SPACE AND MYTH

IN SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE, INDONESIA

A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF SPATIAL AND MYTHICAL QUALITIES OF THE PALACE AND HOW THEY RELATE TO THE POWER AND AUTHORITY OF THE KING/DOM

By

WAHYU DEWANTO
(Architect)

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE & URBAN DESIGN
UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA
LAUNCESTON

AUSTRALIA

NOVEMBER 1997
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY OF MATERIAL

This dissertation contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the dissertation.

Signed

Wahyu Dewanto

Launceston, 21 November 1997
STATEMENT OF
AUTHORITY OF ACCESS TO LOAN AND COPYING

The University of Tasmania and its approved officers and representatives are authorised to loan or make limited copies of this dissertation for general dispersal in the interests of academic research, subject to the Copyright act 1968.

Signed

Wahyu Dewanto

Launceston, 21 November 1997
abstract

Surakarta Kasunanan palace, in central Java, is an important part of the heritage of the Indonesian nation. It is regarded as a centre of Javanese culture. The architecture of the palace represents the complexity of Indonesian culture, where local tradition and external social, cultural and religious influences are manifested in the form and structure. Surakarta Kasunanan palace as a whole is considered a sacred place, gives a religious impression and reflects the characteristics of the kingdom. Within the palace, each component becomes a symbol of Javanese philosophy resulting from a combination of various beliefs, including indigenous Javanese animism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam.

This study attempts to investigate the spatial and mythical qualities of the palace and to analyse how they relate to the power and authority of the king as the centre of a Javanese Islamic kingdom. It is anticipated that this will provide an alternative approach in the study of traditional architecture, where emphasis is placed on the cultural, social and political aspects which influence the physical forms. A large portion of the work in this investigation has dealt with the arrangement of the palace. Yet, more emphasis has been placed on aspects of the relationship between people and their physical surroundings, than on the information about its physical character. In short, this research is an attempt to discover, through a variety of methods, the spiritual effects that the physical world exerts upon Javanese people. As the history of Surakarta Kasunanan palace has been the foundation of thinking about values and norms of Javanese culture in the last two centuries, so the history of its architecture has influenced the criteria that inform our view of Javanese architecture.

This thesis examines the Surakarta Kasunanan palace, its history, its evolution, its built form, the myth behind the palace, and the political and social backgrounds in
order to understand the role of the palace as a symbol of the power and authority of the
king, and as a model of traditional Javanese architecture. The general purpose of the
research is to address questions concerning aspects of Javanese architecture, particularly
the space, layout and form of the buildings, and how these related to users’ behaviour.
The investigation focuses on the Surakarta Kasunanan palace and the question how the
mythology surrounding it was used to reinforce the power and authority of the king.

*****
PREFACE

Surakarta Kasunanan palace, in the city commonly known as ‘Solo’, is a significant trace of the traditional heritage of Javanese culture. About 85 million people whose mother tongue is Javanese still admire and respect Surakarta Kasunanan palace as a manifestation of the glorious era of the Javanese kingdom in the past. Although Surakarta Kasunanan palace no longer has significant influence in a real political sense in Indonesia, it is still regarded as a centre of traditional art and culture.

The architecture of the palace represents the complexity of Indonesian culture, whose local traditions and external social, cultural and religious influences are manifested in its form and structure. The palace serves as a historical link between the past and the present in terms of cultural values and social changes, and is a symbol of the traditional power and authority of the king. Surakarta Kasunanan palace as a whole is considered a sacred place, gives a religious impression and reflects the characteristics of the kingdom. Within the palace, each component becomes a symbol of Javanese philosophy resulting from a combination of various beliefs, including indigenous Javanese animism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam.

As a Javanese architect, I believe that it is my responsibility to understand more about Javanese culture, and the roots of its architecture. Much of the architecture of Java is obscure and much is probably unknown. Some research has been done on the architecture of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, including its structure, types, style, materials and decorative elements. One of the studies on Surakarta Kasunanan palace was carried out by Timothy Earl Behrend (1982), who successfully explored the symbolic concepts of the palace. It is probably the most thorough study on the abstract concepts of the palace to date. However, no research has been conducted from an architectural point of view on the relationship between the layout and architectural design.
of the palace and the political authority of the kingdom. This study attempts to analyse the spatial and mythical qualities of the palace and to investigate how they relate to the power and authority of the king as the centre of a Javanese Islamic kingdom. It is anticipated that this will provide an alternative approach in the study of traditional architecture, where emphasis is placed on the cultural, social and political aspects which influence the physical forms.

This dissertation examines the Surakarta Kasunanan palace, its history, its evolution, its built form, the myths behind the palace, and the political and social background, in order to understand the role of the palace as a symbol of the power and authority of the king. It is expected that this study will provide a different perspective, and add a new dimension, to the study of Javanese culture and Indonesian architecture. It is one way of utilising a specific knowledge of Javanese architecture in order to recollect rootedness in a tradition. Through the study of mythic realms in Javanese architecture a contribution is able to be given to the sensitivity and awareness of ‘mythic power’ for the architects in their modern design process.

The purpose of this research is to address questions concerning specific aspects of Javanese architecture. The questions focus particularly on the space, layout and form of the buildings, and also incorporate the pattern of users’ behaviour, ritual and the myth behind these elements and their connection with the power and authority of the king. How did the spatial form of the palace complex affect the power and authority of the king?

This study examines the palace in detail in order to reveal the architectural concepts that lie behind this most important Javanese building complex begun in the eighteenth century. In order to complete this study, it was necessary to undertake studies in other connected fields such as history, sociology, and anthropology to gain an understanding of Surakarta Kasunanan palace and its culture.

I was raised in Surakarta, and gained my degree (*Ingenieur*) in architecture from Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta. As a Javanese person, I inevitably have been
influenced by the culture of Java, including the mythology and beliefs common to all Javanese. As a scholar, by doing this research, I realised that I had to approach the subject objectively in order to achieve the best possible results.

During my study, I have largely confined myself to Western sources available in Australia, although some archival documents from Indonesia have been used to supply details. Maps and plans used in this study were obtained during field research and from the information from other institutions, especially the study of *Studi Pengembangan Kawasan Wisata Budaya Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta*, by the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication; Directorate General of Tourism, and with the cooperation of the Technical Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, 1992. In the middle of my study, I went to Holland to obtain some detailed information. Many monographs and old plans from Leiden have provided detailed information for this research. Much of the data used in this research is found in many books and has become common knowledge, especially for Javanese people. For that reason, some of the data found in this dissertation may not be credited to a specific author or book.

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters.

The first chapter describes the background of the chosen case, sets the objectives of the research, formulates the questions, hypothesis, outline, and methodology of the research. The second chapter contains a discussion of Javanese culture and social structure in the past. It describes religion and the concept of life of Javanese people. Chapter three examines the history of the establishment of the palace and external influences -- Chinese, Indian, Islamic and European -- which played an important role in colouring the development of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The fourth chapter describes the physical aspects of the palace; the spatial arrangement and open spaces within the complex. The underlying concept of the palace’s arrangement is essential to be unfolded here because the physical layout of the palace is the main object to be examined.

The fifth chapter deals with the position of the king; both as a political and spiritual leader. It examines how the Javanese people treated their kings and how the
kings exerted their power over the people. The sixth chapter describes the concept and theories used in the palace’s development, and examines how Javanese belief is reflected in the architectural design. Mythology is one of the most important aspects examined here, because it played an important role in developing the power and authority of the king. This mythology relates to specific places in the palace complex and in the country. The seventh chapter contains the architectural analysis of the arrangement of space in Surakarta Kasunanan palace. It investigates how mythology is attached to some special places, and how space is used in the palace. It further contains a comparison of the layout of the palace and the layout of Javanese traditional houses. The last chapter presents the findings of the research.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have incurred many debts during my study and in the course of preparing this dissertation. It is not possible for me to ever repay most of them, but I wish here at least to acknowledge and record them. I cannot list all the names in this limited space, I apologise for those whose names are not mentioned and who have actually been involved in my research.

First of all, I would like to thank both the University of Tasmania, Australia and Mercu Buana University, Jakarta, Indonesia who gave me the opportunity and provided scholarships including all the facilities during my study. Special thanks to Professor Harun Zain S.E. and Ir. Suharyadi M.Sc., from Mercu Buana University who supported my study leave and gave endless encouragement.

On the academic side, I am indebted to an embarrassingly large group of individuals, only a few of whom can be mentioned here. My greatest debts are to my supervisor Associate Professor Krzysztof Bieda, and Dr Jian Fei Zhu, associate supervisor, who supervised my work on the dissertation from which this thesis has grown. They have devoted enormous amounts of time to counselling, questioning, and encouraging me, and to criticising early drafts of the thesis. Their comments and discussion concerning every aspect of the initial draft and subsequent revisions were invaluable. Their contrasting viewpoints never ceased to provoke me to develop and clarify my own thoughts on my work. They certainly deserve a good deal of the credit for whatever virtues it may have.

I am especially indebted to the dean, Professor John Webster and the Head of the Department of Architecture & Urban Design, Associate Professor Peter Doe and also the former Head of the Department, Andras Kelly, who have supported me with campus
facilities throughout the project, as well as the general and specific arguments made in the dissertation. And also special thanks to all staff members of the Department of Architecture & Urban Design, Launceston: John Hall, Rory Spence, Ian Clayton, Richard Burnham, Ian Blakey, Merodi Jack and Sharon Tristram for their constructive suggestions, valuable assistance, support and encouragement.

When, in the middle of my research, it became clear that I was being overwhelmed by the sheer mass of literature upon the subject I proposed to cover, I was rescued by my supervisors, the head of department and staff members of the department and also my postgraduate colleagues, namely Jack Birrell, Michael Baxter, Justin Beall, Paddy Dorney, Margaret Long and Katalin Mathe with whom I exchanged ideas and information, and who read and gently criticised the various drafts, and helped to give an overall shape to the work.

I would like to thank the staff of the International Student Office, Carol Shams-Abadi, Phileem Calder Potts, Megan Lee and Tiny Hall for their help, attention and unfailing support during my study. Special thanks to Virginia Woof and Ian Southorn who have read and corrected, line by line, my English. Also, special thanks to Margaret Falk and Rory Spence for proof reading my thesis. I wish to show my appreciation to the staff members of the library and research office who kindly helped during my study. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Ismet Fanany and family, and all my Indonesian and Australian friends who supported and encouraged me during my study in Launceston.

During my field research in Indonesia and overseas, I was also supported by many people, either through direct discussion or through E-mail. I would like to express my gratitude to G.P.H. Dipokusumo, G.R.Aj. Koes Moertiyah, the late K.R.M.H. Yosodipuro and Ki.K.R.H.T. Kusuma Tanoyo from Surakarta Kasunanan palace. And also Professor Parmono Atmadi (Yogyakarta), Professor Ong Hok Ham (Jakarta), Professor Campbell Macknight (Launceston), Dr. Lyn Parker (Launceston), Djauhari Sumintardja (Jakarta), Josef Priyotomo (Surabaya), Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung), R.M.R. Rudy Subanindro (Surakarta), Jan Van Rosmalen (KITLV Leiden), Bob
Cowherd (USA), Nancy Florida (USA), and Dr. Timothy E. Behrend (New Zealand) who have supported all areas of my research, especially the provision of valuable data, suggestions and discussion.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife for the love, support, understanding, patience and devotion she has given me throughout this research. My greatest respect to my parents, who encouraged me during my study. My deepest love goes to my son who gave me the greatest inspiration to complete this dissertation.

Launceston, November 1997

Wahyu Dewanto
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement of Authenticity</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement of Authority of Access</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures and Illustrations</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION / BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY 2
   A. Surakarta Kasunanan Palace
   B. A Description of the Island of Java

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH 7

3. FORMATION OF QUESTIONS 9

4. HYPOTHESIS 10

5. SCOPE AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH 12

6. METHOD OF RESEARCH 15

7. STATE OF THE RESEARCH 19

## Chapter 2

### JAVANESE CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE 27

1. JAVANESE CULTURE 27

2. THE JAVANESE CONCEPT OF LIFE 34

3. THE STRUCTURE OF JAVANESE SOCIETY 36
   A. Social Stratification
   B. The Position of Women

4. RELIGION IN JAVANESE SOCIETY 39
Chapter 6
THE INFLUENCE OF ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ON THE PHYSICAL FORM OF SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE
1. THEORIES OF THE PALACE
2. JAVANESE BELIEF
3. MYTHICAL QUALITIES OF THE PALACE
4. METAPHORS IN JAVANESE ARCHITECTURE
5. THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE CEREMONIAL AREA
   A. Northern Segment
   B. Central Segment
   C. Southern Segment

Chapter 7
UNDERSTANDING THE MYTHICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. MYTHOLOGY OF THE PALACE
   A. Mythological Value
   B. Mythological Orientations
2. POLITICAL AUTHORITY
3. SYMBOLISM OF THE SPACES
4. PATTERN OF ACTIVITIES OF THE PALACE
5. SPACE AND PATTERN OF USER MOVEMENT

Chapter 8
CONCLUSION

GLOSSARY

REFERENCES
APPENDIX 1
The spirits which were believed to occupy certain places throughout Java 255

APPENDIX 2
The kings and the structures they established 258

APPENDIX 3
The family tree of Surakarta and Yogyakarta kingdoms 263

APPENDIX 4
Plans of Surakarta Kasunanan Palace from Sajid (1984) 264
## LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

**Figure 0.1**
Surakarta Kasunanan Palace from the Air  
xxi

**Figure 0.2**
Surakarta Kasunanan Palace Complex  
xxii

### Chapter 1

**Figure 1.1**
Indonesian archipelago and the location of Surakarta city  
3

**Figure 1.2**
Location of Surakarta Kasunanan palace in Surakarta city  
6

**Figure 1.3**
Java Island and Central Java  
8

**Figure 1.4**
The built environment of the palace as the political arena of people and king  
11

**Figure 1.5**
Diagram of the investigation process  
13

**Figure 1.6**
The area to be examined  
14

### Chapter 2

**Figure 2.1**
Kejawen regions and Pesisir (coastal areas)  
29

### Chapter 3

**Figure 3.1**
The locations of the capital city of the kingdom before Surakarta  
46

**Figure 3.2**
Sala village prior to the relocation of the palace  
50

**Figure 3.3**
The plan of Surakarta and Yogyakarta palaces  
62

xvii
Figure 4.19
Magangan Area

Figure 4.20
Kori Brajanala Kidul

Figure 4.21
Siti Hinggil Kidul

Figure 4.22
The main house Prabasuyasa

Figure 4.23
Keputren

Figure 4.24
Agung mosque

Figure 4.25
The western palace

Figure 4.26
Pamardi Putri School

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1
The symbolic concentric rings in the palace complex

Figure 6.2
Architectural orientation

Figure 6.3
The spiritual orientation of Surakarta Kasunanan palace

Figure 6.4
A typical traditional Javanese house

Figure 6.5
Gladag gate

Figure 6.6
The northern town square

Figure 6.7
The main palace area

Figure 6.8
The imaginary pyramid structure
Chapter 7

Figure 7.1 185
Aristocrat housing & the main house Prabasuyasa.

Figure 7.2 190
The spaces of the palace and its levels of sacredness.

Figure 7.3 201
The characteristics of structures and spaces of the palace.

Figure 7.4 208
The northern town square and Siti Hinggil Lor.

Figure 7.5 212
The movement pattern within the palace complex

Figure 7.6 215
The existence of solids and voids of the palace
Surakarta Kasunanan Palace
From the Air
Surakarta Kasunanan Palace Complex

1. Gladag gate
2. Northern town square
3. Agung Mosque
4. Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa
5. Siti Hinggil Lor
6. Kori Brajanala Lor
7. Kemandhungan Lor
8. Srimanganti Lor
9. Kedhaton Yard
10. Pendapa Sasana Sewaka
11. Prabasuyasa
12. Kori Srimanganti Kidul
13. Magangan Yard
14. Kori Kemandhungan Kidul
15. Kori Brajanala Kidul
16. Southern town square
17. Gading gate

Source: Bob Cowherd from Yosodipuro (1994).
Chapter 1

SPACE AND MYTH

IN SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE, INDONESIA

A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE SPATIAL AND MYTHICAL QUALITIES OF THE PALACE AND HOW THEY RELATE TO THE POWER AND AUTHORITY OF THE KING/DOM.

1. INTRODUCTION / BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

A. Surakarta Kasunanan Palace

Surakarta is one of many important cities in Central Java (see Figure 1.1). The city is the centre of the Javanese Islamic kingdom of Mataram. As the seat of a Javanese kingdom, it preserves many Javanese cultural traditions. Surakarta Kasunanan palace is an important part of the heritage of the Indonesian nation. It represents, in architectural form, the complexity of Indonesian culture. Local traditional and external social, cultural and religious influences are manifested in its form and structure. In the past, there were
many similar palaces throughout Java. Today, however, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is one of only a few still standing or not in ruins. It is still used as a royal residence. Built by the Mataram monarchy in the middle of the eighteenth century, it serves as a historical link between the past and the present in terms of cultural values and social changes, and remains a symbol of the traditional power and authority of the king.

Historically, Surakarta Kasunanan palace represents a continuation of the Mataram kingdom which was established by Panembahan Senopati at the end of the sixteenth century. The centre of the Mataram kingdom was relocated several times. Initially, the centre of the kingdom was in Kota Gede (kota meaning city). Subsequently, it was relocated to Plered, then Kerta, Kartasura, and finally, due to the revolt of Chinese people in 1741, the centre of the government was removed to Sala village, which was renamed Surakarta Hadiningrat.

Figure 1.1
Indonesian archipelago and the location of Surakarta city
The Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a complex of concentric building compounds, located along a north-south axis, with an area of approximately 350,000 square metres in the centre of Surakarta city (see Figure 1.2). The palace was established in 1744 by Pakubuwana II on swamp land. After filling in a swamp, a compound was established, and the main building was constructed from materials taken from nearby Kartasura palace. Some buildings, such as the Kedhaton Kilen and Magangan were relocated, as were a couple of banyan trees in the northern square (Sajid, 1984).

In Java, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is considered to be the result of the creative power (which in Javanese is called *Pamesu Budi*) of a king, together with his poets. The result of that creative power was the form of the palace, where all the values and norms of the Javanese people were integrated. These cultural values spread throughout the kingdom and the life of the Javanese community in general. Surakarta Kasunanan palace has become the centre of the cultural orientation of Java as well as a living monument that is an important cultural asset and potential tourism asset to the nation. The development of Javanese architecture, particularly Surakarta Kasunanan palace, has had a comprehensive basis: on one hand the design had to embrace an appreciation of aspects of shape, space and layout, and on the other hand, it had to be future oriented, in that the layout of the entire palace would be interwoven with the culture of the Javanese people.

The palace can be regarded as a physical structure as well as a social entity. The palace was the centre of politics and culture and also the centre of the magical power that people believe exists in the palace. As a social entity, the palace is a social community that creates social interaction individually or collectively. In the past, its existence as the centre of power and culture strengthened the presence of the palace in social life. The palace's built environment can be described not only by specifying its form and materials, but also by specifying its functions and its relation to the social environment. Even though the symbolic purpose of the space may be less practical than its first function, it is as important. The symbolic characteristic are no less useful than the functional characteristic, although they may not be directly related to the defined functions. For example, the setting of the palace is deliberately coded, but usually
subconsciously. Status and appropriate responsive behaviour is communicated through inclusion and exclusion of symbolic ingredients.

This study aims to demonstrate how specific design can influence people's perception. People reproduce the conditions of their own lives through their ability to interpret and thus to understand the conditions in their environment. People take pride in places that have special meaning. This may be due to some unique quality such as function and its mythical values related to their belief. To date, there has not been a substantial amount of research on the social behaviour relating to Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The understanding of social activity within the palace can be greatly enhanced by attention to the inside and outside appearance of the built environment. Perceiving and interpreting the physical environment of the palace is a complex process involving the interaction of social psychology, experience and cultural values with outside stimuli. The meaning attached to the physical environment may affect people's perception and behaviour.

For the Javenese people, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is considered to be *Pusering tanah Jawi* (the navel of Java island) and *Sumbering kebudayaan Jawi* (the source of Javanese culture), which indicate its importance as a manifestation of Javanese culture. As a centre of Javanese culture, Surakarta Kasunanan palace possessed and created many highly valued artistic and cultural activities, among them literature, dancing, Gamelan music, architecture, clothing and various customs, manners and traditions. These have played, and continue to play, a significant role in the development of Javanese culture in particular and the national culture in general.

Viewed as a whole, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a monumental structure which gives an impression of piety and reflects the characteristics of the kingdom. Within the palace, each architectural component is a symbol of a social or natural philosophy resulting from a combination of various beliefs including indigenous Javanese animism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, which has become the basis of the existence of Surakarta Kasunanan palace.
Figure 1.2
Location of Surakarta Kasunanan palace in Surakarta city.
B. A Description of the Island of Java

The island of Java is one of the 17,000 equatorial islands of Indonesia. The island is about 1000 kilometres long, has an average width of 120 kilometres and is 119,780 square kilometres in area. Java constitutes about 7 per cent of the total land area of Indonesia. A chain of volcanoes along the west side of Sumatra island continues along the southern ridge of Java and forms a sharp distinction between mountain and coast line. Many of the volcanoes in Java are still active and about fifteen of them reach more than 3000 metres above sea level. The highest peak in Java is Mount Semeru (East Java) which reaches a height of 3676 metres. Java has only two seasons -- rainy and dry -- and enjoys an average daily temperature ranging between 27 and 33 degrees centigrade, with an average relative humidity of between 75 and 85 per cent. Most of the island is covered with tropical forest. An agricultural system dominated by irrigated wet rice cultivation has long been practised in Java. Irrigated wet rice cultivation is not only practised in the broad river valleys and the lowlands, but also on terraces along the slopes of the volcanoes. Other crops are grown alternately on the land in the sawah -- the irrigated wet rice fields -- during the dry season.

Java is the most densely populated island of the Indonesian archipelago. The population, which is now about 120 million, makes up about 63 per cent of the 190 million national population. About 85 million or 70 per cent of the island's population are Javanese people whose mother tongue is Javanese. This ethnic group occupies the central and eastern part of Java, while the western interior region is occupied by the Sundanese ethnic group (see Figure 1.3).

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

This research provides an alternative approach to the study of traditional architecture, where cultural aspects become an important focus. It will attempt to survey what has been produced in the palace's built environment in the last two centuries, and to demonstrate the richness of architectural possibilities when traditional and modern concepts are blended. Furthermore, it will investigate the essential qualities of
Figure 1.3
Java Island and Central Java
Javanese traditional architecture focusing on aspects such as the relationship between myth, space, layout, social structure and political system. It is expected that the themes investigated in this study will provide a different perspective, and add a new dimension, to the study of Javanese culture, and Indonesian architecture in particular. The under-explored concept of 'mythic architecture' in the Javanese palace could become one of the sources of modern design processes.

The objectives of this thesis are:

- To document and analyse Javanese cultural values, through the study of Surakarta Kasunanan palace;

- To relate the architecture of Surakarta Kasunanan palace to philosophical concepts;

- To provide a theoretical basis for the understanding of myth and space in an architectural context in Surakarta Kasunanan palace;

- To investigate the influence of myth and space in enhancing the power and authority of the king; and to answer the research questions concerning underlying aspects of Javanese architecture, by investigating the myth, space, layout and patterns of users' behaviour in the complex of Surakarta Kasunanan palace and their relation to the effectiveness of the king's jurisdiction.

3. FORMATION OF QUESTIONS

Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a result of a blending of mysticism and realism. It has been developed through the a process of meditation by the king and his advisers. Inspiration received through meditation ordained that certain concepts and materials be integrated into the physical design in an attempt to achieve an impression of authority, to give shelter and to provide eternal religious guidance. In its philosophical context, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is an assimilation of the physical and mental, the logical and illogical, and the abstract and concrete.
The roles that myth and space have played in determining the power and authority of the king will be examined. The questions focus particularly on the form, dimensions and layout of the buildings, in relation to the myths behind these elements and their connection with the exertion of the king's mandate. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the architectural and mythological concepts that lie behind the layout of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The research questions focus on:

- Whether the architectural spaces influence social aspects;
- Whether there was a relationship between spatial values and political culture;
- How myth and space influenced the power and authority of the king; and
- How the layout of the palace complex affected the power and authority of the king.

4. HYPOTHESIS

To Javanese people Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a manifestation of a combination of physical, material and spiritual beliefs, visible and invisible worlds, and the physical and the metaphysical. Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a blend of the physical and the philosophical; the logic which determined the function, space, shape and structure of its buildings also incorporates philosophical and symbolic meanings as well as reflecting magical values and the charisma of authority. The features of the palace are its light, informal and human scale which are the consequences of its development from a social and spiritual tradition, rather than defensive needs. Within this tradition the social hierarchy, religion and myth were tied together. The power and authority of the king were accepted more spiritually than by physical enforcement by the state. The architecture of the palace did not need to express authority by rigid formality.

The palace established its power and authority not solely through physical force but rather through culture, religion, kinship and myth (see Figure 1.4). This can be seen from the layout, shape, size and arrangement of the palace. The mythology surrounding the palace has been very strong, from a spiritual as well as from an architectural point of
view. This mythology enhanced the sacred feeling, and eventually affected the image of the king in the eyes of the Javanese people. The development of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace over the years has not been a random process. The arrangement of space, layout and position of buildings in the complex of Surakarta Kasunanan palace indicates that its development since 1744 has been based on these beliefs.

Figure 1.4.
The built environment of the palace as the political arena of people and king.

The arrangement of the palace as a whole, and the layout of the area from the northern town square, through the main palace, to the southern town square, symbolise not only the procession and the journey of a human being to face the king, but also the essential journey of a human being from birth to spiritual perfection. The layout and composition of the palace complex, and also the name of every building which has a special purpose, directly or indirectly enhances the awareness of the Javanese people of the existence of the palace and king as an intermediary between human beings and God.
Surakarta Kasunanan palace was built with the objective of ensuring that the above philosophical, religious and physical requirements were compatible with the surrounding area. Awareness of the environment and suitability in a macro context are shown by the palace layout. The layout of the palace responds to the broader context in the following ways:

- The arrangement of the architectural landscape, which spreads out along an imaginary axis, represents a hierarchy of religious values which symbolise the journey of a human being from birth to spiritual perfection;
- "The centre point of all directions" as the pivotal orientation of the layout and spiritual beliefs; that all social community structures and their values come from the palace; and
- "The blending of the king, officials and people" (*manunggaling rojo, projo lan kawulo*) into a ruling class within the distinct region of the city in the same manner as the concept of a capital city of a country.

The micro context appears in the expansion and development of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace compound, which in theory could have developed as an integrated sequence of additions to its former construction, but which in reality constitutes an appropriate aesthetic balance which unites and matches various shapes, characters and forms of architectural influence, including Javanese, Hindu, Buddhist, European, Islamic and Chinese. This reflects the understanding of, and adherence to, the religious and architectural philosophies of the king's predecessors.

5. SCOPE AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

This study examines the aspects of myth, political system and social structure as they have affected the spatial and structural development of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex in central Java. It then addresses the ways that this blending of influences on the palace's evolution has affected the power and authority of the king. The diagram (see Figure 1.5) shows the process of the investigation and its basic outline, from the background research to the conclusion regarding the relationship between space, design, mythical values and the palace's authority.
Figure 1.5
Diagram of the investigation process.
Permission was not granted for observation of the entire palace complex. Consequently, information about certain areas, especially the private areas such as the politically influential since Indonesia's independence in 1945.

This study is limited in terms of the physical area and the historical period to be examined.
This study attempts to identify, to comprehend, and to explain some of the cultural themes, such as myth, space, layout, social culture and socio-political aspects, which play an active role in the Javanese built environment. Elements of these themes interact within a framework that enables the Javanese to absorb foreign elements. The palace can be analysed from various perspectives. It is possible to comprehend underlying principles and aesthetic quality from the design, layout and appearance of the buildings. By analysing the plans or by examining the inside of the palace, one can understand its spatial organisation and construction. By observing the behaviour of users in Surakarta Kasunanan palace, one can see how the various spaces are used, and the latter will also lead to an understanding of those hidden principles or concepts which determine the behaviour and attitudes in relation to their built environment. From this investigation, it may become possible for architects to make use of these concepts in modern architectural design.

To achieve this aim, this study examines:

- The internal factors that influenced the Javanese way of life and how the built environment is conceived and used, including the subjects of myth, space, layout, social culture and political aspects within the palace; and

- Some external factors which include the influence of foreign concepts, religions, political concepts, construction methods and building materials, such as those from India, the Islamic world, Europe and China.

6. METHOD OF RESEARCH

This research is based on a qualitative method. In qualitative research, the truth is not measured by using frequency and variant, but is based on the discovery of the essential thing, a thing which is intrinsically correct (Muhadjir, 1996). The research pursues the truth by finding the reliable source so that the essential, intrinsic truth can be
gained. From the physical manifestation of culture, we can discern concepts, plans, methods and reasons for producing and using things that can be seen and touched. On the other hand, through social culture, behaviour, belief, and world view, we can also study the actions that governed the production of an object. In this regard, buildings as artifacts can be perceived as either a means or an end in the study of material culture.

This architectural research has a close relationship to anthropology, which studies the cultural event and gives the life-view of a subject which then becomes the object of the study. Furthermore, this architectural research adopts some social science research methods based on phenomenological and metaphysical philosophy.

Muhadjir (1996, p. 83) explained that phenomenological and metaphysical realism approaches and acknowledges the existence of an empiric ethic truth which needs the mind to trace, explain and argue. The moral value which is used in phenomenological and metaphysical realism refers to hierarchical double moral values. These are religious moral value, scientific moral value (true or false), individual moral value, and physical moral value. The religious moral value has the highest hierarchical position, while the other moral values have a vertical relationship to it, in a horizontal relationship to each other. Some of them have a lateral horizontal relationship, and some of them have a sequential relationship.

The basic assumption of the phenomenological and metaphysical realism approach is that man, in having knowledge, cannot be free from his moral view, either in the stage of observing, collecting and analysing the data, or in drawing a conclusion. The approach of phenomenological and metaphysical realism is not to think speculatively, but to think reflectively, and further, to use reflective logic, inductive and deductive logic, and material and probabilistic logic. These two approaches are not going to form the theory and the conceptualisation that just gives suggestion or imperative, but lifts up the ethic meaning in making theory and concept (Muhadjir, 1996).

This dissertation uses the standard models of the philosophy and theory of positivistic methodology. Valid science is one that is constructed with the empiric; while
rationalism states that a valid science is an abstraction, simplification, or the idealisation of a reality, and is evident to be coherent with its logic system. The methodological process begins with the problem statement and the limitation of the research object by eliminating it from other objects, and then proceeds to the finding and the report of the research, including the design of the research method.

The study is based on several steps of inquiry which are elaborated in sequence in the following chapters. The first chapter has outlined the background of the chosen case, and formulates the objectives of the research, the formation of questions, hypothesis, outline, and the research method to be used. The second chapter is a description of Javanese culture and social structure in the past. It describes religion, social stratification, and the concept of life of the Javanese people. The third chapter is an investigation into the history of the establishment of the palace. It also examines external influences from Chinese, Indian, Islamic and European cultures which played an important role in colouring the development of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The fourth chapter describes the physical aspects of the palace, the spatial arrangement, open spaces and buildings within the palace complex. The underlying concept, physical structure and arrangement of the palace are examined. From the comprehension of the buildings and architecture, basic compositional concepts are identified. The meaning behind these concepts is interpreted from the architectural point of view. By careful analysis, the relationship between the use of space, mythological concepts and the power and authority of the king will be revealed. The fifth chapter deals with non-physical aspects such as the political and spiritual position of the king. It describes how the Javanese people treated their king. In this chapter I describe also how the kings exerted power over their people. The sixth chapter describes the concepts and theories behind the palace development which are closely related to Javanese religious belief that is reflected in the architectural design. Mythology is one of the most important aspects examined here, as it has played an important role in supporting the power and authority of the king. This mythology permeates specific places in the palace complex and in the country. The seventh chapter analyses the mythological significance in the arrangement and spaces of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. It examines the mythology attached to some special places, the use of spaces in the ritual procession, and the layout of the palace in relation
to the layout of Javanese traditional houses, functions of the palace buildings and mythological orientation within the palace. The last chapter describes the findings of the research.

The method of research used in preparing this thesis focused on an analysis of historical documentation, which included palace records and monographs as well as seminar papers and articles dealing with the history of the palace. The following information has been gathered:

- The heritage of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace and its environment;
- Written records; and
- Oral traditions, such as beliefs and legends.

Each source of data was studied and selected in connection with the scope of problems to be discussed. This research is intended to identify, comprehend, explain and analyse some of the cultural themes such as space, layout, pattern of ceremonial behaviour, and social structure which have played an active role in the development of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The result of this analysis is examined in order to understand the concepts that lie behind the spatial and mythical qualities of the palace.

Information which was very important but beyond the observational reach of the author was gathered from interviews with several reliable palace servants and relatives of the Surakarta royal family. The study of the space and the layout of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace structure is based on the plan and maps of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex, which were obtained from G.R.AJ. Koes Moertiyah, G.P.H. Dipokusumo and K.R.M.H. Yosodipuro, relatives of the royal family. The information presented has been gathered from the following sources:

- A study of various documents, particularly concerning Surakarta Kasunanan palace;
- Direct observation within the Surakarta Kasunanan palace environment, as far as permitted by the palace management;
- Interviews and discussions with some of the members of the palace family, and palace servants within the Surakarta Kasunanan palace environment; and
- Discussions with government officers in Surakarta, and with historians, architects, and experts in Javanese architecture from Indonesia and overseas.

7. STATE OF THE RESEARCH

Some research has been done on the architecture of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, including its structure, types, style, materials and the decorative elements, as well as studies on the preservation and conservation of the buildings of the palace. Many studies into the social culture and political anthropology of Javanese people have also been done including research on literature and Javanese arts. However, no research has been conducted on the relationship between layout and architectural design and the political authority of the kingdom.

Soemarsaid Moertono's work *State and Statecraft in old Java* (1974) greatly influenced my decision to undertake this research. From his book I gained a clear picture of how the king enhanced his power and authority, and also a picture of the grandeur of the kingdom. The king and his administration are the central themes of his investigation. He analysed the basic problem of authority in the political life of the Mataram period. Moertono strongly believes that magico-religious concepts were the primary means of implementing the power and authority of the king in order to maintain the integrity of the kingdom. He describes various aspects of the relationship between the king and his subjects. From his analysis, he concludes that Javanese kings used the religious value argument to justify dictatorship or oppression. The king and his officials were the biggest organised power. They had a large sphere of influence under the kingdom's authority. The kingdom through its officials had the greatest potential to influence other people through religion and mysticism for political purposes. The cultivation of magico-religious concepts was also important in justifying and strengthening power and consolidating control over the people.
William R. Lethaby, in his book *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (1994), explored from an architect's point of view the connection between architecture, myth and mysticism across many lands and religions of the world, including the purposes behind structure and form. He argues that the development of socio-political culture plays an important role in the creation and application of mythology among communities. He attempts briefly to illustrate that communities seek a sense of order by physically modifying the environment in the elaboration of a coherent cosmic system. Lethaby found that in every major culture, the artistic form of things is always a direct imitation of nature. He also describes elaborate cosmologies which permeate all aspects of life by using cultural scriptures and folk tales to explain the conscious effort of many societies to express their religious ideas through architecture. He argues that architecture is more than the geometry of space; it expresses in material form the myths and archetypes of the human subconscious, and that there must have been a relation and reaction between such a world structure and the buildings of man. Myth embodies a metaphysical doctrine and inspires every activity in daily life. The ideas that are commonly used in traditional architecture are the concepts of: the pivot of the four quarters, the centre of the world, and celestial arrangement. In a traditional society, the creation myth normally serves as the basis for the organisation of society, territory, dwelling and family. Lethaby's ideas have provided inspiration for my investigation of mythology in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace.

Timothy Earl Behrend, in his unpublished Master's thesis (1982) on the Surakarta Kasunanan palace, successfully connected cosmic ideas to the arrangement of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. He tried to interpret the cosmological and allegorical symbolism expressed within the palace structure. He addressed briefly how the palace may be employed as a cultural text to inform understanding of Javanese society and its religion. He believes that the notions of kingship and power are expressed in the topography and the activity of the palace. Behrend presented the layout of the physical components in the palace and argued carefully that the concept of circular gradation (hierarchy) is used. The centre of the life of the Javanese is the palace, which is also a mystical centre of the ideal cosmos and is considered, according to ancient cosmological beliefs, as the navel of the universe. He believes that the spatial layout of the palace not
only presents worldly things but also contains religious and mystical significance for the people. Behrend's work is possibly the most comprehensive study of the palace concepts and is closely related to my research. Behrend's work has provided the basic information to proceed further in understanding concepts of Javanese architecture, and from his thesis I developed the notion that the layout of the palace has been used to enhance the power and authority of the king through 'mythic architecture'. Behrend presents a physical description of the palace's structure and the use of each building in detail. For the purpose of the research in this thesis, the physical structure and arrangement of the palace must be described to support the analysis of the space. I have summarised Behrend's description of the physical structure of the palace and added information gathered from various sources including personal communication with some members of the Royal family and some experts on the palace, and also my personal interpretation of the palace during my field research.

Gunawan Tjahyono (1989), in his PhD. dissertation, explored the settlement pattern, spiritual orientation and urban centre of a Javanese town, including the Yogyakarta palace as the physical and spiritual centre of the city. The position of the palace is connected with the idea of the Hindu cosmos. Tjahyono argues that socio-cultural factors were involved in the evolution of traditional shapes which can be related to the context in which they originated. He explains in depth the space, shape, and the scale of the typical Javanese house, including various rituals and everyday functions. He extends this to an investigation of modular coordination and construction rules and techniques, which he believes should be balanced with the exploration of world view, cosmology, classification systems and belief systems. His investigation is somewhat lacking in socio-political argument which plays a primary role in the physical evolution of a built environment. Despite these deficiencies, Tjahyono's work is an inspiration for further research on the key concepts of Javanese architecture.

On Javanese architecture, Josef Prijotomo's, Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture (1984), opened up an avenue of further exploration with a comparison of the influence of Hindu-Javanese and Islam on Javanese architecture. He investigated the history of Javanese architecture from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, focusing on
the process of Islamisation in Java, as Islam gradually took over the declining power of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Priyotomo attempted to investigate the relationship between ideas and forms and how great is the influence of cultures and beliefs on Javanese architecture. Priyotomo also illustrated various ideas and shapes of the Javanese house, and examined at length principles of Javanese building construction and structure. He successfully explained the physical characteristics of Javanese architecture in general, especially in connection with the influence of cultures and beliefs from India and the Arabian world. His analysis of the interactions of two architectural ideologies and the process of Islamisation of Javanese architecture is a significant aspect of his work.

R. M. Sajid, in Babad Sala (1984), carefully documented the history and physical structure of Surakarta Kasunanan palace since its establishment in 1745 up to 1942. He described the history of the palace, starting from the founding of the palace’s location, and the establishment and removal of Surakarta Kasunanan palace from Kartasura to Sala village. Sajid briefly explored the ritual life and function of the buildings within the palace. He addressed the relationship between the palace and its surroundings and also described the physical development of Surakarta city after the removal of the palace to Surakarta city. His work is a historical insight into the palace and was developed from many sources such as old manuscripts, chronicles, legends and oral traditions. Although Sajid’s book does not provide architectural argument, it has become a significant source for the historical and physical structure of this investigation.

G. Moedjanto, in his work titled The Concept of Power in Javanese Culture (1993), illustrated a complete idea of power in Javanese history by using an Indonesia-centric analytical tool. He examined not only the history of the Mataram kingdom from its establishment, but also from the time of the end of Majapahit, the ancestry of the Mataram kingdom. His work explained the basic concept of exercising power in Javanese society through the idea of the keagung-binataraan (celestial grandeur) of the kings of Mataram. He demonstrated how the concept of kingly authority as power was celestially absolute and discerned how the kings tried to strengthen the base of their power over their subjects. Moedjanto believes that 'speech levels' were consciously used
by the kings and the rulers as a political tool to get, preserve, consolidate, develop and to maintain their power. He argues strongly that the power of the Javanese kings grew gradually as their role expanded from that of a chief of a small village, to regent and finally to king. Therefore, to develop the absolute power and authority of the king, many different methods of legitimation were used. Moedjanto has looked widely at social culture in daily aspects such as norms, mutual relationships and speech levels within Javanese society, especially in connection with the growth of the power and authority of the kings of Mataram. It is probably the most thorough study on the subject of politics that is of relevance to my study, as it explains how the king exercised his power over the people.

An anthropologist, John Pemberton, has written a book entitled *On the Subject of Java* (1994). This book explores historical and cultural discourse from the precolonial era to the modern era of Java, especially in Central Java, the point of origin of millions of Javanese. He successfully traces the Javanese historical line of power and cultural effect. He seems to have been influenced by Michel Foucault’s idea of articulating the power toward an issue of origins where the very distinction between culture and history is itself displaced. In relation to my work, this book has provided a critical ethnographic and historical exploration of Javanese society from the era of Surakarta Kasunanan palace to the phase of 'New Order' cultural discourse. Although his work is entirely anthropological in nature, it does, however, in chapters 1 through 3, provide a valuable insight into historical interpretation of the cultural discourse of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. Pemberton explains the story of the origin in the mid-eighteenth century of Javanese history and examines closely the establishment of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. He also addresses elaborately the essential lines of an identity in terms of custom, language and literature that can be recognised, in retrospect, as characteristic of Javanese cultural identity.

Vincent J. H. Houben, in his book *Kraton and Kumpeni* (1994), offers a review of social and economic changes in Central Java. He explores the relationship between the Javanese and the Dutch, including its economic and socio-political aspects and also the various connections between Javanese royal princes in the post-Java war period (1830-
1870). This book is a delicate historical analysis of the Principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta during the middle of the nineteenth century and is basically divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the socio-political problems of the Dutch intervention in the Principalities and the internal administrative problems of the royal courts. The second deals with the intricate analysis of the Javanese response to the Dutch presence in Central Java. It also analyses royal succession disputes in both Surakarta and Yogyakarta courts and the political resistance movements against colonial power, internal political struggles, and social and economic movements. These resistance movements caused economic and social changes. The monograph provides a clear picture of the economic, social and political life of Javanese in the mid-nineteenth century.


The research data collected for this research is based on literature, interviews and visual field studies. The analysis is based on old maps gathered from KITLV Leiden and existing maps and plans collected from field research, and also a plan made by Bob Cowherd, an architecture scholar from the US. Some of the maps and plans used were obtained from the study of *Studi Pengembangan Kawasan Wisata Budaya Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta*, by the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication; Directorate General of Tourism, and with the cooperation of the Technical Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, in 1992.

Much of the architecture of Java is obscure. Analysing spatial and mythical qualities of the palace and how they relate to the power and authority of the king, as the centre of a Javanese Islamic kingdom, requires an understanding of other related fields. Much valuable information on architecture and other fields related to the topic was obtained from books, monographs, theses, magazines, papers, interviews and
discussions listed in the references of this thesis. Some of the data in this dissertation may not be credited to a specific author or book because it has become common knowledge, especially among Javanese people.
Chapter 2

JAVANESE CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. JAVANESE CULTURE

There are many definitions of culture, each proposed by experts such as sociologists, anthropologists and artists. They tend to define culture according to their particular field. Koentjaraningrat, an anthropologist, states in his book *Kebudayaan dan Mentalitas Pembangunan* (1974, p. 19), that culture in general is all ideas and activities of human beings which have been refined by study of previous generations. Based on this definition, culture covers all human activities which can produce something. Universally, the elements of culture incorporate religion and its rites; organisation of society; knowledge, language, and art; and technology.

The largest ethnic group in Indonesia is the Javanese, who make up 70 per cent of the entire Indonesian population. This ethnic group exerts a strong influence on Indonesian national life. The Javanese are a group of people bound by cultural similarity and unity who inhabit Central and East Java and whose mother tongue is Javanese. Cultural similarity can be found in the moral values that bind them, while social unity is principally based on mutual relationships in and between certain groups.

Geographically, the Javanese only inhabit the centre and east of the island of
Java, while West Java is known as the Sunda region. The geographical limits of the Javanese and Sundanese regions are difficult to determine exactly, but the boundary line can be drawn approximately between the Citanduy and Cijulang rivers in the south, and Indramayu town in the north.

Java, which comprises only 7 per cent of Indonesia's land, is inhabited by approximately sixty per cent of the Indonesian population. The combined population of the provinces of Central Java, East Java and Madura island according to the census in 1991 is 50,441,000, with a population density of approximately 737 persons per square kilometre. Based on statistical data in 1991, those native to Central Java and East Java number 74,780,784, which is 49 per cent of the entire Javanese society. This reflects the migration of substantial numbers of Javanese to other parts of Indonesia.

Javanese culture stems from and is characterised by Javanese traditions. The prevailing culture originated in Central and East Java. Although it is said that Central and East Java have one culture, namely Javanese culture, each region within this area has distinctive cultural characteristics. This is particularly true of those regions which make up the area known as Kejawen (Kejawen regions cover Banyumas, Kedu, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Madiun, Malang, and Kediri). Apart from the regions mentioned above there are also the coastal region and the northern most tip of Java (see Figure 2.1).

Javanese culture, emanating from the palace, defined the term Kejawen as the Javanese way of life which becomes the rule governing life and living (both spiritual and material). The rule, with its specific ways and patterns, was then applied in society. The basic concept of Javanese culture originates in the quest for the meaning of human life and the relationship between human beings and God and the universe. It can be seen clearly, for example, in the wayang (traditional puppet drama performance), in which the performance of the figures exemplifies the behaviour, cultural attitudes and concepts, as well as the philosophy of life, of the Javanese people. The wayang is used to reflect various aspects of human life. In the past, the wayang was in wide demand both in the villages and the towns of Java. Furthermore, it was used by the Javanese ruling classes as a means of instilling certain political ideas.
Javanese philosophy contains principles which emphasise wisdom and the quest for, and understanding of, God, the ruler of heaven and earth. It also encompasses the human inner experience of God’s existence as a creator and of human beings as His creation. This philosophy is called *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti* (the unity of human and God) which in its application deepens the human understanding of life. Again, the *wayang* performance played a large role in providing its spectators with an insight into a new and better life. However, the *wayang* also contained the doctrine of *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti* and messages of the greatness of the ruler. So people were able to learn how to face their lives and have the highest degree of faith in God and their king.
In their general concept of life, the Javanese people do not consider how long they will live, but rather focus on the spiritual quality of their lives. Understanding of the relationship between humans, God and the universe is not limited to the physical world, but goes much deeper and includes the spiritual world. The basic tenet of the Javanese philosophy of life is to achieve a peaceful and harmonious life physically and spiritually. Javanese people attaining this understanding will demonstrate self-confidence, modesty, patience and wisdom. The Javanese people relate themselves to their environment -- their personal world in the macrocosm -- from which they gain their experience of life. Consequently, everyone is bound by a moral duty to participate responsibly in achieving a peaceful and harmonious life.

Most Javanese beliefs acknowledges the existence of God, believes that Muhammad is God’s messenger, accepts the existence of prophets and other sacred figures and deities and also believes in life after death. The Javanese people, in fulfilling their purpose in life, hold firmly to their convictions and beliefs. When devotion and dedication to benevolent service forms a part of the Javanese life, the soul will be released from the shackles of desire. Choices must be based on the moral values of Kejawen in order to achieve order and harmony in life.

There is an awareness of life order in the beliefs of Kejawen. This means that from the moment of birth until the time of death, the Javanese people are seeking to gain understanding and knowledge of life and the environment. The Javanese people have a moral motivation based on love and affection, and caused by God's affection. Those with an awareness of this moral value will be able to find their place in life, and accept the might of God, making their life meaningful, with a clear and established function.

Within their religious tradition, the Javanese people believe that all occurrences in the world are determined by God. This belief guides Javanese thought on life. In traditional Javanese societies, people knew their place and understood their role within a limited social structure. The Javanese social system did not come about casually. It owes its origin to a basic fact of human existence; that humans are unequally endowed. It is
believed that fate determines an individual’s place in society -- to be born as a servant or a master. The aspiration and tradition culture of Javanese society or which was designed by Javanese noblemen was not egalitarian. They were not able to perceive other people as equals because they were taught to perceive other people as having higher or lower status. So the Javanese seem to have a vertical and not horizontal culture line. A consequence is that individuals have no choice but to do their duty as is ordained by fate.

Javanese society consists of two groupings: *wong cilik* (common people) and *priyayi* (noblemen). The first group are mostly farmers, merchants and labourers, whereas the *priyayi* work as government officers or in other non-manual professions. According to Koentjaraningrat (1981, p. 327), apart from official jobs, craftsmanship and trade, farming is the livelihood of the majority of Javanese people in rural areas.

As stated by Koentjaraningrat in *Kebudayaan dan Mentalitet dan Pembangunan* (1974, p. 43), Javanese people in rural areas usually work in the agriculture sector, while in urban areas they are mostly labourers, merchants and government officers. In the past, labourers and merchants prospered but at a lower rate than those in more prestigious professions, including the military. Army personnel had the same status as government officers because there were similarities in the characteristics of their jobs or in their way of life. Despite their low status as *wong cilik*, farmers play an important role in Javanese society because people need their products, no matter whether they be *priyayi* or *wong cilik*.

Language is an important element of Javanese culture. The people in *Kejawan* regions use Javanese language. Principally there are two levels of Javanese language: *ngoko* and *krama*. When someone speaks Javanese, they must pay attention to the social status of their interlocutor and differentiate or distinguish their age and social status or that of people they talk about. In daily life, *ngoko* is used in conversation by people who are familiar with each other, or to speak to younger people or people of lower social status. On the other hand, *krama* is used in conversations with strangers, older people, and people having higher social status.
Javanese Social Attitude.

In Java, wealth is the deciding factor in determining social status. Whoever has wealth has high social status. On the other hand, those with little wealth have low social status. Classification of social class can also be affected by other factors such as descent, education and authority. For the Javanese people the differentiation between priyayi and wong cilik is based on social and economic conditions.

Social responsibility as members of society and towards their community is realised through the forms of the family, the local community, the region and the country. In their search for unity, humans as social beings seek socialisation, to obey, to form relationships and to help each other. These are implicit expressions of life behaviour within a group relationship (Koentjaraningrat, 1981).

The Javanese as individuals and as a social group have as a goal the maintenance of social order. Behavioural forms of etiquette are necessary for living with other people. Etiquette is the set of norms that individuals live by in order to function in the wider community. In group relationships, the Javanese people live by two principles of behaviour: togetherness and respect. The two principles are related to each other, and cannot be separated (Suseno, 1985, p. 62).

The principle of togetherness will be realised when the principle of respect is fulfilled. Equally, the principle of respect will be realised when the principle of togetherness is fulfilled. The two principles depend on each other. In addition, social hierarchy according to position or social status strongly influences etiquette norms. The principle of respect is still observed by the Javanese people, from the lowest class to the highest class. For example, when an official meets the king, the official will show him respect in a certain way, such as by folding both arms in front of the body. Respectful behaviour is a custom related to the social hierarchy.
Togetherness.

To the Javanese people, togetherness is a condition or situation where people always want happiness and goodness for everyone. According to Suseno (1985, p. 39), togetherness will cause all individuals to make every effort to avoid situations leading to conflict or restlessness. Therefore, people instigate customs to encourage harmonious relationships, and they always want to work together to achieve this goal. This is demonstrated in the building of a house in rural communities, which the Javanese people do together, without payment. Neighbours willingly help to build a house. This is an etiquette norm for the Javanese people.

As personal interests often collide with public interests, the togetherness can only be achieved if the interests of the society as a whole take precedence over the interests of the individual. According to Mulder (1984, p. 43), togetherness and mutual cooperation are the foundations for creating social harmony.

The majority of the Javanese people try to take the attitude of accepting everything that is given to them by God. They can accept their fate and remain happy even if their fate is not so positive (narima). This attitude will never make them sad, because only by this attitude can people live their lives peacefully. This narima attitude is not submitting to fate without any effort, but precisely the opposite (Suseno, 1993, p. 143). That is, to achieve one's desire, an effort must be made. However, if this is not successful, it must be realised that God has determined this. So the narima attitude reflects a realisation of human capabilities and limitations, as humans are only God's creatures.

According to the guiding principles of Javanese culture, the wealthy should help the poor. Therefore, Javanese people who come from the lower classes have an expectation of assistance from the wealthy. However, they would prefer to work to earn their living. They also have a cultural expectation that only by working hard can the poor get food and clothes. Poor people who can not get an adequate income from their work must accept what they get and not feel despair or sadness. When they look for a job and
do not get it, they need acceptance of fate in order not to do something wrong.

As individuals and as members of society, people in all their actions are always expected to fulfil the norms which exist. Therefore, all actions should be done without haste and with patience. Thus, in looking for a way of life, individuals should harmonise narima and a patient attitude. If this is achieved it creates individuals who have noble characters and wisdom. Social attitudes still seem to maintain the harmony and balance of Javanese society. This is especially evident in rural areas. Harmonious and respectful attitudes arranged according to social hierarchy are still observed by rural societies.

2. THE JAVANESE CONCEPT OF LIFE

The Javanese philosophy of life is derived from traditional Javanese thinking combined with Hindu beliefs and the tenets of Islam. Thereby, the concept of life constitutes an abstraction of life’s experiences, which consist of ways of thinking about, and of sensing, values of social organisation, behaviour, events and other aspects of life (Mulder, 1984, p. 30).

Early Javanese tribes adhered to animism or a belief that every element of the universe (all matter, plants, animals and human beings) has a soul and carries supernatural power. The belief in a universal power and authority over life meant that traditional Javanese people worshipped for the sake of their safety as well as happiness, for they believed that every living thing had a soul and power which could help or hinder people. Thus, the Javanese concept of life is a product of a mix of cultural elements and religion from abroad which have been assimilated into the original beliefs of Java.

...Belief and religion dominates Javanese society, and kingship in the Later Mataram period drew its strongest support from religious belief. It can even be said that the basis of kingship lay in religion; the authority of the gods justified the authority of the king. The state was seen as an image of, or stronger still, was identified with the divine realm, in its immaterial and in its material aspect (Moertono, 1968, p. 119).

The Javanese adhere to their original animism religion. Animism accommodates various beliefs, concepts, views and values; for example, the belief in God, the belief in
Muhammad as God's messenger, the belief in other prophets' existence, and the belief in certain gods having power and occupying certain parts of the universe. This religion also includes certain concepts of living and life hereafter, the belief in ancestral spirits and the belief in the existence of a supernatural power in the universe. These various beliefs, concepts and views are interwoven with one another within Javanese thinking. Koentjaraningrat (1984, p. 322) asserts that all forms of Javanese belief build a collective philosophy which is integrated, each belief carrying a special meaning according to a certain moment, place, or condition in the religious life of the Javanese.

This philosophy was processed and developed, and eventually became a new pattern of thinking, known as 'the religion of Java' or 'Javanism'. It is hard to define precisely what the 'religion of Java' is. The majority of people who claim that they adhere to Islam are, in fact, Moslem only in name, rather than strict adherence, as few of them fast, pray properly, or are willing to go to Mecca. They call their God Gusti Allah, and the Prophet Muhammad Kanjeng Nabi (Kanjeng is a form of address for a high ranking noble; Nabi means prophet). The religion of Java also includes customs inherited from their ancestors, so even though they claim to be Moslem, the harmony that exists between religion and culture allows them informally to call their religion the 'religion of Java' (Kejawen).

The influence of Islam as well as elements of traditional culture and Hinduism helped to develop a deep spiritualism in the Javanese culture. Spiritualism teaches unity between God and humans. Accordingly, spiritualism does not contradict Islam, for it has the same purpose; that is, to claim belief in one supreme God. Many Javanese who believe in spiritualism (kebatinan) informally call themselves Moslem. Hadiwijono (1974, p. 7) suggests that many people believe that the concept of Islam is the public expression of belief while spiritualism (kebatinan) is the personal and deeper understanding of religious belief.

Mulder (1984, p. 12) explains that the lifestyle of Javanese people is closely connected with their spiritual nature, and their way of life is cultivated by their spiritualism (kebatinan). Spiritualism enables communication and unity between
individuals and God. This blend of belief and culture forms the foundation of Javanese belief which assumes that everything on this earth is interconnected and will eventually unite with God.

...While personal ascesis was generally regarded as the fundamental way to accumulate and absorb Power, traditional Javanese thinking also recognized that this process of absorption or accumulation could be furthered both by certain rituals, often containing a core of asceticism, such as fasting, meditation, and so forth, and by the possession of certain objects or persons regarded as being “filled” with Power (Anderson, 1972, p. 10).

To be able to unite with God, a person must willingly release him/herself from earthly burdens, that is, escape from material concerns that limit attitudes of faith. Such attitudes can be achieved by living a humble, unblemished life, or by practising some form of asceticism, such as Tapabrata (the highest form of asceticism). By practising asceticism, it is believed that individual can become capable of escaping from his/her surroundings, and of giving up all the functions of the body and bodily lust, because asceticism develops a pure mind which allows self restraint, and self restraint in turn generates power (Jong, 1974, p. 53). Thus, practising asceticism allows people to understand and learn the essence of living, as well as achieving harmony between spirit and body. Although a person is capable of escaping from material things, he/she is not free from the duty of real life, which is to maintain and beautify the world by good conduct and responsible living.

3. THE STRUCTURE OF JAVANESE SOCIETY

A. Social Stratification

In Javanese society there are still differences of status: there is a high class society and a low class society. Javanese people still differentiate between priyayi (higher class people), consisting of government officers and educated people, and wong cilik (lower class people) consisting of farmers, craftsmen and labourers. The king’s family and noblemen who live in the palace are also classified as priyayi. The system of the society is hierarchically based on prestige.
The Javanese people believe that the world is highly simplistic and neatly constructed, that their respective places should be kept in order, and that conflict should be avoided. As the agricultural society shifted to a feudal model, the concept of the king as God's messenger developed, reinforcing the social stratification. In the 1950s, Clifford Geertz introduced the terms *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi* to classify Javanese society. These classifications were based on the religious orientations of the people. *Santri* was used to refer to devout Javanese Muslims, who practice Islamic teachings such as daily prayer and fasting. *Abangan* was the term for nominal Muslims who practice only a few of the Islamic rituals such as circumcision and not eating pork and who, apart from believing in Allah, also believe in Hindu/Buddhist gods, and practice some of the traditions of these religions (Budiman, 1990, p. 442).

It is assumed that *priyayi* is a derivation of the term *poroyayi* meaning royal lineage, so *priyayi* really means those having a close relationship with the king or aristocrats. When the kingdom acquired a more complicated bureaucracy, the Dutch colonial government appointed colonial bureaucracy candidates as noblemen. Consequently, the number of *priyayi* increased and *priyayi* became a bureaucratic elite. The rest of the population were ordinary people (*wong cilik*). Even if there was a rich farmer living in the village, he was only regarded as a common person. Trade occupations were also considered to be of low status.

*Priyayi* tend to look for higher positions in their profession. In other words, they are of high rank. Koentjaraningrat (1974, p. 44) claims that the *priyayi* find happiness in their position in society, their authority, and the physical symbols of their prosperity. The title *Raden* is used in the palace for the king's offspring, but *Den* or *Raden* also can be used for anyone who has high status.

*Wong cilik* are the people who have low social status, and their professions are considered not honourable because their work relies on their physical power; they are the farmers, crafts people and labourers. In the past, stratification was considered a highly important part of the feudal-aristocratic system. The feudal-aristocratic system was a strong cultural influence. The dichotomy of upper class (*priyayi*) and lower class (*wong*)
cilik) has effectively disappeared since Indonesian independence which was the catalyst for egalitarian processes. This is discomforting for the traditional nobility. They do not accept the limited criteria by which the nouveaux-riches declare themselves upper-class. The king and his elite bureaucrats developed a set of values which would maintain the natural equilibrium. The concepts of 'sophistication' and 'sensitivity' in Javanese society are ultimately important. They are reflected in speech, behaviour and manners. This was part of the aristocratic value system. The lower class had their own values, which were derived from mythology where fairies and goddesses protected the people.

To be accepted by Javanese society an individual had to be aware of his/her position. In planning a marriage, for example, a father would ask his daughter about the man, his job, and his status. Equality was a primary consideration, and origin was also important. Good quality people were those who knew their right place and had the potential to raise their status.

B. The Position of Women.

The Javanese people, in general, traditionally considered the position of women to be lower than that of men. This can be seen in the daily activities of Javanese people. Some examples of attitudes to women are expressed in Javanese sayings: men in the fields, women in the kitchen; men holding swords, women holding needles; men using their minds, women using their feelings; men ordering, women following. The following expressions exemplify traditional Javanese attitudes to women which still exist in some areas today.

Swarga nunut, neraka katut means ‘follow your husband, whether to heaven or to hell’. Women can enjoy happiness only through the happiness of their husbands. Women have no right to attain their own happiness. Conversely, when things are difficult for the husband, his wife must suffer with him even though she was not the cause.

Yen awan dadi thelek, yen bengi dadi lemek means ‘be as a slipper by day, as a
mattress by night'. Women are no more than workers or slaves for their husbands. Women have to be able to protect their husbands from all bad things in the eyes of society and have to be able to keep their husbands' secrets. Women have to be theklek (foot slippers made from wood), that can keep and protect their husbands' feet from thorns in the community. Women have to be a shield for their husbands. At night, women have to serve their husbands well. In this case, women have to be on the alert when their husbands need them.

*Cowek gopel upamane,* means 'be like a broken cobek (clay bowl used for grinding spice)'. Women are just like a broken cobek; when they are no longer useful, they will be thrown away and will no longer get attention. The husband will then look for a better woman.

*Kanca wingking* means a friend in the background. A woman's role is to support her husband, especially through the performance of household duties. It is not suitable for women to be in the front room with their husbands are meeting guests. Women just look after their children (Hersri, 1981, p. 24), and complement their husbands' lives. They have no rights to self-determination and should devote themselves to their husbands completely.

4. RELIGION IN JAVANESE SOCIETY

The origins of Javanese religion go back to in prehistoric times. The ancient Javanese believed that all the things around them such as plants, animals, land, water, sun and wind were alive, and had supernatural powers. They also believed that these natural objects had spirits which possessed either good or bad characteristics. The spirits were considered to be stronger and more powerful than human beings. To avoid trouble from the spirits, Javanese people worshipped them by holding ceremonies. A good spirit was asked for a blessing in order to protect the family, while an evil spirit was asked not to bother them. Javanese people made special places for worship. These sacred places served two purposes: one for ancestral worship, the other for protection from the evil spirits.
The purest form of Javanese religion is difficult to identify, and is not visible in modern Javanese society. This faith is called animism. It has been mixed with other religions and faiths like Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, and in this way has been embedded in the religious life of the Javanese. Ancestral spirit worship seems to have been the first Javanese religion. Spirit worship benefited human’s prosperity and safety. People prayed for various purposes, such as wealth, health or being free of difficult problems. The Javanese believed that spirits inhabited various locations. People believed that some spirits lived in sacred cemeteries. The good spirits stay in the houses, while evil spirits live in big trees, forests, mountains and caves.

Animism religious ceremonies are still found in Javanese society, but have changed in function from personal requests to traditional customs. Various actions are taken to contact the spirit or the ancestor:

- inviting a person who has magic or divine power or who is an expert in that aspect;
- making a statue of the ancestor in order that the ancestor’s spirit can enter the statue;
- making ritual offerings and burning incense or other fragrances that are liked by the ancestor; or
- holding a ceremony with musical instruments and dance in order that the ancestor’s spirit is happy and gives its blessings.

Nowadays, ancestor worship has changed to respect for a dead person’s spirit. The Javanese recognise the life hereafter, so they believe that the best way to save the ancestor’s spirit in the hereafter is to make various kinds of meal ceremonies and to give alms for a thousand days after the person’s death. Marbangun Hardjowirogo (1989, p. 98) describes how with the death of someone, ceremonies are held on the death day, on the seventh, the fortieth, and the hundredth day after death, on first and second anniversaries, and on the thousandth day after the death. On that day the gravestone is also allowed to be installed on the grave.
Javanese cultural life is full of religious ceremonies whose purpose is to obtain tranquillity, peace, happiness and prosperity. They include commemorations of the life cycle, the ceremony of the seventh month of pregnancy, the first hair cutting, touching the land for the first time, and circumcision. Also, various ceremonies are related to the village, such as cultivation of farmland, harvest, and moving house.

Whilst religion in Javanese society was focused on ancestor worship, it was also concerned with the essence of humankind's origin, what and who humans are, their life direction and purpose. These concerns are sangkan paraning dumadi, and include two aspects: the understanding of human existence and origin, and the human place in the universe with regard to various activities and religious activities that relate to the life cycle.

Practising sangkan paraning dumadi, a Javanese tries to put his/her life and heart in order. Generally, a Javanese looks for difficulty and religious suffering on purpose. This can be done by tirakat, which includes fasting, praying, meditating and giving alms. The Javanese believe that such efforts can make their faith firm and help them overcome the difficulties, sadness and disappointments of life. They believe that tirakat makes a person stronger, greater and more zealous, and that those who observe it will be rewarded later by being granted all wishes and aspirations, and will achieve the important goals in life.

In practising mysticism, asceticism (tapa) is an effort to cleanse by meditation, in order to gain release from the world so that a person is capable of accepting a vision from the God who will disclose life's secrets, and the origin and purpose of humans (Mulder, 1983, p. 25). In Javanese religious life, mysticism (kebatinan) concerns all levels of society. Mysticism is classified by Kodiran (1993) as follows:

1. Mysticism which believes in the existence of invisible spirits, elements or invisible bodies and evil spirits, etc.
2. Mysticism which takes much from the beliefs of Islam.
3. Mysticism which believes in Hindu religion and gods.
4. Mysticism which looks for a unity with God.

Javanese people believe in supernatural power (*kasekten*). Strong supernatural powers can produce heat, light or flashes of lightning (Koentjjaraningrat, 1983, p. 341). Supernatural power can be in all parts of the human body: the head, eyes, sexual organs, nails, saliva, sweat and sperm. Supernatural power is also found in heirlooms such as the *kris* (a heavy dagger) and *gamelan* (Javanese music instruments). *Kasekten* is also found in certain kinds of birds (*perkutut*), and the king’s vehicles (the horse-drawn carriages, *Nyai Jimat* and *Garuda Yeksa*). These objects which are believed to have supernatural power have to be treated in specific ways. *Nyai Jimat* and *Garuda Yeksa* carriages are cleaned with a washing ceremony once every year on *Kliwon* Friday in *Sura* month (in the Javanese calender). The water residue can be used to give blessings and is considered to have a certain good fortune. This traditional ceremony is held publicly in the palace.

Based on ancient inscriptions found at Canggal in central Java in 732 AD and on ancient inscriptions found in Dinaya in east Java in 760 AD, it is known that Hinduism began its influence on Javanese society after the fourth century (Prijotomo, 1984). Some centuries later Buddhism followed. Islamic religious tenets began to influence Javanese society at the end of the Majapahit kingdom in the fifteenth century (Ricklefs, 1981). These tenets were introduced by Gujarat merchants from India who landed in the coastal areas of Cirebon, Demak, Tuban, Banten and Gresik. These areas were far from Hindu cultural influence, and therefore Islamic influence easily developed. While the Javanese society adhered to Hinduism, they accepted Islam by integrating it with Hindu tradition. In the seventeenth century, Dutch merchants came to Java Island and brought Christianity.

Today, most Javanese people adhere to the Islamic religion, but there are also many who are Christian, Hindu and Buddhist. The religious attitude of the Javanese people is not entirely pious except for those who are faithful to a certain religion. In religious practice, Javanese have been influenced by other religions, customs and traditions that have infiltrated Javanese life, with the result that a different Javanese
religion has emerged which is known as *Kejawen* (Koentjaraningrat, 1980, p. 27). Javanese religious concepts taken from Hindu and Buddhist tenets have become more mystical. Javanese religious elements are also taken from Islam. In Java, some people believe in Allah, the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an, but they do not pray five times a day, or fast in the Ramadhan month, and do not involve themselves in religious activity.
Chapter 3

THE HISTORY OF SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PALACE.

Surakarta Kasunanan palace is the centre of the Mataram kingdom. The centre was formerly located in Kartasura, but moved to its present site in Sala village (or Surakarta) on 17 February 1745. The transfer of Surakarta Kasunanan palace as the centre of government from Kartasura to Surakarta was coloured by much conflict and rebellion (Houben, 1994, p. 4). The history of the founding of Surakarta Kasunanan palace is closely linked with the history of previous kingdoms of the Mataram dynasty. The Mataram dynasty was established by a man of lowly origin, Panembahan Senopati, in 1586 (Moedjanto, 1993). At that time, the centre of the government of Mataram was located at Kota Gede (1580 - 1618), south-east of Yogyakarta city. Due to revolts it was relocated several times: to Kerta (1618 - 1647), to Plered (1647 - 1680), to Kartasura (1680 - 1745), and then to Surakarta (1745 - present) (Behrend, 1982, pp. 6-7). (see Figure 3.1).

The Mataram kingdom achieved its peak of prosperity in the period of Sultan Agung, grandson of Panembahan Senopati. During this period the authority of Mataram
covered nearly the entire land of Java with the centre of government in Plered (7 kilometres south of present day Wates city) (Ricklefs, 1981, pp. 66-77). After Sultan Agung abdicated in favour of his son, who took the name Amangkurat I, Mataram experienced a decline. During this period there were many revolts and wars and, as a result, the central government was moved to Kerta (7 kilometres south of Yogyakarta). Around 1674, Mataram was attacked by Trunajaya from Madura, Kerta fell into hands of Trunajaya, and Amangkurat I together with his followers escaped westward seeking assistance from the Dutch (Moedjanto, 1993). Before this assistance was given, Amangkurat I died in 1677, and his son became king, taking the name Amangkurat II. The Dutch took advantage of the situation and gained control of part of the territory of Mataram kingdom (Ricklefs, 1981).

Figure 3.1
The locations of the capital city of the kingdom before Surakarta.
With the assistance of the Dutch, Trunajaya could have been eliminated, but the capital of Mataram kingdom at Kerta had been destroyed. Finally, under the influence of the Dutch, the king decided to move the centre of government to Kartasura (9 kilometres west of the present Surakarta city) (Ricklefs, 1981, pp. 78-90). Kartasura palace was established on September 11, 1678 and stood until 1745. During this time, the relationship between Mataram kingdom and the Dutch became tense. The Dutch continued to annex Mataram's territories, so that the territory of Mataram kingdom became increasingly smaller. When Amangkurat II descended from his throne in 1702, he was succeeded by the following kings (Saparto, 1969):

- Amangkurat III (Sunan Mas), who ruled from 1703 to 1704
- Pakubuwana I (Puger Prince), who ruled from 1704 to 1719
- Amangkurat IV, who ruled from 1718 to 1727
- Pakubuwana II, who ruled from 1727 to 1749.

In 1741, during the rule of Pakubuwana II, a revolt broke out at Kartasura which became known as the revolt of the Chinese people (Geger Pacinan). This revolt was caused by the mass slaying of the Chinese in Semarang by the Dutch, and spread to Kartasura. The Chinese, led by R. M. Garendhi, rebelled against the influence and authority of the Dutch (Ricklefs, 1981, pp. 88-89). The revolt was reaching its peak when, on July 10, 1741, the Dutch felt that they were in danger and asked for assistance from Cakraningrat IV, the lord of West Madura, to suppress the rebellion and drive the Chinese from Kartasura (Ricklefs, 1981). Cakraningrat promised his assistance on the condition that Madura would be independent from Mataram kingdom.

To prevent the plan of Cakraningrat IV, Pakubuwana II was forced to conclude an agreement of cooperation with the Dutch. In March 1742, the Dutch Commissioner sent Captain Van Hohendorff to Kartasura, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. As stated by Ricklefs (1981, p. 89), Pakubuwana II and Van Hohendorff fled eastward, and the king addressed a desperate plea to the Dutch. If he could be restored to his throne, he would repay the Dutch by giving them the coast and letting them choose the patih
The situation became more serious when the Chinese succeeded in occupying Kartasura palace and appointed a new king, Sunan Kuning. Pakubuwana II was forced to leave Kartasura palace and to evacuate his court to Ponorogo area together with his son (Adipati Anom) and Captain Van Hohendorff (Ricklefs, 1981).

Cakraningrat IV succeeded in suppressing the rebellion and recaptured Kartasura palace, but the Dutch persuaded Cakraningrat IV to return to Madura and to re-surrender Kartasura palace to the king. The *Babad Sala* (chronicle of Sala) (Sajid, 1984) refers to the condition of Kartasura palace after the rebellion as very poor. The structures of the palace had been destroyed and the entire property of the kingdom was in disorder. According to old beliefs in Java, if the palace or the centre of the kingdom falls into the hands of the enemy, then the king must build a new centre for the kingdom (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997). Therefore, when Pakubuwana II returned from Ponorogo, he decided to leave Kartasura palace and found a new place for the palace.

**Removal of Kartasura Palace to Surakarta**

Pakubuwana II planned to move Kartasura palace to another location, as soon as it could be retaken. For that purpose the king sent some kingdom *Pujanggas* (men of Letters) to search for the best area for the new centre of government. After the Chinese uprising was suppressed, Pakubuwana II held a meeting with Van Hohendorff to determine the region which would become the new centre of the kingdom. On the recommendation of the Dutch, the king ordered two royal poets, Wijil and Tirtawiguna to accompany Van Hohendorff to look for a new area which would be suitable for the centre of the kingdom (Sajid, 1984, p. 3-14). The regions taken into consideration included:

- Kadipolo village (now Sriwedari)
- Sala village (now the location of the palace)
- Sanasewu village (now Bekonang) (Saparto, 1969).
Van Hohendorff proposed Sala village, which was located at the banks of the Bengawan Sala river, as the new centre of the kingdom, because the river would provide good transport for building materials such as teak. Similarly, if the king wished to send envoys to east Java, they could travel by river. Initially, the royal poets objected to the proposal, as the Sala region was very low and marshy, so that each rainy season this region would be flooded. But the Dutch insisted on their choice and finally, in September 1744, Sala village was chosen.

According to an interview with Yosodipuro (pers. comm., 1995), when P. Wijil and T. Tirtowiguno meditated, they heard a divine revelation which said that the village of Sala would be a great, secure, peaceful and prosperous location. Therefore, Pakubuwana II decided to move the palace to Sala village. So the choice of Sala village as the centre of the kingdom was based on the divine inspiration received by the royal poets when they retired into seclusion by the Bengawan Sala river. They were told that to find a region which was suitable as the centre of the kingdom, they had to go to Sala village, as it had been predestined by God the Almighty that the area would become the centre of the kingdom, which would be large, just and prosperous (Sajid, 1984) (see Figure 3.2).

The marshes of Sala village caused difficulties. Various attempts to drain them were tried, but they were not successful. In the Babad Sala (Sajid, 1984) it is stated that P. Wijil had received inspiration from a divine voice which stated that to drain the marshes they first had to make an offering of flowers or food. Thereafter, and through the mobilisation thousands of people, the marshes of Sala village finally were drained. After the land was reclaimed, the king ordered the people to plan and build the palace. The officers in charge of construction were Major Van Hohendorff, Pringgoloyo, T. Pusponegoro, T. Honggowongso, Mangkuyudo, and T. Tirtowiguno. The officers who did the planning were Yosodipuro and Tohjoyo (Saparto, 1969).

The construction of Surakarta Kasunanan palace began in 1744, three years after the Chinese rebellion at Kartasura. There are no clear details regarding the phases of the construction of the palace at that time. One source of information mentions that at the
beginning of construction, the structure of the palace was simple. The main fortress (Baluwarti) initially was made from plaited bamboo (Behrend, 1982, p. 8). Only later did the structures of Surakarta Kasunanan palace begin to be perfected.

---

Figure 3.2

Sala village prior to the relocation of the palace (Sajid, 1984).

On February 17, 1745, Pakubuwana II officially left Kartasura palace to move to the new palace at Sala village. At the request of the king, the name of Sala village was replaced with Surakarta Hadiningrat, while Kartasura was given the new name of Wanakarta village. The removal of the palace from Kartasura to Surakarta was described by the royal poet Yosodipuro. The king and his followers walked in a procession leaving Kartasura palace in the direction of Sala village -- or Surakarta Hadiningrat -- carrying the royal possessions (Pemberton, 1994). A large official ceremony was organised, and
Pakubuwana II changed the name of Sala village to Negara Surakarta Hadiningrat, then ordered his people to plant banyan trees taken from the former palace, Kartasura. These banyan trees are still alive and can be seen in the northern town square. The banyan tree to the west was given the sacred name *Dewadaru* and the east one was called *Jayadaru* (Saparto, 1969, p. 19).

Meanwhile, the construction of the palace proceeded, and to meet existing village infrastructure shortcomings, public facilities such as roads around the palace and water channels were constructed and trees planted. According to Pemberton (1994), the formal ritual procession from Kartasura to Surakarta was seen as a political strategy.

The formal procession from Kartasura represented a significant shift in what now probably would be called political strategy. Never before had a Javanese king as thoroughly defeated as Pakubuwana II picked up palace pieces throne-room, banyan trees, and all - and moved, with such ceremony, right next door. For when the remnants of the kingdom actually passed by on their move to Sala, they did so as if in royal progress. Forming a grand procession of state at the very moment in a kingdom's demise when convention advised formal retreat, the Pakubuwana house performed a most original ritual act: in the customary guise of a royal progress, and with Company escort, it ceremoniously founded a new kingdom (Pemberton, 1994, p. 37).

This political strategy was understandable, as the establishment of the new palace, as the centre of the government, was to be demonstrated to the people. For the defeated king it was highly important to show and legitimise his power and that of his new palace over the people. This ritual ceremony symbolically demonstrating royal power was beneficial in regaining the royal authority. 'Ritual thus emerged as a new form of power, a particularly privileged process for transforming the contradiction between what was and what was not into a novel royal state' (Pemberton, 1994). From the Dutch point of view, it was also a crucial moment to gain acceptance from the Javanese by escorting the ceremonial procession. The king was still considered to have religious influence, however, by maintaining close relations with the king and his institution, it was easier for the Dutch to be accepted by the Javanese people.

On February 24, 1748, the Dutch appointed Van Hohendorff as Governor General of the eastern coastal territory of Java. The following year on December 11,
1749, before Governor General Van Hohendorff, Pakubuwana II signed an agreement which included the clause that he unconditionally surrender the entire Mataram kingdom to the Dutch (Moedjanto, 1993). This agreement caused tensions among the noblemen of Mataram who opposed the intervention of the Dutch, and resulted in a rebellion led by Raden Mas Said and Mangkubumi, two sons of Amangkurat Jawi Kartasura. As a result, Pakubuwana II fell ill, and died on December 20, 1749 (Ricklefs, 1981). The Dutch government installed the crown prince, who took the name Pakubuwana III.

In 1755, the Treaty of Giyanti was signed. This treaty included a clause that divided Mataram kingdom into two parts. The eastern part was put under the authority of Pakubuwana III with its capital at Surakarta (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 50). The western part was under the control of Mangkubumi, called Hamengkubuwana I, and its new capital was Yogyakarta (Ricklefs, 1981, p. 94). It was followed by the Treaty of Salatiga in 1757 which gave Raden Mas Said, renamed Mangkunegaran I, one region within the Surakarta kingdom. As a result of these treaties, Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Mangkunegaran palace were directly under the authority of the Dutch.

2. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE

From the beginning of the seventh century until the eleventh century, Hindu and Buddhist culture developed. The physical realisation of this culture is an inheritance of temples and palaces, particularly concentrated in the region of Kedu and Prambanan, and includes monuments such as Dieng temple, Borobudur temple, Gedongsono temple, Mendut temple, Kalasan temple, Sewu temple, Plaosan temple, and Boko temple.

Prior to the sixteenth century, the power of many Islamic kingdoms rose and fell. For example, the kingdom of Demak lost control of central Java to the kingdom of Pajang, which in turn was replaced by the kingdom of Mataram. Since the eighteenth century, the kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta have played significant roles in the development of Javanese culture in central Java (Moedjanto, 1993). Islamic influence
were centralised on the eastern part of the northern coast of Central Java. Both cultures, Islamic and Javanese, spread south and occupied fertile valleys to the south of Mount Merapi - an active volcano. Both cultures took about four centuries to spread over the entire region of Central Java.

The Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex constitutes the result of the integration of Javanese original culture (animism) and external cultures, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Chinese and European. This can be seen architecturally in the materials, techniques and the shape of palace buildings.

**Chinese Influence**

Historically, Chinese culture was brought to Indonesia by Chinese sailors around 300 BC, that is, prior to Hinduism, and continued during the period of Hindu kingdoms in Java from the first to the fourteenth century (Prijotomo, 1984). At that time Indonesia had just entered its Bronze Age. The Chinese came to Java for trade. From this commercial relationship came cultural integration of the original or Islam-Javanese culture and the culture brought in by the Chinese. This new culture grew particularly in the northern coastal regions of Java. The region most influenced by the Chinese is Cirebon. Here, the Chinese element is dominant, particularly in Cirebon palace and its surrounds.

At Surakarta Kasunanan palace, the influence of Chinese culture was not very strong, especially in buildings. Chinese elements that exist are in the form of art objects found around the palace yard, as well as outside the walls of the palace. These art objects include ceramic pots and plates from the Ming dynasty of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. They are now kept in the palace museum. A couple of lion statues found in front of Kori Talangpaten, the informal gate to the main place area, are thought to have come from China (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997).

Besides these objects, the palace building contains few Chinese elements. This is possibly due to the location of Surakarta -- far from the coast -- and the Dutch
government's domination of Surakarta Kasunanan palace which limited the growth of Chinese influence, particularly within the purview of the palace authority. The Chinese revolt against the Mataram kingdom in Kartasura in 1741 may have left certain negative impressions on the next generations of the Mataram dynasty, resulting in a reluctance to adopt Chinese influence.

**Hindu-Javanese Influence**

The result of the integration of indigenous Javanese animism and Hindu-Buddhism which had come from India is the Hindu-Javanese culture. This culture developed in Java between the eighth and the fifteenth century. The architectural works resulting from this culture included temples and places of sacrifice. These temple forms later became the inspiration in developing the forms of Javanese traditional buildings.

In the development of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex, the art of traditional Javanese building provided the strongest influence. Besides the Hindu-Javanese philosophy providing the basis for the layout of the entire palace, the palace buildings themselves are considered the most important and valuable models of the typical traditional Javanese house. They represent the continuation of tradition from the period of the Mataram kingdom (Prijotomo, 1984). In Javanese people's lives, particularly around the palace, Hindu-Javanese influence has become strong and is now the inherited custom.

Hindu-Javanese elements can be found in several important building complexes, the most important of which are the main house Prabasuyasa and Pendapa Sasana Sewaka buildings. Other traditional Javanese buildings include Bangsal Witana in Siti Hinggil Lor, Bangsal Smarakata, Bale Marcukunda, and the main building in Siti Hinggil Kidul. In all these buildings the influence of traditional Javanese art can be seen clearly in the application of the Joglo (a typical traditional Javanese roof), complete with decorations typical of Hindu design. Other buildings contain Hindu elements in the shape of gateways, portals (gapura) and gates, which are commonly completed with a pair of statues, Dwarapala or Pandita Yaksa.
The shape of Sanggabuwana tower located in the north part of the palace yard symbolises male genitals, in Sanskrit called Lingga. The illustration of Lingga coupled with Yoni, symbol for the female genital shape is also found on the wall of Bangsal Srimanganti Lor. The animism elements, apparently still strongly rooted during the construction of the palace, are reflected in the sacredness and naming of royal heirlooms considered to possess spirit and power.

Most of the buildings and trees planted in the palace complex had magical meanings. Animistic influence is still discernible through the beliefs connected with the cannons in the palace court yard. They are believed to be sacred. The Kyai Setomi cannon found in Siti Hinggil Lor is considered to have female characteristics, and can give a blessing to everyone who comes in contact with it. Among the banyan trees planted in the town square, the most sacred are Kyai Dewa-daru and Kyai Jaya-daru (in the northern town square). They were considered to have power and be a symbol of protection (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

Islamic Influence

The Islamic culture had begun to enter Indonesia at the end of the thirteenth century, and had become an important influence in Java by about the fifteenth century (Moedjanto, 1993). The Islamic culture entered Indonesia, not through political domination but through commercial traffic, brought by Gujarat merchants from India. It was introduced into the northern coastal regions of Tuban, Gresik, Demak, Cirebon, and Banten.

In architecture, the influence of Islamic culture was generally limited to mosques, palaces, and royal tombs. The form of these buildings still contained elements of shrine buildings. This is because, besides Hindu-Javanese culture being a very strong custom, Islam was introduced to Indonesia at the same time as Western nations (Portugal, Holland, and England) had begun to enter and implant their influences.
Pressure and the intrigues of the Western nations inhibited the growth of Islam, particularly in Java. With the expansion of Islam in the Javanese kingdoms, mosques became an inseparable element of palace building complexes. In general, mosques were constructed on the west side of the town square. Due to the underlying philosophy providing the basis for the layout of the palace, mosques are located in the outermost cosmic ring (Tanah Sabrang) to symbolise the holy city of Mecca which is located far from Java in the west.

Within the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex, the influence of Islam on buildings is limited to the four mosques; Bandengan mosque and Pudyasana mosque in the inner palace complex, Suranatan mosque in the Baluwarti area, and Agung mosque, or Masjid Gede, located on the west side of the northern town square. The four mosques in the palace complex are different in form and size, and each has a role of its own. These buildings are still based on old Hindu-Javanese elements and take the shape of a traditional Javanese house. The Bandengan mosque most resembles a Javanese house of worship because it is too small to be considered a mosque, it is very private and is located in the middle of a pond.

Agung mosque is in the shape of a joglo (a typical traditional Javanese roof), with four main pillars, and a roof made in layers taking the shape of a pagoda typical of mosques built in Java in the seventeenth century. Islamic influence can be seen in the shape of its gate consisting of high pillars, the tops of which form a dome. The arched door is also similar to those of mosques in the Middle East. Of interest is the existence of two open buildings (Bangsal Gamelan Sekaten) in the front yard of the Agung mosque, near the entrance (the mosque gate). This clearly shows the mixing of elements of the old Hindu-Javanese culture and the new Islamic elements. The Gamelan derived from Hindu-Javanese culture was used as an instrument or medium of religious proselytising during Islamic events such as the celebration of Sekaten (Maulud Nabi: birthday of the Prophet Muhammad).

The influence of Islamic life on residential buildings or palaces in Java is generally limited to the details or the decoration of inner space. Furthermore, the
imitation of original-style buildings from Arabic countries where the climate is hot and dry was not appropriate to the climatic conditions in Indonesia (Sumintardja, 1978). Besides, Hindu-Javanese culture was strongly rooted in most part of Indonesia and in Java in particular.

European Influence

Western culture began to enter Indonesia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese and Dutch began sailing to Indonesia for commerce. Their main destination at that time was the Maluku Islands because these islands were the centre of spice production (Ricklefs, 1981).

The development of commercial competition forced the Portuguese and Dutch to build defensive forts. This was the beginning of the colonial style buildings in Indonesia. The influence extended to several islands of Indonesia, and culminated when the Dutch founded a commercial centre on Java island and built a fort in Batavia in 1602. At that time, most of Java island was under the authority of the Mataram kingdom. After the end of the administration of Sultan Agung (1613-1645), the Mataram dynasty was in decline (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 52). The Mataram kingdom had already come under the influence of the Dutch.

Surakarta Kasunanan palace was not free from the influence of European culture, as it was directly under the authority of the Dutch government after the end of the administration of Pakubuwana II. The European influence clearly appeared in the palace life: in the organisational structure of the government and in matters concerning building.

The Surakarta Kasunanan palace buildings have undergone many changes or additions which were the result of European influence. European influence can be seen clearly in the use of materials, the form of buildings, the application of aesthetic elements, and technology. This influence can be found in most of the palace, particularly the buildings in the ceremonial area.
3. BUILT FORM

Use of Materials

Most of the palace buildings use materials borrowed from western technology. In the period before western influence, the materials commonly used for Javanese traditional buildings were local. For example, to make massive walls, burnt soil or red bricks glued by sand mixed with egg white or molasses were used. This was the main method of construction used in the buildings of Mataram palaces. It can also be seen in the ruins of Kartasura palace, nine kilometres west of Surakarta city. Others local materials used were boards or gebyok, and bamboo screens or gedek.

With the progress of building techniques brought by Europeans, especially the Dutch, most of the walls of new palace buildings were made of bricks glued with a mixture of sand, cement and lime and were then plastered. For the floors, particularly in ceremonial buildings, white marble imported from Italy or coloured tiles from Europe were used. White marble was used in Pendapa Sasana Sewaka and Bangsal Sewayana in Siti Hinggil Lor. Other less important buildings have cement floors or grey tiles.

Traditionally, roofs were made of local materials -- teakwood with shingle or clay roof-tiles. However, on several important buildings, metal roofing -- cast iron and corrugated iron sheets -- has been used. Ceilings, besides traditional long boards, were sometimes finished with plaster specially moulded with a motif design or pattern. This kind of ceiling was used in several important buildings such as Sasana Handrawina and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa.

Form

Most palace buildings are a blend of traditional Javanese building and European building styles. A good example of this blending can be seen in the Kori Srimanganti building. The roof of Kori Srimanganti has the form of Semar-tinandu (a typical
traditional Javanese roof) and is covered with wide scaled shingles, whereas the pillars resemble those of classic European buildings, imitating the Corinthian shape. The unification of these two elements was strengthened by a pair of Hindu-style stone statues placed precisely in front of Bangsal Srimanganti building.

Other examples can be seen in several buildings found in the palace yard, such as Pendapa Sasana Sewaka and Sasana Handrawina. The main hall, Pendapa Sasana Sewaka, has the original shape of Joglo Pangrawit (a typical traditional Javanese roof), complete with Hindu-Javanese designed decoration. The veranda of Sasana Sewaka incorporates European design by using corrugated iron sheets on the roof, which is supported by cylindrical pillars made of cast iron. The European impression is strengthened by Italian-styled human statues surrounding the verandah of Sasana Sewaka, facing the yard. Sasana Handrawina hall has a longer span than other buildings in the palace due to the use of European building technology, but is topped with a traditional pyramid roof called Sinom Klabang Nyender. The hall was enclosed by walls of transparent glass in wooden frames. According to one member of the royal family, these glass walls were especially imported from Belgium.

**Aesthetic**

Apart from the form of the palace buildings, Western influence can be seen in the use of decoration and the placing of European-styled art objects. European-styled decoration can be seen on the facade of buildings Bangsal Sewayana in Siti Hinggil Lor, in Kori Srimanganti Lor and Kori Srimanganti Kidul. Art objects placed around the palace complex are mostly human statues made of bronze or white cement in classic Italian style. These statues are found in the inner palace yard, while others are found in the gardens or outside the wall of the palace. Most of these were gifts or tributes from the government of the Netherlands to the king.

**Building Construction**

By the nineteenth century, with the progress of European technology in the field
of construction, the Dutch started using steel and reinforced concrete in Indonesia. These new technologies offered new possibilities. Buildings could be made in many stages. Roofing and trusses allowed longer expanses so that fewer pillars were needed than in traditional structures.

Due to the technical progress, several buildings in the palace were made using steel construction and reinforced concrete. Those buildings represented both tributes and the contributions from the Dutch government to the king. Most of these buildings constructed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are found in the ceremonial area. They include the buildings of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and Bangsal Sewayana in Siti Hinggil Lor. To achieve the expanse of the roofs in these two buildings, steel frame trusses were used, covered with corrugated iron sheets. Other examples can be found in several buildings in the palace complex; among them, the buildings of Maligi and Paningrat.

In its simpler shape, this construction was also applied to other buildings in the palace. Often it was combined with the construction of old buildings such as in Magangan area or Siti Hinggil Kidul. In subsequent developments, this kind of building construction influenced other buildings outside the palace.

4. THE CITIES OF SURAKARTA AND YOGYAKARTA

Surakarta and Yogyakarta are two of the oldest cities on the island of Java, and have a shared tradition, inherited from the Moslem kingdom of Mataram. They were established during the time of the European expansion into the far east. Surakarta was established as the capital of the Mataram kingdom when rioting Chinese residents burned Kartasura in 1744. Ten years later when the Treaty of Giyanti was signed, Yogyakarta was established as a separate kingdom. The Giyanti treaty ended a long running war over the succession of the Mataram kingdom. Under this treaty, the Mataram kingdom was divided into two territories: Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 50). Surakarta Kasunanan palace and Yogyakarta palace shared a similar central culture, that of the Islamic kingdom of Mataram, until the Treaty of Giyanti. After the treaty, their
cultural development diverged somewhat, although there still remained many similarities. Both cities were constructed using similar architecture and similar urban patterns. The layout and arrangement of the Royal palace in each city are also similar as they are both oriented on a north-south axis. A number of other major components indicate the similarities between the two cities:

- The major roads which cross the town; General Sudirman Road in Surakarta and Malioboro road in Yogyakarta.
- The palaces; both have a pair of town squares, located to the north and to the south of the palace.
- The mosques located in the northern square, which functions as the main religious building for each city.
- The Dutch bastions located north of the northern square; Surakarta has Vastenberg Bastion and Yogyakarta has Vrederberg Bastion.
- The markets; Pasar Gede located north of the northern square of Surakarta palace and Bringharjo located north of the northern square of Yogyakarta palace.
- Each palace is oriented towards a mountain.
- The sea to the south is another main orientation of each palace.
- Each city is divided into specific ethnic residential areas such as Chinese, Arab, and Dutch, and professional residential areas such as Kauman and Laweyan.

...Purveyors of religion learned this at the very beginning, and the history of religious architecture is characterized by forms and spaces organised along axes that extend the reach of several objects or chambers through long hall, court, and forecourts to the outer limits of the sacred precinct. The builders of secular spaces, too, recognized the organizational power of the axis and arranged palaces and civic spaces along lines that lead through entire complexes, even cities, marshalling the attention of all those in attendance, separating left from right -- and setting the stage for processions (Lyndon, and Moore, 1994, p. 7.).

In each city, the components mentioned above are located along a north-south axis, and are arranged in the same way (see Figure 3.3). Surakarta and Yogyakarta palace were constructed under the control of a Dutch bastion, which had been built as a response to the internal conflicts within each kingdom: in Surakarta, between Kasunanan
palace and Mangkunegaran, and in Yogyakarta, between Kasultanan palace and Pakualaman. Each city has two palace complexes which were later influenced by European urban planning ideas. However, they do have some differences, which require discussion in order to understand concepts used in Javanese town design. These differences are the Sanggabuwana tower and Bandengan building which are only found in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace; and Sari garden which is only found in Yogyakarta.

**Figure 3.3**

The plan of Yogyakarta and Surakarta palaces

The city of Surakarta developed on land called Sala village on the banks of the Bengawan Solo, the longest river in Java. The north-south axis has, at its northern end, a sacred forest. Yogyakarta was built in a forested area between two rivers which flow
south to the sea from a mountain in the north. The north-south axis of each palace
represents the channel of communication between the mountain -- which represents the
sacred mountain in Javanese belief -- and the south sea, where the sea Goddess of
mythology resides. This description is, however, too simplistic, as all too many would
assume that in making an axis, one simply sets up a line along which people can walk.
This is not the case at all. An axis is a relationship across space, not simply a path
(Lyndon & Moore, 1994, p. 9.). The most important use of an axis in Javanese
mythology was in finding the most propitious palace site, since the palace will benefit
from the earth's energies and exert a lasting and decisive influence over the destinies of
the entire kingdom and the royal family.

Of the two palaces, that at Yogyakarta has the more obvious north-south axis and
symmetrical orientation, in keeping with traditional Javanese belief. At Surakarta,
however, the north-south axis is only partially followed, and the palace complex is not
centred along the axis. Other differences in physical form are due to the influence of the
Dutch. More recently, each city has developed differently. From 1946-1949,
Yogyakarta was the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia, and became the centre of
education and the location of one of the oldest universities in Java, while Surakarta
developed more as a business city connected with the ports of Semarang and Surabaya.
Three other mosques Sanggar Pamujan, Bandengan mosque and Pudyasana mosque are located in the inner yard. Sanggar Pamujan is located close to the main house Prabasuyasa. Bandengan mosque is a small building located in the middle of a pond on the western side of the garden of Nganjrasari, bordering the residence of the king (Madusuka and Madusita). It can be reached by a bridge on the eastern side. This is considered most sacred, as it is a place for the king to meditate and practice Javanism (Behrend, 1982, p. 147).

Pudyasana mosque is located on the north-western side of the inner yard, bordering the Bandengan area. This mosque was built by Pakubuwana X in 1912. Compared with other mosque buildings in the area of the palace, this mosque is new. Pudyasana mosque is used by the king and other relatives on the night of 1 Sura, at the same time as Kirab Pusaka, which celebrates the Javanese new year, when some of the kingdom's heirlooms are taken and paraded around the city (Behrend, 1982, p. 149).

Suranatan Mosque is located in the Baluwarti area but outside the main palace area. Suranatan was the mosque especially for servants of Suranata. The name Suranata meant a group of religious scholars. The mosque was also used to lay out the body when a royal princess died. It is located on the western side of the yard of Kemandungan Lor, at Jero Beteng Lor road.

The two buildings nearest the dalem [Prabasuyasa] and centre of the palace -- Sanggar Pamujan and Masjid Bandengan -- have only the slightest admixture of purely Islamic elements in a strongly Javanese base. The Masjids Suranatan and, probably, Pudyasana exhibit a balance of Islamic and Javanese elements. And finally, the Masjid Agung -- for practical purposes outside the kraton [palace] complex -- has hardly any connection with the court and its traditional ceremonies, and is a far more conventionally Islamic institution than the others. The greater the proximity of a religious structure to the centre of the palace, the more closely intertwined its function is with the proper running of the kraton, the less significant becomes the role of the Prophet and his religion, and the more pronounced is the emphasis on a Javanese tradition that consciously harks back to the pre-Islamic past (Behrend, 1982, pp. 151-152).
The existence of the religious buildings in the palace complex were also part of a political strategy. The Javanese political practice of the palace was weakened when it faced competition from religious power, due to the tendency of the people to put their religious life above mundane affairs. The use of space in the palace also maintained ambiguities in the social life where such uncertainties are necessary for social interest. The mosques in the inner palace complex tended to be used for practising Javanism as the mosques were only used by the royal family. In contrast, Agung mosque in the northern town square can be said to be symbolic of the Islamic religion of the kingdom and it has been used to accommodate the religious activities of the people. The Agung mosque is the place where sentiments of Islamic religious loyalty were centred. Islam can be seen as the 'formal religion' of the kingdom that was followed by the majority of the people. The quotation above indicates that the palace was aware of the potential of religion as a social force to be treated carefully: religion had great value for developing mental and spiritual resilience, one of the Javanese people's cultural strengths.

**The Western Palace**

A part of the inner yard area was built for a new palace called *Kraton Kulon* or the western palace. It is located on the western side of Baleretna garden. *Kraton Kulon* was built by Pakubuwana X, in 1933. Different from other palace buildings, the building of *Kraton Kulon* is colonial in style. Its gate faces west in the direction of the Jero Beteng Kulon road. Behind it is a garden with a round fountain pond. The function of *Kraton Kulon* is very similar to the main house, Prabasuyasa.

The official gate of *Kraton Kulon* is on the western side, facing directly onto the Jero Beteng Kulon road. This gate was built in 1933. Its form is European. The facade has a big door in the middle. On the left and right of the door are small rooms used as guard posts. The gate has a shingle roof in the form of a pyramid. Few details are available about Kraton Kulon as, since the end of Pakubuwana X's reign, this palace is no longer inhabited.
Figure 4.25

The Western Palace. The spaces in Surakarta Kasunanan palace functioned as areas for ritual activities as well as having mythical significance.
C. Complementary Structures

Another activity area is located outside the palace yard, mostly around Jero Beteng road. The buildings located in this area include mosques, school buildings, stables, chariot sheds, and barns for storing foodstuffs.

School Buildings

Within the area of the palace are three school buildings, Kesatriyan, Pamardi Putri and Pamardi Siwi (see Figure 4.26). These schools were built by Pakubuwana X for the children of the Royal family and its official to provide a basis of education. Kesatriyan is the school built especially for the princes and sons of the nobles in 1910. It is located on the eastern side of the yard of Kemandungan Lor, facing south onto Jero Beteng Lor road. The school is now opened to the public.

Pamardi Siwi school was built in 1925 especially for the sons and daughter of other nobles. It is located on the western side of Talangpaten gate, facing north onto Jero Beteng Lor road. Pamardi Putri school was built in 1929 for the daughters of the king or the daughters of the nobles. It is located on the southern side of the Kraton Kulon gate, facing Jero Beteng Kulon road. This school was equivalent to Kesatriyan.

Stables

As well as cages in the southern square for elephants, the palace building compound also had stable buildings, known as Kestalan (from the Javanese word istal meaning 'stable'). The stable buildings in the palace compound were Kestalan Langensari and Kestalan Kulon. Kestalan Langensari was the stable especially for horses from Europe and Australia. It was located on the northwest side of the palace yard, bordering the Bandengan area and western palace (Kraton Kulon). Kestalan Kulon was the stable especially for Javanese horses. It was located on the northwest side of the palace yard, at Jero Beteng Kulon road. These Javanese horses were generally used for pulling chariots, whereas the European and Australian horses were used as royal riding horses.
Figure 4.26

Pamardi Putri School
Baluwarti

Baluwarti is the main fortress surrounding the building compound of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The name Baluwarti derives from a Portuguese word, *baluarte*, meaning 'defence fortress'. The area inside the fortress wall is called Baluwarti area. Baluwarti area was the residential area of the palace, most of which was for princesses, officials and palace servants closely related to the king. Part of this area was the residence of the palace soldiers: Tamtaman, the residence area of Tamtama soldiers, and Carangan, the residence area of Carang soldiers. These two areas are located on the eastern side of the palace wall, stretching to the south, to the residential area of officials and servants.

The rest of the Baluwarti area contained the residences of the princes, and the relatives of the royal family. Most of the buildings are located along Jero Beteng road. During the reign of Pakubuwana X, in about 1933 when the Kraton Kulon or western palace was constructed, the western side of the Baluwarti area was extended a further 100 metres.
Chapter 4

PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE

1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PALACE AND SURAKARTA CITY

Surakarta city is located inland in Central Java, one of the provinces of Indonesia. The city covers an area of 43.451 square kilometres. It lies between 7 and 7.6 degrees south and between 110 and 111 degrees east and is situated in a lowland plain between Mount Merapi in the west and Mount Lawu in the east, and is located 98 metres above sea level. It lies almost level with the Bengawan Solo river and relies on a dam to protect it from flooding during the rainy season. It has a hot climate with an average maximum temperature of 27-30 degrees Celsius and an average minimum temperature of 20 degrees Celsius.

The development of Surakarta city began from the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex. Most urban areas within the city were designed to accommodate the people who had a close relationship to the palace. The function of each area can still be recognised from the name of the area, which usually derived from the function or the name of prominent people who lived in the area. The main palace complex was the centre of activity in the city, having high interaction with the surrounding areas, and was also a focal point as the symbolic centre of the region.

The history of the Surakarta city government dates from when the city was
established on 16 June 1946. Due to unstable political conditions after independence, Surakarta city has encountered several changes in its administrative status. Eventually, after law UU no. 18/1965 was passed on 1 September 1965, it became Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Surakarta (Surakarta City Government) and remains so.

The existence of Surakarta Kasunanan palace in Surakarta city facilitates the continuation of the Mataram Kingdom and the memory of the great king Sultan Agung (Ricklefs, 1981). The palace no longer has the political authority it used to have when secular power was held by the patih (chief minister), assisted by the bupati (regional heads), and religious affairs were carried out by the Penghulu (priest) (Behrend, 1982). Nowadays, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is an institution preserving Javanese culture, including the spiritual source of Kejawan (Javanese traditional belief). For example, it preserves art peculiar to Surakarta, and serves as a vital source of Javanese literature and philosophy.

Surakarta city is divided into five large administrative districts (kecamatan), which in turn are divided into smaller subdistricts (kelurahan) (see Figure 4.1):

a. Kecamatan Lawiyan has an area of 8.546 square kilometres and consists of 11 kelurahan;
b. Kecamatan Banjarsari has an area of 13.601 square kilometres and consists of 13 kelurahan;
c. Kecamatan Jebres has an area of 13.408 square kilometres and consists of 11 kelurahan;
d. Kecamatan Pasarkliwon has an area of 4.748 square kilometres and consists of 9 kelurahan; and
e. Kecamatan Serengan has an area of 3.148 square kilometres and consists of 7 kelurahan.

Since the establishment of law Penetapan Pemerintah No. 16 S/D on 16 July 1946, Surakarta palace ceased to be a special region (Daerah Istimewa). Yet the palace continued to be recognised by all, including the government, as having great historical value to the nation. It remains significant since it has connections with the Mataram,
Pajang and Demak kingdoms. There are many cultural aspects of those kingdoms that are still maintained and preserved today. These cultural assets add much income through tourism, and the government gives generous financial support to the palace to maintain its existence as a Javanese cultural centre. This support was formalised by Presidential decree No. 23/1988, on 16 July 1988 (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997) concerning the management of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, and recognising that Surakarta Kasunanan palace is the main component of the centre of culture of Surakarta. This decree stresses the need to preserve and develop the palace's potential and the palace area, so that it is culturally and environmentally viable. The General Director of Tourism's decree No. Kep. 10. a/u/VIII/89 established the Management Board of Surakarta Kasunanan palace on 15 August 1989 (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997) in order to coordinate the cultural and commercial aspects of the development of the palace, allowing input from Royal families, government instrumentalities and outstanding members of the citizenry.

Surakarta palace is situated in Surakarta city, kecamatan (district) Pasar Kliwon and kelurahan (subdistrict) Baluwarti. However, due to special conditions, Surakarta palace is considered a privileged area. Within Surakarta city area there are important structures and areas that are closely related to the palace. These include the Mangkunegaran palace, Sriwedari garden, Gede Market and many urban areas which have special functions. Culturally and historically, Mangkunegaran palace is inseparable from Surakarta Kasunanan palace, while Gede Market is the central element in the economic and social structure of the old Javanese city. Sriwedari garden was used as a recreation park by the Royal family, and is located 2 kilometres westward of Surakarta Kasunanan palace (see Figure 4.1).

The residential areas surrounding the palace can be grouped into three categories: those based on ethnic group, such as Arab, Chinese, Javanese Muslim, and Dutch (see Figure 4.2); those based on occupation, such as carpentry, pottery, smithy and craft; and those based on military rank -- Jagasura, Jagapraja, Jayasura and Jayataka were the soldiers who lived outside the palace complex, while Wiratamtama, Carangastra, Jayengastra and Wanengastra were the soldiers who lived inside the palace complex (Sajid, 1984). Soldiers' residential areas were mostly located inside the palace complex.
Surakarta city and the administrative regions. Surakarta Kasunanan palace is situated in Surakarta city, kecamatan (district) Pasar Kliwon and kelurahan (subdistrict) Baluwarti. Due to its historical importance and the Royal family's continuing residence, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is considered as a privileged area.
The name of each residential area sometimes is based on its function and is also derived from the name of the prominent people who lived there; the royal relatives, regents, or other high ranking aristocrats.

The Ethnic-urban Concentration. The essential characteristics of the urban areas in Surakarta city were both territorial and cultural. These characteristics were not necessarily tied to conceptions of the city as a spatial phenomenon, but these non-spatial qualities are typically associated with population concentration.
The identification of an area through its function and social order in Surakarta city was extremely important to the sense of stratification within the Javanese political administration. After recognising a specific point or location, people can establish its spatial relationship with their own, thus knowing where they are and how they should move and behave. People perceive the visual experience and respond to it through sensory mechanisms that have been triggered by some form of environmental stimulation. Everyday environmental experiences of Javanese society may have a very different quality, exerting a pervasive influence upon the perceptions of the people as well as their aspirations. The meaning attached to the physical environment may affect people’s behaviour. Diversity, complexity and ambiguity in a composition are conditions which stimulate arousal and attention. The ability to identify the environment allows people to recognise the familiar as well as to appreciate its situation. Spaces have certain qualities that have a high probability of evoking a strong response in the users. Sensory stimulation plays a significant role in motivating as well as guiding behaviour.

This study investigates the links between architectural space in Surakarta Kasunanan palace and the Javanese society. The spaces of the palace do not simply reflect the social group, they can also indirectly form the group. Space can be defined in many ways. The area surrounding the palace is defined by a combination of certain pattern elements based on spatial arrangement on many levels of separation of space. This study focuses on the contextuality of a space. The constructed culture is reconstructed or reflected in the traditional Javanese space pattern. It is important to understand urban space in the context of its physical linkage with surrounding buildings. Therefore, temporal linkage with all happenings in the past and symbols of the area are also important in utilising space to shape visual as well as physical linkages. A linkage is the connection that functions to tie some parts to become a united area. Linkage patterns are employed through access to and connection of different spaces. The palace area and its surroundings are connected by gates throughout the palace complex.

A gate is the connector between spaces, and usually indicates the hierarchical level and degree of privacy of an area. Surakarta Kasunanan palace has two gate patterns: formal and informal. The state activities conducted in the main axial north-south line was
audiences with the king, and this had the characteristic of state ritual which is rigid and formal. The main access to reach this area was through the main gates north and south. Whereas informal functions were to accommodate the daily activities which had no relation to the official matters of the palace, such as circulation of the members of the family or the families of the palace servants in or out of the palace. The access to accommodate these activities was mainly through other gates either in the west or east wings (see Figure 4.3). The layout of the palace complex creates a private sacred hierarchy of space in relation to the urban population in the city. The northern town square is the centre of the city; the place for gathering. In the palace complex, the northern and southern town squares are public yards that developed as gathering places and therefore can be accessed from any direction. Spiritually, these town squares symbolise the relationships among human beings, and between human beings and God. The squares are the points of the palace's orientation from the north and south. They were places of welcome as well as places for gathering. They were also the sites where large state ceremonies were held. Their spaces arrangement responded to the content of activities. These squares were an expression of the social order because of their functions and size.

People may devise elaborate built environments which permeate all aspects of life. The characteristic that distinguished the Javanese traditional society was order; the sense of coherence in every aspect of life. This order or coherence derives from a shared knowledge of origins and gives validity to every event. In Javanese traditional society the creation of myth and social status normally served as the basis for the organisation of society, space, territory, dwelling and family.

The built environments in Surakarta city are continuously transmitting messages to people. They convey cues for behaviour which people are able to read and understand. The environment, then, has a certain meaning which is communicated and acted upon by people in diverse settings. People read environmental cues, make judgments about the occupants of that setting, and act accordingly. It follows that the environment contains social, cultural, and symbolic information, and transmits many non-verbal messages that elicit appropriate behaviour (Wagner, 1972). These messages play an important role in
Figure 4.3
Access to the palace complex. A gate is the connector between spaces, and indicates the hierarchical level and degree of privacy of space. Surakarta Kasunanan palace has two gate patterns, namely formal and informal gates.
people's comprehension of the environment. People can identify the nature of places, judge their quality and status, identify settings, and know how to behave. Specific environments can be evaluated in terms of status, whether public or private, front or back, and if the cues are properly interpreted, people can act appropriately with regard to the environment or the people in it (Sanoff, 1991, p. 15).

Figure 4.4
The area surrounding the palace complex
Surakarta Kasunanan palace is a complex of buildings, consisting of three main parts: the main palace complex surrounded by a wall; a fortress area (*Baluwarti*) encircling the main palace compound, surrounded by a six metre high fortified wall; and two town squares, situated on the north and south sides of the fortified compound (see Figure 4.5). The entire complex, covering an area of about 54 hectares, is located in the centre of Surakarta city. The main gate or Gladak Gate (*Gapura Gladak*) of the palace complex is located on the north side of the main compound. The second gate, Gading Gate (*Gapura Gading*) is located on the south side. The entire building complex of the palace enclosed by the fortified wall has a square form. Two squares accommodating public gathering activity abut the fortress wall on the north and south side of the outer palace compound.

The area within the fortress wall is called Baluwarti or *Jero Beteng* ('inside of fortress'). There are four gateways into the Jero Beteng, one connecting it with the northern square, another one with the southern square, and a west and east gate which connect the Jero Beteng to the surrounding city. From the north, people pass through the gate of Kori Branjanala Lor, from the southern side through the gate of Kori Brajanala Kidul, from the east through the gate of Kori Butulan Wetan and from the west side through the gate of Kori Butulan Kulon. The main structure of the palace is located within the Baluwarti (fortress) area, surrounded by a road called *Jalan Jero Beteng* (meaning literally 'street inside the fortress'). The wall surrounding the palace structure has five gates which face Jero Beteng street. On the north side there are two gates: the gate of Kori Kemandungan Lor and the gate of Talangpaten. The other three gates are, on the south side, Kemandungan Kidul gate; on the east side, the Sidikara gate; and on the western side the gate of Kraton Kulon (western palace).

The Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex of buildings stretches along a north-south axis. Because of the complexity and extent of the complex, it is necessary to group the buildings within the palace compound according to the location and function of each structure (see Figure 4.5). I use Behrend's term 'ceremonial axis' to describe the core
area in the palace which was used for official activities and state occasions (Behrend, 1982, p. 13). This grouping is intended to simplify the description concerning the layout and the structural order of the palace. Based on the above considerations, the plan of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be divided into three parts:

- the ceremonial area;
- the main palace area; and
- the complementary structures.

A. The Ceremonial Area

*The Northern Town Square*

A town square is an inseparable part of typical Javanese palaces. Through its basic use as a place of public pronouncements, the square also enforces the authority of the regency, district or subdistrict. The square is an important element in the architectural environment and was the centre of city life in the past (Sumintardja, 1978, p. 16). Surakarta Kasunanan palace has two town squares. The squares are located on both the northern side, which is called *Alun-alun Lor*, and on the southern side, which is called *Alun-alun Kidul*. The main gate to enter *Alun-alun Lor* is called *Gapura Gladag*. In Javanese, the word *gladag* means 'to drag'. When Surakarta Kasunanan palace was being built, the area around the palace was still a forest used for hunting. It was the custom of the hunters at the time to drag their prey in front of the gate to be shot dead by the king (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

Gladag gate was officially opened in 1930. The gateway is an asphalt road 7 metres wide. There are poles, 9 metres high, beside this road, the tops of which form a crown made in layers, resembling a *ratna* (jewel) from ancient Hindu or Buddhist temples or shrines in East Java. In front of the gateway is a pair of statues of Dwarapala or Pandita Yaksa, which represent giants guarding the front gate.

The second gate is called Pamurakan gate. This name originated from the word *purak*, which in Javanese means 'to chop'. As with the history of the Gladag gate, Pamurakan gate was the location where people cut up prey acquired from hunting.
Surakarta Kasunanan Palace Complex

The palace complex was the centre of social, political and religious activity and had a high level of interaction with the surrounding urban fabric.

1. Gladag gate
2. Northern town square
3. Agung Mosque
4. Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa
5. Siti Hinggil Lor
6. Kori Brajanala Lor
7. Kemandhungan Lor
8. Srimanganti Lor
9. Kedhaton Yard
10. Pendapa Sasana Sewaka
11. Prabasuyasa
12. Kori Srimanganti Kidul
13. Magangan Yard
14. Kori Kemandhungan Kidul
15. Kori Brajanala Kidul
16. Southern town square
17. Gading gate

Source: Bob Cowherd from Yosodipuro (1994).
Between both gates there are two holy banyan trees which, according to legend, came from Kartasura palace (Houben, 1994; Pemberton, 1994). The tree located on the western side is named 'Wok' (woman), and the tree on the eastern side is called 'Jenggot' (man). Within the square there are another two banyan trees called Waringin Gung and Waringin Binatur, which according to tradition also originated from Kartasura (Sajid, 1984).

The northern town square is 9 hectares in size and was covered with sand. A road running north-south divides the square in the middle into two parts. Around the square a number of banyan trees have been planted (see Figure 4.6). At the sides of the square, there were a number of buildings called Paseban Bupati. The Paseban Bupati buildings were the waiting place for the regency officials to receive orders from the king. Most of these buildings no longer exist. At the southern side of the square was a pair of buildings called Bangsal Pangurakan. The name Pangurakan originated from the Javanese word *urak*, which means 'the granting of an allotment'. Traditionally, these buildings were the place where allotments were distributed to the palace guards. They also functioned as shaded places for the vehicles of people appearing before the king.

In the middle of the northern town square there is a pair of holy banyan trees. Each tree is encircled by a fence of round iron poles called *Waringin Kurung* which resemble spears. Iron fences like these are found in many palaces in Java. The banyan trees are known by the names of Kyai Dewadaru and Kyai Jayadaru. Dewadaru (God's wood) was planted on the western side and Jayadaru (wood of glory) was planted on the eastern side. Zimmerman (1919) explains that in the past, people mistreated in lawsuits would sit beneath these trees wearing all-white clothes and a kris and wait for the king to descend from his throne to listen to their grievances.

The northern town square was the place where the people of Surakarta would gather to hear the king's messages. It was where most domestic, social and cultural activities took place. This provided the forum for the establishment of human social relationships. It was also the place where the palace soldiers trained for war, and, at
certain times, it was used for festivals and shows involving the common people such as the fighting of a tiger with a buffalo (Behrend 1982, p. 40). The main building in the northern town square area is Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. This building is the centre of activity and has high interaction with the surrounding area. It is a focal point as the symbolic centre of the area's social activity. The main characteristic of the building is that it is behind the public space facing the square and can be clearly seen because it lays in the middle of an open space. In the northern town square area, the supporting buildings are called Pekapalans, while the supporting building at Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa were some small open halls, called Pacekotan, Singanegara and Martalulut.

Figure 4.6
The northern town square. This square was the centre of the public gathering space, where most domestic, social-political and cultural activities took place, and it provided the forum for the establishment of human social relationships.
The main buildings in the northern town square area use the traditional Javanese wood and brick framed structure with no walls. The widths of the buildings are about the same except for the open hall Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. This main building is more complex in its form and has more ornamentation compared with other buildings in the square. The shape of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa has been influenced by western construction techniques. This is seen in the details and materials used, such as iron columns and concrete blocks.

The southern town square

The southern town square, which replicates the northern square in shape and function, covers 4 hectares, and is approximately half the size of the northern town square (see Figure 4.7). The main gate to enter this square called Gading Gate is on the southern side. It is possible that its name has a connection with the colour of the gate, which was a yellow or ivory (gading) colour. The Gading gate was built by the king, Pakubuwana X, in 1939.

Unlike the northern town square, there were no Paseban Bupati buildings around the sides of the southern square. In the middle of this square there is also a pair of banyan trees which came from Kartasura palace, encircled by fences. At the western side of the square there was a stable for elephants (gajah), and this area is now known as Gajahan. The function and role of the southern square is not very different from those of the northern square. The philosophy of the layout of the southern town square is similar to its counterpart, the northern town square. The large size of the town square reflects the scale of the activities which take place there and is a symbol of social order.

Structures in the ceremonial area

The ceremonial area is a group of structures and open spaces, a large part of which functioned as places for the performance of official ceremonies of the Royal palace. The ceremonial area extends from the southern side of the north square through the main palace compound to the northern edge of the south square. This area is the central element of the connection between the northern town square and the southern
town square (see Figure 4.8). It becomes the major concern of this investigation. In the following sections, the meaning and role of each extant structure within the ceremonial area will be described.

Figure 4.7
The southern town square. The size of the town square reflects the scale of the activities which take place there.
Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa

An open hall called the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, 8000 square metres in size, is located on the southern side of the northern square. Sasana in Javanese means 'place', Sumewa means 'to appear before'. At this place, the chief minister of the king (patih) and the regent officers (bupatis) together with their subordinates sat before the king. The roof of this hall is supported by 64 pillars. The hall was built in 1913 by the king, Pakubuwana X.

In the middle of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa there is a small structure with its own roof called Bangsal Pangrawit. This is a special place for the king. The Bangsal Pangrawit is made from wood, and can be taken apart and reassembled. It was brought from Kartasura palace at the time of the removal of the palace from Kartasura to Surakarta. On top of this platform there is a dampar or throne of the king. The floor of Bangsal Pangrawit is elevated above the floor of the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, and is reached by ascending three steps. The Bangsal Pangrawit was used by the king only at certain times, for instance: to watch shows or celebrations held in the northern square; to watch the installation ceremonies of a regent and high functionaries of the palace; and to receive honour from his people.

In front of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa are two small buildings called Bangsal Pamandengan. Here the riding horses were tethered and the carriages of the king kept. A monument built by Pakubuwana X in 1939 is placed in front of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa to celebrate the bicentenary of the establishment of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. To the west of the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa there is a supplementary structure, called Paseban Pepatih. Behind this building, a small cannon is placed facing westward. This cannon, known as Kyai Santri, was made in 1650 when Kartasura palace was the centre of the kingdom. On the east side of the hall there is a guard-post for soldiers guarding the palace. Behind it, a cannon known as Kyai Pancawura is located facing east. The cannons in the palace are considered to be sacred weapons. The name of each cannon symbolises a human name with the title of Kyai, which refers to the Islamic religious leader.

81
The ceremonial area. This part of the palace consists of buildings and spaces which functioned as places for performing official royal ceremonies. The arrangement of space as an activity area is a response to the existing activities. The areas were an expression of social order.
On the south side of Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa there is a gate opening to the area of Siti Hinggil Lor located higher than the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa area. This gate is called Kori Wijil. On either side of Kori Wijil, a pair of cannons face north. The one on the western side is named Kyai Segarawana, the one on the eastern side is called Kyai Swuh Brasta. Both cannons were a gift from the Dutch in Batavia in 1599. A pair of small buildings stand on either side of Kori Wijil: Bangsal Martalutut on the east side was where honours were granted to people who rendered services to the royal palace, while Bangsal Singanegara on the west side was the place where the death sentence was imposed on criminals (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997).

**Siti Hinggil Lor**

Siti Hinggil is an elevated area, surrounded by a massive wall. The word *siti* means 'earth' and *hinggil* means 'high'. Its full name, Siti Hinggil Binata Wrata, refers to the chronogram of the year when the Siti Hinggil area was built (see Figure 4.9). Siti Hinggil Lor was built during the rule of Pakubuwana III, in 1774. In the middle of this area there is an open hall structure called Bangsal Sewayana. It was built by Pakubuwana X in 1913. The roof of Bangsal Sewayana is made of iron sheets supported by iron pillars at the sides and gives an impression of being wide and open because the building has no walls and the entire ceiling is concave (curved upward).

Within the Bangsal Sewayana there is a small structure called Bangsal Manguntur. This structure has a separate roof and ceiling, as was the case at Bangsal Pangrawit at Pagelaran. The roof of Bangsal Manguntur is supported by four main pillars which are carved and decorated with gold colours. Its floor is white marble and is higher than the floor of Bangsal Sewayana. Its walls consist of transparent glass set in brown wooden frames decorated with red lines. Within the Bangsal Manguntur there is a throne which seats the king. From this platform, the king issued his proclamations relating to state affairs such as declarations of war or peace. Bangsal Manguntur was used as a meeting place for the king and the high functionaries of the royal palace. In the period of the Dutch East Indies government, Bangsal Sewayana was a special place assigned for European guests to watch these ceremonies. Bangsal Sewayana is also used for holding Garebeg celebrations of Islamic religion which are held three times a year:
Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. Here, the religious, civic, ceremonial and social-political life of the city was concentrated. The building is adjacent to the public space and clearly visible.
Figure 4.10

Siti Hinggil Lor. This is an elevated area, surrounded by a massive wall. The name Siti Hinggil originated from the word siti which means 'earth' and hinggil which means 'high'. It was the place where sentiments of religious loyalty were concentrated.
- Garebeg Maulud or Sekaten -- to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad;
- Garebeg Syawal -- to celebrate Idhul Fitri, at the end of Ramadhan month in the Islamic calendar; and
- Garebeg Besar -- to celebrate Idhul Adha, at the end of the Hadj in the Islamic calendar.

To the south of Bangsal Sewayana there is a structure called Bangsal Witana. In the middle of this structure there is a small rectangular building, the walls of which are covered with glass and white cloth. This small building is called Bale Manguneng. Within this building, a holy cannon is kept. This cannon, known as Nyai Setorni, is considered the most sacred cannon in the palace and is believed to have supernatural power.

On the western side of Bangsal Sewayana there are two buildings called Bale Bang and Gandek Kiwa which were built during the Dutch colonial period. Within Bale Bang, several gamelans (Javanese musical instruments) are stored as heirlooms of the palace. The instruments used for ceremonies held at Siti Hinggil are kept in Gandek Kiwa. On the eastern side of Bangsal Sewayana there are two structures which replicate Bale Bang and Gandek Kiwa, namely Bale Angun-angun and Gandek Tangen. The front part of Bale Angun-angun has a supplementary verandah, which houses the gamelan orchestra during ceremonial events. Gandek Tangen was a place for the guard.

Around the structures of Siti Hinggil area are planted a number of banyan and Sawo Kecik trees, creating a shaded environment. South of Bangsal Sewayana there is a partition wall (Aliing-aling). Behind this partition are two descending sets of steps facing each other which lead to the exit from the Siti Hinggil Lor area. The eastern steps are called Kori Renteng, and the western steps are named Kori Mangu. These steps are treated like gates, which in the palace complex do not face each other. Where two gates would otherwise face each other, a partition was built between them so that people had to turn to the left or to the right before approaching the next gate. Thus, anybody who entered or passed a gate could not see straight inside.
Figure 4.11
Buildings in Siti Hinggil Lor

Kori Wijil and Bangsal Sewayana

Bangsal Manguntur

Bangsal Witana

Kori Renteng
The Siti Hinggil area is flanked by two roadways which meet at the south end of the area at Brajanala Lor gate. This road is called Supit Urang. The eastern branch is called Supit Urang Wetan and the western branch is named Supit Urang Kulon. This road connects the square with the inside fortress (Baluwarti) area, through Kori Brajanala Lor.

**Kori Brajanala Lor**

Kori Brajanala Lor is the main gateway to the fortress (Jero Beteng) from the north. The name Brajanala originated from the word *braja*, which in Javanese means 'a sharp weapon', and *nala* which means 'heart'. This name symbolises the teaching that a person who enters this gate should have a sharp mind, or *landeping rasa*. The gate is located directly behind Siti Hinggil, facing Kori Renteng and Kori Mangu. This gate was built during the rule of Pakubuwana III, in 1782, concurrently with the construction of the fortress.

Kori Brajanala Lor is flanked by thick walls and topped by a shingle roof in the form of a pyramid. A pair of small buildings called Brajanala, clinging to the left and right of the outside gate, were for the guards of the palace (see Figure 4.12). Inside the gate is a pair of small buildings -- Bangsal Wisamarta -- which also were for guards. The name Wisamarta originated from the words *wisa* -- 'poison' and *marta* -- 'neutralised', and reflects the belief that each person who entered the palace should first throw away or leave behind poisonous intentions or wicked desires. It was believed that the bad intentions would be ineffective after passing the Bangsal Wisamarta.

On the east side of Kori Brajanala Lor, there is a bell tower. The bell hangs between four wooden pillars, under a shingle roof in the form of a pyramid. It was used as a time indicator and at each hour it was rung by a special palace functionary. On the east and west sides of Bangsal Wisamarta there are structures stretching southward called *Ngebrak*, which were for the palace guards. At the southern end of *Ngebrak* is a pair of gates facing each other, called Lawang Gapit. The gate on the east is called Lawang Gapit Wetan, and the gate on the west is named Lawang Gapit Kulon. These gates form the beginning of Jero Beteng Street, the road encircling the main palace complex.
The creation of boundaries as physical features is often associated with needs of defence, shelter, territory and containment. By physically dividing up and demarcating space, they may classify and control places and relationships more readily.
**Kori Kemandungan Lor**

After passing through the gate of Kori Brajanala Lor, a wide asphalted yard is entered. Opposite Kori Brajanala Lor is Kori Kemandungan Lor, a gate which leads to the main palace area from the north (see Figure 4.13). This gate is a structure with three large doors facing northward and was built by Pakubuwana IV in 1819. In front of Kori Kemandungan Lor is a supplementary verandah projecting out on four pillars into the Kemandungan yard. This additional verandah, called Balerata, is a stopping place for vehicles of the royal family and their guests. In front of Balerata is a pair of statues similar to those at the Gladak gate.

As with other gates into the palace yard, Kori Kemandungan Lor is equipped with a protective partition wall. On this wall a large mirror is placed, so that each person who enters Kori Kemandungan Lor will be faced by his or her own image. The intention is that persons intending to enter the palace should first examine and improve their clothing to ensure that they are properly dressed and neat enough to appear before the king. The mirror has also a spiritual meaning: persons wanting to enter the palace to appear before the king should firstly examine themselves introspectively.

Having passed through Kori Kemandungan Lor, an outer yard is reached before entering the inner yard. Two buildings flank the sides of the outer yard. On the western side, there is a building called Bangsal Smarakarta with a supplementary verandah. This structure was begun during the reign of Pakubuwana III and completed by Pakubuwana IV in 1814. Bangsal Smarakarta was an audience hall, or place for regents to appear before the king. On the east side of the yard is another building with a verandah of European architectural design. This structure is called Bangsal Marcukunda and was established in the reign of Pakubuwana III concurrently with Bangsal Smarakarta. It was renovated by Pakubuwana X in 1919. Bangsal Marcukunda was where high ranking officers and the commanders of the palace soldiers met the king, for occasions such as the inauguration of palace officers and soldiers, for the issuing of administrative legal orders to the servants in the palace, and also was used as a guard post.
Figure 4.13

Kori Kemandhungan Lor. *From this gate to the main palace area, the division of space becomes increasingly complicated. Activities in these areas were governed in detail by rules and mythology.*
**Kori Srimanganti Lor**

The name Srimanganti originated from the word *sri* which means 'to wait'. Kori Srimanganti is the last gate before the palace yard area. This is the gate in front of which the king waited if there was a prominent guest or a king from another country visiting the palace. Likewise, each person or guest, before being allowed to enter the palace, had to wait in front of the Srimanganti gate (see Figure 4.14).

Kori Srimanganti Lor was built by Pakubuwana III in 1772. During the rule of Pakubuwana IV, in 1792 the gate was renewed with several additional decorations. The roof of the Kori Srimanganti Lor has a shingle cover and is in traditional Javanese form. The roof is supported by four pillars resembling Corinthian columns. The walls are decorated with reliefs using plant motifs; cotton and paddy. Above the door a relief illustrates a collection of weapons and war equipment, in the middle of which is the symbol of Surakarta Kasunanan palace.

On the west side of the gate is a room for receiving guests. The room on the east side functions as the guard post of the servants of Srimanganti. As at the Kori Kemandungan Lor, on the inner part of Kori Srimanganti Lor there is also a protective partition wall. On this wall also a large mirror is placed, so that before entering the palace to appear before the king, every person should once again examine themselves, physically and spiritually. On the west wall, above a small door, is a relief illustrating a *Yoni*, the Sanskrit symbol of female genitals, while on the east wall is a relief illustrating a *Lingga*, the Sanskrit symbol of male genitals.

**Buildings in Kedhaton Yard**

The Kori Srimanganti Lor leads to a wide sandy yard called Kedhaton which is one of the important parts of the palace (see Figure 4.15). This was the place where official ceremonies and programs of the kingdom were held. The entire yard is formally planted with 72 sapodilla trees. These trees were planted upon the order of Pakubuwana IX to
record the prophecy of the poet R. Ranggawarsita, who forecast that in 1872 in the Javanese calendar, the Dutch would leave Indonesia. The Dutch did in fact leave Indonesia in 1872 (Javanese calendar) or in 1945 by the European calendar (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

Figure 4.14
Kori Srimanganti Lor. The name Srimanganti originated from the word 'sri' which means 'to wait'. This is the last gate before the main palace yard area and the gate at which the king waited if a prominent guest was visiting the palace.
Figure 4.15

Kedhaton Yard. This yard symbolises the centre of the world and therefore the heart of the palace complex. It is considered to be a pivotal point.
**Sanggabuwana Tower**

On the northern side of the yard, east of Kori Srimanganti Lor, there is a building approximately 30 metres high known as Sanggabuwana tower. It was established by Pakubuwana III in 1782. The four-storey tower is in the form of an octagon. At the peak of the tower, there is a sculpture of a human riding a dragon snake. This figure symbolises *Naga Muluk Tinitihan Jalma*, the chronogram of the year when the tower structure was built. The highest storey, called *Tudung Sadji*, is used as a place for the king to meditate. Due to its high location, this room has a tranquil atmosphere. Here the king could meditate, uniting his body with his soul to enable him to commune with the queen of supernatural creatures of the South Sea. (see Figure 4.16).

**Sasana Wilapa**

On the north western side of the yard, beside Kori Siimanganti Lor, is a building with a verandah called Sasana Wilapa. In Javanese, *Sasana* means 'place', and *Wilapa* means 'letter'. Sasana Wilapa was the place where the highest official managed the correspondence of the palace administration. The verandah which extends to the west is named Nguntarasana, and was the gathering place of princes when they were waiting for the king to come from the main house (see Figure 4.16).

**Pendapa Sasana Sewaka**

On the west side of the yard is a large and ornate open hall building facing east. This structure is called Pendapa Sasana Sewaka and was built by Pakubuwana III (see Figure 4.17). *Sasana* means 'place', and *sewaka* means 'facing one direction', namely the direction of God the Almighty. This open hall building was the place where sacred ceremonies were held or official guests from various countries were received. The roof is in the form of a *Joglo Pengrawit* (a typical traditional Javanese roof) with columns carved from teak wood, and is painted brown with red lines and yellow golden embellishments. The floor is of white marble from Italy, composed diagonally, and the ceiling is formed by long boards.
Sanggabuwana Tower. This building is a place for the king, whilst meditating, to unite his body with his soul in order to meet the queen of supernatural creatures of the South Sea.
Surrounding the Pendapa Sasana Sewaka is a supplementary verandah roofed with corrugated iron sheets, supported by round columns of cast iron. This additional verandah is called Paningrat. The Paningrat floor is also made of Italian marble and is lower than the floor of the hall. The ceiling is made of long boards. Along the boundary between the Paningrat floor and the yard are statues in the classic Italian style, alternating with ornamental palms planted in Chinese ceramic pots.

In front of the Pendapa Sasana Sewaka is a verandah, called Maligi, projecting into the Kedhaton yard. It was built by Pakubuwana IX in 1882. Its roof is in the form of Limasan Jubang or a pyramid. The floor is made of white marble laid diagonally. Maligi was the place for circumcising the sons of the king or princes. The circumcision ceremony was usually carried out in the morning, at sunrise. According to Javanese belief, when a mother was about to give birth, she had to lie down facing toward the east where the sun rises. Therefore, each person who was to be circumcised had to face the east.

Behind Pendapa Sasana Sewaka is a structure called Sasana Parasedya which was built by Pakubuwana III. The name originated from the word paren, which in Javanese means 'direction' or 'a place', and sedya, which means 'purpose' or 'objective'. The name reflected the function of the structure. Before the king went out or wanted to leave the palace, he would stop at this structure for a moment to meditate upon the direction and aim of his journey. Sasana Parasedya was also the place where the king sat together with the noblemen of the palace, or held receptions for the royal family. The king also sat here to watch the Bedaya Ketawang dance.

The floor of the structure is made of white marble. A throne placed in the middle faces the hall. The ceilings are made of long boards, egg-green in colour. Behind the throne are rows of wooden doors (or gebyok doors) which constitute the link between Sasana Parasedya and the main house (Prabasuyasa). These doors are only opened at certain times, when palace ceremonies are held. Sasana Parasedya is also called Peringgitan. The name originated from the word ringgit which means wayang, or Javanese puppet show. At the
time of palace ceremonies, this place was sometimes used for the performance of shadow puppets.

Figure 4.17

Pendapa Sasana Sewaka. The hall was the main place of congregation in the palace. Unlike most other buildings in the palace complex which face south, The Hall has a main entrance on its east side, facing the sun rise. The east is not only believed to be the direction of the beginning of life, but also the most sacred direction of the sun’s path through the heavens. Therefore, the position of the main entrance of the Pendapa Sasana Sewaka facing the sun rise, had a magical and beneficial influence over the people who congregated there.
Sasana Handrawina

On the southern side of the Pendapa Sasana Sumewa is located Sasana Handrawina, a hall extending southward. Its walls are made of glass in wooden frames. Sasana means 'place' and handrawina means 'feast' in Javanese. The hall was the place where feasts or parties officially organised by the royal court were held. Sasana Handrawina was built by Pakubuwana V in 1823, and renovated by Pakubuwana X in 1919. Initially, this building was called Pendapa Ijo ('green' in Javanese) because its walls were green in colour. On both the eastern and western side of the building there is an additional verandah called Paningrat constituting the continuation of the Paningrat at the Pendapa Sasana Sewaka. In this meeting hall used for holding feasts there were a number of dining chairs and tables which at any moment could be arranged according to the need. This building is also equipped with a number of rana, a kind of portable divider. The floor is made of white marble composed diagonally. The ceilings are made of plaster board. The inner pillars are decorated with small statues in the Italian style. The entire wall frame of this meeting hall is painted brown with red lines.

On the eastern side of the Kedhaton yard are three open halls, sited in a row from north to south. The first and second building on the northern side are called Bangsal Pradangga, the place to play the gamelan. The gamelan were played here when a feast party was being held to welcome noble guests of the royal court, or during ceremonies. The third hall, the most southern one, is called Bangsal Budjana, the place to hold a dinner party for the followers of the noble guests of the palace. The three halls are known by name Bangsal Ngajeng. Ngajeng means 'in the front', as those three bangsals are in front of the Pendapa Sasana Sewaka.

Kori Srimanganti Kidul

Kori Srimanganti Kidul is the southern counterpart to Kori Srimanganti Lor. It is located precisely on the southern side of Sasana Handrawina between the Sasana Pustaka (Library) and Keparak Jawi (see Figure 4.18). This gate was built by Pakubuwana III, concurrently with Kori Srimanganti Lor, in 1772. As is the case with Kori Srimanganti
Lor, Kori Srimanganti Kidul gate also constitutes a hall with a large door and four round pillars resembling Corinthian columns. Above the door also is a relief which illustrates various weapons and the symbol of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. At the left and right side of the door a couple of reliefs with motifs of paddy and cotton symbolise prosperity. At the front or southern part of Kori Srimanganti Kidul, a supplementary roof supported by four wooden pillars was built. Kori Srimanganti Kidul was the last gate passed through before entering the palace yard area from the south. The role of this gate is very similar to that of Kori Srimanganti Lor.

**Magangan**

On the southern side of the Kedhaton yard, in front of Kori Srimanganti Kidul, is a yard called Magangan. The name Magangan derived from the word *magang* which means 'apprentice'. Magangan was the place of training or examinations for candidates who applied to be palace soldiers. Here the candidates were educated in agility and knowledge of war (Behrend, 1982). In the middle of this yard is an open hall structure (see Figure 4.18). Magangan was the centre of military administration. The building stretching around the Magangan yard was also used for the storage of weapons. Part of it was *Kamar Bedil*, a special room for keeping guns and ammunition.

In the south Magangan yard is a gate called Kori Gadung Melati. To the south of this gate is a yard leading to the next gate, which is called Kori Kemandungan Kidul. At the side of the yard is a building called Kemitan Jawi. This place was used to store foodstuffs. On certain days, in this place, special officials distributed food as salary to palace servants. In the circle of the palace, a part of every employee's salary was in the form of foodstuffs. The married children of the king were also given rice every month for the daily requirements of their families (Zimmerman, 1919).

**Kori Kemandungan Kidul**

The main gate through which to enter the palace yard from the south is called Kori Kemandungan Kidul. This gate has a similar function to that of Kori Kemandungan Lor.
Both gates are connectors between the road encircling the palace and the internal yard area. The gate was built during the reign of Pakubuwana IV, in 1810. Kori Kemandungan Kidul has only one big door, and there is no divider or partition wall inside. Also, there is no additional verandah in front of Kori Kemandungan Kidul. This gate faces directly onto Jero Beteng Kidul road.

**Kori Brajanala Kidul**

Entrance to the Baluwarti area or the inside fortress area from the south is through Kori Brajanala Kidul (see Figure 4.19). This gate functions similarly to Kori Brajanala Lor. It was built during the reign of Pakubuwana III, at the same time as Kori Brajanala Lor in 1782. As with Kori Brajanala Lor, Kori Brajanala Kidul is flanked by thick walls, topped with a shingle roof in the form of pyramid and has two doors 4 metres high. On both sides of the inner gate are small buildings which served as guard posts.

**Siti Hinggil Kidul**

On the southern side of Kori Brajanala Kidul, outside the fortress (*Baluwarti*), is an open hall with an additional verandah, called Siti Hinggil Kidul. Siti Hinggil Kidul was built during the reign of Pakubuwana III, at the same time as Siti Hinggil Lor, in 1774, and duplicates its function. This building is encircled by Supit Urang Kidul road (see figure 4.20). Siti Hinggil Kidul faces south towards the southern town square. The Siti Hinggil Kidul area is directly bordered by the southern square. Siti Hinggil Kidul was used for conducting the activities held in the southern town square. Around the hall is built an additional verandah supported by brick-sided pillars. This additional verandah is enclosed by *pancak sutji*, a fence consisting of rounded iron bars, the tips of which resemble the sharp points of spears. On the floor of the front verandah there is a pair of old cannons facing the southern square. In front of Siti Hinggil Kidul an additional verandah was built. It is made of corrugated iron sheets and supported by rounded iron bars.
Figure 4.18
Kori Srimanganti Kidul

1. Kori Srimanganti Kidul
2. Pendapa Magangan
3. Kori Gadung Melati
4. Kori Kemandhungan Kidul
Figure 4.19

Magangan Area. The place of training or examinations for candidates who applied to be palace soldiers. At this place, the candidates were educated in agility and knowledge of war.
Figure 4.20
Kori Brajanala Kidul. The boundaries and transitions between spaces are marked in many ways other than simple physical features. Gates, walls and entrances serve to mark transitions between domains such as public / private, female / male, sacred / profane, enemy / friend, elite / commoner, and inside / outside. The entrances and physical barriers mark differences in domains and thus restrict and control access between them.
The Javanese kings in the past placed more emphasis on spiritual emotion than logic, they were spiritually tied to a simple truth that the king is a representative of the God.
B. The Main Palace Area

The Main House Prabasuyasa

Prabasuyasa -- or the main house -- is the centre of the palace and the residence of the king. Prabasuyasa is considered to be the most sacred place in the country. It was built during the reign of Pakubuwana II. Both in physical and symbolic sense, this structure is located precisely in the middle of the palace compound. (see Figure 4.22).

As with other residential buildings within the palace complex, the roof of Prabasuyasa has the form of a pyramid with a verandah facing southward. In the centre of the house is a room called Petanen. Zimmerman (as cited by Behrend, 1982, p. 115) states that this room is considered sacred. An ornamental bed regarded as a Royal heirloom is kept here. Behind Petanen are five rooms where the heirlooms of the kingdom are stored. In a Javanese traditional house, this sort of room is called Pedaringan or Sentong, a room for storing heirlooms and valuable goods.

Keputren

Within the palace compound is a residential area which was specially built for women. This area, known as Keputren, is located on the southern side of the main house and stretches along to the west (see Figure 4.23). The women who resided in the Keputren area were the wives of the king, his concubines, queen mothers and sisters of the king, princesses and other royal women. The king used to appoint a woman as the chief of administration of Keputren, with the title Adipati. The title of Adipati of Keputren was equal to any other Adipati (usually men) outside the palace. The Adipati of Keputren also acted as a link between the king and his wives or mistresses.

The official entrance gate to Keputren is called Wiwara Kenya. In Javanese, Wiwara means 'door' and Kenya means 'woman' or 'princess'. It is located on the south-western side of Sasana Handrawina, near Sasana Pustaka. This gate was guarded by female soldiers residing near the building of Keparak Jati. The Keputren area was equipped with a small
stall or market, a public kitchen, a residence for female servants, and guard posts. All the guards were female, as men were restricted from entry to the Keputren area.

Figure 4.22

The Main House Prabasuyasa. *The house faces the south as the South Sea is viewed as the route to the underworld and the spirits which dwelled therein.*
Keputren. The form of each building in Surakarta Kasunanan palace is similar to common Javanese houses, however, they are bigger and the arrangement and spatial organisation is more complex.
Most of the buildings in the complex of Keputren are residences, inhabited by the princesses of the palace. The names of these residences are generally derived from the names of the inhabitants, with the addition of the suffix ‘an’. In Javanese grammar, the suffix ‘an’ stresses the name of a place. For example, Prawiradiningratan was the residence of R. A. Prawiradiningrat, older sister of Pakubuwana X.

At the western end of the Keputren area is a long building named Panti Rukmi, the residence of the mistresses of the king. This building is divided into rooms and each room has its own name. The names are derived from the room's inhabitants, who used the name rukmi. For example, the room called Sudamarukmen was the residence of R.A. Sudamarukmi. The name of the room would change with a new inhabitant (Zimmerman, 1919, p. 323).

In a building called Gandek Wingking, female servants prepared betel leaves for the concubines and other family members. Next to it is a building named Parakan Purwakanti, the place for receiving or sending messages. Here, servants who sent and received messages were on duty day and night. Gedong Sadahan Nyamping is the place where female servants prepared or took care of batik clothes for the king and his consorts. Gedong Sarean is the residence of female servants who clean and prepare the bedrooms of the king and his consorts. Gedong Sedah Miji are the rooms of female servants whose duty is to carry the goods used in the palace's ceremonies. Gedong Patehan is where servants prepared tea for the king and his family. Dulangan is the residence of female servants who prepare the dishes for palace parties, make bouquets and prepare medicines.

The description above serves to illustrate the complexity of the activity in Keputren. This is reflected in the building arrangement which is not only complex, but also serves complex social and cultural activities. The relationship between activities of different spaces had always been based on the discipline and rules stipulated by the ruler of Keputren.
The Inner Yard

Another part of the palace compound which is part of the residence of the family of the king is the inner yard area. It is located on the northern side of the main house Prabasuyasa, stretching in westerly direction and bordered by the road of Jero Beteng Lor. This yard consists of several activity areas, each related to one another. Among them are pleasure gardens, the daytime retreat of the king, a place of sacrifice or house of worship, and other buildings where servants worked.

The official gate through which to enter the inner yard is named Wiwara Priya, and is located on the western side of Nguntarasana. This gate was built for men, whether the family of the king or male servants. On the northern side is a gate facing directly onto the road of Jero Beteng Lor called Kori Talangpaten. This is one of the gates connecting the yard area of the palace to the outer area (Baluwarti). The name Talangpaten was derived from the name of a unit of special soldiers whose duty was to guard this gate.

Gardens

In Javanese palaces, landscaping is an important element, especially in supporting the planning of an environment as a whole. The function of the garden is not only to fulfil requirements of beauty, but also to demonstrate the greatness of the king. By designing a garden integrated with the layout of the palace as a whole, appropriate responsive behaviour is suggested to the people through the inclusion and exclusion of the subtle symbolism of the palace built environment. The beauty and the orderliness of the palace environment is also seen to reflect the level of civilisation of the inhabitants.

In the palace complex, the landscaping not only provides beauty, but also has more profound meaning and represents a philosophy of life. Physically, the king built a garden in the area of his palace with the purpose of improving his own status, his comfort as a king, and to demonstrate his superiority to others. Symbolically, the grandeur and the beauty of royal gardens reflected the power of the king and his ability to manage and control his state and protect it from chaos. The fertility and the freshness of the gardens in the palace
symbolised the welfare and the prosperity of all people under the power of the king.

Several gardens are found within the inner yard of the palace, most of which were places where the family of the king relaxed and enjoyed themselves. A garden on the western side of the main house Prabasuyasa is named Baleretna. In Javanese Bale means 'place', and ratna refers to the 'jewel' in a Buddhist context. In the middle of Baleretna there is an artificial hill named Argapura. In Javanese, arga means 'mount', and pura means 'place' or 'palace'. According to information from a member of the royal family (Koes Moertiyah, pers. comm., 1997), a cave or an underground space is located within the hill, although its function and contents are not known. On the hill is a building which is used as a place for offerings. This is reached by stairs on the western side of Argapura. On the northern side of Argapura, bordering directly the main house, is a garden with a rhombus pond.

Another royal garden is located outside the palace complex. It is 2 kilometres to the west of the palace complex. Its name, Sriwedari, means a beautiful garden. Sriwedari was built by Pakubuwana X in 1905. This garden was combined with a zoo and other places of amusement. Sriwedari garden is now open to the public. The zoo has been removed to the west of the city.

Religious Structures

There are five mosques located within the vicinity of the palace. The largest, Agung Mosque, is located on the western side of the northern town square (see Figure 4.24). It was built by Pakubuwana III in 1763. The roof of this mosque is in the form of a joglo. There is a hall in front of the mosque and in front of the hall are two ponds. On the northern yard, a 15 metre high tower or minaret was constructed. In the front yard, close to the gate, are some open sheds called Bangsal Gamelan Sekaten. On every Garebeg Maulud day or celebration of Sekaten, these two sheds, known as Kyai Sekati and Nyai Sekati, are where the royal gamelan (Javanese musical instrument) are played. This mosque has an attached Madrasah or Islamic school.
Figure 4.24

Agung Mosque.
Chapter 5

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SURAKARTA
KASUNANAN PALACE

1. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PALACE
A. The Governmental Structure of The Palace

Bureaucracy is an instrument of the state authority. Authority was an important element in the Javanese political life and influenced social life. The governmental system of the Mataram kingdom since its establishment in the sixteenth century was hierarchical. The leader was the king. The king ruled the state and was assisted by the ministers (patih) who played an important role in governing the state. The patih was the closest man to the king. In the Javanese concept of power, all responsibilities of the king were delegated to the patih. The king’s wishes were bestowed to a minister (patih), and then delegated to the lowest levels (Koentjaraningrat, 1990, p. 204).

With the establishment of the Dutch trade organisation (VOC) in 1602 to protect their trade monopoly, the Dutch began to interfere in local politics. War and various agreements were manipulated to achieve a degree of interference which could destroy both a society’s and a kingdom’s economy. In such ways the authority of a king was slowly eroded and the Dutch colonists’ interference would eventually lead to the annexation of the region (Ricklefs, 1982).
The government of Surakarta palace was divided between the government of affairs inside the palace and the government of affairs outside the palace. The internal government was under the control of the Palace Administration (*Pangageng Parentah Kraton*), and the external government was under the control of the *Patih Dalem* or grand vizier of the kingdom. In this system, symbolically, the king himself was the highest ruler of the kingdom.

Thus the king is placed at the pinnacle of the social order, far beyond the reach of the common people. This point of view at one time gave rise to the idea of the king as a politically inactive power, the *ratu pinandita* (the sage king), from whom emanated beneficent influences, permeating his whole realm. Active participation in the affairs of the state was left to his dignitaries, especially the *patih* (the grand vizier) whose usually non-royal descent conformed with his special technical task (Moertono, 1968, p. 36).

The *Patih Dalem* supervised all the regions under the authority of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The centre of administration of the chief minister to the king was in Dalem Kepatihan, residence or office of the chief minister, which was located one kilometre outside the palace compound to the north. According to Schrieka (1957, pp. 179-180), these twelve regions were:

1. *Wedana bumi* (Kedu)
2. *Wedana bumija* (Kedu)
3. *Wedana siti ageng inkang kiwa* (the territory between Demak and Pajang)
4. *Wedana siti ageng ingkang tengen* (the territory between Demak and Pajang)
5. *Wedana sewu* (Bagelen, the territory between the Bagawanta River and Donan)
6. *Wedana numbak anar* (Bagelen, the territory between the Praga River and the Bagawanta
7. *Wedana penumping* (Pajang - that is to say, with Sokawati)
8. *Wedana panekar* (Pajang with Sokawati)
9. *Wedana keparak kiwa*
10. *Wedana keparak tengen*
11. *Wedana gedong kiwa*
12. *Wedana gedong tengen*

From its establishment, Surakarta Kasunanan palace came under the influence of the colonial power. At that time the palace had control over Surakarta, Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen and Kota regencies. The regency of Sukoharjo was yet to be established, and was still part of the regency of Kota. To administer these regencies, the king was assisted by *Patih Dalem* (chief minister). The power of the *Patih*, as the chief of the
kingdom’s administration, was limited by agreements with the Dutch in 1743. From that
time, the Kingdom’s authority was continuously eroded. The reduction of the Patih’s
power by the Dutch occurred when Pakubuwana X came to power. The Dutch governor
general’s representative in Surakarta determined and appointed the Patih. In 1916,
Joyonegoro was installed by the Dutch government to replace Sosrodiningrat IV. A patih
running the government in Surakarta Kasunanan palace had to follow the governor
general’s representative policy. It not only applied to traditional bureaucracy but also to
colonial bureaucracy, with the governor general’s representative as the highest
administrative rank.

To avoid disrupting the stability of the Dutch colonial government, Pakubuwana
X was not allowed to have political relations with other countries. The Dutch prohibited
foreign people from dwelling permanently in the Surakarta palace region. This meant that
the population in Surakarta could be monitored easily, and the politics of the palace could
be predicted and anticipated easily by the Dutch.

The reign of Pakubuwana X was the beginning of the era of Dutch-style
modernisation of the governmental administration system, culture and education, and led
to the king pioneering changes in democratisation and openness. Eventually, the king’s
attitude towards changes led to raising the awareness of the noblemen and people of the
need to become involved in politics and to fight against colonists. To achieve these
purposes they founded the Bale Agung Council. Its establishment allowed people to
participate in meetings dealing with political matters relating to Surakarta Kasunanan
palace. Bale Agung council played the role of an advisory council to the palace council.
The king’s attitude was supported and followed by the patih Sosrodiningrat IV, who
through decisive action was able to, little by little, diminish colonial interference. He
changed political structures such as government systems, estate owning systems and
courts.

Dutch colonial interference began with the king and spread to the lower levels.
The king no longer had the right or authority to appoint officials to and within the palace.
The appointment and discharge of a patih was still within the authority of the king, but it
had to be ratified by the Dutch. Dutch colonial interference covered not only the Palace, but the regions. The installation, promotion or discharge of their officers had to be approved by the Dutch through their representative in Surakarta.

B. Management of the Palace

The *[Pengageng Parentah Kraton](palace management)* supervised the administration sections in the palace, whether in matters of servants or general administration. The working area in the palace was centred in the eastern yard of the palace. Within the circle of the palace, the *Pengageng Parentah Kraton* was the highest authority after the king. The *Pengageng Parentah Prajurit* and *Sasana Wilapa* held positions of almost equal power to the *Pengageng Parentah Keraton*. The *Pengageng Parentah Prajurit* supervised the military administration, and *Sasana Wilapa* took care of the king's administration. In carrying out daily administration, these three officials worked closely with each other.

*Pengageng Parentah Kraton* was the highest official supervising the units of palace soldiers, which included *Lebet soldiers*, *Jawi soldiers*, *Panegar*, *Gajah Mati*, *Gamel*, *Pekatik* and *Corps Musicians*. The centre of command for soldiers was located in the Magangan area. There was a mutual relationship between the *Pengageng Parentah Prajurit* and the *Sasana Wilapa*, especially in writing out the king's orders and in determining the budget for the living expenses of the military. Likewise, in carrying out daily management details, *Pengageng Parentah Kraton* was assisted by officials called *Sidaradya* and *Mardiyatnya*. *Sidaradya* was the secretariat of *Pengageng Parentah Kraton*, and *Mardiyatnya* was in charge of general management.

Management of servants was classified into two sections; one for servants of the left group, and one for servants of the right group. Each group was under the command of a supervisor of a section of the palace. In this matter, there were four officials supervising four distinct sections. Special sections directly under the command of the king were *Pengageng Parentah Keputren*, *Wadanane Putra Sentana Dalem*, *Renggapura* and *Sewaka*. *Pengageng Parentah Keputren* was the highest office of the Keputren
Group and was held by a female official.

Since the establishment of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, domestic and governmental administration of the palace were controlled by the highest secretariat, named Sasana Wilapa. The sections under the Palace’s Management (Pengageng Parentah Kraton) wereOrdenas, Reksa Cangkrama and Reksa Wahana.

**Ordenas**

This was the section of management supervising other sections which had special duties and obligations supporting the daily requirements of the palace. Special sections under the management of Ordenas, included:

- **Karya Baksana**: for cooking and preparing drinks for guests;
- **Drawisana**: for preparing European beverages;
- **Kridawaya**: for preparing the daily drinks for the king’s family;
- **Mardiwstra**: for preparing clothes for the royal family;
- **Mardiwarna**: for maintaining the decor of the palace;
- **Reksa Busana**: for taking care of the clothes of the king and his family;
- **Reksa Panjuta**: for handling the lighting in the palace compound;
- **Panti Pradipta**: for handling the electricity in the palace compound;
- **Gita Swandana**: for taking care of the vehicles;
- **Panggung**: for taking care of Sanggabuwana tower;
- **Pelataran**: for maintaining the courtyard of the palace;
- **Lembisana**: for taking care of shadow puppets belonging to the palace;
- **Duryareksa**: for the goldsmiths making jewellery for the palace;
- **Panti Pangarsa**: for maintaining the warehouse for storing the equipment;
- **Langentaya**: for dance; and
- **Amongraras**: for karawitan (Javanese music).

**Reksa Cangkrama**

This was the section which kept and maintained the rest houses (pesanggrahan) of the king outside the palace. These rest houses were generally built outside Surakarta
town. Those of them still known are Pesanggrahan Pracimaharja, located on the eastern slope of Mount Merbabu in Paras village in the Boyolali region; Pesanggrahan Sela, located on the slope between Mount Merapi and Mount Merbabu in Sela village in the Boyolali region; Pesanggrahan Tegalganda, located 17 kilometres south-west of Surakarta city in Tegalganda Village in the Klaten region; and Pesanggrahan Tawangmangu, located 7 kilometres south of Surakarta city in Parangjara Village in the Sukaharja region. Besides the above mentioned pesanggrahans, there is a special pesanggrahan outside the authority of Reksan Cengkrama, namely Pesanggrahan Langenharja, built by Pakubuwana IX in Langenharja village. It is located near the river of Bengawan Solo, 5 kilometres south of Surakarta city in the Sukaharja region.

Wadanane Putra Sentana Dalem supervised three sections, namely Pesanggrahan Langenharja, Kebon Darat, and Pembelah Juru-silem. Kebon Darat was the section which took care of the gardens and fields of the palace, and Pembelah Juru-silem supervised the helmsmen and the divers. Reksa Wahana

This was the special section in charge of the royal chariots. The royal chariots came from the Netherlands, and were especially ordered by the king. Among them, the most famous was Kyai Garuda Kencana. Each chariot had a particular name and function, among them:

- Kyai Retna Juwita : for travelling or controlling the territories;
- Kyai Maraseba : for picking up domestic guests;
- Kyai Siswanda : for picking up the relatives of the king;
- Kyai Retna Pembagya : for picking up guests from abroad;
- Kyai Rajapeni : for travelling or taking pleasure trips in town;
- Kyai Retna Sewaka : for making a visit of condolence;
- Kyai Garuda Putra : for picking up guests wishing to see the king;
- Kyai Garuda Kencana : for conducting 'Kirap' or parading around the city.
Most of the management offices are located on the eastern side of the main yard of the palace, bordering the Jero Beteng Wetan road. These buildings are divided according to their respective business. In 1963, the administration office buildings were converted into a museum of the palace. Since that time, administration activities have been carried out in the Magangan area, which used to be the centre of activities of palace soldiers.

The kingdom budget was conducted by the *patih*. The *patih* and the Dutch representative together determined the *patih*’s tasks with the Dutch having the greater influence. The aim was to cause a rift between the king and the *patih* which the Dutch colonists could easily exploit.

*Patih* Sosrodiningrat IV changed the status of estate management in Surakarta palace. Traditionally, wages of the officers and servants (*abdi dalem*) were in the form of land grants. Sosrodiningrat IV’s views on social welfare for the common people were very sympathetic. To increase people’s prosperity, Pakubuwana X made a radical change to the lives of common people through such developments as:

2. Establishing plantations and companies like a sugar factory in Klaten, a tea plantation in Ampel Boyolali and a tobacco plantation in Klaten.
3. Establishing a religious school called Mambani’l Ulum and a farming school, and providing funds for study and private school establishment.

There were other progressive changes in the administration of Surakarta Kasunanan palace during the reign of Pakubuwana X. Circulation of money was tightened and regulated carefully. Other changes made were to the courts. In Pakubuwana IX’s reign they included Kadipaten (regency) court, Pradata court and Surambi court. After the signing of an agreement between Joyonegoro, Surakarta *patih*, and the Governor General on 6 May 1930, Kadipaten court was replaced by Pradata Gedhe court. It was a public court which was concerned with settling disputes over the status of village estates and cases involving foreigners. Pradata court settled cases
dealing with debts, crime and gambling. Surambi court was mainly concerned with cases involving crimes, debt, marriage, and so on. Court sessions at Surambi were always held on the veranda of the Agung mosque.

2. THE POSITION OF THE KING

A. The King in Political Culture

Politically, the pattern and characteristics of the traditional communities in Java were oriented to the power of the king or regent. Authority, protection, service, development and maintenance of all physical aspects and patronage of communities were the responsibility of the king. The authority and power of the king and the ruling class dominated the social structure of the Javanese community. In the case of Surakarta Royal policies towards strategy, safety and protection were reflected by the layout and the walls surrounding the palace.

The Javanese concept of government structure was for a state to have a leader who could be trusted, respected and loved by all of his people, a capable leader who could guide his people to an equitable and prosperous life. For this purpose, the need was for a figure considered superior to ordinary people, serving lofty ideals for the world's safety and the prosperity of human beings.

In the middle ages, in Christian European countries, all aspects of government were inspired by principles of divinity. In this matter, the Pope had a very important role as the supreme ruler in the religious field. A king or an emperor acted as the supreme ruler in all secular matters. Therefore, the king held absolute power over all his people. In this hierarchy, the Pope acted as God's representative, being responsible directly to God. The Pope also had the right to appoint a king, so that the king was directly responsible to the Pope.

In Eastern countries, especially in Japan, an emperor (Tenno) considered himself as a descendant of the sky ruler God or Sun God (Amaterasu o-mikami). In state life
(empire), Tenno had a very important role, namely as the connecting subject between the divine God and lower nature (the people). The people were responsible to the emperor (Tenno), while the emperor was responsible directly to God (Amaterasu o-mikami). The emperor applied his Shinto principles to the administration of the government, so Shinto became the state religion.

Generally, both the western and eastern worlds shared similar views on the status of the kings. The Javanese believed that the king was either a reincarnation of the son of nature, the representative of God or even the son of the God. The traditional assumption was that only a special person who was given a mandate or appointed by God could acquire a position of power. This was the essential element in gaining loyalty from the people. Within Javanese society, power was looked upon as an attribute which legitimised everything.

...from the Javanese point of view, the power of the king grew continuously and survived until later days, coinciding with the growth of the people’s faithfulness or obedience towards the king, which then developed into a kind of belief in the spirit. They would obey all orders of the king without hesitation, so it was not without reason that the people should have been described as having no rights but only duties. In other words the public right was the public duty. Their role was merely an illusion, in fact they had no real role. This situation did not change with the growing power of the company. The power of the king over Javanese people survived, despite the fact that the power of the king was no longer tunggal (one or united) or utuh (complete) (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 183).

Such a view also prevailed in Javanese life and Javanese belief (Javanism). Javanism considered a king to be a subject having divine power (sacred), radiating the aura and having attributes of God who rules the universe. A king was considered to be the link between divine life and human life. Even during the period of Hinduism in Java, a king had a very important role and absolute power. The king was considered to be the incarnation or reincarnation of Trimurti Gods who had reached the level of divinity (God-king). The nature of administration became theocratic (oriented to a belief). In a hierarchical bureaucracy, the people contributed to the king’s charisma. The state’s prosperity derived from the king’s blessing, therefore, the king was given a title as patron of Darma. After the king died, his deification became complete; his image united with God in the form of statues found at temples in Java (Subagya, 1981, p. 81).
In the period of Islamic administration, which started with Kesultanan Demak (Kesultanan means Sultanate) at the end of the fourteenth century, the God-king concept changed. A king was no longer a symbol of absolute power, but was in line with the God. The king was believed to be a deputy of God on earth (Kalipatullah), the complete title being Kalipatullah Hing Tanah Jawi (deputy of God in Java Island). Conforming with his fate as the deputy of God on earth, Mataram’s kings, from the time of king Amangkurat IV (Moertono, 1985, p. 34), have used the title Senapati Ing Ngalaga Ngabdurahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalipatullah, meaning ‘hero of war, leader of religion, generous and glorious, and deputy of God on earth’. It is clear that the Javanese kings put emphasis on the use of the religious leader’s titles, not because their power was just beginning to increase, but especially because they were conscious of their low origin. As stated by historian Ong Hok Ham (Jakarta Post, 18 January 1997), the Mataram dynasty emerged from an ordinary man who achieved his position by murdering his opposition. Senopati in the late sixteenth century started his career as a bandit leader and became the ancestor of the current Royal courts of Central Java. He was made a bodyguard and later a region head because of his success as a brigand leader, proving his ability as a tax or tribute collector, and then slowly usurped the royal power. The use of titles such as Susuhunan or Panembahan made it possible for the king to attract followers more easily, and to strengthen their position. These titles, therefore, had a profound social effect (Moedjanto, 1993).

The king’s position was very important as he exerted divine power in the achievement of the world’s welfare. On the other hand, every action of the king which deviated from divine principles or which involved misuse of power would have bad results or brought disaster to the entire country. A king acted as a holder of the mandate for divine revelation (palace revelation), which furthermore would be translated in his attitude to administration. From the king radiated divine rays which would bring prosperity to people in the entire country or kingdom.

In the pewayangan (shadow puppet drama), the concept of 'God' is still alive. At the opening of every act, a dalang always creates a sacred atmosphere, illustrating the
grandeur of kingship and exalting the king as *Dewa mangejawantah* or the incarnation of God.

B. The King as God’s Messenger

Traditionally, Javanese people considered the king to be the messenger of God, ordered by God to rule the earth. The king sometimes received a vision from God. Most of Mataram’s kings had a vision before they took the throne. If they did not have a vision, they did not have the courage to take the throne by force, even if the throne was actually theirs by right. For example, the Amangkurat king’s throne was taken by force in a rebellion. At first, the king would not retake the throne from the rebel’s hand. Only after receiving a vision from God in the form of a child shining like a sun coming into his body did he summon the strength to regain the throne (Moertono, 1985, p. 67). Pakubuwana had a vision from God in the form of a mysterious whisper when he was still in his mother’s womb. The vision did not come to his mother but to his grandfather. The whisper said that his grandson would be a king and the palace would be located in Wanakerta in the west of Pajang.

The vision, *wahyu* in Javanese, comes from the Arabic language, ‘*wahy*’ meaning ‘a guidance of God’. Javanese people consider these visions to mean the blessing of God on the king’s position (Moertono, 1968, p. 56). It is believed that *wahyu* is an authority from God for a man to be king and to lead his people.

In its original Arabic form, *wahy*, it has the meaning of ‘revelation’ from God, but the Javanese thought of it as a substance which graced kingship (*wahyu kedaton* or *cahya nurbuwah*), literary genius (*wahyu kapujanggan*), knightly valour (*wahyu kaprajuritan*), or wali-ship and even bupati-ship. This god-given substance was not always granted to a specific person, as was seen in the transfer of kingship from Madjapahit to Demak. (Moertono, 1968, p. 56)

*Serat Wulangreh*, written by Pakubuwana IV (trans. by Wahono, 1953) explained the existence of the king: The king is the deputy of God ordered to rule and maintain the world fairly. As a deputy of God, the king has absolute power over his people. He has a right to determine their fate. Whoever does not obey him is therefore not obeying God. Moedjanto (1993) describes the king as a puppeteer ‘*dhaling sejati*’
getting an order from God to maintain life. Dhalang sejati is the king himself, the king is
the deputy of a prophet, the prophet is the deputy of God, so that the king and the
prophet are visible forms of God.

Speaking of the king, the Tjentini illustrate that he was the true dalang who had
power to organize life, and received divine decrees from God. All the king's
action were in fact the will of God. It was said that “pan ki dalang sejati jatining
ratoe, sang ratoe gantyaning nabi, nabi gantyaning Hyang Agoeng, ratoe-nabi
prasasating, Hyang Maha Goeng kang kadoelar” (the true dalang was the king
himself, he himself was the deputy of the prophet, the prophet was the deputy of
God Almighty, the prophet and the king were the manifestation to the visible

In literary language, warana means 'deputy' or 'representative', but its literal
meaning is 'screen'; thus, in this context, the king is the screen through which
man must pass to reach God and, conversely, through which God must pass to
reach man. Since the king was seen as the sole intermediary between man and
God, it was not strange that his decisions were thought to be unchallengeable and
his powers without limitation; his decisions were God's will and his actions were
God's management. (Moertono, 1968, p. 35).

From the description above it is clear that Javanese kings were highly respected
in the religious sense. The king was believed to be the only messenger of Allah, so his
decisions could not be countermanded because whoever defies the king defies God.
Thus, people have to go through the king to reach God, and conversely, God is
conveyed by the king to the people. This makes the power of the king unlimited and
absolute.

Mataram's kings were actually descended from common farmers (Ong Hok
Ham, 1997). They strengthened their dynasty by showing people that they were the
holders of supernatural power (kasekten), using some sacred heirlooms.

...it was generally believed that the possession of these heirlooms was a
guarantee of power; the Javanese say that kanggonan pusaka ateges kanggonan
panguwasa lan pangkat (to have heirlooms means to have power and position.
(Moedjanto, 1993, p. 115).

The possession of heirlooms was important in order to procure power. Some
well known heirlooms of the Mataram dynasty, such as Kotang Antakusuma, were
owned by Sunan Kalijaga (an Islamic religious leader of Java) and given to king
Panembahan Senapati (Moedjanto, 1987, p. 123). Other heirlooms of the Mataram
kingdom included the Kyai Bicak sword and the spear of Kyai Plered which are symbols of the grandeur of the Mataram kingdom since its beginning, and are bequeathed to successive kings. Other heirlooms were the pride and symbols of authority of Mataram’s kings such as Kyai Tunggul Wulung, in the form of a black flag with Arabic writings owned by Yogyakarta Palace. Also Kyai Setomi and Nyai Setomi cannons are heirlooms of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The heirlooms have a mysterious power which supports every king in ruling the country legally and cosmically (Moertono, 1985, p. 44).

Besides possessing the magic heirlooms, Mataram’s kings also came in contact with invisible creatures in order to maintain the authority of the palace (Koes Moertiyah, pers. comm., 1997). Therefore, the palace is considered to be a place having supernatural qualities, or to be a sacred place. Surakarta Kasunanan palace, according to Koes Moertiyah (pers. comm., 1997) is maintained by invisible creatures on every side of the palace and their existence is admitted by the people. This mysticism has become very important for enhancing the power and authority of the king over the people. Since the establishment of the Mataram dynasty in the sixteenth century, mysticism has been used as an instrument to legitimise all kinds of power systems because many people do not see religion as an appropriate answer to their most profound questions. In fact, religion for them is often not regarded as a help or consolation, but as another disintegrating power that seeks to displace them and delegate them to an unbearable way of life without meaning.

In the government, the king centralised all forms of power so that all was in his hands, It was necessary to gather together all sources of power and strength. These sources may have been human, for instance, the soldiers and the regents, but they could also be non-human, for instance, indications of God’s predestination or will (i.e. takdir) through divine revelation or other signs, or the support of spirits as Ratu Kidul (the goddess of the South Sea). (Moedjanto, 1993, p.109-110)

This belief has developed and been applied to Javanese architecture, and has become the basic concept of orientation in architecture. It can be seen in the layout of the palace where it is believed that the east side of the palace is guarded by Kanjeng Sunan Lawu, the spirit of Mount Lawu; the south is guarded by Kanjeng Ratu Kidul, the Goddess of the South Sea; the west side is guarded by Kanjeng Ratu Sekar Kedaton,
the Queen of Mount Merapi; and the north side is guarded by Bathari Kalayuwati, the Queen of Krendhawahana. Kanjeng Ratu Kidul is also known as the wife of all Mataram’s kings, from Panembahan Senapati onwards (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997).

The palace was the centre of the kingdom as well as the political and cultural centre. As the holy core of the kingdom, the palace reflects the king’s supernatural power. The king is God’s messenger, therefore it is believed that he possesses God-like power, and is the source of the cosmic power flowing to the regions bringing peace, justice and fertility (Koentjaraningrat, 1984, p. 41). This concept is reflected in the titles of the kings of the Mataram dynasty. The king of Surakarta is given the title Pakubuwana ‘the nail of the universe’ and Mangkunegaran which means ‘dominating the nation’. The king of Yogyakarta is given the title Hamengkubuwana which means ‘dominating the universe’ and Pakualam which means ‘the nail of the world’. In early years, the respect the kings paid the religious leaders (walis) was also due to their dependence at that time on the help of the walis who had many followers. To strengthen the positions of those who were still weak, the blessing of the walis was important. Kings needed the legitimacy that walis could bestow (Moedjanto, 1993, p.119). The kings of the Mataram kingdom are using the title Susuhunan (he who is revered) and Panembahan (he who is worshipped). These two titles particularly were used by Surakarta’s kings to reflect that the kings are considered to be humans who are higher than other humans. These titles were used by the walis who had great influence. To glorify themselves, the early kings of Mataram used the titles of the religious leaders. They put great emphasis on the use of the titles, not only because their power was just beginning to increase, but especially because they were conscious of their lowly origins. The use of the titles Susuhunan and Panembahan made it possible for them to obtain followers more easily, and their position was strengthened (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 122).

This describes a powerful king who ruled his kingdom and subjects with great wisdom and justice. This was only possible if the king had extraordinary kasekten (or supernatural power), greater than that possessed by others, let alone their rivals and enemies. The justice established by the king with his kasekten would guarantee the welfare of the people and the people would feel safe wherever they were and wherever they went, because the king was prepared to give his protection. His kasekten spread the rays of well-being over his subjects.
In this description the king's authority was indeed great, like that of a god, but so far as the description was concerned, there was no hint of tyranny, force or fear. All obeyed the laws, and hence peace and justice prevailed. All men carried out their duties and their rights were guarded. It was not inappropriate that through all these the king should therefore be glorified. He was no longer a common man, but rather a 'god' or 'super-human'. Hence the concept developed that a king owned or had rights over everything in his realm (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 106).

The kings' titles demonstrated the greatness, grandeur and glory of the holder, because the titles embraced the basic understanding that the king, as ruler or centre of the universe, holds a higher position than mere humans. The king was the sacred centre of the palace or the centre of politics and culture. Moedjanto (1993, p. 104) states that the greatness of the power of the king was characterised by:

1. the vastness of the territory of his kingdom;
2. the number of conquered territories and the nature of the tributes offered by conquered kings;
3. the faithfulness of regents and officials in carrying out their duties and attending the court on appointed occasions;
4. the grandeur of the court ceremonies and the heirlooms (pusaka) and ceremonial equipment he owned;
5. the size of his army; and
6. his wealth and number of honorary titles and his fame.

Mataram's kings always tried to demonstrate that they were descendants of the ruler of the universe and would in their turn be the leaders of the world, and that they were superior descendants. This was expressed by *trahing kusuma, rembesing madu, wijining astapa, tedhaking andana warih*; meaning 'the offspring of the nation's flower, drips of honey, the essence of the hermit, the offspring of nobility' (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 124). This Javanese sentence expresses purified and undisgraced ancestry and shows the pride of the lineage of the kings and the people's understanding of this.

In Java kingship is most often made legitimate by proving continuity. A link, whether of blood or of similar experience, with a great predecessor allows a man to partake in the aura of greatness. But also, and this was most important, it makes him a link in the chain of continuity. *Trahing kusuma, rembesing madu, widjining tapa, tedaking andana warih* (descendant of a flower, seepage of
honey, seedling of an ascetic, of noble descent), were qualities of a person of
august and spotless ancestry. Tracing one's lineage, if possible to a ruling
monarch or great vassal, was therefore something on which the Javanese eagerly
spent time and effort. The coming of Islam did not eliminate the practice of
proving continuity through kinship and it was probably even strengthened by the
Arabic custom, followed especially by Javanese of rank, of incorporating one's
ancestor's name into one's own name (Moertono, 1968, p. 52).

The pedigree of Mataram's kings originates from the first kings of Java. It is then
continued in the Majapahit era in east Java; then in Demak with the offspring of the last
king of Majapahit, Brawijaya, and ends with Mataram's kings. The complete pedigree of
the kings ruling in Mataram is shown in the family tree obtained from a member of the
Royal family (see Appendix 3). From their titles it is apparent that they were considered
to be the offspring of prophets, gods of the Hindu cosmology, and prominent figures
from all over the world. The king, therefore, was seen as having power and knowledge
similar to God's.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Traditionally, Javanese social life has been based on a communal religious
system spread over distinct regions. Javanese societal life has been based on
togetherness, group unity and was full of religious ceremonies. Individual prosperity or
possessions were not important, so the competitive spirit was minimal. Competition only
appeared in moral attitude. The Javanese expression aja ngaya mundhak gelis tuwa, alon-
alon waton kelakon (hanging loose, just get the job done -- too much zest makes you age
quickly) illustrates the low regard for the competitive spirit in worldly life.

The modernisation of Javanese society has created a mixture of traditional and
materialistic attitudes. This is embodied in the defence of one's rights to hold authority.
A competitive attitude has grown as a consequence of an unwillingness to be seen to be
defeated by others. People have increased their worldly needs. On one hand, a
competitive spirit can create a strong collective spirit, but it can also create jealousy
among people. The recent emergence of a middle class in Javanese society has created a
more obvious competitiveness.
In Javanese society, the relationship between individuals is hierarchical. However, in rural areas this hierarchy is not particularly absolute. For example, the meal ceremony contradicts the principle. In the meal ceremony, the hierarchy principle is neglected: no-one feels differentiated from anyone else. In the meal ceremony, everyone is treated equally. The result is that no-one feels lower than anyone else.

The family plays an important role in social life. In Javanese society, family members are divided according to how close their relationship is, that is:

a. Main or core family, which consists of a husband, a wife and their children who are yet to be married; and

b. An extended family, in Javanese called kulawarga, which is wider than the main family, and includes a brother or a sister of the husband or wife, and the husband or wife's parents, among others.

In Javanese society there is also the trah, which is the relationship between families that share the same ancestry or pedigree, and usually each trah holds activities to strengthen the existing family relationship. Such activities are, among others, sadranan which is visiting an ancestor's grave together each Ruwah month (in the Javanese year), and Idhul Fitri which is the celebration at the end of the month of Ramadhan. To strengthen family ties, the Javanese people sometimes perform marriage between partners who are distant relatives, thereby creating a bond between the respective parents, known in Javanese as besanan.

The relationship between the classes is governed by strict protocol. In certain situations nobility treat others of less prominence as equals. In such cases, the 'lower' party will feel uncomfortable being treated with parity. The respect accorded to those above is the result of the dependence put on them by the lower classes. This 'dependency' is visible even with the nobility, who rely on the king. They would be uncomfortable with any need for self reliance or responsibility. From childhood this obedient attitude is implanted in Javanese people.

The relationship among neighbours in Java can be very close, even closer than
that with a relative who lives far away. A household in Java always tries to make the relationship even closer and better with the neighbours than with more distant family members in the kampong (village) because of the support they can give each other. This good relationship is expressed by various acts of mutual cooperation. In Javanese tradition, this mutual cooperation is seen in various obligations which must be performed by each family head. Each family head has to either invite the neighbours or send some food to them if he holds a meal ceremony. He also has to give any help spontaneously and voluntarily if a neighbour suffers a calamity. A family head also can not refuse if he is asked to help with any work, such as repairs to a house. Asking for help is done according to certain customs and manners by coming to a neighbour to express a desire for help. The request may not be refused, but by asking for help, that person is also bound to repay the service on a future occasion.

When someone is stricken by a calamity, it is natural for their neighbours to help alleviate the burden. If a family member dies, other neighbours help prepare to bury the corpse. Besides giving his assistance, the neighbour also contributes some money to alleviate the funeral and meal ceremony costs. All of the aid is usually given voluntarily, without expectation of repayment.

In traditional Javanese noble society, women are subservient to men, and important positions belong to men. The women tend to be more static and passive, and obedient to the family head. A woman's social life is very limited; she usually meets only with other women in her local environment and social group, and only on certain occasions.

Noble society is generally patriarchal, supporting the male dominant role, while women get the less important positions and roles. Aspects of life dominated by men include, amongst others, political, socio-cultural and religious affairs. In the family circle, man is always the family head and has authority as decision maker, and provider; his position determines family status and the status of his descendants. In addition, sexual roles are dominated by the existence of a system of polygamy. A man represents his family as an ambassador to the community (Sartono, 1984, p. 191). The activities in
Javanese society are dominated by men, because women are considered more to be housewives or friends in the background.

In marriage matters, a man is free to look for his partner, while a woman is passive and tends to wait for a marriage partner to be proposed by her parents. The parents play an important role in determining their daughter's marriage partner. Factors such as bobot, bibit, bebet (status, ancestry and wealth) are very influential in determining marriage partners in noble society.

Since independence, educational developments and the movement for the emancipation of women have influenced Javanese social life. The influence and authority of the royal family and noblemen have increasingly faded. Science and technological developments have raised intellectual levels to a higher degree. Palace titles such as Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung, Pangeran Haryo, Raden, Raden Nganten, and Raden Ayu are no longer influential, to the extent that a lot of nobles and members of the upper class no longer use titles with their names. In Javanese social life, academic qualifications have more authority and are used with greater pride than regal titles. Women have more power. The patriarchal characteristic of the noble culture has become weaker with the existence of emancipated women and modern education. There is also a downward trend in women's readiness to accept polygamy.

A. Polygamy and Kinship as Political Strategy

Polygamy was commonly practised by Javanese people, particularly by aristocrats and kings, including Senopati (1588-1601), the founder of the Mataram kingdom, who had three wives. Pakubuwana IX had two wives and 53 concubines. Pakubuwana X had 40 concubines.

A concubine, or in polite language garwo ampeyan, is a woman who is related to a man through a form of kinship other than marriage. Her status is below that of a wife. A concubine is not married, but the social status of her son follows that of his father and
he is honoured as a nobleman, according to his father’s status. According to Javanese tradition, the taking of a concubine was not only a sexual concern, but also a means to legitimise the position of the king. By taking a woman as a concubine, her relatives, usually from a lower level of society, were enabled to raise their ranking in society because they automatically belonged to the king’s family. Being a concubine of the king bestows honour (anugrah) on the woman and her family (Moedjanto, 1987, p.130). Women could not determine their own steps in life; they were expected to be easily managed by their husbands. As a rule, for a wife to object to her husband’s taking of a concubine would be considered unacceptable and unusual behaviour.

By taking a wife, a king was able to extend his kinship, and broaden and strengthen his social support. To this end, the king chose women from both noble and humble families, such as the regent’s daughter, another king’s daughter or a king’s younger sister, or the daughter of a public figure in society. Moedjanto (1987, p. 140) gives some examples; Senopati had a wife from Pati, the daughter of Penjawi (the nephew of Pemanahan); and the Princess Retno Dumilah from Madiun, Sultan Trenggono’s grandchild, so they still had a royal blood line. Sultan Agung married a daughter of Panembahan Cirebon who was called Ratu Kulon from Demak, and the Princess of Batang who was called Ratu Wetan, ancestor of Mandarakan and Juru Martani. Both of them also have ‘blue-blood’ lines. Besides these nobly born women, wives also came from the general populace. For example, the wife of Amangkurat I, called Ratu Wetan or Ratu Malam, was the eldest daughter of a dalang (puppeteer) from Malang; the wife of Amangkurat III (Sunan Mas) was called Ratu Kulon (Ratu Kencana) and was from Onje. The choice of a wife depends on the king, but customarily he places emphasis on the ‘ancestry’, prestige or social support that they bring with them. To defend his regions, the king attempted to make kinship links with others outside the region, most importantly with the local rulers, because rebellions often came from regions. Referring to the issue of social support, Sartono Kartodirjo (1987, p. 180) said that in some cases, polygamy was intended to create relationships with local rulers, as in when the king takes the daughter of a village chief (lurah), or a daughter of kyai (religious leader).
The more concubines and wives the king has, the greater he will be, because he will be called 'man of the universe' (Moedjanto, 1987, p. 132). Thus, marrying has two functions for the king; namely a proof of his superiority, and a means of strengthening his position with support from his wives' relatives. The social support aspect can be clarified as follows: a person who has been tied in a bond of kinship will have a sense of belonging toward their relative's possessions, or in the Javanese proverb *rumangsas melu andarbeni*. Belonging to the king's family group, they have an obligation to maintain and preserve his possessions, and to defend him from danger.

The importance of administrative regions of the kingdom needs clarification. The control of many administrative regions allowed the king to be more powerful than the other rulers in his kingdom. The governmental bureaucracy of the kingdom was a concentric structure with the palace in the centre, called *Kuthanegara*, and the king as the highest ruler. The region in the neighbourhood of *Kuthanegara* is called *Nagaragung*, and the outermost regions are *Mancanegara* and *pesisir* (coastal area) (Houben, 1994; Moedjanto 1987, p. 112).

It was impossible for the king to rule the kingdom by centralised authority, therefore, the system was one of decentralised government, effected by the central government's appointment of local rulers who were responsible to the central government.

The power of the kings of Mataram also grew as their kingdom expanded. The ruler of Mataram began with the position of *dukuh* or *desa* chief, then regent and finally king, the latter holding very great power which, according to the Javanese, was 'gung-binathara'. He was the centre of power and stood at the top of a pyramidal structure of Javanese society (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 185).

Each local ruler had ties of loyalty to the king and had to support the king's sovereignty. The divisions of the kingdom had both administrative and political functions. In brief, if there were enemies attacking the centre of the kingdom, they would face the district outside *Kuthanegara* first and could only attack the centre of the kingdom if they first subdued the other regions. But if they failed in attacking the outside region, automatically their intention of attacking the centre would fail too.
Knowing the importance of the regional divisions, the king tried to establish better harmony and kinship bonds with the local rulers. One of the best ways for the king to achieve this was through marriage. For example, Senopati married Retno Dumilah, the daughter of Madiun, a ruler who formerly disobeyed him. Pangeran Pekik, the regent of Surabaya was married to Sultan Agung’s younger sister, after Sultan Agung knew that Pangeran Pekik was Pangeran Surabaya’s son, and at that time Pangeran Surabaya fought against Sultan Agung (Moedjanto, 1993). The tradition of *triman*, by which the king gave one of his concubines or a member of his family (e.g. his younger sister or wife) to someone outside the kingdom, was also meant to strengthen the king’s position. *Triman* could make the kinship bonds closer.

High officials in the palace often received *triman* also; for example Raden Sindureja, the chief minister of Kartasura at the time of Mangkurat II, was given Kleting Wungu, the sister of Sunan and the widow of Trunajaya. Many other examples of *triman* can be found during the period of Pakubuwana II. The *triman* system was possibly also brought about because the power of the Sunan was in fact weakening and these alliances were becoming more essential to bind the kingdom together by this *triman* (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 112).

The strengthening of the kinship relations achieved by marriage was intended to legitimise the king’s position as a person dominating the world, or a person holding the highest authority over his region. The person receiving a *triman* would be honoured. It was seen as proof of trust to the man who received the *triman*. The person receiving a *triman* from the king felt pride in possessing something which had belonged to the king, the person who owns God’s power, or is trusted by God as His representative on earth. The king gave a *triman* to those holding authority below the king’s (Moedjanto, 1987, p. 88).

B. Principle of Land Ownership

Social stratification has existed since humans came together to form societies or communities. Social stratification can be based on the existing difference in wealth or other attributes considered to have important value in society. This can be money or
things that have economic value such as land, knowledge, devoutness in religion, or blood as the descendants of nobility (Soekanto, 1981, p. 216). Social classification can be clearly seen in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, and continues to be obvious and strict compared to other cities in Java, because these cities have remained as feudal centres.

In the era of the Mataram kingdom, social classification was based primarily on land ownership. In Surakarta and Yogyakarta, the system of land regulation that has been used for at least three centuries still exists. According to Javanese tradition, the king was considered to be the owner of the land and the authority of the king was absolute over his people. As the owner, the king had the right to give his land to the people to use. This was supported by the principle of maron, by which half the produce of the land went to the owner of the land and the other half to the producers (Koentjaraningrat, 1981).

The maron system applied in central Java since the time of the earliest Islamic kingdom until the Mataram era. The Javanese people recognised the stratification of society based on the right to use land, obligation to the owner of the land and the size of land holdings. In this agricultural society, the land was a basis of social stratification. The owner of the land had a higher social status than the people who had no land.

The village chief and his assistants had the highest social prestige among the people. Between the villagers, social stratification was based on ownership of land. Moertono (1985, p. 144) has identified four classifications of village society according to rights and obligations. The first and the highest group is kuli kenceng, the land owners. The second group is kuli kendo, who had no land, only a yard garden. The third is tumpang indung or kuli gandok who have no land at all, but have a house on another person's land. The fourth and lowest group is tumpang tlosor, who neither own a house nor land, but stay with other families and work for them. Of the last group, some live on the land or in houses outside and surrounding the palace and help in palace construction activities or when the palace holds ceremonies or other kinds of activities (Sumardjan, 1981, p. 41).
In the palace government, employees did not receive a salary from the king but were given *lungguh* land. From the product of the land, the employee could be self sufficient. Farmers and all levels of employees who were responsible for the land received a portion according to their social status. In the regencies under the authority of the Mataram kingdom, bureaucratic structures were formed which were miniatures of the palace bureaucratic system. However, each regent had to give tribute or tax to the palace as a token of his obedience and loyalty. The palace gathered income tax from the regencies. The income was the result of agricultural production such as coffee, chocolate, tobacco, sugar and tea.

In a social structure which based authority on land ownership, the size of the land given to people depended on their status and rank. The king who did not fully trust all his subordinates tried to centralise the land of *lungguh* (given land) in an area around the capital city Surakarta in order to be able to monitor them easily. However, the bureaucratic system in the central government was weak. The only way to maintain power and authority was by expanding the kinship system and binding the people through mysticism and religion.

C. Philosophy of Life

Philosophy in a theoretical scientific approach is a science which observes everything; either existing things or the things that may exist, by seeing the causes or the deepest idea based on the strength of the human mind or rationality. Essentially, philosophy is a principle or basic value of which the truth is believed, and which guides or gives insight to a person, a group, a society or a nation in order to face and solve the problems of life (Alisjahbana, 1982). The philosophy of life of the Javanese people gives guidance in searching the essence of life to reach the perfection of religious life. The basic principle or the basic value itself is the crystallisation of a society's cultural values, so that it gives special characteristics to the society itself.

There is a basic difference between Western and Javanese contemplative philosophy. Western philosophy comes from deductive rational reasoning, while
Javanese philosophy tends to emphasise religious inductive reasoning. The goal of Javanese philosophy is not the development of the philosophy itself, as in the West, but the final goal of one's life, namely the unity between man and God (manunggaling kawula lan Gusti). Furthermore, it concentrates far more on where a person comes from and goes to at the end of his or her life (sangkan paraning dumadi). Where Western philosophy needs objective rational contemplation, eastern philosophy needs the feeling or sense of contemplation instead. The Javanese people, therefore, need to accustom themselves to olah rasa (sense exercise) and tanggap ing sasmita (being perceptive), so that they will always be bisa rumangsa (capable of feeling) but will not rumangsa bisa (feel capable of doing something) (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

Javanese philosophy is known for its guidance towards perfection. In Javanese life, the goal to be reached is perfection of life. This philosophy takes the form of metaphysics, meaning that a person is able to leave the influences of secular things and join the divine world with his or her God. Therefore, it differs from Western philosophy in that, while Western philosophy asks "what is a person", Javanese philosophy asks "where does a person come from and where does he or she go" (Ciptoprawiro, 1986, p. 21). When a person is able to reach divine consciousness, it can be assumed that the person is able to free themselves from bad intentions which are influenced by anger or fury, so that the person is able to reach the real life goal, namely kasampurnan or perfection, where manunggaling kawula lan gusti (the unity of God and man) can be reached. When this is gained, a person is said to have the attitude of kawicaksanan or wisdom: being wise just as symbolised by the attitude of the Pandita (Priest) in wayang.

The creation of nature (cosmogony) and its picturing (cosmology) consists of elements which shape a regular and well-formed hierarchical arrangement, similar to the arrangement of the human body. In Javanese society, therefore, the universe is the macrocosm, while the human being is the microcosm. The knowledge of these three things (God, human beings and the universe) and their correlation raises the consciousness. At a certain level of consciousness, it is believed that the subject and the object are united, so an absolute consciousness, which is called Kawicaksanan, 'wisdom', is gained. Here, humans have reached the stage of perfection, knowing
where God is, where all comes from and goes to, or *sangkan paraning dumadi*.

In order to lead a good life, people must have sufficient knowledge. In order to get knowledge, a person must have good manners and must control the temper. This can be achieved if it is done sincerely (*rila*), *nrima* and *legawa*. *Rila* means 'sincere', *Trima* means accepting sincerely any hard problems, and not taking any revenge on others, and *Legawa* means being sincere in a way that one relies on God. This is, the aim is being united with the Almighty. To reach perfection needs balance, accordance and harmony of the three relations above. It fits well with the existence of Javanese culture which basically attempts to achieve harmony that, according to Magnis Suseno (1985), is aimed at keeping the society peaceful and tranquil.

This chapter describes the social and political background of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace which are important factors influencing the palace built environment. It examines the role of material culture in reproducing and transforming society. It also examines the position of the king in the eyes of the Javanese people. The basic power in the palace derived from the mythological practice which was formulated by 'religious rules'. These 'religious rules' generated meaning in a symbolic sphere, and the political practice which was formulated by 'administrative rules' and accompanied by sanctioning.

The link between architectural space and the socio-political life of the palace will be described from the architectural point of view in chapter seven. It provides an examination of the role of material culture -- in this case physical space and architecture -- in reproduction and transformation of the social order. The space in the palace does not simply reflect the social group, it also forms the group. The palace reinforced its power and authority over the king's followers and the kings enjoyed obedience and loyalty from the people through many different means such as state administration, religion, kinship and mythology.
Chapter 6

THE INFLUENCE OF ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ON THE PHYSICAL FORM OF SURAKARTA KASUNANAN PALACE

1. THEORIES OF THE PALACE

Surakarta Kasunanan palace was built and developed by the founder Pakubuwana II and the following kings based on the same concept as the previous palaces; as a building complex surrounded by a fortress, and flanked by two roughly symmetrical town squares. The palace consists of several groups of buildings which have specific meanings and purposes. This study focuses on the public and semi-public ceremonial areas which were used as an interaction space between the Royal family and the people. The ceremonial area incorporates a group of buildings, the biggest part of which serves as the arena for the ceremonial events of the kingdom. The ceremonial area stretches from the south side of the northern town square to the north side of the southern town square. The open, town square areas, one to the north of the building complex and one to the south, complement each other and constitute an inseparable element of the palace complex.

Each of the buildings located in the ceremonial area has its respective name, reflecting its function and purpose. The inter-spatial relationship and function of each
group of buildings is based on certain rules stipulated at the beginning of the Mataram period and followed by succeeding generations. The palace therefore embodies the continuation of life and tradition of the Mataram dynasty.

The shape and layout of the palace is based on a philosophy of life rooted in Hindu-Javanese belief.

Under Hindu-Javanism, a king was a god; his court provided an ideal toward which life outside the court ought properly to aspire. According to this idea, the court's function was to shape society by presenting the society with microcosmic expression of macrocosmic form which the society could attempt, as well as to imitate it. Hence, the idea recognized an ordered society with each order having its own position and role. It was each individual's task within this ordered society, an unequal hierarchical order, to maintain dependency of one to another. By maintaining this harmonious tension, no absolute value was attached to a particular order. These elements of the idea were no more than a dual order that comprised two contrasting and opposite elements in each order, and worked in an unending tension (confrontation). It was in this respect that the idea of center in Hindu-Javanism played its role, to organise or harmonize the dualities and social order. This "center", however, did not become the ultimate goal of any achievement in the life of Javanese, particularly if it was viewed as the harmonizing factor of those elements of the idea (Prijotomo, 1983, pp. 82-83).

The universe is considered to have supernatural powers, while human life takes place within the natural world. The main purpose of life is creating and maintaining harmony between the natural world and the supernatural world. Hindu-Javanism considered life in the universe to be something well ordered. The structure of the universe is visualised as the rugged form of the imaginary Mount Mahameru, with its summit as the centre of power and stability of the universe, being surrounded by other lower mountains, the coastal area and, finally, the ocean (Behrend, 1982). This structure forms concentrical pseudo rings, each with a different meaning and role. The concept of a cosmic mountain is found in many societies from ancient Mesopotamia to contemporary Madagascar (Pearson & Richards, 1994, p. 12). For Hindus, the cosmic mountain Mount Meru is considered to be a similar axis mundi. Similarly, the centre of the world might be replicated in temples or even in domestic dwellings (Behrend, 1982). Examples of the former are the Temple of Jerusalem, the centre of the Christian world in the medieaval period, and the Ka’aba, considered by Muslims to be the point on earth closest to heaven.
The palace as the center of the administration of the Javanese kingdom constituted a replica or imitation of the structure of Mount Mahameru, and the king was treated like a god reigning on the top. The cosmic structure of the palace building has the king's residence as the centre point and the rest of the complex in a first, second, third and then an outermost ring (Behrend, 1982). Therefore, the layout of the palace is a representation of the structure of the Hindu-Javanese universe.

In Hindu-Javanese architecture, two types of directional axis were used for organizing architecture: linear and centripetal. Investigation of the meru, the krobongan, and the candi showed that they followed a linear directional-axis where the most sacred elements were placed at the innermost part of any arrangement, provided a climax of progression along the axis. In this organization, each form was characterized by its uninhabitability and inaccessibility and was considered as the most sacred, having direct connections with the realm of gods and ancestors (Prijotomo, 1983, pp. 81-82).

In the complex of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, the residence of the king (Prabasuyasa) symbolised the summit of Mount Mahameru. It was also considered to be the centre of the universe and a symbol of strength and power. According to Behrend (1982, p. 180), "The whole plan of the kraton [palace] in fact may be interpreted to reproduce the pattern of concentric rings we have pointed out in the Meru Scheme". The symbolic concentric rings in the palace complex can be seen as the centre of pseudo rings with the main house representing Kuthanegara (the capitol, or centre of the kingdom). The first ring area Negaragung contains the parts of the palace between Kori Srimanganti and Kori Kemandungan, including the Magangan area. The part of the palace located between Kori Kemandungan and Siti Hinggil Lor is the Mancanegara area. The area between Siti Hinggil Lor and the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa is Pesisir. The last ring is the outermost part of the palace, namely, the town square areas Alun-alun Lor and Kidul. The town squares are called Tanah Sabrang, or ocean (Samudra Raya) (Houben, 1994; Behrend, 1982) (see Figure 6.1).

This symbolic structure is connected to the natural environment of the site and the structure of the palace complex, consequently every part of the palace compound assumes specific relevance. The main house, Prabasuyasa, represents the centre of the kingdom (Kuthanegara), and was regarded as the personal lands of the king (Behrend,
Figure 6.1
The symbolic concentric rings in the palace complex (Behrend, 1982). *The organisational principles of concentricity, diametricity and creation myth creates the spatial form of the palace.*
1982, p. 170). Negaragung is the next circle which represents the kingdom. The power of the king in this area was absolute. Mancanegara represents states or regions under the kingdom's jurisdiction. The power in this area was held by bupati (the Regent), who owed allegiance to the palace (Behrend, 1982, p. 171). The coastal areas are the last borders of the kingdom (Pesisir), namely the regions along the coast of Java. Overseas states are represented in the Tanah Sabrang ring.

The role of each palace area within these cosmic rings is ambiguous; the limits of the rings are only in the form of pseudo lines. Javanese people believe that the influence or the authority of the king should radiate to the entire kingdom. However, after passing through space and time, the power of that influence would decrease or fade.

We have seen how in Javanese thinking the Power of the ruler is by no means equally distributed throughout his realm but tends to diminish evenly toward the periphery, so that he is weakest just at the point where his sphere of Power merges into the perimeter of his neighbor’s. Thus if his control is not to be diminished and weakened by the pull of his neighbor’s Power, he must first exert his own Power against the neighbour (Anderson, 1972, p. 31).

This belief can be outlined as follows: In the centre (Kuthanegara) and in the first ring area (Negaragung), the authority of the king was felt very strongly and absolutely. In this area, everything was under the control of the king. But in the next ring area (Mancanegara), the authority of the king was weaker. Behrend (1982, p. 171) stated “In the Mancanegara, which means outer kingdom, appanages were not granted by the king, but were held by locally prestigious bupati [Regent] who owed allegiance to the centre. At least once each year, at Garebeg Mulud, these dependencies were required to send embassies with the tax debt to the Kraton [palace]”. In the Pesisir area, the king had almost no power: the alliance of the lands in this area was the result of military and political conquest (Behrend, 1982, p. 171). This influence wanes even further beyond the coastal area.

The territorial extension of the state is always in flux; it varies according to the amount of Power concentrated at the centre. Certain frontiers were generally recognized in practice, formidable geographical obstacles like mountains and seas, which, however, tended to be regarded as the abodes of powerful unseen forces. Otherwise the kingdoms were not regarded as having fixed and charted limits, but rather flexible, fluctuating perimeters. In a real sense, there were no
political frontiers at all, the Power of one ruler gradually fading into the distance and merging imperceptibly with the ascending Power of a neighbouring sovereign (Anderson, 1972, p. 28).

The difference in the degree of the king's influence in each area of the cosmic rings is reflected in the physical appearance of the king in each part of the palace. In the yard area (Kuthanegara), the king appeared before his family almost daily, whereas in the next cosmic rings (Negaragung and Mancanegara), the appearance of the king was more infrequent. There, the king would be present only when waiting for his guests in front of Kori Srimanganti Lor. The king appeared more frequently through Kori Srimanganti Lor and Kori Kemandungan Lor because the two gates are also the formal entrance and exit for the king.

In the parts of the palace representing the coastal area (Pesisir), such as in Siti Hinggil Lor and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, the appearance of the king was most infrequent, usually only a few times in a year, such as during the Paseban Jawi or Garebeg celebrations.

Passing through the Siti Hinggil Lor and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa areas into the north and south town square areas, one enters the outermost or last cosmic ring, Tanah Sabrang, symbolising the ocean surrounding the Mahameru complex. The name alun-alun (square) derives from the word alun which in Javanese means ocean waves. The square areas symbolised an ocean, while the Paseban buildings (Paseban Bupati) surrounding it symbolised states in overseas lands.

The discussion above illustrates the concepts which provided the basis for the shape of the palace according to the way of thinking and the philosophy of life of the Javanese people. The layout and the buildings of the palace are a translation or replica of the structure of the universe, represented in the Mount Mahameru arrangement (Behrend, 1982, pp. 156-224).

Every part in the environment of the palace building complex has a meaning and a role. Every realisation within each part of the palace contained various meanings and
served various purposes. To comprehend this deep symbolism requires a knowledge of Javanese culture and beliefs. Every rule, custom and manner existing in the palace reflected the attitude and the philosophy of life of the Javanese kings and their families.

Today, there is little new development in the palace, unlike in the past, in its period of glory. Unlike Yogyakarta palace, which continues to perpetuate the leadership of Hamengkubuwana and his authority over a special region, Yogyakarta, Surakarta Kasunanan palace has declined in its real political significance. This has been caused by various factors, including independence and the resultant decline in power of the external and internal circles of the palace itself. The anti-Swapraja movement of Surakarta Kasunanan people had great influence and changed the status and position of the palace. From being a privilege region in the Indonesian government system because of its cultural importance, Surakarta Kasunanan palace has been demoted.

Nevertheless, Surakarta Kasunanan palace remains a significant building complex, not just because of its unique shape when compared with similar palace buildings found in Indonesia, but also because the layout and the buildings of the palace symbolise the Javanese philosophy. Every corner of the palace buildings has a name and a meaning; even the trees and decorations serve certain purposes designed to guide and influence the social behaviour of the Javanese people. Today the glory and the grandeur of Surakarta Kasunanan palace has only historical significance. Physically, the palace building complex itself is time-worn. Many of the buildings have started to deteriorate and some buildings which used to be part of the palace complex have collapsed, leaving no trace. The town square which was described in previous chapters as a well arranged wide field with some banyan trees and Paseban buildings surrounding it has lost its original appearance. On one hand, old elements have disappeared without any replacement or any significant effort at restoration, while on the other hand, new (modern) elements from outside have started entering the palace area without any controls or attempts at integration with the old elements. The increasing population in Surakarta city and the lack of understanding of basic concepts of Javanese architecture of the people around the palace complex are some of the causal factors resulting in the loss of significance of Surakarta Kasunanan palace.
2. JAVANESE BELIEF

Human philosophy of life and ways of thinking are always changing due to external influences. From the integration of the original philosophy of life and external influences, new concepts are born. A philosophy of life is an abstraction of life experience, formed by a way of thinking and a way of sensing values, social institutions, behaviours, events and other facets of experience. A philosophy of life is a mental arrangement of that experience and in turn it will improve attitudes toward life (Mulder, 1973, p. 35).

This can be seen in Java where, after the introduction of Islam in the fourteenth century, the philosophy of life and the beliefs professed by the Javanese people were a result of an integration between indigenous beliefs (animism), Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. With the expansion of the Dutch, Christianity began to influence the Javanese people's philosophy of life (Alisjahbana, 1982).

The principle of the Javanese belief system is that everything in the world is actually one, forming a living unity. Javanism considers that human life is closely connected to the universal cosmos. Therefore, human life is a journey full of religious experiences. The Javanese way of thinking places human life into two realms; the macro cosmos and the micro cosmos. Macro cosmos is the attitudes and the philosophy of life toward the universe which is considered to contain supernatural power (the metaphysical) and to be full of mysterious things. Micro cosmos is the attitude and the way of thinking towards the real (physical) world. The main purpose of life is to look for and to create harmony or balance between the macro cosmos life and the micro cosmos life (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

The kraton [palace], for its part, actually connects the micro- to the macrocosm. It opens a conduit to the heavens, allowing their benefits to flood the kingdom. It provides gross structure to the world, a centre, around which the concentric territories of the kingdom may be generated. It also introduces the structure within which order is possible. Because of the kraton the world assumes a fixed, exterior, given characteristic, and is made fertile (Behrend, 1982, p. 242).
Philosophically, it is not possible to separate sacred things from profane things, natural things from supernatural things, real-world-rooted things from eternal, universal things not bound by time. Life in the universal cosmos is considered to be something well-arranged and set in a hierarchy (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). The moral obligation of every existing thing is to keep life harmonious and the rules are symbolised in the hierarchy of the universe. This philosophy is oriented to a conviction that in this universe, the power of God has control over everything.

The attitudes and the philosophy toward the real world (micro cosmos) are expressed in daily human life within the environment, the hierarchy in society, the arrangement of human day-to-day life and anything in plain view. Without this real and well-planned arrangement, human life would be worthless. Throughout their lives, human beings are always trying to understand how to achieve a more perfect life. The success of a human being in enjoying a good and proper life in the world depends on the strength of the spirit and the soul.

The attitude and the philosophy of life toward the universe (micro cosmos) derive from Javanese Hindu concepts. If every human being performed life's tasks and obligations in accordance with the rules appointed by God, then he or she would achieve world safety and create an orderly, peaceful life with complete well-being (tata tentrem, kerta raharja) (Koentjaraningrat, 1985)). That is where we find the interrelationship between the macro cosmos and the micro cosmos in the life of the Javanese people. In general, the way of thinking and the attitude and philosophy of life of the Javanese people is strongly rooted and forms the philosophical basis of all thought and culture in Javanese life.

'Perfection' in the Javanese context meant a life without disgrace (Prawiroatmojo, 1981, p. 169). The Javanese believe that God exists universally, and inside people. They believe that at the zenith of understanding, people experienced unification and equality with God (manunggaling kawula gusti). A perfect or honourable life in the system of Javanese beliefs (kejawen) comes from the unity of people and God or ‘manunggaling kawula gusti’. These beliefs say that people can make direct
communication or even unite with God through meditation, which can lead a person to find a peaceful life. According to Abdullah Ciptoprawiro (1986, p. 51), a perfect life is achieved when people can be united with God. To achieve the level of ‘manunggal’ required to be united with God, people have to serve four levels of sembah (respectful greeting made with bent arms, hands together and finger tips upward and touching the forehead). The four levels of sembah are:

1. **Sembah Raga**: a kind of *sembah* that can be achieved by performing 'syariat' or prescribed mantras;
2. **Sembah Cipta**: a kind of *sembah* that can be achieved by cleansing ourselves from our heart’s desires;
3. **Sembah Jiwa**: a kind of *sembah* that can be achieved by mastering the five senses and desires; and
4. **Sembah Rasa**: a kind of *sembah* that can be achieved by seeking our identity within ourselves. This level can be achieved through prayer ('salat daim' or 'salat langgeng').

Meditation is a practice that focuses on positive thinking. It allows control of the vital functions of one’s body in order to get supernatural energy. The dominance of lust in humans makes it impossible for them to achieve a high level of meditation, because meditation is to worship, acknowledge God’s authority and eventually enter into a oneness with God (*manunggaling kawulo gusti*). Supernatural energy means extraordinary power above or over the power of nature. However, it is still necessary to begin by praising God, thanking God, and realising that every extraordinary power is possible for humans to possess because of God’s will (Tanoyo, pers. comm., 1997). However, the channel of supernatural power is still mysterious. Modern knowledge and science, if confronted with illogical phenomena, tends to classify them as irrational subjects. Supernatural does not mean magical or mystical. Supernatural phenomena can be comprehended in logical theory if we are able to interpret their cause and action (Tanoyo, pers. comm., 1997).
3. MYTHICAL QUALITIES OF THE PALACE

The works which are created by human physical and mental properties working together are called cultural works, while those works created only by physical properties are called handicrafts, or just common works of art; considered to have no magical power (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995). The palace is the result of cultural, physical and mental or supernatural input, involving the assimilation of the physical and mental, the logic and illogical, and the abstract and the concrete. The philosophical symbolic meaning of the guide of life unto the land of Eternity is manifested in the layout of the palace.

The palace is the place of the king which also becomes the Pepundhen (object of worship) for the people. The palace was built on the basis of Pangolahing Budi Pakarti (that of good manner). Pangolahing Budi Pakarti consists of Pakarti Lahiriyah (physical behaviour) together with Pakarti Batiniyah (internal behaviour). Pakarti Lahiriyah guides humans in their behaviour and utterances in order not to deviate from the Budi Luhur (honoured manner). Pakarti Batiniyah is achieved by meditating in order to get closer to God. The result of work combining Pakarti Lahiriyah and Pakarti Batiniyah is called budaya (culture) (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995). The palace is the result of Javanese culture which symbolises the way of life that is based on the 'Divinity'.

Traditionally, when the Javanese choose a site for a home, a grave or even a city, they consulted the mythical orientations of site to assure that the most propitious site is chosen; one that will bring good fortune to the inhabitants. The basic theory of Javanese orientation stems from the belief that there are spirits of certain places who can protect people, and an energy within the cosmos and earth which exerts a powerful influence over those living on it. A family that has had a string of bad luck will often consult a fortune teller to determine if it might stem from a badly located house or inappropriate orientation of the site. The manifestation of respect for the ancestors and spirits helps to create a peaceful life for the inhabitants. Fortune tellers must be aware of many influences when choosing a location and orientation. They need to know where the
spirits are most powerful, whether the wind disperses them or a stream helps them, and take into consideration the operation of solar forces before pointing out the location with the highest energy and the habitation of good spirits. The importance of mystical orientation to the Javanese people has developed a view of life that decrees that fortune cannot be changed by individual effort, but is determined by fate and the location of spirits.

Mythologies relate to certain places and each has a certain geographical area of influence over the Javanese people. The widest influence occurs in the southern part of Java island. This area is influenced by the mythology of the goddess of the South Sea (Ratu Kencanasari). The northern part is influenced by the spirit Ratu Bathari Kalayuwati, reigning in Krendhawahan forest in the north of Java (Yosodipuro, 1986). East is considered the oldest of the four quarters and believed to be the source of life (Behrend, 1982). The influence in the palace complex is also strengthened by the orientation of the dominant religion (Islam) which is more formal in nature, the orientation to the Ka'bah in the Middle East. In the palace complex, certain places are surrounded by mythological power which may influence through their orientation or through social psychology (see Figure 6.2).

The Javanese people's belief in spirits which occupy certain places throughout Java is described in the Javanese song, *Pupuh Sinom*, written by M. M. Sukarto K. Atmodjo (Murtiyoso, 1996). (see Appendix 1). These spirits are believed to come from the family of Ratu Kencanasari, the goddess of the South Sea. It is believed that they protect the kingdom and the people if they are treated correctly.

As was mentioned earlier, Surakarta Kasunanan palace is considered to be the centre of the cosmos; a connector between the physical and supernatural worlds. The arrangement of the palace symbolises the existence of sacred life. The composition of space in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex represents the ascent of a glorious mountain to the most sacred place of the central kingdom, in order to reach perfection in life. Day to day this is realised in the form of ritual ceremonies, and spatially, this is reflected in the form of arrangement and yards in the palace complex.
Figure 6.2

Architectural Orientation. The concept of orientation in Javanese Architecture stems from the belief that there are the spirits of certain places which can protect people. The energy within the cosmos is believed to exert a powerful influence over those living in it.
The gradation concept of sacred values is symbolised in each arrangement and layout of buildings in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. In particular, the cosmic spiritual conception was, as it seems most influential in the design of the spaces and buildings. The layout of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace is broadly concentric with the inner rings being considered more sacred than the outer rings. It symbolises conceptually and functionally the hierarchical relationship between humans, the king and God; a gradation from the most profane to the most sacred of life.

The axis mundi is not only the middle pole around which the rest of the earth lies and turns; it also extends up to the top of the sky, usually connecting with the pole star. By its bridging the gap from base to the summit it brings together the three worlds, heavenly, middle and nether. In Old-Javanese thought these were bhurloka, the terrestrial globe; bhuwah-loka, the atmosphere; and swahloka, the celestial realm of the gods extending above the heights of Meru. By connecting this world to the others the axis at the centre of the world becomes a point of ontological exchange. It pictures the higher realms of great magic where the divinities dwell, and power seeps or pours out into the terrestrial world at the rupture. Such a point where higher power leaks into this world is designated as navel, or omphalos. These traits are also visible in the palace (Kraton) (Behrend, 1982, p. 185).

The arrangement of groups of core buildings within the fortress wall of the palace is orientated in a cosmic pattern based on Javanese beliefs. Furthermore, the palace is perceived as being at the intersection of the four points of the compass, or the concentration of the four directions and becomes the fifth "direction". The orientation pattern of buildings in Javanese belief is called Kiblat Pajupat (Yosodipuro, 1986). According to it a building's orientation was directed to the four points of the compass: east, south, west and north. The philosophical reasoning was that by positioning the palace building in accordance with the Kiblat Pajupat, spiritual significance would be given to the palace, so that it would have charisma and reflect the king's authority. Linked to the concept of Kiblat Pajupat is that of alam halus (spirits). According to Yosodipuro (1986), Surakarta Kasunanan palace has four directions of alam halus namely:

1. East, which is occupied by:
   - Kanjeng Sunan Lawu,
   - Sunan Lawu Sepuh / Raden Gugur from Majapahit,
- Sunan Lawu Bagus / the son of Pakubuwana II, and
- Sunan Lawu Enam / the son of Pakubuwana VI.

2. South, which is occupied by:
- Ratu Kidul / Ratu Kencanasari, the goddess of the South Sea in Javanese belief
- Kyai Udononggo, named also Kyai Widononggo and called Tan Jalu Tan Wanita, reigning in Mount Mepih and who was very close to Panembahan Senopati and Sultan Agung.
- Ratu Kenconowungu, reigning in Kalak Cave.

3. West, which is occupied by:
- Ratu Sekar Kedhaton, reigning in Mount Merapi
- Kyai Sapujagad and Kyai Sapu Regol.
- Mosque oriented to the west

4. North, which is occupied by:
- Ratu Bathari Kalayuwati, reigning in Krendhawahana Forest, and often moved to Tirtodasar Kingdom on the west side of Pelabuhan Ratu.
- The ruler of Mount Kendheng (the name was not recorded).
- The spirit reigning over Forest Roban, called Pangeran Singosari
- Kyai Proboyoso in the North Sea.

All of the spiritual directions are reflected in the form of Surakarta Kasunanan palace as a whole. The palace preserved and maintained the customs and manners of the superstitions, *alam halus* and the significance of orientation of the four directions and the fifth in the centre. Based on the principles of *Kiblat Pajupat* and *alam halus*, most structures were built facing a certain direction:
- the palace complex is facing north
- the main hall Pendapa Sasana Sewaka is facing east
- the main house Prabasuyasa is facing south.
- religious buildings are facing west.
The spiritual orientation of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. Mythology was attached to certain places in the palace complex, making them resonate with history, or may be values, which pass from generation to generation. Although the mythology sometime can not be proved and is beyond rational thought, it provides an anchor of stability and credibility.
South is generally the orientation of the core buildings of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, particularly for sacred buildings such as the main house Prabasuyasa, Sanggabuwana tower and the houses of Javanese aristocrats (see Figure 6.4). This is to indicate that the palace and its ruling dynasty have a harmonious relationship with the ruler of 'alam halus' namely the Goddess of the South Sea, who is believed to reign over the south of the island of Java in the Indian Ocean. South is also sanctified because it is considered a connector linking the people with the divine spirit.

4. METAPHORS IN JAVANESE ARCHITECTURE

The main idea of positivism in architecture is that reality can be explained exactly by means of architectural language which is real and is not ambiguous. In the very extreme sense, positivism reveals that the use of other kinds of language such as indirectness, symbolism and comparison, does not fully explain reality.

Relativism approaches reality in a different way. The basic idea of relativism is that the understanding of a meaning comes from the mind. The knowledge of reality, whether it is gained through observation, language or memory, is the result of our minds wandering far beyond given information. Relativists are sure that this real world cannot be gained directly, but rather is developed through the influences of knowledge and human language (Wahab, 1991). Relativists and positivists, therefore, use different approaches towards the architectural language. If architecture is seen as a medium with which to communicate with other people, then one way to do that is by using metaphors. In Surakarta Kasunanan palace, the use of metaphors is evident.

‘Metaphor is an imaginative way of describing something by referring to something else which has the qualities that you are trying to express’ (Collins, 1987). The value of metaphor lies in its role in defining the relationship between architectural language, knowledge and life. It seems that metaphor is the link between the all-new-knowledge and the knowledge we possess (Wahab, 1991). In Javanese culture, metaphor plays an important role in all aspects of life; mainly in religion, society and art.
A metaphor is the application of a general term for a specific thing, a specific term for a general thing, a specific term for a specific thing or the use of analogy. According to Wahab (1991), another definition was introduced by Quintilian (in Levin, 1977, p. 79), who stated that metaphor is “the term shift of a living thing for another living thing, or a living thing for unliving thing, or an unliving thing for another unliving thing, or an unliving thing for a living thing” (Wahab, 1991).

Metaphor serves to express the combination of the given symbol predicate and the meaning predicate. In the philosophy of Javanese culture, there are two principles which define the pattern of socialisation and the use of metaphor (as a form of indirect addressing or utterance) (Wahab, 1991). The first principle states that in a certain situation a person must behave in a certain way so as to avoid conflict. This principle is named rukun (harmony). The second principle states that all people have to give respect to each other. In social interaction, people sometimes cannot avoid conflict because of differences with society. However, if conflicts arise, the principle of harmony requires that the people involved suppress their intention, or if necessary, abandon it for the sake of harmony in society.

Metaphor can be found in every aspect of life in Javanese culture. In religion, special experiences sometimes happen outside the temporal and spatial dimensions and these can be internalised by people so that it is hard or even impossible to illustrate them. In these situations, metaphors can be helpful in expressing the experiences. Another explanation of the role of metaphor in the religious context lies in the reality that human life is influenced by the limitation of physical needs and interests. This earthly situation does not make it possible for human beings to reach the world of imagination by a concrete medium. To see the imaginative world, religious teaching requires faith. Therefore, the ruling class created the metaphors to illustrate the world of imagination to instil their influence over the people.

Metaphor was used in the architectural layout of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, especially in the ceremonial area. The area was designed to accommodate all social, religious and political activities. When daily language is not enough to express thought, it
is time for metaphor to express: (1) thought which lies far beyond experience, (2) the abstract concept, (3) a phenomenon (natural or human) which has never been experienced, and (4) ideas that cannot be internalised (Wahab, 1991). Another function of metaphor in Javanese architecture is to express the abstract things by using the symbols of a concrete thing. Javanese architectural metaphor is universal in nature: the symbols of Javanese architectural semantic categories such as the cosmology concept can also be found in most places in the world (Lethaby, 1994).

The important features of Javanese metaphor have been treated in Wahab's paper (1991) and can be summarised as follows. Wahab's mapping of the hierarchical semantic categories illustrates the universal semantic field of the symbols that are used in Javanese metaphor. He borrowed the concept of the semantic category used by Michael Haley (1980, p. 139-154). This hierarchy of semantic categories is also called 'perception space', since Haley's semantic category is based on the human environment that can be perceived. The hierarchical semantic category or the 'perception space' of the human mind is composed of the following semantic categories (Wahab, 1991, p. 13):

BEING
COSMIC
ENERGETIC
SUBSTANTIAL
TERRESTRIAL
OBJECTIVE
LIVING
ANIMATE
HUMAN.

The hierarchical nature of those categories means that each category is included in the category above it. So we can say that the HUMAN belongs to the ANIMATE, but not vice versa: 'human' must be 'animate' but the 'animate' is not always 'human'. Then HUMAN and ANIMATE together belong to LIVING, and so on until BEING. Using the semantic field category stated above helps to explain the universal Javanese metaphor whose symbols can be categorised into BEING. The objects belonging to this
category are the things of the universe such as the sun, earth and stars. These objects exist somewhere that can be perceived by human beings, therefore they are hierarchically under the BEING which in turn is difficult for human beings to perceive (Wahab, 1991).

The stars belong to the COSMIC category. They can be used to symbolise something that is related to religious matters. In ancient Egypt (Cirlot, 1962, p. 310) stars had the nature of universality, and have been used to symbolise "rising upward towards the point of origin". Under the COSMIC is ENERGETIC. The main characteristic of the things which belong to this category, for example, lightning, fire and heat, is that they lie in a certain space and possess the capacity to move. Fire which is used to symbolise the soul or the spirit is a universal metaphor. In the ancient culture of Egypt, fire is related to the spirit of life and health (which is taken from the idea that a healthy and spirited man has biologically a warm body, not a cool one). That fire is used as the symbol of spirit and superiority can be found in the biblical story of the prophet Moses who encountered God in the form of a burning bush on the top of a mountain (Wahab, 1991).

The fourth hierarchical semantic category is SUBSTANTIAL. Objects belonging to this category are the things of substance grouped on the earth that can move, lie in a certain place, and exist. Substance does not have a certain shape and it is inanimate. For example, there are two symbolic aspects of clouds, positive and negative. In their positive sense, clouds symbolise fertility, since they can cause rain that gives life to the creatures on the earth (Wahab, 1991). In their negative sense, clouds are a screen or partition which reveals sadness.

The semantic category which lies under SUBSTANTIAL is TERRESTRIAL. Objects belonging to the terrestrial category are such things as oceans, seas, waves, mountains and rivers. The ocean or the sea is used universally to symbolise power and authority. According to Cirlot (1962, p. 241), the concept of the ocean in any culture is used to symbolise power, for its movements are marvellous and can never stop.

The next semantic category is OBJECTIVE. The nature of this category is
that all substances which lie in the earth can move and remain in spatial dimension and, therefore, their existence can be perceived. Objects in this category have an exact shape. This category covers all kinds of stone and minerals. Gold is considered the light which lies underground as a mineral. In all cultures, including the Javanese culture, gold symbolises intellectual brightness. The next category is LIVING and this category has the same characteristics as OBJECTIVE except for one additional characteristic, the existence of organic life.

Hierarchically, the next semantic category is ANIMATE. It has characteristics similar to those of LIVING, therefore, it has feelings; a characteristic we cannot find in the living category. Those belonging to this category are all kinds of animals. The tiger is a manifestation of authority, power and ferocity. The use of a tiger to symbolise authority, power and ferocity can be found in many cultures universally.

The last semantic category in perception space, HUMAN, is the human being. Consensus from all kinds of study of this category is very complicated because human experience differs from individual to individual and from one culture to another. Therefore, the metaphor which takes HUMAN as the symbol is also complicated. Metaphor that uses the symbol of the human and human behaviour is also universal.

There are several aspects that we can relate to when discussing the universality of Javanese metaphor. An understanding of Javanese metaphor is helpful when studying aspects of Javanese architecture. Javanese metaphor is embodied in the Javanese culture and way of thinking. Most of the semantic categories described by Wahab (1991) above, can be found in Javanese culture, its language and its architectural design. Some of them can be seen in symbolic architectural elements within the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. Obviously, in the palace complex, the COSMIC and HUMAN categories are dominant. The title of the king, Pakubuwana (the nail of the universe), belongs in the COSMIC category. Many elements of the palace environment, for example, places, trees, cannons, heirlooms and carriages, use the name of a person. This indicates that symbolic metaphor has played an important rule in the palace built environment.
5. THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE CEREMONIAL AREA

The layout of Surakarta palace is based on the cosmological concept of concentricity in that the buildings and spaces furthest from the king’s central residence are of least importance. Furthermore, a point on one of the concentric circles can be the centre of a secondary concentric hierarchy. In addition, there are axis lines passing through the central circle which indicate rough lines of symmetry resulting in a predominance of dualism. Thus, one part in the concentric circle always forms a symmetry with a part on the other side.

Based on these theories, the spatial concepts of design of the palace will be discussed focusing on the several segments which are formed by the concentricity and dualism. This analysis concentrates on the relative values of the physical elements and the significance of functions and activities related to these elements in order to understand the physical arrangement of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The arrangement of the palace can be divided into three parts:

- North segment: Gladag gate, Pamukaran gate, the northern town square, Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and the northern Siti Hinggil
- Central part; Kemandungan, Srimanganti, Kedhaton yard, and Magangan
- South segment; Southern Siti Hinggil, the southern town square, and Gading gate.

The character of each segment is determined by the combination of its concentric position and its position on an axial line. The north-south axis is considered to have a grand and formal character. It is seen as the main axis of the palace. Most of the public and semi-public buildings are located along this axis. The main orientation of the palace is north, although the layout of the palace can be seen as a symmetrical balance between north and south. The north segment, however, is considered stately and formal in character. The east-west axis has a more intimate character. This axis is not obvious in the arrangement of the palace. Most of the private buildings are located along this axis. The east segment gives an impression of freedom and openness, because the layout of
the eastern part of the palace is more open and less formal. The west segment feels closed and restricted because this part of the palace is designed only for the Royal family. The joining of the two axes occurs at the Kedhaton yard which is considered to have a glorious and magnificent character. Thus, Kemandungan, Srimanganti and Mangangan, located on the north-south axis and categorised as the central part, have a mixture of both. Kemandungan and Srimanganti are considered glorious, magnificent and stately. Kemagangan also has a glorious and magnificent character but is more personal in nature.

The layout of the palace complex represents the layout of a traditional typical Javanese house. The palace is designed along the lines of a typical Javanese house which comprises a main living area (dalem), fronted by a verandah (peringgitan), an open hall (pendapa) and a front yard. At the rear is another yard. This comparison between the palace layout and a typical traditional Javanese house addresses the spatial hierarchy, position and character respectively of the northern segment stretching from the central area in the Kedhaton yard to the Gladag gate on the northern side.

The main palace area represents the main house (dalem); Gladag and Pamurakan represent the gates, the northern town square represents the front yard and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa represents the hall (pendapa); Kemandungan yard and Srimanganti yard are the peringgitan; and Kedhaton yard is the core of the dalem (main house). (see Figure 6.4).

A. Northern Segment

Gladag Gate, the Northern Town Square, Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa

According to Yosodipuro (pers. comm., 1995), the square originally was covered with sand. People who walked through it would feel the sun’s heat in day, while at night it was cool. The square symbolises the world which always has opposites like brightness and darkness, happiness and sadness, richness and poverty. It is the contrast to which people should pay attention so that they will not be disturbed by unpleasant situations. The square also symbolises patience. If one could pass the
Figure 6.4
A typical traditional Javanese house
Gladag gate, through the northern town square, into the Siti Hinggil Lor, then one has achieved a mature soul. Anybody who has achieved this will have a wise nature which cannot be roused to anger, and be ready to apologise and forgive so that peaceful feelings prevail. The whole complex of the palace is aimed at reaching the ideal prosperous world spiritually. The arrangement of space between Gladag gate and Siti Hinggil Lor has the meaning 'the guide of life'. By following these guidelines, people are said to be obeying the duty of life.

As this segment is located on the north-south axis line, it possesses much grandeur. The Gladak gate way is formal and gives an impression of closeness. The entrance leading into the palace complex consists of parallel walls which form a corridor with a gate at either end, and several banyan trees planted in rows on both sides of the corridor. Pamurakan gate is more imposing than Gladag gate, because of its proximity to the square and its banyan trees, assumed sacred by the Javanese, create feelings of obedience and sacredness (see Figure 6.5).

Formal and Controlled Entrance

Figure 6.5

Gladag Gate. The gate is guarded by statues of giant creatures, they are named Dwarpal, 'guardians of the approaches' which are also found in the Middle East. Lethaby (1994, p. 163) states that these grotesque demon figures were supposed to be endowed with a mysterious power, vested in their intense hideousness, of scaring away enemies.
The northern town square is used as a front yard or as a yard for receiving guests formally. It is bordered by Pekapalan buildings. The town square area symbolises the existence of common people. Through its size, and its position in the northern side of the palace complex, its function is to host gatherings and to pay homage to the king. In this place, the royal families addressed their people and guests, and the king met people in formal situations. (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6

The northern town square. The palace expresses explicitly the order of the human, natural and super natural worlds and its organisational principles are invoked in politics and other aspects of daily life.
The northern town square is specifically a place for ceremonies and primary rituals. The north-south axis line passes through the middle of the square, and is reinforced by a couple of banyan trees which flank the line in the middle of the square. There is also a secondary ceremonial line connecting the square with the mosque located to the west. The buildings of Pekapalan in this area were used to support activities in the northern town square.

The Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa is an open hall which functioned as a reception area for guests of high status. Bangsal Pangrawit in the middle of the open hall is a manifestation of the king’s throne, so this building became the centre of the orientation. Other buildings were designed to support and accommodate activities in Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. All activities in the northern town square were oriented towards it, because the throne of the king was located in the Bangsal Pangrawit within. The areas of Sasana Sumewa and Siti Hinggil are formed by two Supit Urang streets and reinforced by military buildings to enhance the impression of formality.

The Siti Hinggil is an elevated area which is fronted by Gladag gate, the town square, and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. Siti Hinggil area is a closed yard oriented to the Bangsal Witana (the throne) and Bangsal Sewayana. Being directly oriented to the Bangsal Witana, this location is more sacred and formal. The important features which determine its character are its relation to the open hall and the arrangement of the throne. The Bangsal Sewayana and Bangsal Witana are adjacent. Bangsal Sewayana houses the cannon which symbolises the power and authority of the king.

B. Central Segment

Kemandungan and Srimanganti yards both represent the peringgitan (connecting space) of the typical Javanese house; the place between pendapa and dalem (main house). The Kemandungan yard is more accessible because of its function as the main palace’s front yard. This area is bounded by the gates Kori Banjanala Lor to the north, Kori Kemandungan to the south and Kori Gapit to the west and east.
Srimanganti functions as a waiting room for those who come to meet the king and an area to welcome guests of the royal family. In addition it serves to support private activity for the Royal family and for state ritual ceremonies. It is less accessible than Kemandungan yard. Both areas have the character of a formal yard suitable to welcome royal guests.

Kedhaton Yard

Kedhaton yard is a wide garden covered with sand and planted with sawo kecik trees (a kind of saphodila) which shade the yard and buildings, and their surrounds. It is the centre of the palace complex functionally and spiritually. The Kedhaton yard is similar to dalem (main house) in the typical Javanese house; it is the centre of activity and the most sacred place in the palace complex. Kedhaton yard also can be seen as a symbol of the end of the journey of life, which started either from the northern or southern end of the axis, and which culminated with spiritual perfection.

From the basic scheme of Javanese house, a North-South axis that connects krobongan with pendapa provides a strong symmetry of Javanese house. Moreover, the idea of “center” in Javanese beliefs is manifested here in two ways. In the dalem ageng, the rectangular plan manifests it as a lineal focus, or in linearity, and in the pendapa it is a manifested as a central focus, or centripetality. The sacred meaning of krobongan may characterize dalem ageng itself as a living quarter (Prijotomo, 1984, p.41)

If seen in the micro context of a Javanese house, the core of the main palace area is located at Prabasuyasa house, which is considered most sacred as the centre of the palace and residence of the king. Pendapa Sasana Sewaka as the main open hall is the central building of the palace and was the centre of both state and religious activities. This yard has a formal and sacred character reinforced by Sanggabuwana tower, the most important spiritual symbol of the palace.

The Main House, Prabasuyasa

The palace begins from Gapura Gladag which becomes a guide to reach a material and spiritual destination. It also becomes a resource to create all secular needs.
The main palace area. In the 'myth location', ritual marking or physical boundaries may be used as significant symbols for ambiguities in the social order where hidden meanings are necessary for maintaining social interest.
The spiritual destination in the palace is described by the existence of the main hall called Sasana Sewaka, and then the existence of the main house, Prabasuyasa. These two places are symbols of the peace aspect of 'guidance' used to reach the secular needs and spiritual peace. The main hall and the main house, Prabasuyasa, are the final 'destination' in life (see Figure 6.8). Physically, the hall and the main house have a particular atmospheric grandeur which indicates the main destination, designed by God. Passage through the palace complex demonstrates proper passage through life toward perfection.

Figure 6.8
The imaginary pyramid structure. The main house Prabasuyasa is considered to be the most sacred place in the entire kingdom.
Kemagangan

Kemagangan is located at the back of the main yard of the palace (Kedhaton yard), so it is more private. It is also located on the north-south axis line and it is more formal in character. Spatially, this yard is as close to the Kedhaton yard as omah mburi (the back house) is to the typical Javanese house.

C. Southern Segment

The southern palace consists of Kori Brajanala Kidul gate, Kori Gedungmelati gate and Kori Sateko gate and the surrounding yard. The southern town square can be entered from Gapurendra gate and Gading gate. The southern part is arranged similarly to the northern part of the palace complex; and is symmetrical with the northern area. The southern town square is considered spiritually symbolic as the starting point of the human journey from the south towards life perfection.

Although the southern town square generally mirrors its northern counterpart, its physical configuration is not exactly the same. The yard between Gedungmelati gate and Brajanala Kidul gate is smaller and less distinct than Kemandungan yard between Kemandungan Lor gate and Brajanala Lor gate. Kemandungan Kidul functions as the departure point of royal guests leaving from the south. Kaniten yard, located north of Kemandungan Kidul gate, is bordered by walls on its east and west and Gedungmelati and Sateko gates are the points of reception for guests, and of preparation for any subsequent activities which are to progress towards the north.

The southern town square is not as wide as the northern one and is surrounded by a wall giving it the impression of intimacy. The activities which were performed in this place were usually of large scale and involved many people. The place served as the end of activities progressing from the north and the starting point of activities progressing from the south. Gapurendra and Gading are the outside gates bordering the southern town square.

Surakarta Kasunanan palace represents the complexity of Javanese culture, where
local tradition and external social, cultural and religious influences are manifested in the form and structure. Surakarta Kasunanan palace was not free from the influence of European culture, as the palace was directly under the authority of the Dutch colonial government, and also the influence of other cultures and religions. The influence of Islamic culture in the architecture was generally limited to the mosque, palaces and the royal tomb. The religious life of Surakarta Kasunanan palace was the continuation of the Mataram dynasty which was dominated by Islamic religion. It was, in fact, influenced by previous religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, which have become a symbol of Javanese philosophy and the basis of the existence of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. Through the process of the combination of these beliefs, Javanism (Kejawen) has become dominant in colouring the development of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The palace as a whole is considered a sacred place, and gives a religious impression and reflects the characteristics of the kingdom. The description of the abstract concepts in this chapter helps to understand how the Kejawen religion is manifested in the arrangement of the palace, where all the religious and cultural values of the Javanese people were integrated.
Chapter 7

UNDERSTANDING THE MYTHICAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. MYTHOLOGY OF THE PALACE

The palace was the centre of the spiritual life of the Javanese, and it represented a mystical centre of an ideal cosmos (Behrend, 1982). The palace, according to the ancient cosmological beliefs of the Javanese, was considered to be the navel of the universe. The mythology behind the architecture of the palace can only be fully understood by those who have grown up within the influence of Javanese mythology and culture. Therefore, the 'mythic architecture' in the palace can only be meaningful if it is accompanied by the knowledge. Without the knowledge of Javanese belief, the palace is simply a cluster of Javanese traditional houses.

In the Javanese palace, and especially in Surakarta, cosmic and spiritual concepts influenced much of the spatial layout which followed a concentric circular pattern, where the inner circles hierarchically are more sacred (Behrend, 1982). Functionally and conceptually, the layout of Surakarta Kasunanan palace is based on the symbolic relationship between humans, king and God. This investigation illustrates the significance of the layout, especially in its use by the king to influence his subjects.

Javanese mythology developed for certain purposes, and was nurtured within the social culture which was integrated with Javanese social life, and crystallised over a long period. The cultivation by power-holders of mythical stories with which to exert their power and consolidate their control was a feature of past feudal states, and is still much
in evidence in contemporary Java. The ways in which spiritual mysticism aims were to be realised in practice embraced a large part of the architectural design process both generally and specifically. By expanding the visual information base, more can be understood about the form, action and interpretations given to the environmental setting. Understanding of social activity can be greatly enhanced by attention to the internal and external appearance of the built environment.

Mysticism as a means of exerting power actually used a specialised set of techniques by which the king reached the hearts and minds of those who followed him. The factors combining to form a ruler’s charisma and authority are extremely complex and difficult to identify. Despite this, human behaviour is generally under the subtle influence of these factors. Because mysticism affected emotions, the king no longer had to force or logically convince others to follow. They had a natural spiritual desire to obey and the king was able to transmit his vision to those around him. In Surakarta Kasunanan palace, mythology was attached to specific places, ensuring that their significance was passed down via their history. Values were also passed on from generation to generation with the effect that the king's power was perpetually reinforced. Although mythology cannot be proved and is often far from rational, it provides an anchor of stability and credibility.

The king was able to generate great power and authority over his followers and he enjoyed long term obedience and loyalty from the people. This did not happen simply because of his capacity for leadership, political position or quality of management, but also because of the way he was able to make people feel. Human behaviour and levels of performance are sometimes based more on how people feel than on rational or logical reasoning. The king consistently touched the people at spiritual and emotional levels through their beliefs, the followers became dedicated supporters of the kind needed to make the power and authority of the kingdom greater.

Spiritual emotion is an integral part of human beings. Javanese culture in the past placed more emphasis on spiritual emotion than on logic; the Javanese were spiritually tied to the simple truth that the king is a representative of the God, the world is not
eternal, the purpose of life is worship, and there is an eternal life after death. So the emotional state of mind they were in at any given moment did more to direct actions than any other factor. They believed that through performing ritual activities, their spiritual needs would be satisfied. The resultant security produced in turn emotional and psychological equilibrium.

A. Mythological Value

A large portion of this investigation has dealt with the palace arrangement. Yet, more emphasis has been placed on the aspect of the relationship between people and their physical surroundings than on the investigation of the palace's physical character. In short, this research is an attempt to discover the spiritual effects that the physical world exerts upon Javanese people, through the example of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace.

*Kawruh Kalang* is a reference book about building Javanese houses or other buildings. *Kawruh Kalang* contains knowledge of Javanese traditional structure and is based on the Javanese inheritance of knowledge, both technical and spiritual from ancestors. The book explains the rules of construction and the symbolic meaning of a traditional house. When Surakarta Kasunanan palace was being built, the people with this knowledge tried to determine its most auspicious position, and to choose appropriate pieces of furniture so that the palace would not endanger its occupants. Such knowledge it is believed may still be utilised for the benefit of the occupants of a building if it is applied correctly by consulting fortune-tellers. For example, *Kawruh Kalang* describes 16 different conditions of teak that can result in poor construction and another 11 that can result in good construction. The way to plant, the way to cut and the age of the teak is carefully described including the ritual performance, to the carving and painting of wood.

The Javanese believe that a house orientated toward the spirit of a certain direction is structurally strong and beneficial for health, and even creates harmony. In deciding on the most appropriate orientation for a building, calculations are made based on five elements: metal, water, wood, fire and soil, which determine a good place in which to live. These calculations may result in a good position if the five elements are
properly applied; if they are misapplied, they may result in a bad position for a building. In Javanese societies, the east, the direction of the rising sun, is considered an auspicious and significant direction (Behrend, 1982). Most traditional Javanese houses are aligned north-south. West is profane in relation to the sacred east, while north is considered of high status and south is low status. Cosmologically, each house was the centre of the universe for its inhabitant. The house faced the south because the South Sea was viewed as the route to the underworld and the spirits which dwelled therein.

Surakarta city is probably the only city that was founded based on metaphysical detection rather than on a consideration of the physical conditions of the land. With reference to the history of Surakarta Kasunanan palace, it is important to mention its total presence and sacredness before it was moved from Kartasura to Surakarta on 17 February, 1745. The choice of the land and location of the palace was determined through meditation by a team consisting of the palace spiritualists and fortune-tellers (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995). At that time, the land where the palace now stands was still a swamp. Even after the swamp was filled in, using large timbers from Donoloyo jungle, the water was still present, and people believed it was still connected with the sea to the south. According to Sajid (1984), the spiritualists meditated again to find out God’s advice. They heard God say that the swamp would be a good place for the palace only after a ceremonial offering (Behrend, 1982). After this divine message was interpreted, the palace was successfully built, and was believed to have divine authority till the end of the world. Although, many buildings were added to the palace during succeeding reigns, planners considered the same philosophical concept used by the original planners, which was represented in the layout of the palace to symbolise the connection between the micro cosmos and macro cosmos, as a manifestation of worship to the greatness of the one God and to show the essence of Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti (the unity of human and God).

The mythical values of the palace can be understood from the meaning of each building. An example is the Brajanala gate (braja means weapon, nala means heart), built under the authority of Pakubuwana III in 1758. From its name, Brajanala gate reminded people of the need for sensitivity of feeling before entering the palace. This feeling is
perhaps better explained as the need "to increase vigilance but dare to leave the totality of personal prestige or 'power' and dismiss all bad desire against the palace". This sense is symbolised by two guard rooms left and right of the gate, called Wisomarto rooms.

The gate of Kemandungan Lor was built in 1810. In front of the gate is a big mirror, a symbol of the need to apply the philosophical teaching *Mulat Saliro Hangrosowani*, or self reliance. Persons entering Kemandungan Lor gate will be faced by their own image and must examine and if necessary improve their attire to ensure that they are properly dressed and neat enough to appear before the king. The mirror also has a spiritual meaning: persons wanting to enter the palace to appear before the king should firstly examine themselves introspectively.

Sanggabuwana Tower, 34 metres high and built by Pakubuwana III in 1782, was a symbol of the sacredness of the palace. It functioned as a place of worship and meditation to God, and a place from where the king could commune with the goddess of the South Sea. The octagonal structure of the tower symbolises the eight principles of leadership needed as pillars of harmony. Parts of the tower have certain names and meanings. Because it is a place in which to meditate and to have dialogue with the goddess of the South Sea and other supernatural spirits, the building is held in high regard. It was considered to be most sacred since it was built for the king only. It is believed that the sacredness of the building will decrease if common people are allowed to use it (Koes Moertiyah, pers. comm., 1997).

The typical Javanese house usually faces south, with the main house in the north and an open hall and front yard in the south. However, the main house Prabasuyasa in Surakarta Kasunanan palace has a different arrangement. The main house faces to the south but the open hall and the front yard are not located on the north-south axis. They are adjacent to the east side of the house and face to the east. This special arrangement reflects the building's status as the most sacred place in the entire kingdom -- literally the centre of the world -- so the open hall is arranged to welcome the sunrise, which represents new life (see Figure 7.1).
The aristocrat housing & the main house Prabasuyasa. Prabasuyasa. The main house faces to the south but the open hall and the front yard are not located on the north-south axis of the house, but on the east side of the house and face to the east. This is a special arrangement, and its open hall is arranged to welcome the sunrise in the morning which is considered as a symbol of new life.
There are other places within the palace complex that have a high degree of sacredness. One of them is Bandengan Mosque, a small mosque surrounded by a 400 metre square pool of water. This mosque is not restricted solely to the king's use but is also used by other members of the royal family. By contrast, the garden and cart garage are considered to have low levels of sacredness because their functions are regarded as less important. The town squares are opened for the public but have a high level of sacredness because the squares have a very high philosophical meaning. They are considered to symbolise earthly life. Before one enters the palace, one must pass through either the northern town square or the southern town square. The journey symbolises that one can reach the world after life, on the basis of a good heart and good thoughts.

The layout and function of the palace buildings also have spiritual meaning. Not only the sacred Brajanala and Kamandungan gates but all the buildings from Sasana Sewaka building until the centre of the Prabasuyasa building symbolise sangkan paran ing dumadi (the origin of man and the meaning of life). According to this belief, the purpose of life is to return to the Creator and the palace is a medium for searching for God. Since the king is considered to be the representation of God, the centre of Prabasuyasa is the obvious place for the king.

The concept underlying the development of Surakarta Kasunanan palace was to create an image of the glory of that time and the authority of the king. All physical aspects of the palace -- the urban pattern, setting of buildings, architectural style and division of rooms -- are not only functional but also have philosophical meanings, mainly based on Islamic and Javanese beliefs. Similarly, the sacred quality of certain places in the palace made them resonate with history or values that would pass from generation to generation, ensuring that if the ruler made any changes they would not deviate from the original sacred symbolism that was the basis of the whole planning.

Spatial organisation in Surakarta Kasunanan palace has produced not merely an arena in which social life unfolds, but also a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced. Human activity within the palace space is directed by its architectural arrangement. The arrangement of most constructions exerts power in ways
that are not so obviously coercive, however, it always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message and expresses collective will and thought.

Individual perceptions of the palace’s structural organisation varied according to the status of the person involved. People of high status considered themselves part of a hierarchical concentric structure which was reflected in the layout of the palace. The king was at the centre both physically and hierarchically. This concentric image of Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be transformed by an imaginary reconstruction in which two axes are drawn from the centre of the complex. Surakarta Kasunanan palace, as a model of the cosmos, expressed explicitly the order of the human, natural and supernatural world and its organisational principles invoked in politics and other aspects of daily life. Tjahjono (1983, p. 279) stated that “The Javanese built environment -- from dwelling of human beings to abodes of spiritual beings, from settlement form to urban pattern -- manifests the idea of cosmos, centre, and duality”. The concentric and diametric arrangement is not simply analogous to the cosmos, but is integrated within it. The interrelationship of the organisational principles of concentricity, diametricity and myth determines the spatial form of the palace.

As the history of Surakarta Kasunanan palace has been the foundation of thinking about values and norms of Javanese culture in the last two centuries, the history of its buildings has influenced our view of Javanese architecture. Javanese architectural history including its 'myth architecture' has been the medium that has allowed critics to reflect upon the nature, origins and purpose of Javanese architecture. The ‘myth locations’, ritual markings or physical boundaries within the palace may be used to reinforce ambiguities in the social order where such uncertainties are necessary for social interest. The mythological power of the palace can be conveyed in many forms, however architectural form is the most effective and accessible because it directly accommodates the activities of the people.

The existence of mythological power became more necessary whenever there was demand for greater government authority. The rulers realised that religion had a great value for the Javanese, and for developing mental and spiritual resilience. Strong
religious belief was one of Javanese culture's strengths. The power in the palace seems
to be derived from the mythological practice which was formulated by 'religious rules'.
These 'religious rules' generated meaning in a symbolic sphere which was manifested in
the architectural layout.

B. Mythological Orientation

The mythical orientation is encountered not only in the area away from the palace
but also within the complex. The philosophical meaning and rational architectural
concepts underlying the orientation of Surakarta Kasunanan palace were felt and
understood not only by the architect or designer of the palace but also by common people
who have grown up within the influence of Javanese mythology and culture.

Life in the palace was like a 'play' in the shadow of mythology which was an
intrinsic part of the religion and Javanese belief. The standards of social and individual
behaviour which were set by the king had to be followed by his people. The palace over
time would become the inspiration for Javanese social life. In the cultural perspective,
Javanese kings could achieve a level at which all their thought, speech and behaviour
would be eventually considered to be true and accepted as wise by the people who were
bound by the system of thinking which prevailed in the community.

The mythological orientation within the palace played an important role in
influencing people to behave in certain ways. The layout used in the palace area creates
patterns of movement which were used to help in directing certain behaviour. These
patterns of movement used elements of the landscape, both soft and hard, and buildings,
strengthened by repetition from the northern square through to the southern town square.

In the 'mythical locations' within the palace, ritual markings or physical
boundaries were used to reinforce ambiguities in the social order where such
uncertainties were thought necessary in the interests of society. The creation of
boundaries as physical features is often associated with needs of defence, shelter,
territory and containment. By physically dividing up and demarcating space, they may
classify and control places and relationships. Boundaries and transitions between domains can be marked in many ways other than simple physical features. Gates, walls and entrances serve to mark transitions between domains such as public/private, female/male, sacred/profane, enemy/friend, elite/commoner, and inside/outside (see Figure 7.2). Entrances and physical barriers mark differences in domains and thus restrict and control access between them. It has to be acknowledged that the functional aspects of defensive circuits around territories contribute to the very definition of those territorial or urban entities.

The 'myth architecture' in the palace is not directly presented to common people as a rational concept. Rather, because of the religious status of the king, it has been used to develop and enhance the power and authority of the king. It can be even more effective when combined with the use of mythology and belief, which is found in many sources such as stories, legends, proverbs, maxims, and songs. This mythology could spread through the entire country and from generation to generation by word of mouth. The result is long lasting because the stories become ingrained in the culture and beliefs of the people. The architectural orientation of buildings can incorporate aspects of mythology. For example, a building may be designed to face the scene of a story which has a significant mythical meaning.

The mythological power of the palace was conveyed in many forms, however, architectural form was the most effective and accessible because it directly accommodated the activities of the people. Physically, spaces and buildings give protection from danger, comfort for activity and reflect security and aesthetic values. The use of religious mythology in the arrangement of the palace was a social force. This phenomenon slowly develops into a self reliant force which is able to unite the community. It can dominate the force of social politics, economics, and security and it can be used to suppress certain political desires. If this phenomenon is approached from the context of economic and socio-political life, we can see the psychosocial symptoms in the behaviour of the Javanese.
The spaces of the palace and its level of sacredness. The user' behaviour in the palace was determined by both space and myth in action. The spaces, layout and myth created complete physical and mental order.
The Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex did not evolve into a massive defensive structure like many palaces in western countries because it was the subject of control, surveillance and oppression by the colonial government from the time of its establishment. Rather, it remained integrated with and part of the surrounding city. The physical form of each building in Surakarta Kasunanan palace is similar to the common Javanese house with the most obvious variations being in complexity and size through which the pivotal role of the palace in Javanese culture was represented.

2. POLITICAL AUTHORITY

Since the Mataram dynasty was of lowly origins, the struggle to develop the keagung-binataraan (celestial grandeur) was of even greater importance. The Mataram dynasty also tried to built its power in other ways: by creating a palace culture and babad literature (chronicle), and by developing the Javanese speech-levels of ngoko and krama (Moedjanto, 1993, p. 186).

Power and authority are the central phenomena in politics. The power and authority of the Mataram kingdom has been discussed by Moedjanto (1993). He explored the basic concept of exercising power in Javanese society through the idea of the keagung-binataraan (celestial grandeur) of the kings of Mataram. He demonstrated how the concept of kingly authority as power was celestially absolute and discerned how the kings tried to strengthen the base of their power over their subjects.

Authority is the ability of a person to influence the behaviour of others in a certain way (Budiardjo, 1991, pp. 9-10). Politics always concerns power. Power can be exercised through mentality, spirituality and religion, and always involves enforcement and hegemony from the powerful to the powerless. Authority is institutionalised power (Budiardjo, 1991, pp. 14-15).

There are many ways to establish the power. Seemingly, the most effective way is through force. Another way is through persuasion, that is, through a process of convincing. Persuasion is often used not only by the characters who influence, but also by those who have the power. Therefore, the effect can be seen as the special or
smoother form of power, although the result of having the effect is less certain than that of having power. It is caused by the individual trying to achieve his purpose by convincing and persuading. However, although the effect is less effective than the power, it sometimes still has a psychological element that touches feelings, which cause it to give the desired result eventually (Budiardjo, 1991, p. 11).

In all the formulations stated above, power is considered to be a relationship between two or more entities. Power is considered to have the characteristic of rationale. It is a matter which is always attached to a person or a group of people. The source of power can be position, or wealth. It also can be based on religions or beliefs. In traditional Java, the Kyais or the Priests assumed power over their followers, so that the Kyais were considered to be the informal leader. In some countries which are still influenced by tradition, kinship can also be the source of power (Moedjanto, 1993).

Power, as described by Anderson (1991, pp. 44-127) is something abstract. Power is a term which is usually used to explain one or more relationships. As with the term ‘authority’ or ‘legitimacy’, power is an abstraction, a formulation of certain social interaction patterns which are observed. Since power is only an abstraction describing a certain relationship among people, it is therefore inherently unlimited. In Javanese society, people consider power as something concrete and homogeneous, something absolute, without any inherent moral implications (Anderson, 1991, pp. 44-127). The concept of belief and morality are a powerful influence on behaviour.

Traditionally, the Javanese kings were considered as leaders having charismatic authority. Charismatic authority is based on belief in the mystical or religious power of the leader's position. It does not emphasise the agent but the rules which serve as a base for his behaviour. Explicitly or implicitly, power conveys authoritative meaning; in other words, power and authority are legitimised by the institutional position of the person, or else the authority is entailed within the institutional sanctions which are held by the competent society (Soemardi, 1991, pp. 30-43).

Javanese people thought that the king was either a reincarnation of the son of
nature, the representative of God, or even the son of God, and bestowed titles such as Batara Prabu, Sunan, Wali, Prabu, and Amirul Mukminin Kalifatullah. The existence of the kingdom was based on a vow, a tale, a revelation and the like. The movements of the kingdom's capital -- from Majapahit to Demak and from Demak to Pajang -- were not merely based on revelation but on the attempt of the king to use his right as the heir of Majapahit throne. This attempt was to legalise the power and authority. The king's performance could be strengthened by the compilation of magic sources, either in the form of revelation, inspiration, power bestowed by God, heirloom goods, ceremonial goods, and other ritual activities and also through architecture as a media to influence the people (Anderson, 1991, pp. 44-127).

Anderson (1991, pp. 44-127) has written about the concept of power in Javanese tradition. He described how, in Javanese belief, the attempt to achieve power is done through the practice of meditation. Although different ways of meditating -- including fasting, remaining awake, traditional meditating, abstaining from sexual contact, holding ritual purification and giving ritual offerings -- are practised in different regions of Java they have the same objective. They are all aimed at focusing on the true essence of life. The best way to comprehend this concept is through a description of 'suryakanta' or laser light, in which it is believed that the centralisation of an extraordinary light can create an extraordinary outpouring of heat. This analogy is found in classical Javanese references, which describe very concentrated meditation as indeed possessing the capability of yielding a physical heat. People believe that the legendary kris (dagger) makers were able to shape the iron blade into its beautiful patterns only by means of the heat which was centralised in their thumbs.

The tradition of Javanese political thought emphasises the phenomenon of power centralisation, and not its use or its function. According to the old traditions of Java, the ruler had to collect around him people or things considered to possess or to convey power. His palace was not only filled with traditional heirloom goods such as kris, lances, the sacred instruments of music, carriages, and the like, but also with a collection of extraordinary people such as albino men, clowns or joke makers, dwarfs, and fortune-tellers. Since they lived together with the ruler, their powers added to the power
he already had (Anderson, 1991, p. 57). The king became the symbol and personification of the whole society. This unity of society itself is the symbol of power.

Power in Javanese society emphasises the authority upon the inhabitants rather than the territory. The centralisation of the population around the person of authority is the best sign that he possesses power. It indicates a belief in the bestowal of power from God. An interesting illustration of the central position which is owned by the universalism in Javanese political thought is that the terms meaning the world (buwana) and the natural world (alam), the country (negara) are used in the names of four Javanese kings: Pakubuwana, Hamengkubuwana, Pakualam and Mangkunegara.

It is clear that the concept of traditional power in Java provided a good perspective to supervise the structure as well as the running of the patrimonial state. The administrative structure which was hierarchical consisted of groups of relationships of *kawulo-gusti* (servant-master) with its different layers. Either in the region or in the capital, each ruler compiled a group of people who depended on him, following the models of his own kingdom. They worked as administrative staff or political staff without any real status except that of their relationship with their master (*gusti*). It is clear that Surakarta Kasunanan palace did not exist by itself, but was established with the support of the community; the followers of the king. They were called *kerabat* and dedicated their lives to the king. *Kerabat* means relative or kinship, so the follower could be regarded as a royal relative. To be a royal relative was an honourable title, and one way of getting more followers was by bestowing a special title on them.

The Royal family was part of the Javanese way of life and coloured the whole of Javanese society. They were paternalistic benefactors. All the political power they gained was inherited. They acquired it not because of their ability and capacity to run a government, but merely because of their bloodlines. Within the political ideology of the Javanese, there was no room for opposition, for any such opposition was considered rebellious, although there were other rival centres of power which needed accommodation, repression or manipulation. Through mythology, a social culture developed which allowed the ruler to place himself above the common people, reinforced
through the practice of untouchability.

The Javanese concept of power as a supernatural and sacred energy is no more than a symbolic concept. The Javanese people usually consider power to be a strength of energy which is sacred and supernatural, and which concretely lies inside the world of human beings but outside the individual. Therefore, the use of power is automatic and does not have either a moral implication nor a quality requirement to the people who use it. Based upon this concept, the Javanese kings considered that if they could occupy or possess the sources of the power (for instance, the supernatural *kris* which are inherited from the older kingdom), they would possess the thing identical to the power itself and automatically they would have power over the society (Koentjaraningrat, 1991, pp. 128-129).

Leadership over the society of ancient states, not only in Indonesia, but also in Polynesia, Africa, and other places in Asia, used the concept of religion and religious ways to force uniformity of orientation upon its citizens. In a society in which the religious sector is still strong, a sacred central orientation can be a strong means to equalise the differences of needs and beliefs so the people would be loyal to their leader (Koentjaraningrat, 1991, pp. 136-137).

In Indonesia, as in other places around the world, the continuity of kingship which was based on the higher authority had to be strengthened by the belief that the royal descendants were drawn from the gods. The leaders reinforced this belief by developing the conviction that they possessed a sacred light or *wahyu* from the Gods, and the belief that they possessed a supernatural power. The sacred characteristics of the king's charisma was the most important component of his power.

The charisma of the king was associated with the belief that approaches to the common people would contaminate his holiness. The protocol patterns in several ceremonial matters of Javanese kingdoms which did not allow the people to question or be curious about the credibility of the king were actually based on this consideration. Though the power of a Javanese traditional leader relied on charisma as the main element which assured the continuity of that leader's authority, he could not ignore another
component of power, namely physical strength, to control the masses through punishment for any form of disobedience.

The authority of the king which was based on the concept of sacredness needed to be continually manifested through intensive ceremonies. In state ceremonies, the sacred thing which symbolises the authority and dignity of the country has an important function. The Javanese see their king as the only means which connects man's microcosm with God's macrocosm, so his power is absolute and unlimited (Moedjanto, 1993). The legitimisation of the king's power, to maintain his personal authority, is above the king himself, who has to be physically perfect, and have better abilities than anybody else. Kings such as Panembahan Senapati and Sultan Agung were believed to have always gone to Mecca for Friday prayer (Koes Moertiyah, pers. comm., 1997). Only persons with high personal integrity were able to control themselves in exercising their power.

The structure of government of the Mataram kingdom was hierarchical. It consisted of some separate power units, each of which almost freely stood alone, and which were bound together by their loyalty to the king as the God's messenger.

3. SYMBOLISM OF THE SPACES

According to Yosodipuro (pers. comm, 1995) Surakarta Kasunanan palace is the place for Pangemban Nugrahaning Pangeran, or the place for the recipient of the divine revelation - the King or the Queen. The word 'keraton' which approximates to 'palace' in English, was formed by the words Ratoe meaning 'king' or 'queen', and Ka meaning the place where the recipient of divine revelation lives. The term 'Keraton' means simply 'the residence of the king', in the architectural form and concept of the palace. It also refers to other concepts: the receiver of divine revelation, and the physical and spiritual patron of the Kingdom. Although many scholars use the word Keraton to describe the residence of the Javanese king, however, in this thesis the word 'palace' is used instead of the word Keraton as this investigation focuses on the architectural field.
Philosophically, the palace is also the point of intersection between the physical and the spiritual, between the logical and illogical, between the abstract and the concrete. This philosophical meaning covers not only buildings and constructed areas of the palace but also its contents and activities. These include furniture, heirlooms, musical instruments and other static work of art as well as performing arts, dance, music and drama. It reveals that the palace is the result of the combined working of mysticism and physical matters, because the palace was built not only through physical creation but also through spiritual approaches which were realised by a process of meditation in order to produce a result which radiates authority (Yosodipuro. pers. comm., 1995).

According to Javanese beliefs, the palace is a combination of material and spiritual power/values, the seen and the unseen world, and the physical and the mystical. The combination of art and technology in the palace structure have created distinctive forms of architecture which reflects the psychological demands and philosophical meanings of their creators and users. The physical layout is based on logic, function, space and building structure, but there are also underlying philosophical and symbolic meanings which reflect magical values and charisma. The arrangement of the spaces and buildings in the palace, from the area of Gladak gate, through the northern town square, Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa area, Siti Hinggil Lor area and ending at the main palace area symbolise the journey a human being makes from birth to self perfection. A similar journey is reflected when one enters from the south. The layout and position of buildings in the complex of the main palace indicate the existence of a spiritual relationship to four orientations which are considered to have magic power.

The dimensions of the open spaces and the buildings in some areas of the palace give an impression of limitless grandeur and symbolise the power, as well as the protection, of the divine spirit and the king. The layout of open spaces and buildings, some of which are open while others are closed, symbolises people's attitudes and philosophy to life -- there are things which can be public and others which are private. The palace used the sympathetic context of open spaces to take advantage of the junction of space and performance, the layering of attitudes and artifacts. The built environment was to have long-lasting effects on the potential uses of the open space. The notion of
space in the palace remained that of a simplistic, amorphous matter to be defined by its physical boundaries. Its layout, composition, shape and structure are combined in harmony to produce beauty, and to give comfort, as well as to reflect the majesty of the king and God.

The organisation of the palace creates complete physical and mental direction to its political purpose. This investigation underlines the effectiveness of architecture used as a political instrument. Architecture carries not only the image of the social order but also what preserves, and even imposes, such order (Tschumi, 1990, p. 73). The user's behaviour in the palace was directed by both space and myth in action. With dramatic particularity, the king tried to organise the spaces and layout to create complete physical and mental orders. In the architectural arrangement of the palace, elements are used to play several different roles simultaneously in subtle fantasies or in the most ferocious sensuality, influencing the people's behaviour in their interactions within the palace complex.

The spiritual cosmic concepts have greatly influenced the spatial layout of Surakarta Kasunanan palace. The concept of gradation of space can be clearly seen. The layout of the palace follows an imaginary concentric circular pattern, with the inner-most circle the most sacred space (Behrend, 1982). Conceptually or functionally, the Surakarta Kasunanan palace arrangement is based on the symbolic relationship between humans, king and God, which progresses in stages; from the least to the most sacred. This concept is understood and acknowledged by the people as the "Seven Steps to Heaven" (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997), which symbolises the spiritual centre in a sevenfold spiral of Indian culture.

The relation between the profane and the sacred is an integral part of the concept of cosmology that places all elements (physical as well as non physical) in concentric circular levels in which the king personifies the centre, and it is considered as a connecting point of micro and macro cosmoses, so that in each system the centre is the most sacred, with the consequence that the farther a place is from the centre the less sacred it is.
The division of the kingdom’s territory, too, shows the same pattern of power division. This pattern was reflected in the administrative organisation. The kingdom’s territorial division was based on a number of concentric circles, namely Kuthanegara (Capital city), Nagaragung (appanage lands), Mancanagara (outer territories), and Pesisir (the lands in the outmost). It shows the territorial division of the realm in Mataran Kingdom, and also represents the king’s authority towards those regions (Houben, 1994, pp. 7-8; Behrend, 1982, pp. 170-174).

The similarly of this model to the Old-Javanese world-view is obvious in the concentric conceptualisation of the rings and in the pre-eminence of the centre. The mid-point of the kingdom was paramount not only in the origin and concentration of kesekten (magic power) there, but also in the degree of its civilisation. Thus the greater the proximity of an outlying to the capital, the more certain would be its tendency to experience order, peace and prosperity...

In the Javanese terms, the degree of courtly influence in each area reflects not only the political power the king is able to wield there, but the magnitude of the magic power that reaches there from the centre. In accord with the Meru scheme, this is always conceptually a function of removal from the capital precincts (Behrend, 1982, pp. 173-174).

The Javanese language does not make a clear etymological difference between the royal capital and the kingdom itself. Those two concepts are encompassed by the term negari. Javanese political thought is oriented to the centre, and is combined with the concept of sovereignty which appears gradually. Therefore, a state or a kingdom is defined not only by its borders with other regions, but also by its centre. The territory of a state always changes, depending on the power of the centre. Borders which are determined by geographical elements such as mountains and oceans were considered to be places where other spirit power lives with its authority.

In real terms, there were no political borders at all, for a ruler’s power would be gradually weakened and automatically conveyed by the neighbouring authority. Power could be exerted, either in the form of diplomatic pressure or through the recognition of one rulers’ superiority. Theoretically, this concept can be explained by the Mandala or the circle of effect, importance or ambition, and can be described as a series of geopolitical relationships dealing with the state’s border and its relation with other foreign states (Anderson, 1991, pp. 44-127).
The palace is the centre of government, the level of its control graduating from a central area of supreme power to areas of reduced power on its periphery. At any point in each level of the concentric circles, smaller circles develop around smaller centres of power. In this way, public/private space delineation as well as sacred/profane (that is, the consequence of this concept) is broken down into smaller concentric circles. On the other hand, the existence of the axis or axial line passing through the circle always results in dualism, so that part of the concentric circle always has a counterpart on its other side. Based on this concept, the palace can be broken spatially into three parts (areas):

North area : Gladag - Pamurakan - Northern town square - Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa - North Siti Hinggil
Middle area : Kemandungan - Srimanganti - Kedhaton yard of the palace - Kemagangan
South area : South Siti Hinggil - Southern town square.

The character of each space is determined by its position in the series of concentric circles and its axial line that forms a concentric gradation system. The south-north axis has a 'grand' character, while the east-west axis has a more hospitable character. The north area equates with formal state government, while the south area equates with the people. The south area means 'opened' and the west means 'closed'. The meeting of the two axes or the axial lines in the Kedhaton yard of the palace relates to 'glory' because of its location in the middle of the palace complex. Kemandungan, Srimanganti and Kemagangan areas which are on the north-south line but belong to the middle area have characteristics which are a combination of the two. Kemandungan and Srimanganti have the character of 'glory' and 'wisdom' in connection with the State. Kemagangan also has the character of 'glory' and 'wisdom', but on a more personal level.

Based on spatial arrangement on many levels of space, Surakarta Kasunanan palace consists of in-line yards surrounded by fences that are combined axially on north-south and east-west axes. In the northern town square area, and associated with the public yard in the south, are Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, and the northern Siti Hinggil.

200
Figure 7.3

The characteristics of structures and spaces of the palace. The concepts within Javanese architecture are not directly apparent to the common people, because of the religious obedience to the king, but it can be used to enhance the power and authority of the king. The result is more effective and long lasting because it becomes part of cultural life and part of their belief.

201
The physical layout of the northern town square as a space united with the palace indicates the function of the space. The square is a wide open area called alun-alun (square). There were many activities carried out in the square, including meetings of palace officers, judicial trials and many kinds of public entertainment (Behrend, 1982; Houben, 1994). The spatial hierarchy and layout of the palace strengthens the function of the square. The northern town square is a focal point of the orientation of the palace area with the palace at the southern side and Agung mosque at the western side. This composition forms vertical and horizontal relationships: vertical in relation to the God and horizontal in relation to human beings.

The northern town square is the centre of the public gathering space. It was where most domestic, social and cultural activities took place. The northern town square provided the forum for the establishment of human social relationships. Its size was determined by the size of the population. The size of the northern town square was designed to accommodate the activities that were to take place on it; it was used as an arena for battle practice and also a place where the palace ceremonies involving the common people were held (Houben, 1994). The layout and shape of the northern town square were also dictated by the activities which took place there. By contrast, the central yard is used for more limited activities, such as sacred dancing and as a place to welcome special guests. The transition yard between the northern area and the main palace complex is only used to support the activities in both areas.

The northern town square area functions as a public welcoming area. The supporting buildings which surround the northern town square, called Pekapalan, represent the regents under the palace authority. The number of Pekapalan buildings surrounding the northern town square equated with the number of the regents at the time (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997). The arrangement and the position of all the buildings is similar; they all face the centre of the square. It seems that the public spaces and buildings are well defined and located in specific areas within the northern town square. In the planning of the area, alignment is one of the strategies used and it is known as strategy of line: visual and conceptual connection. This strategy is a combination of the pattern of the roads, open spaces and building blocks which are
formed conceptually and visually. Order, organisation, symmetry and repetition keep arousal within moderate and tolerable bounds. The task of these design elements is to provide a general concept appropriate to a given physical context and role within a system. The function of the alignment is to form a special arrangement of the buildings in the northern town square. This alignment is manifested by verandahs, roofs, the floor of the buildings, footpaths and the boundary.

4. PATTERN OF ACTIVITIES OF THE PALACE

An experience of space tends never to be considered appropriate to the spiritual and physical fulfilment of every user because of inherent subjectivity. Judgments of satisfaction with the physical environment are manifestations of aroused visual stimuli sustaining the interest of the perciever. The main buildings of the palace are located in an enclosed area, or the ceremonial area of the palace enclosed from the outside world in such a way that only certain people could enter it. The physical features that seem to contribute most significantly to the perception of compatibility have to do with facade design and size. The shape, size and layout of the palace complex enable the making of vividly identified mental images of the environment and can symbolically represent an attitude about what was happening in it. A prevailing sense of history embodied in the palace gives roots to the sense of stability and security.

The palace consists of many yards, each connected by a gate, its division showing hierarchy so that the inner yard is the more sacred. The main palace complex is the centre and has the highest degree of sacredness. Each yard area in the palace consists of outer space, transitional space, and inner space. The northern town square area is located in the outer space of the palace complex. This arrangement of spaces is balanced along an axis between north-south and roughly east-west. Beside the pattern that is shaped to direct the movement, there are also landscape patterns containing a certain philosophy that also function as a means directing people's behaviour. These are found along the axis from the north and south gates towards the centre of the palace. Especially at the north part of the palace complex, the symbolic meaning and philosophy of spaces are designed to determine the behaviour of the people. The behaviour can also be
influenced by a building; the material used, the way it is designed and also by its mythological contents. This includes the arrangement of the openings of the building, the layout of the columns, the building construction, distance between buildings and the plan geometry. The main building and the supporting buildings are usually positioned in the middle of the yard. Supporting buildings always surround the main building. Every yard is enclosed, either by walls or buildings.

From the very beginning, the existence of the yards, buildings and gates of Surakarta Kasunanan palace had a philosophical base that indicates the existence of the invisible or metaphysical things that come together in the making of the palace. The northern town square area consists of physical elements such as gates, yards, buildings and vegetation that possess meanings and represent the philosophy of the 'rule of life'. The existence of the centre is manifested symbolically by stages in the journey and in the existence of the gates. The closer to the palace centre, the more sacred the spaces, each of which possesses its own philosophical and symbolic meaning.

Entering this closed area, according to Yosodipuro (pers. comm., 1995), meant entering one higher level of life after fighting against a series of trials, temptations and examinations. Therefore, philosophically, after gaining victory and success in facing the battles of life, humans would achieve the feeling of safety and peace for their future journey to the world of perfection. Thus, the symbolic meaning of the closed area is inseparable from the unity of the symbolic meanings realised in the open spaces and buildings from the northern gate to Bangsal Srimanganti.

Generally, the areas inside the palace seem to be rather crowded, as if the number of buildings were increasing. This overcrowding occurred due to increased building demand during the periods of government of each king. The increase in Baluwarti inhabitants is a heritage from their ancestors. In ancient times their ancestors were the members of the palace who occupied the place under certain conditions. The agreement was only verbal (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997). It shows that the relationship between the king and the members of the palace was based more on human emotions rather than formal. The uniformity of the building is no longer important, since
overcrowding and the demand for additional housing space has led to anarchic extensions.

The Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex, from the main palace yard to the areas in the north, can be seen as a typical Javanese house; with Gladag as its gate, the northern town square as its yard, the northern Siti Hinggil as its pendapa (open hall), Kemandungan yard and Srimanganti as its peringgitan and the palace yard as its dalem (main house). This analogy provides an explanation of the hierarchy and of the spatial character of the palace and it will be analysed from the north area.

The circulation pattern of people from the north starts with Gladag gate as an entrance and the beginning of a journey. The northern town square as a front yard welcomes the guests, and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa as a characteristically formal verandah welcomes more important guests. It is the important focus of all activities held in the yard.

The front gate, Gladag, is a very sheltered alley. This area is on a north-south axial line and has the character of grandeur in connection with the State. The gate directs movement and creates an atmosphere which encourages obedience from the people. The northern square, an open, wide yard which contrasts with the Gladag alley, gives the impression of monumentality. Important components to support the formal character in Gladag gate are:

- the north-south axis;
- a couple of walls that form an alley;
- a couple of giant creatures;
- the respective series of gates; and
- banyan trees that shape obedience.

The use of the northern town square can be explained as a product both of environmental conditions and of social requirements. It has analogical connections with the articulation of social activities at the civic scale. Its size and physical nature mean that
it can be active in a direct, bodily way -- through direct control over people's movement and their interaction in architectural space. Architecture embeds certain specific meanings in society through the control of people and their encounters with the world around them (Pearson & Richards, 1994, p. 74). The palace arrangement has similar ambitions. The creative ingenuity that articulates its spatiality is spurred on by similar intent, but the means used are more modest.

The formal character is reinforced by Pekapalan buildings and the banyan trees providing a very clear edge to the square. The open hall Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and the king throne (Bangsal Pangrawit) are surrounded by supporting buildings Bangsal Pacikeran and Bangsal Pacekotan which serve both visual and functional purposes. The edges of both Supit Urang street and the gardens are completed with military facilities which creates a formal impression. Important components to support the activities in the northern town square are:

- the open square;
- Pekapalan buildings that surround and support the functions of the area and activities in the northern town square;
- banyan trees that symbolise power and protection;
- the ceremonial way that passes through the yard, strengthening the axial line north-south and a couple of banyan tree that flank the street;
- the secondary ritual ceremonial street that connects the primary ritual ceremonial street with Agung mosque;
- Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa as a symbol of the verandah;
- Bangsal Pangrawit as a manifestation of the king, which becomes the centre of the orientation; and
- other halls that surround and support Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa.

The character of the space in the northern town square is ritual and formal. It was used for the presentation of the people, to show their loyalty to the king, for the king to meet members of the kingdom and the common people, and to entertain guests. The configuration, orienting on Bangsal Pangrawit in Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, is along ritual lines. Space is all about a sense of place; architecture is simultaneously a moulding
of space and the expression of a cultural attitude toward it. Architecture constitutes the reality of experience, and this reality gets in the way of the overall vision of social experience in the palace. The physical layout of spaces, buildings and also the actions associated with them suggest that the structure was organised within a framework of religious hierarchy.

Wijil gate is a gate that connects Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and Siti Hinggil Lor. The gate symbolises that one must control one's speech and not talk too much to ensure that only good things are spoken. Mangu gate is an exit gate from Siti Hinggil. This symbolises that everyone will leave the temptations of the world and enter eternal life (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995). The Siti Hinggil is the continuation of the journey from the town square and the open hall Sasana Sumewa, a place where the 'State forum' went on, with its sacredness of the Bangsal Witana as heavenly throne for the palace. The area is orientated to Bangsal Witana, and supported by Bangsal Sewayana as well as the two buildings, Bale Bang on the right and Bale Angun-angun on the left. The main activity conducted in this area was audiences with the king, and this had the characteristic of State ritual which was rigid and formal. The area was oriented on the throne Witana; the people participating in the audiences allowed only limited actions. The important components of the area are:

- the open yard as a space where the configuration of the hall is defined;
- Witana stage as a manifestation of the heavenly throne;
- Sewayana building as a 'lengthening' of the throne Witana;
- the two buildings on the right and left; and
- cannons as manifestations of the state and security.

In the northern area, the Siti Hinggil Lor (elevated area) plays an important role as a symbolic religious barrier from the north. The character of the Siti Hinggil is identical to the *pendapa* in a Javanese house, while the two areas on its northern side (Gladag and the town square) are analogous to a yard in a traditional Javanese house.

The Siti Hinggil Lor is an elevated area with some buildings on it. Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil stage is the site for the king, symbolic of the centre of authority and
Figure 7.4

The northern town square and Siti Hinggil Lor. People can identify the nature of places, judge their quality and status, identify settings, and know how to behave.
magical power. The king appeared three times a year at big meetings called Garebeg, Sawal Month and Besar Month and also at very special ceremonial events (Sajid, 1984). In this space, the king also communicated directly with the people. In this area palace ceremonies were organised, while more private ceremonies of the king took place in the main palace complex.

From the above analysis it can be seen that the northern area of the palace was designed to accommodate activities that required a religious and formal atmosphere. This is understood through the concept of gradation (hierarchy) of sacred values through the layout of the physical components in the area. The arrangement of the northern area not only involves worldly things but also conveys religious and mystical experiences to the people. People act and behave differently in different places according to the behavioural norms defined by the culture. Success in environmental design is the ability of the designer to suggest the use or cultural significance of a building or a place through its architecture. In the case of Surakarta Kasunanan palace the most significant exterior cues for conveying information about the function of the spaces were size, mythical messages, form and various stylistic features.

The hierarchy of the space in the palace is divided into three areas that follow a concentric circular pattern with axis lines north-south and east-west. Kuthanegara is the innermost part. Moving out from the core of the circle are Negaragung (the appanage land) and Mancanegara area, and the outermost area is Pesisir (Houben, 1994; Behrend, 1982). The crossing point of the north-south and east-west axial lines lies at the Kuthanegara area.

The hierarchy of the space in the palace is a primary organising element of its urban pattern. This urban pattern is based on its typology and morphology in order to create an integrated physical environment. The organisation of space includes four aspects: space, meaning, communication and time. Spaces in the area, including the northern town square area in Surakarta Kasunanan palace, are manifested as yards of different types and morphology.
The layout of the palace's physical elements stresses the 'process of its making'. As a process, the development of the palace can be compared to an organism that grows and develops. As the palace population increases or decreases, so its physical form changes (Budiharjo, 1987, p. 15). If additional buildings are to be erected in the palace, planning will determine how their physical elements would dominate and shape the environment.

5. SPACE AND PATTERN OF USER MOVEMENT

The northern town square can be seen as a direct reflection of social religious activities. This can be identified by the relationship between the northern square and the Agung mosque and in the pattern of movement at the square. Public access to the square is connected to the urban area surrounding the palace which in turn can be reached from any direction through the gates. The public access points to the northern and the southern town squares are used also as the main entrance to the palace area.

The whole layout of the palace provides an explanation for the philosophy of the ritual procession in Javanese life. The procession from the main gate of the palace to the centre is hierarchical, providing an organisation pattern for activities within the area. This organisation pattern provides a clue to the concept of arrangement and existing environment, and also demonstrates how the character of the space is reflected in the activity carried out in that space (see Figure 7.5). The following analysis examines the design aspects of the space within the palace complex. From the process of analysis, conclusions are drawn which become the basic concept of the space arrangement.

The basic activities in the area are subordinated to the overall concept of the organisation activity. The northern town square with its imaginary axis forms a balance of symmetrical spaces. Philosophically, it manifests a balance or harmony among humans and between humans and God. In spatial terms, it means balance between activities and the concepts of space organisation within the palace complex.

There are three main conditions for a unity in the palace built environment:
domination, repetition, and continuance in the composition. Employing the concept of
the area being in balance with the activity it is designed for contributes to an
understanding of the concept of unity. The unity is not a visual but an abstract quality
that relates to human behaviour. To achieve unity in architectural composition, a
dominant pattern is needed to maintain a relation and continuance as an abstract line that
relates to the objects for maintaining the composition. In this area, the dominant physical
elements of the area are Gladag as a main gate of the area, the northern town square area
as a welcoming space, and Pekapalan buildings as representatives of regions which were
subjects of authority. The Agung mosque creates a religious orientation and Pagelaran
Sasana Sumewa provides a focal point of orientation in the area.

In this analysis, character of space is regarded as a parameter in determining the
activity in the space. Non-physical characteristics are considered as having the same level
of significance as the physical characteristics of the area. Each area of the palace is a part
of the concept that considers the palace as steps of the journey to perfection of life. As a
stage of the journey, the northern town square is outside the main palace area. In
consequence, the northern square area is placed in the second stage of the journey after
the Gladag gate. In turn, each area of the northern town square has its own meaning and
hierarchical level. The northern square area can be divided into four stages: Gladag gate,
as the main entrance; the northern town square, as a gathering space; Pekapalans, as
representations of the regents; and Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa, as a representation of
power and authority and also a focus and orientation point of the square.

The organisation of the activity within the palace space defines the northern town
square as a public open space orientated to Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa as its 'focal point'.
The northern town square functions to integrate activities in the space. If linked with the
concept of cosmology of the palace, the imaginary axis of the square will divide the area
symmetrically. So, the space orientation as a balance will place the east-west axis as an
activity space and a barrier between internal and external orientation.

The Gladag and Pamurakan gates were used as the main entrances directing the
movement of people into the palace. Pekapalans area functioned as the representatives of
Figure 7.5

The movement pattern within the palace complex. Spatial organisation in Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be seen not merely as an arena in which social life unfolds, but also as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced.
regents under the authority of the kingdom. The buildings of these areas were to accommodate activities of the representatives to the palace, and to reflect their loyalty and obedience to the king. All of those buildings faced the northern town square and the Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa. This space zone was also bound by religion orientation, through its relation with the Agung Mosque. This space zone related to the ritual and ceremonial activities as well as non-fixed activities on a large scale that involved many people. Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and Siti Hinggil were spaces relating to the non-physical activities, such as religious activities and performances.

Landscape

This analysis focuses on open spaces and the layout of vegetation that has a spiritual linkage with the palace and its philosophical content. The arrangement of the banyan trees at the northern town square presents an imagined axis that creates an integral symmetrical pattern derived from the cosmology governing the arrangement of the whole palace area. This concept is also based on relationships among humans, and between humans and God. This imaginary pattern of the landscape configures a symmetrical balance of space between north-south and east-west axes.

The composition of Gladag area, Pekapalan and the northern town square is dominated by banyan trees. Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa area as the focal point of the square has a wider variety of vegetation, and most of the trees planted here are considered sacred. The physical composition of the landscape in the palace is based on a deeper philosophical concept. Each part of the palace formed unity and strengthened the pattern and character of the whole area, and eventually contributed to the power of the king. An example of this can be seen in the Gladag and Pamurakan gates. As the first entrance to the complex, they give a sense of closeness and also enforce a sense of obedience, with the holy banyan trees positioned to guide the movement of the people in the square. In addition, a pair of statues in front of the gate gives a welcoming impression and protection.

The arrangement of the northern town square and the ceremonial area of the palace is based on a composition of urban solids which include buildings, building
extensions, their enclosures and boundaries and urban voids which include public yards, transition yards, and private/restricted yards. (See Figure 7.6).

*Use of Space.*

Surakarta Kasunanan palace was the centre of the social, political and cultural orientation of Java. This role of the palace is reflected in the complexity of its spatial arrangement. In the past, the development of Javanese architecture, particularly Surakarta Kasunanan palace, needed a comprehensive base of thinking. It had to be comprehensive, since on one hand it had to contain an understanding about aspects of shape, space and layout, and on the other hand, it had to be future oriented, acknowledging that the layout of the entire palace would be interwoven with the cultural condition of the Javanese people. As a social entity, the palace is a community that creates social interaction individually or collectively. In the past, its role as the centre of power and culture strengthened the existence of the palace in the country's social life.

Principally, the culturally traditional activities performed in Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be divided into two categories: state events and non-state events. State events included administrative and ceremonial functions, while non-state events revolved around private family leisure activities which included *ngadi busana* (formal dress), *ngadi salira* (body care), playing traditional music, dancing, military training for the sons and daughters of the king, and other daily activities like eating, studying and working. At times, the public, or at least certain invited members were allowed to participate or observe. Both state events and non-state events were governed by traditional etiquettes, customs, protocols and ceremonies.

State events were provided to enhance the relationship between the royal family and the people. The direct involvement of the people could be exercised spatially: at times people actually entered the palace complex, at others they merely surrounded it, depending on the purpose of the event. The ceremonies of the palace, such as *miyos siniwaka* in which the king comes out to receive tributes, *wijil syrinarapati* in which the king goes down to the villages, and the coronation of the king, were conducted with the people surrounding the palace (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1997). The attendance of
Figure 7.6

The existence of solids and voids of the palace
officials in these ceremonies was obligatory because it showed their loyalty to their king. If there were people who rebelled against the king and did not come to the ceremonies, it would soon be known and the king would punish them. As well as these ceremonies, another ceremony called \textit{kirab} was enacted every \textit{Syura} month, during which the possessions of the palace were brought out and paraded around the city.

Ritual activities included birth, \textit{ruwatan} (thanks to God), circumcision, wedding and mortality ceremonies. Some ceremonies were based on personal interest, namely birthday parties and wedding parties. Other activities of collective interest involved soldier training, playing traditional Javanese music and dancing. The most important dance held in the ceremonial life of the palace is the Bedoyo Ketawang, which is performed once a year to celebrate the anniversary of the king (Behrend, 1982). The Bedoyo Ketawang dance was instituted by Sultan Agung, the ancestor of the Mataram dynasty in the sixteenth century, and represents the courtship between prince Senopati, the founder of the Mataram dynasty and the goddess of the South Sea.

Some traditional events such as the Royal Inheritance Exhibition, \textit{Jumenengan} carnival, \textit{Jamasan}, Sriwedari Fair and Gerebeg have existed for a long time and have become part of the palace culture. Most traditional ceremonies have been simplified and adjusted to suit the modern situation. Traditional ceremonies which existed but now are being omitted include great weddings, dinners, promotions of soldiers, and military training. The level of involvement of people varied for each event, depending on the occasion, purpose and hierarchy of people involved.

\textit{Space Organisation}

At the beginning of its construction, Surakarta Kasunanan palace was divided into four areas following a concentric circular pattern (Behrend, 1982). These areas are \textit{Kuthanegara} at the centre and then \textit{Negaragung}, \textit{Mancanegara} and \textit{Pesisir}. The axes go from north-south and east-west. The intersection of the axes is in the \textit{Kuthanegara} area. The palace is the centre of the crossing of the compass directions or the union of four directions, and at the same time, symbolically the fifth direction (Yosodipuro, 1982, p. 3).
The philosophy of the arrangement of Surakarta Kasunanan palace symbolises the human attitude to the mind and soul in order not to deviate from the existing rule that aims for life perfection (Yosodipuro, 1991). The palace as a setting manifests 'steps' in a continual journey, with each element of the structure -- gates, buildings and open spaces -- serving as a signal for each of these steps in the journey.

The gates at the northern town square area that connect the yards and the inside of the palace are Gladag and Pamurakan gates which each consist of two flanking pillars topped with curved iron and covered in engravings which depict jungles and animals. The two gates are places to collect and slaughter hunted animals. This symbolises control over animal instincts in men eager to reach the ideal joy of life. All temptations are symbolised by statues of a giant priest Pandita Yaksa on the left and right of the pillars.

The northern town square was a sand field. It was hot during the afternoon and cold at night. This symbolised nature which is always contradictory, and the good and evil that every human experiences. In the middle of the square there are two banyan trees, Dewadaru and Jayadaru, which symbolise shelter, authority, peace and also justice. Dewadaru is planted on the western side and means majesty, while Jayadaru is on the eastern side and means glory.

At the north side of the northern town square there were also two banyan trees. To the west was Waringin Jenggot symbolising the male, and Waringin Wok symbolising the female to the east. At the southeast side of the northern square there was Waringin Gung tree which symbolises greatness. Other banyan trees around the north square were planted there for shelter only.

The crossing of the two axes is defined by the directions of the compass. Each has its own mythological value and meaning. The palace was also made up of rows of yards. The yards are balanced symmetrically between north and south. Each of the yards is separated by walls and buildings. The yard division pattern shows hierarchy. The closer to the centre, the more sacred it is, and Kedhaton yard at the centre is the most sacred (Behrend, 1982). The outermost space consists of the northern town square and
the southern town square with all their attributes: Agung mosque, Pekapalans, Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa and a market in the northern town square and the Gajahan area in the southern town square, so called because it once had the elephant cage (Sajid, 1984 p. 42).

The inner space is Srimanganti yard, with Srimanganti hall functioning as a waiting room for those who have come to see the king. In this space, the king judged cases and welcomed less formal guests. In this space also, some servants or guests waited to see the king. Recently, some buildings in Srimanganti area like Marcukundo and Smarakata buildings have been used for the circumcision of princes, and a place for members of the royal family to practice dancing (Dipokusumo, pers. comm., 1996). This space is a semi-public area, but is restricted to certain people only.

The main yard of the palace (Kedhaton) is the centre of the constellation of the whole complex and is considered as the most sacred area of the palace. In front of the main hall Sasana Sewaka is a wide sand yard planted with sappodilla trees. The trees provide coolness and shade, and symbolise the shelter and protection that people would get appearing before the king. Plants at the front of the building are arranged to direct movement towards the inside of the palace. The Pendapa Sasana Sewaka, where the king welcomes his very important guests, is the centre of the Kedhaton yard. And in this place also, the most sacred Javanese dance Bedoyo Ketawang dance is presented. The Kedhaton yard is analogous to the main house (dalem) of a traditional Javanese house.

On the eastern side of the main palace yard is Kasatriyan where the princes lived, while on the western side there is Keputren where the princesses, concubines and wives lived. Every yard is enclosed by walls and connected to each other by a gate. In Javanese myth, the east is considered as the oldest direction symbolising the beginning of life and power. This characteristic is identical with the male character, so the placement of the Kasatriyan is at the east of the main house Prabasuyasa and to balance this, Keputren is placed at the west.

There is symmetry in the division of the spaces between north and south, which
implies that the main axis used for the yards is north-south. The palace faces both north and south. The north orientation is more dominant. This is because the hall Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa is located at the northern town square. Almost all the palace ceremonies take place in the north. The southern town square functions more as a back yard, built according to the principle of symmetry but reduced in scale and virtually useless in State ritual (Behrend, 1982, pp. 200-201).

Buildings in the palace yard are placed in a line, both from north to south and from west to east. The main buildings Prabasuyasa, Sasana Sewaka and Sasana Handrawina are in the centre of the yard. The east side is dominated by Kadipaten building, and the west side is dominated by the Western palace and Keputren area. It is seen here that the east-west axis as well as the north-south axis is used. This concept is more likely influenced by Javanese concepts from the Majapahit era (Pigeaud, 1963).
Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

As stated by Moedjanto (1993, p. 186), since the Mataram dynasty was of lowly origins, the struggle to develop its power and authority was primarily important. The kings tried to build their power and authority through many methods such as creating palace culture, babad (chronicle) literatures, and developing the Javanese speech levels. This study demonstrates, from the architectural point of view, the use and arrangement of space and the use of mythology to reinforce the power and authority of the kings. The palace built up its power and authority through many different means such as religion, kinship and myth, not solely through physical force. This was supported by the architectural layout and arrangement of the palace. Mythology surrounding the palace has been used side by side with the architectural arrangement. This mythology enhanced the sacred feeling, and eventually affected the power and authority of the king in the eyes of the Javanese people.

Nowadays, most people would argue that religious attitudes cannot be regulated by the state. The realm of religion is within a human being’s deepest feelings and convictions and cannot be directed by any worldly power. It would be futile and even dangerous to try to control religious attitudes. However, Javanese kings in fact did use religious values to justify their dictatorship. In the Mataram kingdom, the king along
with the kingdom officials was the biggest organised power within the society. The kingdom officials had the potential to influence other people for their political purposes through religion and mythology. The cultivation of mythical stories by power holders to exert their greatness and consolidate their control was a feature of past feudal states, and is still much in evidence in contemporary Javanese culture. The use of mythological power became more necessary whenever there was demand for greater government authority. The rulers realised that religion had a great value for the Javanese people, and for developing mental and spiritual resilience. Strong religious belief was one of the Javanese people’s cultural strengths.

The king had a very important position, that of being a connector between God and the world of natural life, and in extending divine principles for achieving world welfare. The king acted as holder of a mandate of divine revelation (palace revelation), which furthermore would be translated in his attitude to administration. As a consequence, there were two basic dimensions of power used in the practical political struggle in Surakarta Kasunanan palace: religious power and real political practice. Both dimensions derived from the mythological practice which was formulated by ‘religious rules’. These ‘religious rules’ generated meaning in a symbolic sphere. The political practice was formulated by ‘administrative rules’ and accompanied by sanctioning. In fact, in Surakarta Kasunanan palace these two practices were well integrated and organised. The two practices would have not been effective in influencing the people without the integration of physical space which was manifested in the architecture of the palace. Although mythology and political power are not practically related notions they are closely related and interdependent in architecture within the above context. The mythological practice which in this study can be seen as a ‘religious power’ in itself was more powerful and effective then the ‘real political practice’.

Since the Mataram kingdom was included in the colonial power of the Dutch, it was impossible for the palace complex to evolve into a massive defensive structure like many palaces in Western countries. The development of the palace was the subject of control and surveillance by the colonial government. The palace’s lack of physical grandeur and its architecture did not attempt to physically intimidate the visitor. The
palace's mythologically-based grandeur was a more powerful and effective force in enhancing the power and authority of the king. Because of this the Surakarta Kasunanan palace was respected by the Javanese people and was also regarded as the most prominent architectural complex of its time in the region. For three and half centuries, the kingdom's ability to develop was quashed by colonialism. The king's ability to enhance political power over the people became blunted and cramped. The kingdom became impoverished not only in an economic sense, but also in a political sense. To develop and enhance the spiritual aspects of the palace was one of the few options left to the king to protect and reinforce his authority.

The Javanese political practice was weakened when it faced competition from religious power, due to the tendency in the Javanese society to put their religious life above mundane affairs. The aristocratic values the kings embodied reinforced the stratification of the society. Fear produces respect and respect produces order and reserve, and these eventually produce safety and tranquillity. For all strata of society the palace was the place where sentiments of religious loyalty were centred.

The palace represents, in architectural terms, the complexity of Indonesian culture; indigenous and external social, cultural and religious influences are manifested in its form and structure. Within the palace, each component is a symbol of a social or natural philosophy resulting from a combination of beliefs including indigenous Javanese animism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. The physical form of each building in the palace is similar to that of the common Javanese house, with the most obvious variations being in complexity and size through which the pivotal role of the palace in Javanese culture was represented.

The combination of material and spiritual, the seen and the unseen world, and the physical and the mystical are embodied in the palace. The physical layout is based on logic, function, space, shape and building-structure, but there are also underlying philosophical and symbolic meanings which reflect magical values and charisma. The arrangement of the spaces and buildings in the palace, starting from the northern gate, proceeding through the northern town square and ending at the main palace area,
symbolise the journey a human being makes from birth to self perfection (Yosodipuro, pers. comm. 1995). The arrangement of buildings in the complex of the main palace indicates the existence of a spiritual relationship to each of the four orientations which are considered to have magical power. The dimensions and proportions of the open spaces and the buildings give an impression of unlimited size and presence, and symbolise the power, as well as the protection, of the divine spirit and the king. Either conceptually or functionally, the layout of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace portrays the hierarchical relationship between humans, the king and God. The arrangement of the palace expresses an understanding of the existence of the most sacred of lives. This is realised in the form of ritual ceremonies, and spatially reinforced by the physical elements: the gates, spaces and buildings of the palace complex. The journey through the Surakarta Kasunanan palace complex is seen as an ascent of a glorious mountain to the most sacred place of the central kingdom, in order to reach perfection in life (Yosodipuro, pers. comm., 1995).

Social political issues are part of a complex web of the built environment. This study demonstrates the link between architectural space and society, as it provides an examination of the active role of material culture -- in this case, physical space and architecture -- in the reproduction and transformation of society. Space does not simply reflect the social group, it also forms the group. Surakarta Kasunanan palace, as a model of the cosmos, expresses explicitly the axis of human, natural and supernatural world order (Behrend, 1982). Its organisational principles are invoked in politics and other aspects of daily life. The arrangement is constructed according to concentric and diametric principles (Behrend, 1982). The concentric image of Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be transformed by an imaginary reconstruction in which two axes are drawn, intersecting in the centre of the complex. It is not only simply analogous to the cosmos, but is integrated within it. The interrelationship of the organisational principles of concentricity, diametricity and creation mythology creates the spatial form of the palace. Human activity within the palace space is directed by its architectural arrangement. Spatial organisation in the palace has produced not merely an arena in which social life unfolds, but rather a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced.
A large portion of the work in this investigation has dealt with the arrangement of
the palace. Yet, more emphasis has been placed on aspects of the relationship between
people and their physical surroundings than on the information about the palace’s
physical character. In short, this research is an attempt to discover, through a variety of
methods, the spiritual effects that the physical world exerts upon Javanese people. As the
history of Surakarta Kasunanan palace has been the foundation of thinking about values
and norms of Javanese culture in the last two centuries, so the history of its architecture
has influenced our view of Javanese architecture in general. The architectural history of
Surakarta Kasunanan palace can be seen as the medium that allows critics to reflect upon
the nature, origins and purpose of Javanese architecture and provides criteria that can
inform contemporary design.

The myth locations, use of spaces, ritual markings or physical boundaries within
Surakarta Kasunanan palace were used to reinforce ambiguities in the social order where
such uncertainties were seen as necessary for social interest. The mythological power of
the palace can be conveyed in many forms, however architectural form is the most
effective and accessible because it directly accommodates the activities of the people. The
creation of boundaries as physical features is often associated with needs of defence,
shelter, territory and containment. Physically, spaces and buildings give protection from
danger, comfort for activity, and reflect security and aesthetic values. By physically
dividing up and demarcating space, people may classify and control places and
relationships more readily. Boundaries and transitions between domains can be marked
in many ways other than simple physical features. Gates, walls and entrances in the
palace complex serve to mark transitions between domains such as public/private,
female/male, sacred/profane, enemy/friend, elite/commoner, and inside/outside. Entrances and physical barriers mark differences in domains and thus restrict and control access between them.

The palace’s architecture is not directly presented to common people as a rational
concept, because of the religious status of the king. Thus, architectural concepts can be
used to develop and enhance the power and authority of the king. It can be even more
effective when combined with the use of mythology and belief, which are articulated through many media such as stories, legends, proverbs, maxims and songs. Also, the architectural orientation of buildings can incorporate aspects of mythology.

The 'mythic architecture' has been successful in enhancing the power of the royal family. This mythology could easily spread through the entire country, as it could be passed from generation to generation by word of mouth. Belief has been a very effective way of influencing the people and was used by Javanese kings because it touched effectively the spiritual emotion of the people. The result was effective and long lasting because the mythology become ingrained in the culture and beliefs of the people. This was further reinforced by education and, on occasions, force.

The king was able to generate power and authority over his followers and he enjoyed obedience and loyalty from the people. This did not happen simply because of his leadership capacity, political position or quality of management but because of the way he was able to make people feel. Human behaviour and levels of performance are based more on how they feel than on rational or logical consequences. By consistently touching others at spiritual and emotional levels through their beliefs, the king was able to attract the dedicated supporters he needed to make the power and authority of the kingdom greater.

Spiritual emotion is one of the most integral parts of human being and Javanese culture in the past placed more emphasis on spiritual emotion than on logic. The Javanese people were spiritually tied to a simple truth that the king is a representative of the God, the world is something uneternal, the purpose of life is worship, and there is an eternal life after death. Therefore, their emotional state of mind and belief did more to direct their actions than any other factor. The people believed that through the performance of ritual activities, their spiritual needs would be satisfied. The resultant security produced in turn emotional and psychological equilibrium.

Power can only be wielded if framed within the right actions, but power is also obtained by acting in the right place. In exerting power, mysticism was actually a
specialised set of techniques used by the king to affect the hearts and minds of those who followed him. Because it controls emotions, the king no longer had to force or logically convince others to follow. They had a profound spiritual disposition to obey, and thus the king was empowered to infuse his vision upon the populace. In Surakarta Kasunanan palace, mythology is attached to specific places, ensuring that their significance was passed down via their history. Values were also passed on from generation to generation with the effect that the king’s power was perpetually reinforced. Although mythology cannot be proved and is often far from rational, it provides an anchor of stability and credibility.

Diversity, complexity, novelty and ambiguity of composition in Surakarta Kasunanan palace are conditions which lead to arousal and attention. The ability of the Javanese people to identify parts of the environment allow them to recognise the familiar as well as to appreciate their built environment. Space in the palace has qualities that have a high probability of evoking a strong image to the users. Sensory stimulation plays a significant role in motivating as well as guiding behaviour. The ways in which the spiritual aims were to be realised in practice would embrace a large part of the architectural design process both generally and specifically. By expanding the visual information base, more can be understood about the form, action and interpretations given to the environmental setting. The use of space is a very important factor in enhancing the value of an area. By placing a religious activity or attaching a religious mythology to certain space in the palace a religious message was articulated to the people. Along the ceremonial area of the palace this religious message could be clearly identified and in a subtle way governed the people’s behaviour.

The centre of the life of the Javanese was the palace. For them it was also a mystical centre of the ideal cosmos. The palace was considered -- according to ancient cosmological beliefs -- to be the navel of the universe. The architecture of the Surakarta Kasunanan palace can only be fully understood and meaningful when viewed in the full context of Javanese complex mythology and culture.

****

227
### GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abdi dalem</td>
<td>royal; palace servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ageng/agung</td>
<td>great; grand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aling-aling</td>
<td>screen wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alun-alun</td>
<td>town square in front or behind of palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baluwarti</td>
<td>fortress; inside fortress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bangsal</td>
<td>big hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beteng</td>
<td>fortress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babad</td>
<td>chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bangsal</td>
<td>big hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala</td>
<td>calamity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batin</td>
<td>inner self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumi</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwana</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bupati</td>
<td>Head of the Kabupaten (&quot;Regent&quot; under the Dutch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cilik</td>
<td>small; little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cungkup</td>
<td>the building that covers the tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalem</td>
<td>inner part of home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhanyang</td>
<td>spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewa</td>
<td>god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhukuh</td>
<td>hamlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhalang</td>
<td>puppeteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desa</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamelan</td>
<td>set of Javanese orchestra consisting of drums, gongs, flutes, metalophones,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stringed instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garebeg</td>
<td>traditional ceremony celebrating the birthday of the Prophet, or the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after fasting month ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gajah</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griya</td>
<td>big house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gedhek</td>
<td>woven bamboo wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapura</td>
<td>gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gladag</td>
<td>dragging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusti</td>
<td>master, lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jero</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joglo</td>
<td>Javanese style of architecture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
krama : high level, refined level
kesekten : supernatural power
kecamatan : district
kelurahan : subdistrict
Kabupaten : Javanese word for district; seat of the Bupati
Kepatihan : seat of the Patih
Kasunanan : sultanate
kraton/keraton : royal court; residence of the king
kabupaten : regent
kori : door; gate
kulon/kilen : west
kidul : south
kawruh : knowledge
kawula : servant; human
kampung : housing compound
kalang : carpentry
kris : sacred weapon; dagger
limasan : type of roof shape
lor : north
lurah : head of a village
magersari : a long rental system in which the renter is allowed to build the house on landlord land
meru : a multi roofed pagoda, raised several feet above a stone base on stilts, and topped with an uneven number of thatched roof of diminishing size
mancalima : classification system based on five
mancanegara : overseas; beyond the main state
Mangkunegaran : second royal house of Surakarta
manunggal : to be unified
mancapat : classification system based on four
masjid : mosque
magang : a sort of page-boy; a candidate for office
ngajeng : front
ngoko : low speech level; coarse level
pagelaran : open hall, audience hall
peringgitan : area between pendapa and dalem
priyayi : official class, high class people
pangeran : prince
Patih : The Prime Minister; the deputy to the Regent
penghulu: Islamic religious affair official
patih: chief minister
pendapa: front hall
prabu: king; a term to address a king
pujangga: author, writer
pusaka: heirloom
Regent: title given by the Dutch to the Javanese district rulers, nearly always members of aristocratic families
Resident: A Dutch civil servant under the provincial Governor who supervised one or more regencies
ratu/ratoe: queen
sitihinggil: highland; elevated land
Solo: another name for Surakarta
Susuhunan: the title of the king of Mataram; Sultan, prince ("He who is carried on the head")
suhun: to put on one's head
sultan: Muslim title for king; Kesultanan; kingdom of the Sultan
selir: concubine
triman: a gift
tanah: land; region; country
tanah sabrang: overseas territory
trah: descendant
wahyu: vision; divine revelation
wayang: puppet
wali: one who is close to God, an outstanding religious leader
waringin: a giant banyan tree, considered as a sacred tree
wetan: east
wong cilik: ordinary man, low class people
wong: man; human
wedana: Sub-district head under the regent
REFERENCES


231


Budiman, A., 1990 (ed), *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Australia.


234


236


Kent, S., 1984, Analyzing Activity Areas: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of the Use of Space, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.


Koentjaraningrat, 1985, Javanese Culture, Oxford University Press, Singapore.


Liddle, R. W., 1990, *Indonesia is Indonesia.*, From: *The Politics of Middle class Indonesia*, Edited by Tanter, R., and Young, K., Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Victoria, Australia.


Louw, P. J. F., 1889, *De derde Javaansche successie-oorlog (1746-1755)*, Albrecht & Rusche; 's Hage: M. Nijhoff, Batavia.


Mangunwijaya, Y.B. D&R (magazine), 7 December 1996.


Moebirman, 1980, Keris senjata pusaka, Yayasan Sapta Karya, Jakarta.


244


245


Solichin S., 1964, Sekitar Wali Sanga, Djajamoerni, Jakarta.


Steinhardt, N. S., 1990, Chinese Imperial City Planning, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.


Sukarno, 1966, Sukarno: An Autobiography as told to Cindy Adams, Gunung Agung, Hong Kong.


Supomo, S., 1979, *Rebellion: Road to the Centre of the Kraton World*, (paper), Australian National University, Australia.


252


Zimmermann, V., 1919, *Keraton Surakarta*. (?)


Appendix 1

The belief of Javanese people in spirits which occupy certain places throughout Java can be understood by the Javanese people from the Javanese song (*Pupuh Sinom*) written by M. M. Sukarto K. Atmodjo (Murtiyoso, 1996). These spirits are believed to come from the family of Ratu Kencanasari, the goddess of the South Sea. It is believed that they protect the kingdom and the people if they are treated correctly.

Durganeluh Mahespahit (Majapahit) and Bahureksa are the king of the spirits.
Ki Balabatur in Blambangan,
Butalocana in Kediri,
Si Koreg in Panaraga,
Sidakari in Pacitan,
Klentingmungil in Kaduwang,
Endrayeksa in Magetan,
Galasatu in Tunjungpuri,
Prangmuka in Surabaya,
Aburabur in Kenanggulan,
Sapujagad in Jipang,
Kalasekti in Madiun,
Prabuyeksa in Pasuruan.
Sumaita in Gegelang,
Dhadhungawit in Agunggeseng,
Buta Salewah in Pajang,
Madamada in Mataram,
Rajegwesi in Pleret,
Nyai Panggung in Kuthagede,
Kartateja in Bubutan,
Ki Rukem in Kuwari,
Jurutaman in Tunjungbang.
Sunan Lawu in Argapura,
Ki Malanggati in Tembayat,
Cucukdhandhang in Taji,
Gretasah in Wedhi,
Ratu Wanara in Kaliopak,
Majaka in Pajanggalan,
Caluring in Kalibening,
Karawelang in Sedhahrama.

Ni Gelana in Jenar,
Wewadi in Banjarsari,
Talengkung in Watupuro,
Kerasmedhar in Rukemi,
Ni Pujenggas Pujenggis in Lowanu,
Gadrug in Patalan,
Dudukwarih in Pepacuan,
Buta Tukang in Tegalayang.

Setan Karetek in Sendhal,
Sapuangin in Balebaran,
Sidapada in Rangkudan,
Wandhansari in Sarisig,
Malangkersa in Wanapeti,
Si Sandhung in Talpegeat,
Si Rengas in Baita Mountain,
Ki Daruna & Ki Daruni in Kayulandheyan,
Bagus Karang in Roban,
Kasungjaya Widana & Widagda in Delepih,
Regelu in Kedhunggerunggung,
Setanpura in Kebareyan,
Singadana in Semarang,
Arya Tilam in Jayasarpa,
Udabangsa in Kali Pening,
Mbok Tarwiyyah in Tengger,
Si Gigit in Tegi,
Dhawangsari in Brebes,
Gutukwatu in Pekalongan,
Udangelap in Pemalang,
Guntinggeni in Wiradesa,
Karkana in Kaliwungu.

Telubraja in Locana,
Ni Buratwangi in Cirebon,
Nayadipo in Celengki,
Si Dulid in Leri,
Ki Pengarang in Banyumas,
Mbok Nala in Ngayah,
Durgabahu in Jerammanis,
Maesakurda in Nusa Brambang.

Genawati in Seluman,
Ragawati in Wringinputih,
Pawaka in Pejajaran,
Sapuregel in Betawi (Jakarta),
Agungagung in Wringinjenggi,
Ngawangngawang in Kelakah
Parlapa in Merapi Mauntain,
Nata Luki in Prerayangan.

Si Dulek in Pemancingan.
Raden Dewi in Goa Langse,
Raden Arya Jayengwesthi in Parangwedang.
Appendix 2

Every king had a different social political background, therefore, they had different purposes in developing the palace. The built environment of the palace is continuously transmitting messages. These messages convey cues for sociopolitical behaviour which can be read and understood. It follows that the environment contains social, cultural, and symbolic information, and transmits many nonverbal messages. These architectural elements of the built environment in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace are all compatible and mutually interactive; they all contribute to the creative interpretation of the palace as a whole. Certainly all the elements have both use and meaning, style and function, including emotional, aesthetic, semiotic and experiential to some degree. All of the architectural elements of the palace are grounded in physical constraints and in the materiality of existence, based on a highly contextualised knowledge of mysticism. The eleven kings reigning during the period of the establishment and development of Surakarta Kasunanan palace made various contributions to its evolution.

1. Pakubuwana II
Pakubuwana II reigned from 1744 to 1749. He moved the palace from Kartasura and established the Surakarta palace. Not many structures were built by the king, due to the short period of his reign. Among the structures and features he established were:
1. Northern town square, including the banyan trees in the middle of the square;
2. Southern town square;
3. Agung Mosque in the Palace complex;
4. The main house Prabasuyasa; and
5. Temporary fences surrounding the palace complex.

2. Pakubuwana III
Pakubuwana III reigned from 1749 to 1788. Among the structures he established or renovated were:
1. Kori Brajanala Lor, and Kori Brajanala Kidul in 1758;
2. Kori Srimanganti Lor and Kori Srimanganti Kidul, in 1759;
3. Agung Mosque, in 1763;
4. The main house Prabasuyasa, in 1768;
5. Pendapa Sasana Sewaka, in 1771;
6. Sasana Parasmedya in 1772;
7. Siti Hinggil Lor and Siti Hinggil Kidul in 1774; and
8. Sanggabuwana tower, in 1782.

3. Pakubuwana IV
Pakubuwana IV reigned from 1788 to 1820. Among the structures he established or renovated were:
1. Construction of the Bangsal Smarakarta and Marcukunda continued, in 1788;
2. Renovation of the roof of Bangsal Pangrawit together with improvement of the structure of Agung Mosque, in 1790;
3. Kori Srimanganti, renovated in 1792;
4. The placing of the floor tiles of Pendapa Agung Sasana Sewaka, in 1793;
5. Bangsal Witana at Siti Hinggil Lor, in 1810;
6. Kori Kemandungan Kidul, in 1810;
7. Renovation of Bangsal Smarakarta and Bale Marcukunda, in 1814; and
8. Kori Kemandungan Lor, in 1819.

4. Pakubuwana V
Pakubuwana V reigned from 1820 to 1823. Among his building projects were:
1. Sasana Handrawina, in 1823; and
2. The continued construction of Kori Kemandungan in 1823.

5. Pakubuwana VI
Pakubuwana VI reigned from 1823 to 1830. Pakubuwana VI’s reign was marked by periods of war, namely the resistance against the Dutch. Pakubuwana VI was the only king of Surakarta who opposed the Dutch government. Finally he was captured and exiled to Ambon (Maluku), where he died in 1849. No data has been found concerning any structures established by Pakubuwana VI.
6. Pakubuwana VII
Pakubuwana VII reigned from 1830 to 1858. No data has been found concerning structures established by Pakubuwana VII.

7. Pakubuwana VIII
Pakubuwana VIII reigned from 1858 to 1867. No data has been found concerning structures built by Pakubuwana VIII.

8. Pakubuwana IX
Pakubuwana IX reigned from 1867 to 1893. During his rule, he constructed Maligi in front of Pendapa Agung Sasana Sewaka, in 1885.

9. Pakubuwana X
Pakubuwana X reigned from 1893 to 1939. The important structures which were built or renovated during his reign were:
1. Kesatriyan school in 1910;
2. Pagelaran Sasana Sumewa in 1913;
3. Bangsal Sewayana in Siti Hinggil Lor in 1913;
4. Additional structures at Bangsal Smarakarta and Bangsal Marcukunda in 1919;
5. Pudyasana Mosque in 1912;
6. Sasana Dayinta in 1919;
7. Renovations of Sasana Handrawina in 1919;
8. Renovations of the main house Prabasuyasa in 1925;
9. Establishment of Pamardi Siwi School in 1925;
10. Establishment of Pamardi Putri School in 1929;
11. Gladag gate in 1930;
12. Commemorative column in front of Pagelaran in 1939;
13. Construction of the front gate of the Western Palace in 1939;
14. The western side of the Baluwarti area was extended a further 100 m in 1933; and
10. Pakubuwana XI
Pakubuwana XI ascended the throne on 25 April 1939 and ruled until 6 June 1945. No data has been found concerning structures established by Pakubuwana XI.

11. Pakubuwana XII
The present king ascended the throne on 12 July 1945. To date, he has built the museum of the Palace which was opened to the public in 1963. He also rebuilt many structures in the palace.

To date, the fires have destroyed various buildings in the palace. In 1985 fire burnt nine buildings: Maligi, Sasana Handrawina, Sasana Sewaka, Parasedya, Prabasuyasa, Office, Paningrat, Pakubuwanan, and Jongring. However, many of them have been rebuilt using similar building materials and plans to the original.
The evolution of Surakarta Kasunanan Palace:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structures &amp; Spaces</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Paku Buwana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gading Gate</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension of the west part</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladad Gate</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamardi Putri School</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamardi Siwi School</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayinta</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladad Gate</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangsal Sewayana</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasana Sumewa</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudyasana Mosque</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesatriyan School</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maligi</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasana Handrawina</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kori Kemandungan Lor</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangsal Mercukunda</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangsal Smarakarta</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kori Kemandungan Kidul</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangsal Witana</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanggabuana tower</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siti Hinggil Kidul</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siti Hinggil Lor</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasana Parasedya</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Hall Sasanasumewa</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kori Brajanala Kidul</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kori Brajanala Lor</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Fortress</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agung Mosque</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main House Prabasuyasa</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Southern Town Square</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Northern Town Square</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

262
APPENDIX 4

Surakarta In the 1900

1. Dutch Bastion
2. Northern Town Square
3. The Palace Complex
4. Southern Town Square
5. Mangkunegaran Palace
6. Gedhe Market
7. Legi Market

Source: Sajid (1984)
Northern Town Square in the 1900s:

1. Northern Town Square
2. Mosque
3. Northern Side Hinggil
4. The Main Palace Complex
5. Jim Sening Area
6. Southern Side Hinggil
7. Southern Town Square

Source: Sajid (1984)
I. Northern Town Square
2. Mosque
3. Northern Siti Hinggil
4. The Main Palace Complex
5. Jero Seang Area
6. Southern Siti Hinggil
7. Southern Town Square

Northern Siti Hinggil
1. Northern Town Square
2. Sasana Sumewa
3. Bangsal Pangrawit
4. Kori Wijia
5. Bangsal Sewayana
6. Bangsal Wtana
7. Bangsal Manguneng
8. Bangsal Manguntur Tangkil
9. Kori Renteng
10. Kori Brajanala Lor
11. Kemandhungan
12. Gathita

Source: Sajid (1984)
Kedhaton Yard
1. Kori Brajanala Lor
2. Balerata
3. Kori Kemandhungan Lor
4. Kori Srimanganti Lor
5. Semarakarta
6. Marcukunda
7. Sanggabuwana Tower
8. Maligi
9. Sasana Sewaka
10. Parasadya
11. Prabasuyasa
12. Sasana Prabu
13. Sasana Handrawina
14. Sasana Pustaka
15. Kori Srimanganti Kidul

Source: Sajid (1984)
I. Northern Town Square

2. 141

40310

3. Peacock

4. The beak, Pelee Conine

5. 10 Been

6. Southern Site Hinggil

7. Southern Town Square

Source: Sajid (1984)
Plan of Kepatihan House

1. Dalem Ageng
2. Peringgitan
3. Pendhopo Ageng
4. Bangsal Music
5. Bangsal Pradangga
6. Antisana
7. Bale Rata
8. Bale Harja
9. Ageng office
10. Sasaneagar office
11. Gate
12. Puspadiningratan
13. Mosque

Source: Sajid (1984)