of Yogyakarta is headed to the kraton while the route taken in Surakarta is mainly headed to somewhere else (which in this case is the Klewer market). We can also see the Northern Alun-alun of the kraton of Yogyakarta is surrounded by a non-commercial area with only a little commercial activity, while the Northern Alun-alun of the kraton of Surakarta is surrounded by commercial activities.

The Pagelaran area to the south of the Northern Alun-alun of Yogyakarta is used for tourism. The entrance for this is on the west side of the Pagelaran. The routes end at the Pamengkang and Brajanala gate which is closed to the public. Several abdi dalems stay here to guide tourists and sell souvenirs in one of the kraton's shops situated in a Pemandangan building. All the abdi dalems in the area of

Pagelaran and Sitihihgil wear Javanese clothing with similar batik tops, trousers and *blangkon*. In the area of Pagelaran, tourists enter Pagelaran hall except Bangsal Pangrawit - which is encircled by a balustrade - and looking at the display of ‘traditional’ ceremonies and clothes in both Pengapit buildings on the left and right of the hall. The Pagelaran area of the kraton of Surakarta is open to the public. The hall of Sasana Sumewa is commonly used for people, particularly food vendors and beggars, to rest and take protection from the sun while doing their selling and begging activities. Just like that of Yogyakarta, the Bangsal Pangrawit of Sasana Sumewa is also forbidden for common people to enter. This is shown in signs. The ticketing office for Sitihihgil area is located in Mertolulut building to the west of Pagelaran. However, the existence of Sitihihgil as a tourism object in this area is almost invisible. From the Pagelaran area, Sitihihgil is hardly seen, covered by Bangsal Pangrawit, and even when one gets to the border between the Pagelaran area and Sitihihgil area, he or she could only see a ‘no-entry’ sign on the fence of Sitihihgil.



Figure 6.93. Bangsal Pangrawit, the main building in Pagelaran of the kraton of Yogyakarta. A set of balustrade and a sign show that it is forbidden for tourists to enter.



Figure 6.94. Sasana Sumewa or the Pagelaran of the kraton of Surakarta during the day are used by the people including food vendors and beggars.



Figure 6.95. Bangsal Pangrawit of the Pagelaran of the kraton of Surakarta is closed to public. This is shown by a sign and a metal fence.

From the Pagelaran area, some people might go to the Sitinggil courtyard through steps. In the kraton of Yogyakarta, after going around the Pagelaran area, tourists will go directly to *Tratag Sitinggil* through *Tarub Hageng*. The area accessible for tourists is only the periphery which is defined by a balustrade. The central part of the pavilion, including *Manguntur Tangkil* and *Witana* pavilion which are located inside *Tratag Sitinggil*, are inaccessible. Some tourist guides of the kraton are visible in this courtyard, usually in uniform –batik tops, plain trousers, and shoes. From *Sitinggil*, one could go to *Pamengkang* and stop at the *Brajanala* gate before going back to the entrance to go out and take a way round to go to *Kemandhungan*, the second entrance to the kraton. In the kraton of Surakarta, when a tourist goes to *Sitinggil*, an *abdi dalem* in batik top, trousers, *blangkon* (a Javanese head cover) shoes, and an accessory named *Samir* (a small piece of long yellow cloth being put on the neck like a scarf that signifies that one is an *abdi dalem* of the kraton of Surakarta) will come to take the ticket and guide the tourist around the *Sitinggil* area. The space accessible in this area is the *Sewayana* pavilion, excepting the *Manguntur Tangkil* and *Witana* pavilions inside it. Unlike that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, in which the middle part of *Tratag Sitinggil* is inaccessible, the middle part of *Sewayana* is still accessible. From *Sitinggil* area, one could go through the *Mangu* gate, crossing the *Supit Urang*²²¹ and go through the *Brajanala* gate to the *Kemandhungan* area.

Now we go to the second tourist route. The area outside *Kemandhungan*

²²¹ It should be noted that crossing the *Supit Urang* is extremely difficult and dangerous because of the very crowded traffic in this path. It is usually preferable for tourists to go back and take another way round to go to *Kemandhungan*, which is going through *Supit Urang* but not crossing it.

courtyard of Yogyakarta is very crowded with bus parking and sidewalk vendors selling foods and souvenirs. Nobody is allowed to enter Kemandhungan by vehicle so everyone has to leave their vehicles in a parking area outside, except for abdi dalems who ride motorcycles to the kraton. Those abdi dalems have dismount before being allowed to bring their vehicles in, though. The Pancaniti pavilion, the main building of Kemandhungan courtyard is used for the kraton guides²²² to wait for any tourist who needs them. The ticketing office is located in one of the Pacahosan buildings in this courtyard, which is an open office that consists of several tables and ticket issuing officers. After buying a ticket and permit for taking photographs, one goes through Srimanganti gate in which several guides wait to offer their help. After entering the gate, one gets to Srimanganti courtyard with two main buildings, Srimanganti pavilion and Trajumas pavilion. The main path, which is roofed, is towards Srimanganti pavilion where regular performances are given for tourists everyday, which could be wayang puppet, wayang wong, dances or macapat²²³. Two rows of chairs are arranged on the periphery or Penitih area of the pavilion while the performance takes place in the centre and on the Penanggap area on the opposite side of the audience rows. In a dance performance, the dancer(s) are sited in the area of Pamidhangan, under the central roof of Srimanganti while the gamelan is located in the Penanggap area. In a wayang puppet performance, the wayang screen is located in the area of Pamidhangan, while the gamelan is located in the Penanggap area behind it. In a macapat performance, the main performer sits crosslegged right in the centre of the pavilion, under the main roof of brunjung. One Pacahosan building located to the south of Srimanganti pavilion is used for higher ranked abdi dalems who are in charge for the performances. The Trajumas pavilion is used for storing furniture and carriages of the kraton, and it is not allowed for tourists to enter. Tourists can only go round the pavilion to see the collection. In the Srimanganti courtyard of Yogyakarta, one can see abdi dalems passing by doing their everyday business, all of them in uniform. This consists of plain tops –usually in dark colours-

²²² There are two kinds of guides: the guides from abdi dalem and those from outside the kraton who are given premission by the kraton to do their job here.

²²³ To provide regular performance, the kraton of Yogyakarta gives an opportunity to art students in Yogyakarta to perform in the kraton for tourists.

Yogyakarta styled batik cloth wrap around their lower bodies and legs²²⁴, blangkon, kris dagger, and in barefeet unless for those doing cleaning job who wears plain tops and trousers. Women abdi dalems wear batik cloth, in barefeet and with a particular hair style.

After passing through the Danapratapa gate with two statues in its left and right, one gets to Kedhaton, the centre of the kraton. The Kedhaton is sandy and planted with Sawo Kecik trees. In this courtyard people could only see the buildings without entering them. People can also see the everyday activities of abdi dalems of the kraton more in this courtyard. Around ten to twenty abdi dalems perform *caos* everyday, sitting on the floor of Gedhong Gangsa Pelog waiting for commands from the king. Several others doing their everyday activities pass this courtyard. They all appear in uniform, bare feet and with a unique manner. Some of the behaviour that can be seen here is the way they stand, the way they walk in front of other people, the way they point to something, the way they enter buildings and the way they sit. The abdi dalems stand with two hands held in front of them. It is considered impolite to put their hands on the sides or in any other positions. When they walk in front of other people, they have to bend down or if walking in front of highly ranked people they have to squat. They have their own way to point at something. It is considered impolite to point with index finger to someone whose status is similar or higher but it is considered okay for someone to point with index finger to someone of lower status. When one communicates with someone of higher or similar status with him, he will use the whole hand to point at something or use his thumb.

From the central area of Kedhaton, tourists can move to the eastern part which is mainly made into museums, including one new building dedicated to Hamengkubuwana IX Museum, which covers the life of Hamengkubuwana IX and the Declaration of 5th September 1945 that is considered to be very important for the kraton's history. Again, in all of the eastern parts, the abdi dalems appear in uniforms. Their way of sitting however, is not as strict as that in the central Kedhaton courtyard. Here, tourists can see abdi dalems sitting on chairs or benches, in normal positions, not crosslegged.

²²⁴ To distinguish Yogyakarta and Surakarta styled batik, we can see the background colour of the batik cloth. Yogyakarta styled batik has pure white as the background while Surakarta styled batik has

From the eastern part of Kedhaton, most tourists go back to get out from the main entrance. The way to Kemagangan or Southern Srimanganti, the next courtyard to the south is not closed, however. If ever one gets to Kemagangan, he could only see the main pavilion and probably goes to the kraton owned shop and café.

The second tourist route of the kraton of Surakarta started from Sidikara which is located to the southeast of Northern Kemandhungan. There is no ticketing office in here. Tourists have to buy tickets from the ticketing office in Kemandhungan. One abdi dalem checks tickets at the entrance around which there is a shop selling foods and drinks. We get to the museum once we enter. This museum which uses one of the kraton's buildings is rectangular in shape with a courtyard at the centre. The museum displays goods related to the kraton such as clothes, carriages, wayang puppets, statues, photographs. Offerings are put next to things considered sacred. From the museum area, tourists then enter the Kedhaton area from the east side. There is an abdi dalem at the door to remind tourists to follow the rule. The rule is as follows: first, tourists have to wear shoes. If they wear sandals, slippers or flip flops, they have to walk barefeet, because wearing sandals and flip flops is considered impolite. Second it is not allowed to bring backpacks. Those who bring backpacks have to put them down and leave them at the Kedhaton entrance. Other kinds of bags are allowed. Third, females have to wear skirt, but not mini skirt; nor are they allowed to wear trousers. Fourth, it is not allowed for males to wear shorts. This restriction refers back to the manner of the people when they visited the kraton before Indonesian Independence (Sabdacarakatama, 2009) with some adaptation to the current situation.

After getting to Kedhaton area, tourists can see the main building, Sasana Sewaka and its extension named Maligi, the banquet hall, Sasana Handrawina and the small supporting buildings Bangsal Pradangga Lor, Bangsal Pradangga Kidul, Bangsal Bujana, and the tower Sanggabuwana. This courtyard is usually very quiet, only a few people are visible in here including the one at the door connecting Kedhaton to the museum area. There are two female 'police' of the kraton who stay close to Srimanganti gate on the Kedhaton side whose job is to control people who come and go through the Srimanganti gate. Close to their sitting place, on some part

a yellowish background.

of the verandah of Sasana Wilapa, there is a sitting space for the royal family. This space is named *Nguntarasana*. Enclosed by non permanent wooden panels, abdi dalem have to bow and squat if getting in this space. At the west side there is a row of buildings, one veranda being used for receiving guests. This space is open and defined only by a set of chairs and table. Sometimes there is an abdi dalem cleaner in the courtyard with a broom and a wheelbarrow or cleaning the buildings. Occasionally, some other abdi dalems pass by to go to the inner courtyard where their offices are located. During the day usually there are children coming from the inner Kedhaton, the place where the royal family lives, to play in the courtyard.

The abdi dalem who are visible in the Kedhaton courtyard do not wear uniform clothes; male abdi dalems wear shirt and trousers in any colour with a Samir. Female abdi dalems, even though rare, wear ordinary clothes with Samir. This however, changes every Thursday Wage and Friday Kliwon, which are considered sacred. During those days, several abdi dalems wearing uniforms come out to prepare offerings and to pray²²⁵. Some of them go into Sanggabuwana to clean the tower while bringing offerings.

The royal family appears in Kedhaton in ordinary clothes, even the females wear trousers. The interactions between the royal family and abdi dalem, the royal family and the children are visible to tourists in their everyday clothes and everyday activities. This is different from that of the kraton of Yogyakarta in which the royal family is never visible to tourists in any of the tourist routes, except during special occasions²²⁶.

The tourist access in this courtyard is very limited, less than half of the courtyard being available. There are signs to define the border where tourists are not allowed. From Kedhaton, tourists can only go back to the museum area and get out through the entrance in Sidikara.

Now I would like to highlight the silent ideology that embodies the power structure through architecture, arts and the activities that take place in it. The importance of the Kedhaton courtyard can be seen not only from the whole layout in

²²⁵ There are always offerings in Kedhaton everyday. It is just that during those two days the number of offerings is increased.

²²⁶ The royal family of the kraton of Yogyakarta lives in Kraton Kilen, which is in the west part of Kedhaton. They also have their own entrance, separated completely from the tourist route.

which it is located at the centre, but also from its complexity and the behaviour of the people in it. In a smaller scope, the hierarchical order of the kraton compounds can be seen from the patterns of their construction and ornaments, and the behaviour of the people using them.

The Kedhaton courtyard as the centre and the highest in the hierarchy has the most complex buildings of all the courtyards of the kraton. This can be seen from the complexity of the Danapratapa gate, the gate of Kedhaton from the Northern Srimanganti if compared to other gates such as Brajanala and Srimanganti gate. The ornaments used are more elaborate and even the most profane buildings, those for the abdi dalems, are articulated with cast iron columns with floral ornaments in green and white. We can see in Figure 6.76. that the comparison between the gates, columns, roofs, and the buildings for abdi dalems show the highest complexity on Kedhaton. This, according to Bourdieu, is one way to achieve distinction, by using the most complex thus the most difficult to make.



Figure 6.96. In sequence of the tourist route from north to south, tourists pass through several gates, Sitinggil gate (top), Brajanala gate –which is not passed but seen from Northern Kemandhungan (second), Srimanganti gate whose form can not be easily captured that I could only provide the picture of its *pachosan*, and Danaprata gate. From these pictures, we can see that Danapatapa gate is the most elaborate of all, with more ornaments and more complex form.

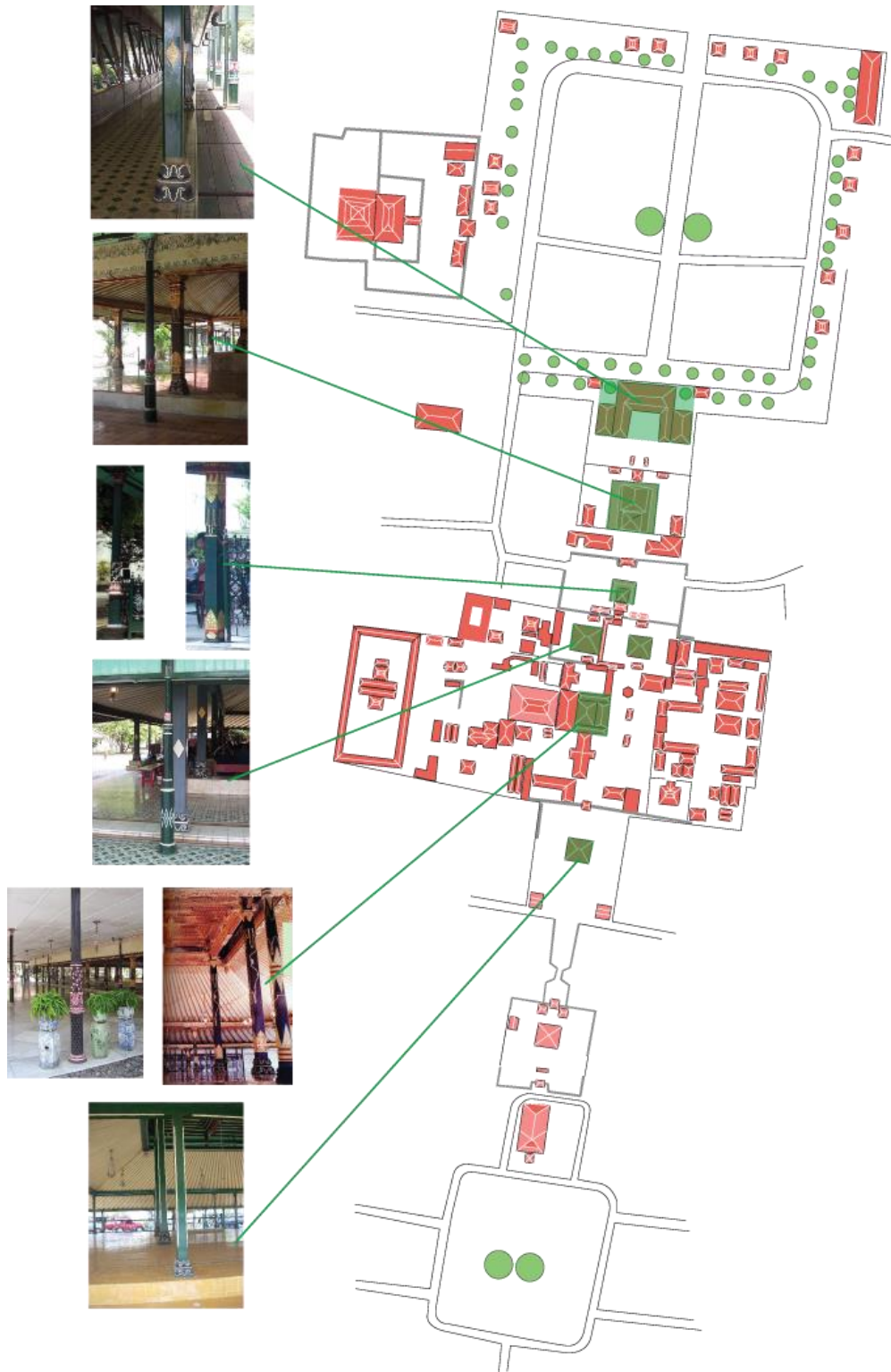


Figure 6.97. The columns found in the kraton of Yogyakarta in sequence of the tourist routes. The top is the columns found in the Pagelaran area, the second is the columns found in Sitinggil, the third is the columns found in Kemandhungan, the fourth is the columns found in Srimanganti and the bottom is the columns found in Kedhaton. The Javanese columns located at the centre of each main pavilion, if compared, show a difference in that the most complex are the ones in Kedhaton.



Figure 6.98. The interior roofs of the main pavilion of each courtyard of the kraton, in sequence of the tourist routes. Bangsal Pangrawit of Pagelaran is at the top, followed by Bangsal Witana of Sitihihgil, Srimanganti pavilion and the last is Bangsal Kencana of Kedhaton. The roof of Pancaniti is absent due to the difficulty in photographing it. From these pictures we can see that the most elaborate interior roof with most golden colour is the one in Bangsal Kencana of Kedhaton.



Figure 6.99. The open buildings for abdi dalems in each northern courtyard of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The top is the pachosan in Sitinggil, followed by the pachosan in Kemandhungan, the pachosan of Srimanganti and the bottom is Bangsal Kothak of Kedhaton. While all the others are plain with no ornament, the one of Kedhaton is ornamented and using cast iron columns.

The structure and ornamentation used also signify the hierarchy. In Pagelaran, for example, the most sacred part is Bangsal Pangrawit which comes as a Limasan roofed building with Javanese construction and Javanese ornaments. The outer part consists of cast-iron columns and the European-like columns. The most sacred part of Sitihinggil, Bangsal Witana and Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil also come in Javanese construction and ornaments while the outer part consists of cast iron columns and modern structure. This can also be found in Pancaniti and Srimanganti in which the main part is the one of Javanese construction, started from Penitih zone. The space beyond Penitih comes in modern construction with cast iron columns. Trajumas pavilion comes in full Javanese construction and ornaments which might be because it has no extension beyond Penitih zone. The buildings in Kedhaton area, as mentioned before, is fully ornamented that even the supporting buildings are ornamented. The two Bangsal Kothaks located in front of Bangsal Kencana come in Limasan roof with cast iron columns and floral ornaments. The outer part of Bangsal Kencana comes with cast iron columns too. The center part of Bangsal Kencana however, comes in Javanese construction and Javanese ornaments. The Gedhong Kuning, the official residence of the king, comes in modern construction. The banquet hall, Bangsal Manis, comes in a mix of Javanese ornaments and modern structure. The central, sacred part of the main pavilion of each courtyard of the kraton always comes in Javanese construction and Javanese ornaments. In addition, the supporting buildings in Kedhaton are ornamented even though come in simple forms of columns and Limasan roof. The supporting buildings in the other courtyards of the kraton are plain without any ornaments.

Moreover, the behaviour of the abdi dalems in the kraton of Yogyakarta clearly shows the importance of the Kedhaton courtyard by behaving strictly according to the standard manner in Kedhaton, but behaving more loosely in the eastern part of Kedhaton. The abdi dalems in Pagelaran and Sitihinggil, located in the periphery of the kraton, have much more freedom concerning their behaviour. They wear batik tops and trousers, with additional blangkons and shoes which are different from those in Kedhaton area, who wear dark Javanese tops, batik bottoms, blangkons, kris daggers and go barefooted, which is considered to be more Javanese. In relation to the kind of batik used by abdi dalems, there is no restriction for the

batik cloth used for the bottom part, except that it has to be Yogyakarta-styled and not the royal motifs which are reserved for the king and the royal family. This rule is also applied in the arts performed in Srimanganti pavilion, such as wayang puppet and wayang wong.



Figure 6.100. The batik motifs used for wayang puppets. From the motifs used we can see the status of them. The king puppet is the second right, which uses *parang* motif, similar to that of the king. We can compare with the right picture, the official photo of the king Hamengkubuwana X. (The official photo of the king courtesy of Wikipedia).

To see the hierarchy in the scope of buildings, we can see from the behaviour of abdi dalems in Srimanganti pavilion, in which they take position straight to crouch or sit down crosslegged on the floor when they enter the Penanggap zone of Srimanganti pavilion. The centre then, has a higher hierarchy than the periphery. The audience seating of this pavilion is also located in Penitih zone. This hierarchy can also be seen in Sitihinggil where the tourists are only allowed to walk on the periphery of Sitihinggil pavilion. In Pagelaran, the only place inaccessible for tourist is Bangsal Pangrawit. The Pancaniti pavilion in Kemandhungan, however, is not used for tourists but for tourist guides. Again, the same pattern is repeated in which the seating place for the guides is located on the periphery of Pancaniti pavilion. Moreover, I will take Santosa's account on performance in Kedhaton area. The performances that take place on Kedhaton area are *Bedhaya* dance and *Wayang Wong*. Both of them are performed in front of the king. *Bedhaya* dance is considered the most sacred dance. This dance is performed in the Penanggap zone of Bangsal Kencana, in front of the king's throne which is in the Pamidhangan zone. *Wayang Wong* -which is considered less sacred- is performed in the extension beyond Penitih

zone. Respected guests are seated in the Penanggap zone while other guests are seated in the extension beyond the Penitih zone. This arrangement shows the importance of centre to periphery and it shows hierarchy.



Figure 6.101. The map of behaviour seen in the area of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

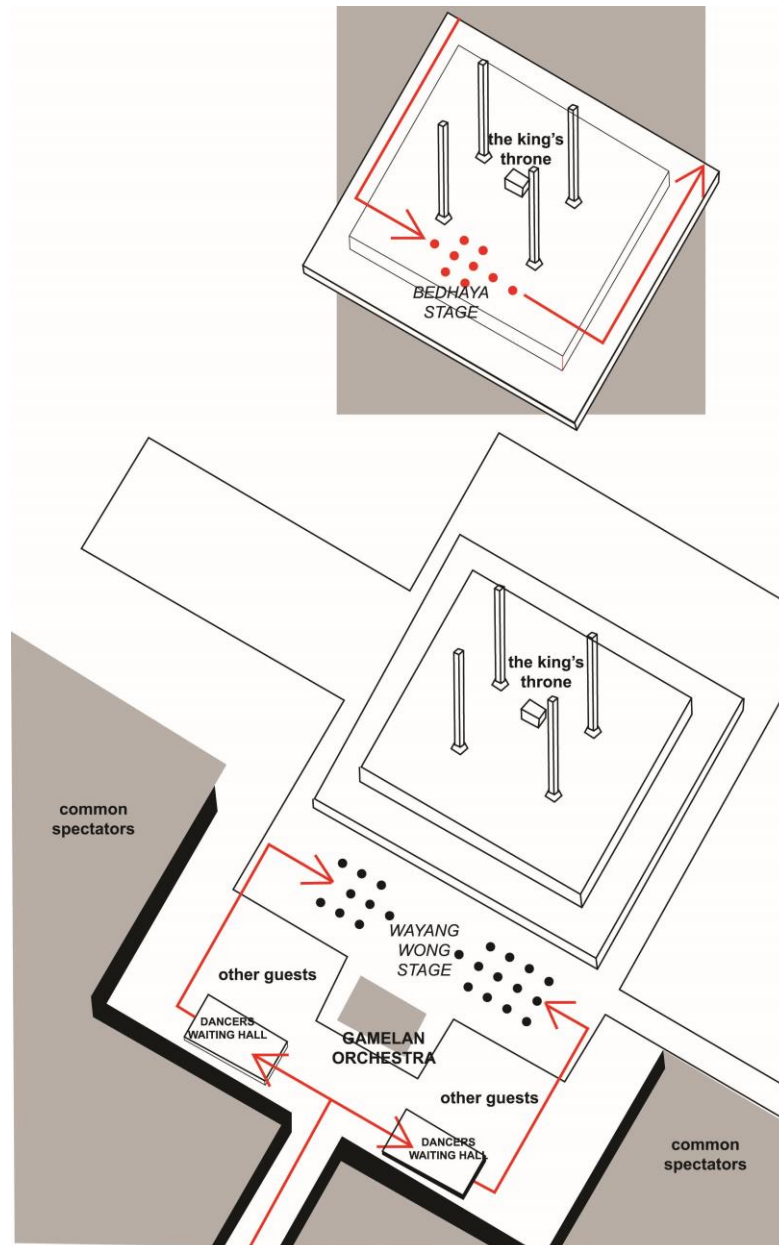


Figure 6.102. The arrangements during Bedhaya dance performance and Wayang Wong performance. The sacred Bedhaya dance is performed in the Penanggap area while the king's throne is located in the Pamidhangan area of Bangsal Kencana. Wayang Wong which is not considered sacred is performed in the adjacent building, on the east side of Bangsal Kencana. The guests are divided into three, respected guests are seated on the Penitih area, other guests are seated between Bangsal Kothak and the stage, and common spectators are located around the courtyard.
(Image source: Santosa, 1997)

The architecture of the kraton of Surakarta also embodied a silent ideology about power structure. However, we should see it in the sequence of the tourist routes. As the tourist routes go a way round from Kemandhungan which made it skip

Srimanganti courtyard, the only courtyards to see for tourists are Sitihinggil and Kedhaton. As a result, if we see it in a sequence, there is a lack of pattern to indicate the hierarchy. For example, if we compare the gates located between Sitihinggil and Sidikara which are Mijil gate, Brajanala gate and Kemandhungan gate, we could hardly see any pattern. The comparison of the columns used as seen in Figure 6.102. shows the importance of Kedhaton, as the columns found there are the most ornamented. However, the lack of similarity between the columns in each of them and the tourist route that goes way round make the situation quite confusing. This is different with that of the kraton of Yogyakarta which has almost similar columns – for each style, the Javanese and the European- in Pagelaran, Sitihinggil, Kemandhungan, Srimanganti and Kedhaton. The main columns of the main pavilion in each courtyard are Javanese columns, while the additional buildings' columns are mainly European styled cast iron. The comparison on the roof structure of the kraton of Surakarta also bears the same problem that even though it is clear that the roof structure of Sasana Sewaka of Kedhaton is the most complex but the relation to those of the other courtyards is not clear. The last thing is the supporting buildings. We can find them in every courtyard in the kraton of Yogyakarta, but in the kraton of Surakarta this kind of supporting building is only seen in Pagelaran and Kedhaton. The ones in Kedhaton are more ornamented than those in Pagelaran which are plain.

During special occasions, however, the hierarchy is clearer. Anderson's account on the coronation anniversary of the king of the kraton of Surakarta (Anderson, 1967) clearly states this through the arrangement of the king throne, the royal family, respected guests and other guests. However, unlike that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, the king's throne is located in the Penanggap area, while Pamidhangan area is reserved for Bedhaya dance which is considered sacred. Princes and promoted high officials are seated on the left and right of the throne. Other high officials are seated in the Penitih area to the east side of Sasana Sewaka, while other officials are seated on Maligi, the adjacent building to the east of Sasana Sewaka. The Bedhaya dance is positioned in a more sacred position than the king, unlike that of Yogyakarta which positions the Bedhaya dance in lower hierarchy than the king. Other hierarchy examples can be seen not only from the proximity to the centre, but also from the proximity to the throne. In this case, it is clear that the southern space is more private

that it belongs to the king and royal family, while the northern side is more public. This arrangement is similar to that mentioned by Santosa (1997) as the division between private and public domain in Javanese omah and dalem.

The hierarchy of spatial arrangements, unfortunately, is not shown during everyday activities of the kraton. One example of this is Nguntarasana, the seating place for the royal family, which is not located in the centre neither is it on the private domain, but in the periphery and public domain, as it is located in the veranda of Sasana Wilapa. This can also be found in the Sanggabuwana tower. Considered to be sacred, this tower is not only located at the periphery, close to the gate of Kedhaton, but also appears in a foreign form, which is Western. This lack of pattern is confusing and suggests the absence of a hierarchical order.



Figure 6.103. The gates of the kraton of Surakarta in sequence of tourist route. The top is the gate of Sitinggil, Mijil gate, followed by the Brajanala gate and the Kemandhungan gate with Balerata in front of it.

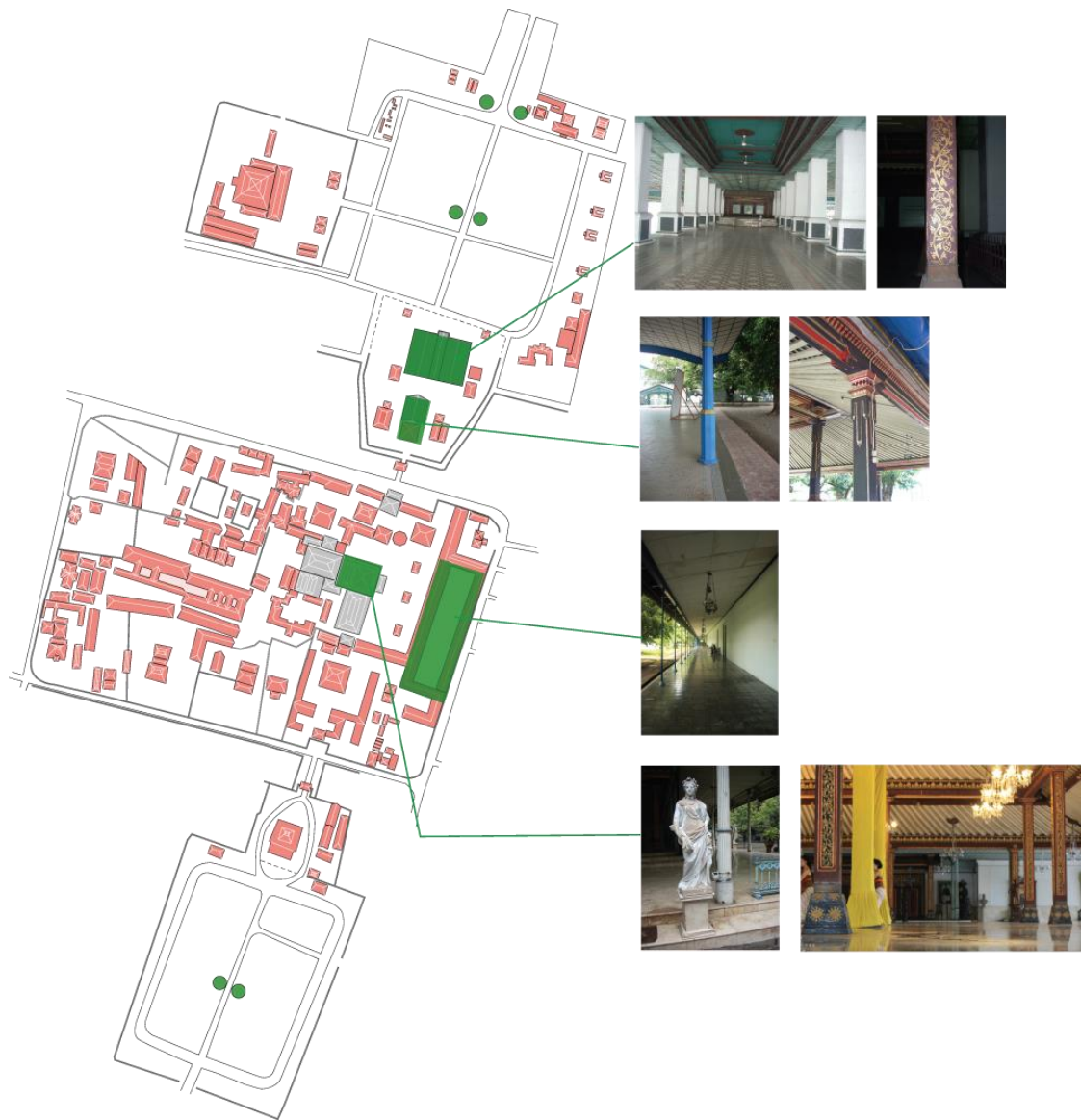


Figure 6.104. The columns used in the kraton of Surakarta, in the sequence of tourist route. The top are the columns found in Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa (left) and Bangsal Pangrawit (right), followed by the columns found in Sitihihgil: Sewayana (left) and Bangsal Witana (right). The next are the columns found in the museum area of Sidikara which is not part of the main courtyards of the kraton but is the first part to visit when entering the kraton from Sidikara. The bottom is the columns found in Sasana Sewaka, Kedhaton.

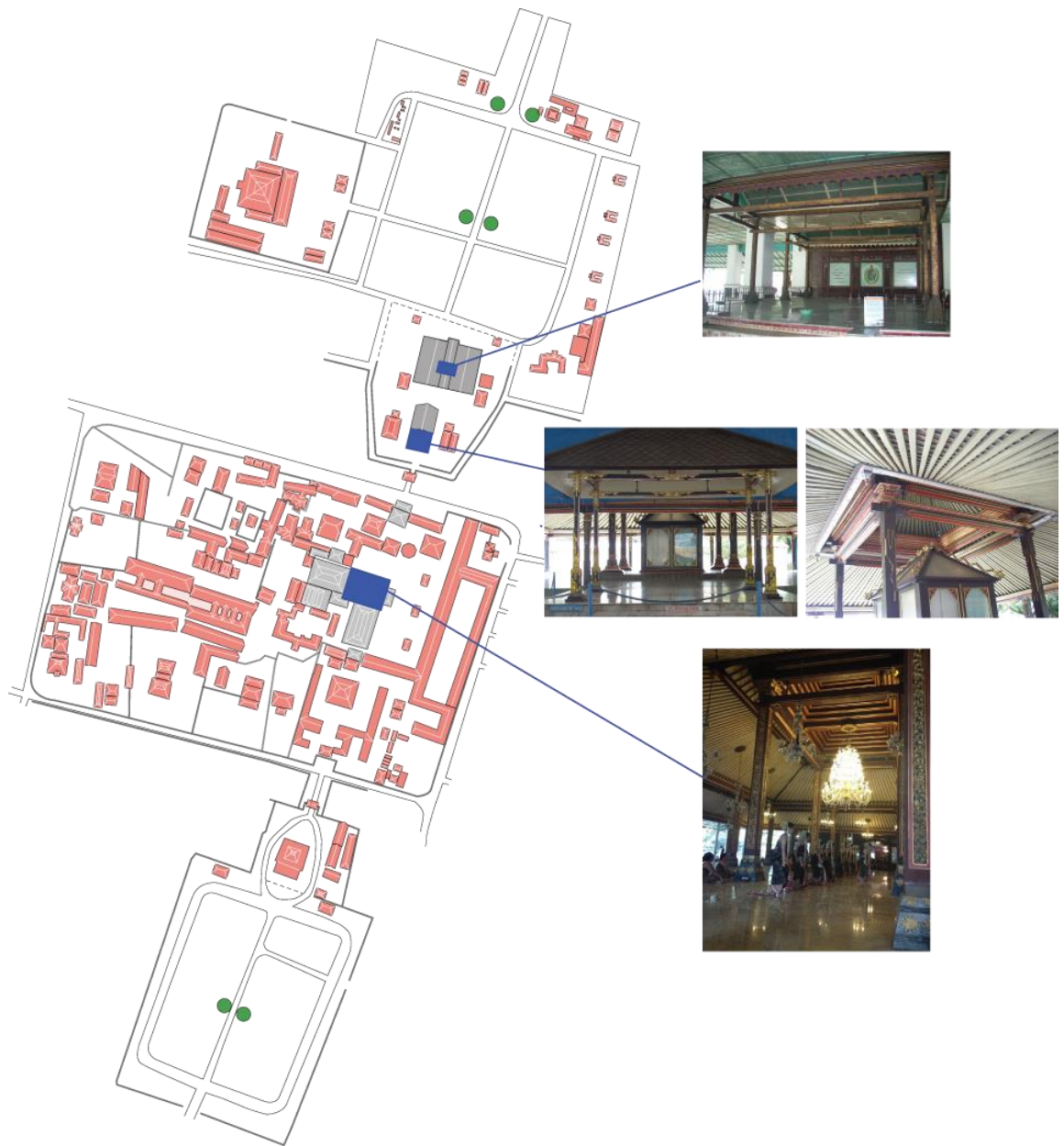


Figure 6.105. The Javanese roofs of the main pavilions found in sequence of the tourist route in the kraton of Surakarta. The top is the roof of Bangsal Pangrawit in Pagelaran area, followed by the roof of Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil and Bangsal Witana of Sithinggil. The last is the roof of Sasana Sumewa of Kedhaton.
 (Photo of Sasana Sewaka courtesy of <http://tjoen-sojourner.blogspot.co.uk/>)

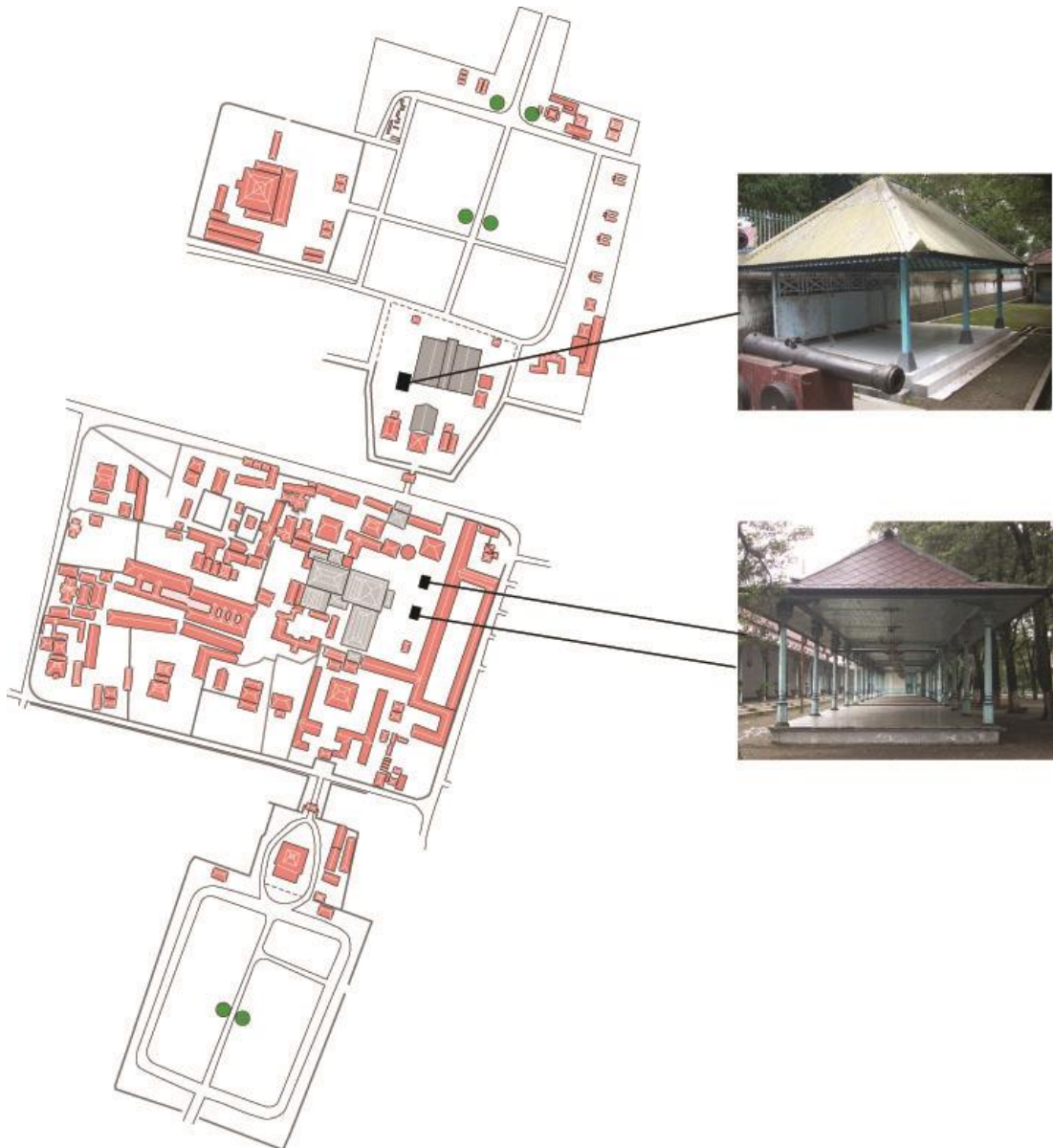


Figure 6.106. A comparison between open buildings for abdi dalems in the kraton of Surakarta. While found in almost every courtyard in the kraton of Yogyakarta, this type of buildings is not commonly found in the kraton of Surakarta. These are the pictures of those seen along the tourist routes. The first is located in Pagelaran area and the second is located in Kedhaton courtyard. While the first is plain and the second is ornamented just like that in the kraton of Yogyakarta, the lack of number of this kind of buildings makes it impossible to assume the existence of a pattern.

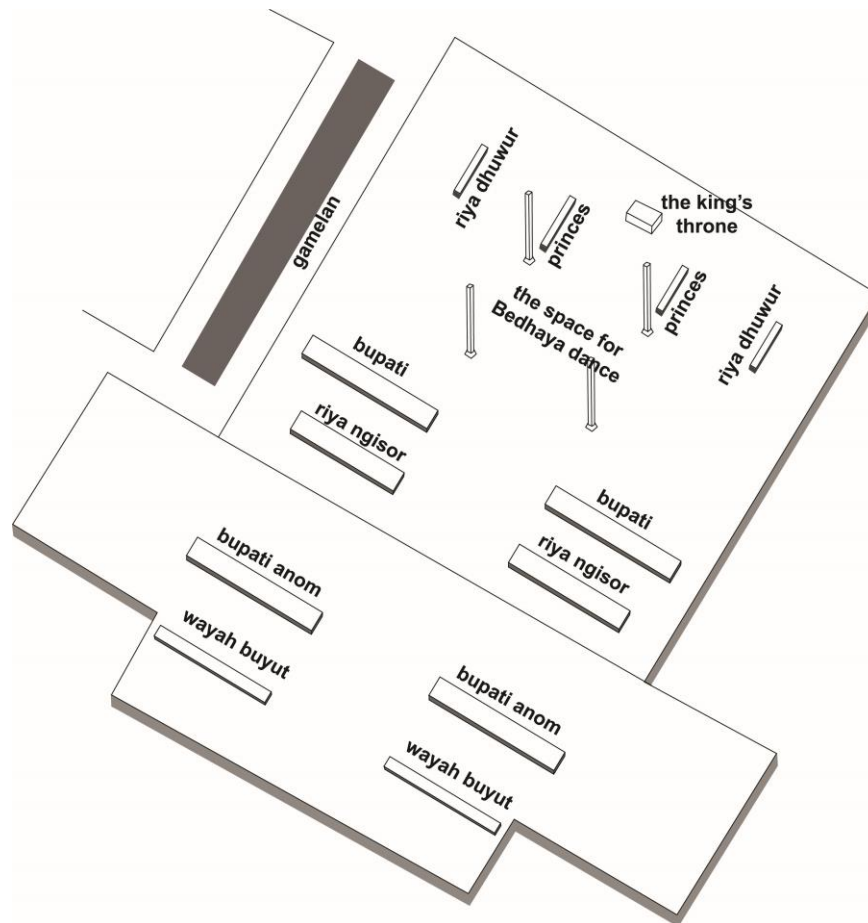


Figure 6.107. The spatial arrangement in Sasana Sewaka during the king's coronation anniversary. The Pamidhangan space is reserved for Bedhaya dance and the king's throne is pulled back to Penanggap area. The space around the throne is reserved for princes and promoted high officials. The other officials are seated in the eastern space of Sasana Sewaka. The lower officials are seated in Maligi, an adjacent building on the east side of Sasana Sewaka, along with the great grandson and grand daughters (wayah buyut) of the king. (Image derived from Anderson, 1967)

The abdi dalems of the kraton of Surakarta, who are visible in Kedhaton, also have a particular manner but not as strict as that of the kraton of Yogyakarta. In the kraton of Surakarta, the way the abdi dalems walk, stand and sit do not catch much attention. This might be because of the number of them which are visible to tourists are not so many, they are not in uniforms and they could sit on benches or one of the buildings, not crosslegged. There is one posture repeated by both royal family and abdi dalems that is visible during everyday activities, which is sembah. This posture which is about respect to the supernatural forces believed to exist around them is performed everytime they enter buildings or put some offerings. During Thursday and Friday Kliwon, abdi dalems in uniforms perform the perfect manner just like that

of the kraton of Yogyakarta, by sitting crosslegged, walk in a particular way and sembah. On any other day those manners, except sembah, can only be seen when they are with the royal family, even though it is very rare for a tourist to see this interaction. The most likely time for a tourist to see interaction between the royal family and abdi dalems, in everyday activity, is in Nguntarasana which is usually when one abdi dalem creeps in to Nguntarasana to bring food and drink for the royal family²²⁷.

During special occasion, however, the situation is different. Anderson in his account on the anniversary of the king's coronation, also shows the hierarchy through the manner of people during that occasion in which people have to crouch when passing in Sasana Sewaka when the king is seated on his throne, perform sembah to the king, and carefully try not to turn or show their backs to the king²²⁸.

Just like that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, the king is never visible during the everyday activities of the kraton. However, the manner of squatting when passing at the front of other people cannot be seen in the kraton of Surakarta, unlike that of the kraton of Yogyakarta, which is probably because the interaction between abdi dalems is less visible due to the low number of their activities in the tourist area. There is also only one art performance visible by tourists, except for the addition of Bedhaya practice that takes places in Sasana Sewaka every Thursday Wage, which is not announced publicly, unlike that of the kraton of Yogyakarta.

²²⁷ The appearance of the royal family which is in ordinary clothes also makes it difficult for common people to identify them as the royal family.

²²⁸ There is an exception for the *jongos* or the waiters, who dress up in the Western way and behave in a Western manner, which is without crouching, nor is sembah (Anderson, 1967, p. 69).



Figure 6.108. The map of the behaviour of the people in the area of the kraton of Surakarta.

From the discussion above, we can see that, based on the spatial experience through the free accessed and tourist accessed spaces of the kraton of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, the power structure embodied in the kraton of Yogyakarta is more patterned, and the behaviour of the people inside the kraton is arranged more strictly. However, the power structure of those of the kraton of Surakarta is less patterned and the behaviour and manners of the people are not arranged as strictly. They convey the hierarchy by relating themselves to the circles thus makes the circles hierarchical. This is a form of seduction by showing it to have a hierarchical order while at the same time it is a form of authority in using symbols that belongs to the kraton. The

kraton of Yogyakarta succeeds in seducing people that it has a hierarchical order while the kraton of Surakarta fails to seduce people that it has a hierarchical order. The tourist route of the kraton of Yogyakarta which is arranged to be going through the axis, in which the first entrance is in Pagelaran and the second entrance is in the Srimanganti gate at Kemandhungan courtyard, could still show the existence of an axis even when the route is separated into two. Meanwhile the tourist route of the kraton of Surakarta is also separated into two routes just like those of Yogyakarta; however, the second route is going around through Sidikara, to the east of Kedhaton. This makes the axis and the centre invisible. The tourist routes of the kraton of Yogyakarta highlight the importance of the centre to the periphery, to which the tourist routes of the kraton of Surakarta show no relationship. This centrality is also shown in the behaviour of the abdi dalems of the kraton of Yogyakarta in Kedhaton area if compared to those in Kasatriyan area to the east of Kedhaton. This could not be found in the kraton of Surakarta in which the abdi dalems in the Museum area and Kedhaton area behave in similar manner. The narrative about hierarchical circles and axis, then, is represented in material form in the kraton of Yogyakarta while in the kraton of Surakarta it remains as a narrative.

Moreover, the invisibility of the royal family during everyday activity of the kraton of Yogyakarta also gives more effect than the visibility of the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta in the periphery of Nguntarasana in their everyday clothes and everyday business. By arranging their visibility only during particular occasions, in a particular manner, with particular attributes and putting the everyday activities backstage, the kraton of Yogyakarta shows the importance of the royal family over the common people. In contrast, the visibility of the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta in everyday activities and everyday attributes, while occupying a space at the periphery, does not show the existence of a power structure. Arranging visibility and invisibility is a form of coercion, while at the same time the attributes are forms of authority, as they symbolise the status of the royal family.

E. CONCLUSION

The issue of power in the scope of architecture in the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta has complex interconnected aspects. The colonial architectural debate, which acknowledged the architectural status of the Javanese

pendhapa, set a domination of the kraton upon other forms of architecture in Java. The writings on the Javanese house, *Kawruh Kalang*, also set a kraton domination in that in this book the order and hierarchy of Javanese architecture is reproduced in writing. This is followed by the books released by the Indonesian government which repeat those points mentioned in *Kawruh Kalang* to define the ‘traditional architecture’ of the Special Region of Yogyakarta and the province of Central Java, with an addition on the ornaments. There is also a narrative related to power which is the cosmological narrative which turns out to be invented during the 20th century in both kratons. Both of them contribute to the reproduction of power structure of each kraton. The other mode of reproduction, the silent ideology of the architecture at present shows that the kraton of Yogyakarta has its power structure confirmed not only through the hierarchical patterns of its architecture but also through the behaviour of the abdi dalems, and the art performances performed for tourists. This is also represented in the occasional ritual of the kraton by locating people and activities according to a particular hierarchy. The silent ideology of the kraton of Surakarta does not work as well as that of the kraton of Yogyakarta. The lack of hierarchical pattern in the architecture, the behaviour of the people and the lack of other visible supporting arts make a weaker process of reproduction. The hierarchy can be seen more obviously only during occasional rituals, which cannot be seen during the everyday life of the kraton of Surakarta.

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CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Yogyakarta and Surakarta as two cities with many similarities including similar history, similar culture and similar basic layout, have significant differences in the power levels of the royal courts or kratons located in each of them. I have tried to see how this difference in power level has impact in built environment. Both cities have their own cosmological narrative to legitimise the kraton, which is widely accepted but their approach is essentialist in nature. By using Bourdieu's account on agency/structure and Dovey's account on the forms of 'power over', I tried to interpret the city and the architecture of the kraton. This means that the city and architecture are seen in terms of spatial experience.

Both kratons in both cities use the landscape around them to legitimise themselves. By choosing their location in between volcanoes and rivers of the island of Java, they not only made sure the sites were sufficient for agrarian and trade but also that the location can be used to support their legitimacy. The landscape around them is used in cosmological narrative, placing the king as the balancing force. This narrative is supported by regular rituals to the loci of natural forces included in the narrative. Even though the present situation is much different than before, the narrative ceases to exist and regular rituals to those natural features are still conducted by both kratons.

The similar cosmological narrative can also be found in the urban context. The narrative consists of hierarchical circles and axis. Yogyakarta has its circles partly imaginary except the ones close to the kraton area. However, the hierarchy is not clear as there is no obvious pattern to suggest such a hierarchy. The axis of Yogyakarta is very clear in the form of a royal road stretching northward for two kilometres to Tugu Jogja and beyond. It also goes southward in the form of straight road network stretching beyond the city boundary. Meanwhile the circles of Surakarta are clearer, bearing the symbols of the kraton as a means of authority, but just like the ones of Yogyakarta, they have no clear pattern to suggest hierarchy. The axis of Surakarta is mainly imaginary. The north-south axis is very short and weak, and it does not support the city's connectivity to other cities. This makes the north

south axis of low importance to the city. The most dominant road in the city is the east-west oriented Slamet Riyadi, whose importance is increased by the recent development, particularly the Slamet Riyadi statue, a new landmark close to the end of the road in Gladhag area. This statue is much bigger than the kraton of Surakarta's Tugu Pemandangan and it dominates the area. The domination of the east-west oriented Slamet Riyadi Road and the new landmark significantly weaken the visibility of the kraton. In addition to that, the road is also the main road of the city, thus it acts as the centre.

While in both places the hierarchical circles are hardly grasped through experience, because of the lack of pattern, there is a significant difference in the axes of both cities. The axes in both cities not only serve the 'cosmological order' which is a form of seduction if the order could be grasped by experience, but also a form of coercion in which they highlights the existence of the kraton and act as the centre of the city. The strong axis of Yogyakarta, then, makes sure of the visibility of the kraton, while the weak axis of Surakarta makes the kraton invisible.

The further analysis of spatial activations shows that the north south axis of Yogyakarta dominates the city in that it is the main space for economic, cultural and political activities. Some part of the kraton is sometimes included in those activities, marking the domination of the kraton, along with the involvement of the kraton in most of those activities. The centrality of the axis, the visibility of the kraton and the involvement of the kraton in the activities are means of 'power over' in the form of coercion and authority. As the axis is strong and could be grasped through experience, it also forms a seduction of a cosmological order.

The spatial activation of Surakarta shows the domination of the east-west oriented Slamet Riyadi Road. Most activities are conducted in this space. The domination of this road not only makes the north south axis of the kraton weak but also makes the kraton's existence invisible. This also made worse by the development of the city that put the area around kraton as the main economic zone: there are three regional scaled trade centres around the kraton. This makes the kraton even more invisible and the kraton is no longer the main destination in the area. Moreover, the kraton of Surakarta is only involved in activities located in the kraton area. The kraton is not involved in other activities as they do not have any role in

government, unlike the kraton of Yogyakarta.

In the architectural context, there are forms of power over reproduction in the forms of book and discourse. The first book on Javanese architecture (Kawruh Kalang) was produced by the kraton of Surakarta for the Dutch exhibition in 19th century. All books about Javanese architecture afterwards based themselves on this book. The complexity of the Javanese architecture, as described in this book, makes it almost impossible for modern people to build it, which then makes it exclusive to the kraton. The next governmental project on the inventory of culture also placed the kraton as the model of Javanese architecture. The debate on Javanese architecture by Dutch architects has made the pendhapa of the kraton gain the status of architecture therefore pendhapa could be used as the starting point of designing modern architecture. This makes pendhapa to have higher status than other types of Javanese architecture in architectural discourse even though the kraton did not show any interest to this.

There are cosmological narratives in the context of the architecture of the kratons. The kraton of Yogyakarta has three unrelated narratives each of which is related to the Javanese concept of power. While this concept shows a relation between the people, the king and the Divine, the narratives could hardly be grasped through experience. Instead, the architecture of the kraton could communicate the power structure through its hierarchical pattern which again matches the hierarchical circles and axes. The experience through public access to the architecture of the kraton of Yogyakarta shows that there are patterns in the architecture, the arts and the behaviour of the people that suggest hierarchy. This shows the use of seduction in showing the cosmological order, while also showing authority through its symbols. It also shows the centrality of the north south axis, suggesting the existence of a cosmological order as a form of seduction. While the existence of the Beteng wall is still used to control the people living in the area, the experience through public access to the architecture of the kraton of Surakarta shows that there is not enough pattern to show hierarchy whether in architecture, arts and behaviour of the people in it. The tourist route that goes way round also makes it difficult to grasp the existence of the axis. While there are symbols of authority just like that of Yogyakarta, these are not supported by hierarchical patterns of architecture, arts and behaviour;

therefore there is no seduction to suggest the existence of a cosmological order.

To have an understanding of the role of landscape, the city and architecture for both kratons to have different power levels, despite their similarities as mentioned in Chapter 1, we need to put the silent ideology found in the landscape, urban and architectural context into a table as follows.

| | Yogyakarta | Surakarta |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Landscape | Natural features visible, seduction. | Natural features visible, seduction. |
| | Regular rituals, authority. | Regular rituals, authority. |
| Urban context | No pattern on hierarchy | No pattern on hierarchy |
| | The city gates have no role and are neglected. | The city gates convey the symbols of the kraton, authority. |
| | The Beteng has no role in controlling the people. | The Baluwarti is still used as force to control the activity of the people, force. |
| | Visibility and domination of the kraton in the area, coercion. | Invisibility of the kraton in the area due to the existence of regional scaled trade centres. |
| | Centrality of the axes, coercion. | Weak axes, not the centre of the city. |
| | Visible axes, seduction. | Invisible axes. |
| | Visibility of the kraton, coercion. | The kraton is invisible. |
| | The involvement of the kraton in the city activities, authority and coercion. | The kraton is never involved in the city activities. |
| Architecture | Cosmological narratives which could not be grasped through experience. | Cosmological narratives which could not be grasped through experience. |
| | The existence of a pattern suggesting hierarchy, seduction. | Not enough pattern to suggest hierarchy. |
| | The centrality of the axis, seduction. | The axis is hardly visible. |
| | Symbols of authority. | Symbols of authority. |

Table 7.1. The table of comparison between Yogyakarta and Surakarta in the landscape, urban context and architectural context. The existence of the forms of 'power over' is shown in grey.

From table 7.1 we could see that while both Yogyakarta and Surakarta have similarity in the context of landscape, they have significant differences in urban and architectural contexts. Both of them use natural features which are visible, thus suggesting the existence of an order supported by regular rituals as forms of seduction and authority. In an urban context, while Yogyakarta neglects the role of city gates and Beteng to show its power, the visibility and centrality of the kraton and

its axis show the use of coercion and seduction. The involvement of the kraton in the urban activities shows the use of authority and coercion. In a similar context, while Surakarta has city gates that convey the symbols of authority of the kraton and use the Beteng wall to control the people by force, it lacks other forms of reproduction of domination. The kraton and the axis are invisible and the kraton is never involved in the urban activities. In the architectural context, while both the kraton of Yogyakarta and the kraton of Surakarta have symbols of authority in their architecture, the kraton of Yogyakarta has patterns to suggest hierarchy and centrality of the axis unlike the kraton of Surakarta, which fails to show enough patterns to suggest hierarchy and centrality. From table 7.1 we could see that the use of the forms of power over in Yogyakarta supports the reproduction of domination of the kraton of Yogyakarta, while that of Surakarta is not strong enough to reproduce the kraton's domination.

We need to remember that, while those forms mentioned above are means of reproduction of power structure, they are also the results of previous reproductions or the 'accumulation of history' as Bourdieu put it. While this research finds that there are significant differences in the use of power in the built environment between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, the scope of it is limited to the present situation. This research still leaves an empty space for more research in different time periods.

GLOSSARY

- Abdi dalem* : royal courtier
- Adatrechtbundel*: a Dutch term for ‘Adat Law Volumes’.
- Adiluhung* : considered to have a high value.
- Ageng* : big.
- Akil baligh* : a phase when a person is considered adult.
- Alit* : small.
- Alun-alun* : a square located in the front or rear part of the kraton.
- Alus* : subtlety, refined, smoothness, control.
- Arum* : fragrant.
- Baluwarti /Beteng*: etymologically it means ‘fort’. In this case, it refers to the wall surrounding the settlement around the kraton.
- Bedhaya* : a Javanese dance considered to be of high value. It is only performed by virgins of particular status.
- Bekel* : a kraton official, usually from among the nobles, whose job is to administer tax and security in one small unit of the lungguh land in Negaragung area.
- Blangkon* : a Javanese head cap made of batik cloth. Yogyakarta and Surakarta have their own style on this cap.
- Brewok* : beard.
- Brunjung* : part of the Javanese roof which is supported by the main saka gurus.
- Bupati* : a position to rule part of the mancanegara area, with a territorial unit called *kabupaten*.
- Cacah* : the number of the land’s shareholders.
- Candi* : Hindu-Buddhist temple, which is built of stones.
- Candra sengkala*: a chronogram to represent year in lunar calendar.
- Canthing* : a tool for putting wax on to a cloth in batik making.
- Ceblokan* : a kind of foundation, made by putting in the posts into the ground until they get to the hard soil.
- Daerah tingkat II*: district.
- Dalem* : a house, usually of the people of high hierarchy.
- Dhaup Ageng* : royal wedding.
- Disanjung-sanjung*: flattery.
- Durga* : A Hindu goddess.
- Gandhok* : an additional space at the sides and rear of Javanese house.
- Garebeg* : a kraton ritual which includes the use of gunungan to be distributed to common people.
- Gelar* : title.
- Gouvernement*: a territorial unit under Dutch occupation, which has similar level as a province.
- Gunungan* : a big mound of food, usually of vegetables and rice cakes. It is distributed during Garebeg ritual.
- Habluminallah*: the relationship between man and Allah.
- Habluminannaas*: the relationship between man and others.
- Hamengku Buwana*: the royal title of the king of Yogyakarta.
- Jagad Walikan*: the world of upside down.
- Jalan* : street, road, path.

Jihad : holy war.
Kabupaten : a unit of administration smaller than a province, which is ruled by a bupati.
Kalifatullah : representative of Allah on earth.
Kasar : straightforward, clumsy, male, uncultured, mischief, and is considered to be of low value.
Kearifan lokal : local wisdom.
Kecamatan : a unit of administration smaller than a kabupaten, which is ruled by a camat.
Kedhaton : the central courtyard of the kraton.
Keistimewaan : Speciality.
Kekancingan : a lease certificate released by the kraton of Yogyakarta.
Kelurahan or *desa*: village.
Kemagangan : Southern Srimanganti courtyard.
Kemandhungan: the second courtyard from Kedhaton.
Kempel : to solidify.
Kepatihan : the house of Patih.
Kirab Pusaka : the parade of the kraton's heirlooms.
Kirab : parade.
Kraton : Javanese royal court. It also refers to the palace as well.
Labuhan : the name of ritual conducted in sea or mountain which includes giving or wasting things.
Lampah Bisu : walking in silence.
Lungguh : the land that is being lent to common people to work on. Some nobles are appointed to organise and levy taxes from those people.
Lurik : a kind of Javanese cloth considered to be of low value. It is usually woven cloth with stripy pattern.
Magang : apprenticeship.
Mahesa Lawung: an annual ritual conducted by the kraton of Surakarta in Krendhawahana forest.
Mancanegara : an area beyond Negaragung in the kraton's territorial division.
Mandhung : to collect or to stop.
Manguntur : raised seat.
Manunggaling kawula lan gusti: the unity of the lord and his subjects.
Margaraja : royal street/road.
Mulud : a Javanese term for Islamic month of Rabiul Awal, the month of the birthday of Muhammad the Prophet.
Negara : the area around the kraton compound in the kraton's territorial division.
Negaragung : the area beyond the Negara in the kraton's territorial division.
Nengsemake : attractive.
Ngalap berkah: gaining the blessing (from the king).
Ngandhung : pregnant.
Ngoko : a form of language used by the people of low status. It is the opposite of the *alus* form.
Niti : to investigate.
Omah : house. This term is used for common people. The other term with higher hierarchy is 'dalem'.

Pacahosan : small building for the abdi dalem to perform caos.

Paku Buwana : the royal title of the king of the kraton of Surakarta.

Pamidhangan : the space under the brunjung, or the space between the saka gurus.

Panca : five.

Pasaran : a system of Javanese days which include Pahing, Pon, Wage Kliwon and Legi.

Pathok Negara: the name of the kraton-owned mosques located around the city of Yogyakarta.

Patih : a kraton official whose position is similar to prime minister. He is responsible for governing the kraton's territory outside of the palace.

Pelog : one Javanese tuning system for gamelan instruments.

Penanggap : the second layer of spatial arrangement of Javanese building.

Pendhapa : an open pavilion located in the front part of Javanese house.

Penetapan : (automatic) appointment of the king to be governor.

Peningrat : the fourth layer of spatial arrangement of Javanese building. This layer is very rare.

Penitih : the third layer of spatial arrangement of Javanese building.

Pesta Rakyat : People's party.

Pisowanan: an event when the subjects or local leaders come to see the king in the kraton.

Prabayeksa, Prabasuyasa: the name of the main dalem of the whole kraton. It is the most sacred part of the kraton and is used for storing the kraton's heirlooms.

Pringgitan : the space located between pendhapa and dalem.

Priyayi : a well-born Javanese holding a high government office.

Puncak kebudayaan Indonesia: the cultural peaks of Indonesia.

Ratu Kidul : The Queen of the South.

Reformasi : Reformation.

RTRW : Rencana Tata Ruang dan Wilayah is a governmental document on urban planning.

Rukun tetangga: neighbourhood.

Rukun warga : ward.

Saka guru : the main posts of Javanese buildings, located at the centre of a building.

Samir : a yellow long cloth to be worn by draping it on the neck. This cloth is used as a sign for the abdi dalems of the kraton of Surakarta or visiting guests who already had approval from the kraton.

Sangkan paraning dumadi: a Javanese concept about the unity of man and God.

Sarwa becik : good, beautiful and pleasant in every way.

Sekaten : an annual ritual of a play of a sacred gamelan set for a whole month in the Great Mosque. However people usually use the term 'Sekaten' to refer to the bazaar that takes place in the north alun-alun accompanying the gamelan play.

Sembah : a gesture of respect.

Sengkalan memet: chronogram to represent year.

Senthong tengah: the middle of the three senthongs of Javanese house.

Serambi : verandah.

Serat palilah : lease certificate released by the kraton of Surakarta.

Sidang Rakyat : People's assembly.

Sinom : the young fuzzy leaves of tamarind trees, also means the short hair

of a girl's forehead that is considered to be a mark of beauty.

Sitihinggil : the name of the third courtyard after Kedhaton. There are two Sitihinggil courtyards, which are in the north and south sides of the Kedhaton.

Slendro : one Javanese tuning system for gamelan instruments.

Srimanganti : the name of the first courtyard after Kedhaton.

Srimpi : a name of Javanese dance which is lower in status than Bedhaya.

Sura : the month of Javanese New Year. It is the Javanese name of Islamic month Muharram.

Surya sengkala: a chronogram to represent the year in Gregorian calendar.

Swapraja : autonomous area.

Syawalan : a celebration of Eid.

Tanah perdikan: a tax-free land granted by the king to a royal official.

Tangkeben : a command to close our senses when dying.

Tapa pepe : a kind of meditation by abdi dalems or commoners by sitting on the ground between two banyan trees of the Northern Alun-alun in white clothes. The aim of this meditation is to seek attention of the king to the case they bring.

Titik nol : point zero.

Tugu : Obelisk.

Tumpang sari : a construction of stacked beams creating an inverted pyramid over the saka guru configuration to support the roof.

Tumpeng : a mound of rice accompanied by side dishes.

Umpak : a stone functioning as a column base.

Wani : brave.

Wayang puppet: Wayang performed by using puppets.

Wayang Wong : Wayang performed by people.

Wiji : seed.

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APPENDIX

1. Communication by email with GKR Bendara (Nurastuti Wijareni), the youngest daughter of the king Hamengkubuwana X.

Pada 14 Mei 2013 18.23, <ofita92@yahoo.com> menulis:

Dear Reni, Apa Kabar? Semoga sehat dan semua urusan lancar ya. Ren, ini aku mau tanya, pas kamu nikah kan dikirab dari kraton ke Kepatihan ya, kalau mbak-mbakmu yang lain dikirab juga kah? Kalau dikirab, apa Reni masih ingat lewat mana saja? Ini mau untuk menganalisis space activation dalam konteks kota.

Maturnuwun,

Ofita

nurastuti wijareni
To Me
May 16, 2013
Dear Bu Ofita,

Yg di kirab itu hanya anak pertama bu. itu privilege the first born. Saya nga inget lewat mananya tp keliling Beteng Kraton.

Kakak saya yg lain tidak. Saya bukan di kirab bu, tapi hanya di hantarkan dr rmh menuju ke tempat resepsi pernikahan. Tadi nya mo pake mobil aja tapi untuk menarik pariwisata jadi kami merencanakan untuk menggunakan kereta kuda. Tapi sejarahnya dulu respsi slalu di selenggarakan oleh Patih di kepatihan n pasangan pengantinnya di tandu. tp tandu nya kekecilan buat ak n ubay.

Maka mba pembayun itu keretanya keluar dari pintu gerbang pagelaran n melintas di tengah alun2, kalau saya hanya iring2an penganten aja jd lewat samping.

Smoga helpful.
Reni

2. Communication with Titis Pitana, who works as the consultant of the kraton of Surakarta, by Facebook message on 21st and 25th August 2013.

21/08/2013 13:34

Ofita Purwani

Assalamualaikum wr.wb., Pak Titis Pak Titis, saya mau tanya. Kraton kalau mau mbangun itu materialnya ambil dari mana ya? saya ingat dulu pak Titis pernah bilang tapi saya yang lupa. Maturnuwun,

Ofita

21/08/2013 16:41

Titis Srimuda Pitana

Kayu jati dari hutan Donoloyo.

25/08/2013 01:11

Ofita Purwani

Pak, nambah lagi tanya nya Pemilihan kayunya apa masih pakai standard seperti yang di kawruh kalang gitu Pak? Atau sudah berubah? Maturnuwun.

25/08/2013 13:50

Titis Srimuda Pitana

Tetep pakai kawruh kalang bu

3. Communication with Revianto Budi Santosa, a member of the Cultural Board of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, also a lecturer on architecture in Universitas Islam Indonesia by Facebook message on 21st August 2013.

Ofita Purwani

Assalamualaikum wr.wb., Pak Revi, saya mau tanya ini. Kraton Jogja itu kalau mbangun materialnya (kayu jati) diambil dari mana ya? apa ada aturan tertentu untuk itu? Maturnuwun, Salam,

Ofita

21/08/2013 21:37

Revianto Budi Santosa

tidak ada tempat khusus seperti Danalaya buat Kraton Surakarta, tapi memang sekarang sudah langka sekali kayu jati yang kualitas dan dimensinya memadai. Kadang Randublatung atau hutan lainnya tak apa.

4. Interview with KGPH Puger (Gusti Puger), a member of the royal family of the kraton of Surakarta, 28th December 2010 12.00pm – 01.00 pm.

O: ya mau tanya tentang bangunannya terus eeee..intinya saya intinya malah lebih ke arah bangunan mana yang hanya diperuntukkan untuk misalnya keluarga keraton, bangunan mana yang abdi dalem boleh masuk

P: waaa..

O:iyaa..

P: saya yang ee..di ..di kraton ini kan ya variasi, mulai dari apa namanya perkantoran, terus..apa namanya ..untuk upacara untuk guwak dalam..nah ini kan di kedatonnya ini ada sekarang ini Di dalam..dulu kan nyampe luar-luar. Ini yang di dalam juga ada kantor,ada tempat upacara, lalu ada tempat keluarga tempat keluarga itu sebenarnya umum juga boleh masuk, cuman umum yang bagaimana, umum yang abdi dalem, adsi dalem yang abdi dalemnya keluarga..abdi dalemnya keputren itu kan biasanya di dekat putri putri karena itu kan putri-putri..putri raja. Keputren ini ada perkantoran putri seperti carik,barat.. khususnya untuk me,. mewakili kegiatan putri itu kan ada birokrasinya sendiri yang dipimpin oleh keputren itu kepala keputrian..terus eeee..tamu bisa masuk ke sana tapi tamu yang khusus , tamu yang diijinkan masuk kalau nggak ya. tamu.. tamu keluarga pun keluarga yang keluarga, jadi ada tunggal kalau yang umum ya biasanya tunggu di luar. Abdi sentono ada kekerabatan tu Dulu memang masuk misalkan khusus ya..

O: kalau seperti Prabasuyasa itu yang?

P: itu beda lagi. Itu upacara ritual ya bertugas. Yang di..Abdi dalem yang tugas. Sentono, abdi dalem nggih..ya..itu

O: ada cara-cara khusus kaya ga kalau orang itu mau masuk ke proba suyoso misalnya abdi dalemnya itu?

P: yaa..memang ada ya pakaian adat

O: kalau yang dimaksud pakaian adat itu?

P: yaa.. kejawen

O: kejawen? Ooh

P: batiknya tertentu ga?

P: ya..yang bukan lereng.. harus mudah dii..

O: trus ada cara tertentu, misalnya kalau saya lihat banyak yang pakai sembah itu

P: iyaa..

O: iya?

P: jadi ya aturan hormat masuk di situ

O: ohh..aturan hormat seperti kulownuwun gitu ya

P: di sini itu juga berhenti di sana aturan hormat tu ada..ada aturan

O: itu ada aturannya ada tempat-tempat hormat begitu

P: ya biasanya orang mau masuk di jalan..masuk ruang membuka pintu

O: berarti pintu-pintu itu ya..tempat masuk itu ya

P:iya..

O: kalau ini kan keraton itu kan berlapis-lapis ya..mulai dari yo sebelumnya luas satu jawa itu kan nah.. ini kalau kita lihat sekarang ke arah luar misalnya itu ada ga hirarki yang seperti itu?

P: ada sebetulnya dulu..jadi kalau kita..luar maksudnya dulu masa lalu?

O: ga kalau sekarang..

P: oh sekarang?ada jadi apa namanya ee kita ke tempat-tempat leluhur ya itu ya ee bisa di di..itu juga pakaian adat , mengenai pakai raja itu juga gitu, imogiri , ziarah itu juga gitu. Ini yang tahu persis bagaimana pengelolaan, tapi yang saya orang umum tu juga pakai, tapi ya tidak pakai persis seperti di bali

O: tapi tetep batiknya tertentu gitu?

P: iya yang bukan lereng

O: yang bukan lereng?kenapa ga boleh lereng?

P: lereng itu kan untuk keluarga

O: ooooh..oh gitu, berarti tetap dipasaran itu sebetulnya ada batik yang tidak boleh dipakai umum?

P: boleh..kalau di luar boleh

O: ooh kalau di luar boleh

P: boleh dia pakai lereng di luar boleh

O: hmmm..

P: bebas juga, tapi masih ada hirearki.seperti pegawai itu lho kamu pakai pegawai negeri pakai doreng boleh, ning mlebu ning anu pake doreng yo dicekel malahan makanya pakai ini apa kamu keluarga apa bukan, semua ditanya nanti mau keluarga,nganggo korpri yo okeh, tukang becak we nganggo korpri e ini perlu ada pengaturan, maka di sini itu kemarin kami juga komplain tentang tentang yang dipakai itu, tapi tidak diindahkan

O: agak susah ngatur itu ya..untuk identitas juga kalau yang ini daerah sekitar kemandungan itu kan terus akhirnya jadi jalan publik ya itu, nah itu apa keraton juga ikut ngatur daerah –daerah yang sekitar situ misalnya kaki lima yang sekitar situ keraton apa juga dimintai pendapat tentang itu

P: ya sebetulnya juga dulunya begitu, sekarang kan apa namanya eee..eee..dua-dua kerja jadi ada komunikasi sebetulnya tapi ga rutin ya..juga gitu, pengawasan juga SDM yang di.. perlu ditata, mencoba mengagendakan ketemu di mana yang terkait, ada banyak itu peguyuban pedagang,ada satpol pp, ada satlantas, ada dljr, ada dari bank, ada dari dinas pariwisata sendiri , trus dkp kita kumpulkan semua, diajak omong, sejauh mana menangani kebersihan dkp, trus semrawutnya pedagang satpol pp ya.. ya satlantas(O:iyaa..), dljar jalan rayanya gimana, traffiknya bagaimana peran hukum, parkir ya peraturan parkir(O:he.eh) lantas langsung ini kan baru perawatan (O:oooh) perawatan wayang (O:oooh) kan kita secara..secara..secara umum kan perawatan ---interrupted by a phone call---

O: eeee..balik lagi pak, heee (P:yaa..) tadi kan ada tempat-tempat yang ga semua orang itu boleh masuk, nah itu ada tandanya ga secara fisik itu atau hanya..hanya (P:yaaa) diberitahu?

P: kalau di sini untuk sebetulnya kalau di ada rambu-rambu ya (O:he.eh) itu nanti juga ada penjaga-penjaga yang memberitahu

O: diberitahu?

P: yak..

O: ooh..trus eeh..

P: woo dulu lebih ketat lagi masuk harus ninggal identitas ini di ktp keraton ada harus nunggu itu

O: ada ktp keraton?

P: iya..ada.. ada tanda
O: sekarang anu abdi dalem abdi dalem itu juga punya seperti tanda
P: punya ID card..
O: abdi dalem ini ada yang bagian khusus untuk berdiskusi, ada bagian khusus anu
P: macem-macem
O: ada berapa sekarang abdi dalemnya?
P: sekarang?
O: iya..
P: yaaa jumlahnya kalau yang sekitar seratusan
O: yang di dalem sini?
P: tapi jumlah untuk yang rolling itu ada..ada..limaratusan
O: ooh..ya banyak ya lima ratusan
P: limaratusan
O: kalau ada yang masih kecil seperti itu, biasanya..
--interrupted by Gusti Puger talking to some abdi dalem----
O: i ni tanemannya bisa diganti-ganti?
P: yo yang mati mati itu tak ambil dulu, baruu ini kan..
O: tapi tetep jenisnya..
P: iya,,karena kan apa namanya termasuk bari itu lho..(O:mmh..) itu.. (O:iya..) tapi juga ke kawasan ini mempunyai makna, jadi tempatnya tidak..tidak..boleh ringin tidak bisa ditaruh di sini gitu loh
O: kalau ringin itu ada aturannya di ditempatkan di mana itu ada?
P: ya ringin ini cuman ringin
O: lha kalau yang di dekat sumur itu..itu?
P: itu treh..
O: bukan ringin?
P: bukan.. sejenis..sejenis ringin tapi ee marganya beda ada treh..ada bringin, bringin itu kan..kalo yang beringin itu yang e daunnya terbalik gitu, kalo treh hitam treh putih bringin hitam bringin putih bringin itu yang daunnya kan apa namanya ya kebalik..
O: agak mbandingke yang di situ sama yang di alun-alun. Di Alun alun tu kan ya
P: ada bulet trus ya ee daunnya itu justru yang tebal tengahnya tu yang di atas kalo ringin kalo yang biasa itu kan tebal
O: ooh gitu
P: jadi kalo bangun di itu geligirnya yang di ringin itu yang tebal kalao yang bukan mesti yang tebal di sini.. tebal kan belakangnya? kalau ringin nggak, yang tebal yang ini..bedanya itu, nanti to ooo iki ringin oo iki dudu tau
P:-- talking to passing abdi dalem--
O: ini yang pertunjukan tari itu atau
P: buat nanti itu kan ada latihan tari
O: itu latihan atau pertunjukan?
P: latihan..
O: latihan..
P: kan bedhoyo ketawang itu latihannya 35 hari eh seratus hari
O: seratus hari?
P: seloso kliwon, 35 hari
O: itu bajunya juga harus tertentu?
P: iyaa pakaiannya pakaian adat
O: eee mbalik lagi ke yang tadi, itu kalau yang kawasan di misalnya di kemandungan itu yang terus ada penjual- penjual kaki lima, trus ada parkir dan sebagainya yang selama ini terjadi itu apa keraton sudah ikut juga buat merencanakan itu?
P: yak..
O: yang sekarang ini ada
P: yaa..sebenarnya kita baru mencoba untuk mengatur mereka tapi yang namanya orang diatur tu kadang-kadang ya ngono ra entuk anu anu laa ini ini kita harus hati-hati maka ee pengaturannya adalah pembinaan aja

O: bentuknya pembinaan itu?

P: yaa..nanti bisa kita ee..kita atur kalau yang..yang..dorong itu kita punya rencana untuk rolling, rolling jadi ya berhenti berapa itu, kita kasih waktu ee seperempat itu kita hitung sambil jalan

O: selama ini ga rolling?

P: nggak..karena mandeg di situ, harus rolling, harus nanti balik sini lagi tapi harus mubeng alun-alun, sampe situ trus, lha tapi kalau kita bangun kawasan ini bisa global, di mana manapun dia akan bisa rolling. Di sebelah selatan sana jadi memang kita usahakan rolling ini eee..menjaga kumuh itu ini harus..harus..ga boleh wong dodol rokok yo disurung mulih, ndak boleh, ki piye carane..ya sulit

O: iyaa..ini menyangkut orang

P: menyangkut orang..

O: itu yang kawasan alun-alun

P: ya?

O: kawasan alun-alun

P: gimana?

O: kawasan alun-alun yang tadi dibicarakan..

P: iyaa..termasuk yang di sini juga gitu..

O: oo..disini juga, yang diparkir ini kan seperti semuanya berhenti di situ

P: iya..mau jalan kemana juga sulit, karena kita penyebaran wisatanya juga masih bolak balik ke situ, belum bisa lari..kita atur di sana yo kasihan jembare semene itu jalan udah full itu dari depan ini harus ada manajemen khusus

O: ya terus ada dua pintu itu kadang orang bingung mau ke lewat museum itu bingung

P: ini harus, tapi udah disosialisasikan jadi ya misal mempromosikan jalur pusoko, nanti bisa milih di sana, milih ke mana itu, benda sini, perpustakaan sini, ekhem kalau pelajar ya sini, umum sini.. ada tempatnya sendiri. Perlu ada pemikiran khusus..

Girl: tadi anak-anak ISI ya pak ya?

P: ya..yang mana?

Girl: tadi yang ..

P: ya campuran

Girl: ooh..menjelang karawitan itu

P: iya

O: ooh..

P: kan magang di sini, memang banyak di sana juga magang, di.. museum juga ada, ikut guide, jadi di mana-mana bisa.

O: kalo magang seperti itu berapa lama biasanya?

P: biasanya satu semester

O: satu semester?6 bulan ya..kalau abdi dalem-abdi dalem itu eee..mereka hanya bekerja 100 persen di keraton atau kadang-kadang mereka punya sampingan?

P: yaa..eee..biasanya begitu..dia punya sampingan

O: berjualan misalnya..

P:punya..punya punya

O: terus rumah mereka juga di sekitar sini?atau ada yang..

P: hoooo..ada yang di baluwarti, ada di liar baluwarti ada yang di luar baluwarti agak jauh, ada..mbacem, karanganyar jaten

O: nggih..saya juga pengen tahu tentang yang di sana itu..yang di dekat polisi wanita itu, yang dua orang di kori apa itu he.eh..itu itu itu kan ada tempat yang dekat dekat itu, agak ke atas, biasanya tempat untuk gusti-gusti

P: hooo iya.. biasanya kan ee..santaii Nguntarasana itu kalo santai-santai untuk keluarga gitu

-----interrupted by a phone call---

P : Memang itu dalam penataan ini, memang anu.. memang berniat menata,kita berniat menata ya kita perlu ada semacam penataan khusus lha itu, ini yang perlu..perlu kita anukan.. perlu.. perlu kita jalankan jadi pokoknya ini ada suatu kecerdasan untuk bagaimana menata

O : Inggih..

P :..alun-alun nggih mulai kita anu..

O: Trus itu kan kalo daerah sekitar alun-alun trus ke skitar pamuranaan itu kan sudah mulai ada ditata itu ya pak ya, dibangun juga sampai detail, kayaknya DED nya udah ada dari tata kota itu.

P: Itu kan udah ada DED nya dulu, masalahnya yan g kemaren Cuma untuk ngundurke, ngundurke itu kan saya udah bilang kalo ni cuman untuk menyediakan lokasi kai lima dan segala macam kan repot.

O: Hu.um..

P: Jangan sampai menyediakan lagi untuk itu.. ini harus dijaga,

O: mm..

P: kalo ga spesifik kan dinggo wong dodol meneh kuwi mengko..,

O: ooo...

P: perlu nganu.. perlu.. perlu apa jenenge.. perlu bagaimana itu.. ya.. harus ada kerja sama lah..

O: iya..

P: harus ada kerjasama yang kita lakukan.. kalo ga ada kaki lima kita juga repot karena ini.. orang-orang juga perlu makan..kita juga main..kita bikin kafe-kafe pariwisata, makanya..

O: o, gitu..nggih-nggih..

P: cuman yang di Joglo-Joglo itu.. kafe pariwisata itu, tidak hasil kerajinan tok ya enggak... nah kita juga menggunakan mereka barangkali tidak, portable, dia harus portable, harus jalan, ga boleh manggrok lho.. pemikiran saya ke depan gitu..

P: itu kan tidak melarang mereka, ... tapi jalan lho.. jangan berhenti..

O: jalan.... Iya..kalo berhenti terus bawa bangku-bangku lagi? Hhehe..

P: berhenti.. iyyyaaa...berhenti itu bawa macem-macem.. ini yang.. makanya harus jalan, sekarang jalan yen ngladeni orang gimana , nah ini yang jadi permasalahannya, hrus kita pecahkan.. orang harus makan dimana.. ya harus pake bungkus, sate ya harus dibungkus..

O: ummm..

P: teknologi harus begitu.. orang biar makan , nanti pembungkus dibuang di.. teknologi.. kan banyak teknologi.. cuman apa ni cucuk dengan .. , saya kira bisa jadi itu.. lha itu ..harus pake.. apa namanya.. teknologi bagaimana.... kabeh ngedoli ning kono, sepuluh orang udah berapa jam itu..

O: iya..

P: bagaimana pemikiran itu ya.. bagi mana pemikiran ini harus kita anukan.. apa ini..disitu bukan kegiatan tempat untuk makan, harus kita sediakan, ada ini.. ada ini... semacemnya, memang disitu..tapi kan saya harus ada SDM yang disitu...

O: iya..

P: yang isah-isah sopo.. anu sopo.. lha ini tanggung jawab siapa , lha ini kan memang pemikiran ini, kalo memang disitu, memang nanti berjubel disitu, itu jelas.. untuk memikirkan mereka ini bagaimana supaya e... orang jualan ni tidak portable di jalan umum, harus portable ga boleh manggrok, kal manggrok .. kan repot suruh jalan,

O: sekarang sudah mulai manggrok soalnya?

P: Iya.. itu..

O: Hehehe..

P: Berarti mas satrio bikin itu, warung sebelah kantornya itu.. itu sebenarnya saya ga setuju itu..

O: o..

P: itu manggrok masalahnya.. biarpun sekalian nggo jogo kono ya.. beda permasalahannya, ini pemikiran yang sangat sederhana tapi juga mengawatirkan , bar kui resik trus ra eneng uwong, lha ini perlu di ..

O: kalo alun-alun utara itu sekarang di gunakan sebagai parkir itu ?

P: ya ini kan...

O: itu gapapa?

P: Ya kita resiko daripada membuka tahun 63 itu, kita membuka pariwisata, lha gimana klo orang datang pake bis, masa mau parkir di jalanan sana..

Iya, ho.oh.. hehe..

P: Lha ini paling ideal di sana, cuman bagaimana e.. alun-alun ini dijaga juga ini yang .. yang perlu kita pikirkan.

O: mm..

P: jadi kita ga bisa anulah.. maksud e.. ini apa yang perlu kita anukan.. benah2 i.. ini ya harus berani..

berani tidak ini mengadakan semacam revolusi .. harus ada perubahan .. ini harus, kalo tidak ya begitu terus..

O : umm..tpi kalo penjual makanan yang jalan itu, idernya sambil jalan itu malah ga masalah?

P : Saya malah setuju yang itu,

O : Tapi ada petugas yang harus mengawasi?

P : Pengawasan itu ada.. lha ini apa namanya.. cuman ini yang jalan seolah-olah Cuma yang jual makanan, ini kan makanan harus gimana, manggroknya berapa menit itu harus.. bisa manggrok tapi dalam misssng tertentu dan kondisi yang memenuhi standart itu , ini yang memang.. memang perlu pemikiran..

O : Disana juga daerahnya ramai sekali..

P : Iya..pasar klewer misssing

O : Kalo pengemis itu jadi masalah ga?

P : Iya masalah, iya udah dipikirkan .. pengemis itu kita kasih rambu.. lalu pengaman harus ada SDM kalo biaya udah cukup, .. nah nanti orang-orang pada tau, o, jam semene keraton ki trouble , saya kan anunya secara psikologisnya aja.. jam sekian kan rame macet,

O : Hehe.. kalo ga terjebak ya trauma..

P : Iya... itu lho..

O : Tapi lebih ke arah itu ya. Space nya.. lebih ke arah itu..kalo misalnya lebih seperti.. harga makanannya..

P : o... ndaaak.. ya terseraah.. ini harus ada building juga.. penting ini..

O : untuk area sebesar ini kadang-kadang pengunjung tidak tahu..

P : hm?

O : untuk area sbesar ini kadang-kadang pengunjung tidak tahu..kalo batasnya di sini..

P : ya.. ya itu... itu ... yang penting pembinaan ..

O : lha pak sekitar alun-alun dan sekitar ini ada bedanya ga penjualnya dengan yang diluar, misalnya yang di gapura gladag itu??

P : Apanya?

O : Penjualnya.

P : Artinya?

Sama saja.. ya.. dari fisiknya.. atau orangnya.. gitu.. atu orangnya bisa dari manapun bisa julaln disitu?

P : Yaaa... saya kira bisa..

O : Bisa..

P : Cuman yang paling penting bagaiman cara ngatur,

O : Hu.um

P : Bagaimana mengatur mereka..

O : Kalau alun-alun itu kan dipagar itu pertimbangannya apa itu yang dikaji?

P : Ya... itu kan untuk melindungi dari pedagang kakilima..

O : O, iya..

P : Tapi ternyata sekarang parkir kan merambah situ berasal dari daerah wisata, yang sistim parkirnya kalo di badan jalan, kalo di badan jalan, makan badan jalan akan mengganggu..

P : Bagaimana mengatur parkir ini ..

O : Inggih,

P : ini perlu ada pendalaman pemikiran ..

O : Dan ternyata di dalam alun-alun juga ada penjualnya sekarang,

P : Ya itu.. yang di tengah itu, ini sebetulnya kan .. um... apa namanya.. harus ada penegasan, pemantauan,

O : Kalo ga diatur trus ini.. hehe.. liar semua..

O : Itu masih ada ritual yang menggunakan alun-alun ga itu? Upacara ..masih ada yang menggunakan itu ga?

P : Ya aslinya ada, upacara wisata untuk menampilkan kegiatan kerajaan itu masih ada... ini yang harus kita lakukan..

O : Tapi sudah, karena sudah ada keputusan mendiknas ya.. kalo ini jadi wisata budaya itu

P : Ya.. sebenarnya sudah sejak tahun 63,

O : o.. udah sejak tahun 63..

P : sejak tahun 63 sekarang tinggal mencoba bagaimana memanager itu, bukan memutuskan, ini keliru ini.. mereka-mereka ini wis ra ngerti sejarah, ini lho..

O : ya.. sebetulnya sudah jadi ya..?

P : iya.. sejak tahun 63 kita membuka kok, diputuskan lagi itu.. lucu ini..

O : ya dalam untuk prakteknya aja menyumbangannya gimana..

P : lha yo..

O : hehee... bukan memutuskan lagi...

P : sekarang amburadulnya negara ini, sering tidak ada koordinasi..

P : ini jiwa-jiwa yang tidak digubris..kita menangkap orang yang tidak digubris, contohnya kita masih ada titipan..dinggo nyambut gawe, udah ada titipannya itu merusak itu..

P : artinya dia nggampangke sekarang mau galak gimana orang titipan, masa mau digalaki..

O : hehe.. merusak sistem..

P : makanya, merusak system, yang ditipti itu orang luar.. pejabatnya yang diganti, ya sudah.. nanti ke depan yowis.. berarti ga ada disiplin ketika dia sudah lari ketika yang memfasilitasi dia ini seolah tanpa ada e... apa namanya.. e...kedisiplinan pribadi , masuknya itu di luar kebenaran

O : iyyyaaa....

P : Dia nggampangke itu.. kalo yang bener-bener wong pinter itu kan .. beda, mulai awal dia sudah tertata untuk dirinya, nek yen wong titipan l .. njarah itu.. ora klebu kok, temen saya yang disini banyak, sodara saya yang disini jadi ini aja , itu masuk AKABRI titipan dari ayah saya, jadinya apa coba.. ra rumongso, jan-jane bodho, lha ditipti. Pengalaman saya begitu, lha disini juga gitu. Saya tu magang di sini sejak tahun 70 an mbak,

O : o..

P : luar biasa.. lha laennya itu pingin jadi pemimpin kabeh , ini kan ga karu-karuan ini..

O : angel.. merasa..

P : iya.. angel.. dikandani yo angel, rumongso pinter yo, rumongso ngerti padahal ra ngerti ,

O : hehe..

P : lha saya udah ngomong dalam hati.. saya udah ngomong bahwa ini peringatan sementara... Saya udah ngomong di koran, ning ra digubris..

O : hehehe..

P : tapi saya kan lebih tajem... kalo ga ya udah... remuk..saya.. saya juga tidak tahu..

O : trus ada kerja sama ga dengan misalnya seperti LSM itu..

P : ya.. tapi saya belum.. istilahnya LSM itu kan harus diajak omong

O : o.. gitu.. yang seperti SHC itu, SOLO HERITAGE COMMUNITY it ada hubungannya ga dengan ini?

P : Ya.. mestinya.. dia mengagendakan.. Cuma di dalam perjalanannya kan ora nganggep gitu lho, sejak dulu kan kaya orang ga ganggep, saya lebih suka nanti saya nggarap ini, kita tidak memberi tahu mereka, udah selesai.. itu kan udah, orang-orangnya siapa saya kan juga ga tau..

O : Itu pak, pak Darmono, Darmono itu..

P : Pak Darmono itu.. ga bagus kok ..secara.. memberikan wacananya juga tidak indah kok.. yang menanggapi saja kan keras.. kerasnya itu kan ngawur, ini belum siap katanya

-----interrupted because there is a conflict between kraton and Pak Darmono that P kept talking about Pak Darmono, out of my topic-----