OMAH
THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEANINGS IN JAVANESE DOMESTIC SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT

Domestic space is a primary site for cultural reproduction. When the inhabitants intensively interact with domestic space, the house receives its cultural significance. This thesis aims to understand how, through practices, meanings are embodied in the spatial formation of the Javanese house, and how these meanings in return affect the spatiality of certain practices. The subject of these observations are four houses of considerably different scales and forms, which range from a simple single-structure house to the elaborate Sultan's palace. The domestic activities observed encompass three types of activities: daily life, ritual celebrations, and theatrical performances. My study is based on direct observation and involvement in such activities, personal interviews, and the published works of other scholars. The central arguments of the thesis are that the two-part division of the house is legible in all these examples and that this front-rear division has a dynamic relationship with established cultural practices.

RESUMÉ

La sphère privée est l'endroit privilégié pour la reproduction culturelle. Quand les habitants interagissent d'une manière intensive avec la sphère privée, l'habitation prend sa signification culturelle. Cette thèse a pour but de comprendre comment, par les pratiques, des significations sont intégrées dans la formation de l'espace domestique javanais, et comment ces significations á leur tour affectent la dimension spatiale de certaines pratiques. Le sujet de ces observations sont quatre habitations considérablement différentes de par leur échelles et formes, qui vont d'une simple maison à un palais de Sultan élaboré. Les activités domestiques observées recouvrent trois types d'activités: la vie au jour le jour, les célébrations rituelles, et les performances théâtrales. Mon étude est basée sur l'observation directe et l'implication dans ces activités, des interviews, et les travaux publiés par d'autres. Les arguments principaux de la thèse sont que la division domestique en deux sphères est nette et que cette division avant-arrière a une relation dynamique avec les pratiques culturelles établies.

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CHAPTER I

EXPLORING THE MEANINGS OF OMAH AN INTRODUCTION

House

The Man tells his wife,
A house is an *Omah*
Omah is from *om* and *mah*
Om is from *O*, meaning sky, or space, its characteristic is male
Mah is facing upward, meaning earth, meaning female
Therefore, a house is a meeting place between a man and his wife
So, I call you *sèmah*, because we live in one *omah*
Sweep our houseyards make them clean and bright
Make the children playing there feel at home
calling the moon in their singing[1]

(Darmanto-Jatman, 1994, p. 141)

THE POEM AND THE STUDY

Omah is the most common of several Javanese words meaning house. In the above poem, the Javanese poet Darmanto-Jatman, writing in the Indonesian language, tells his Indonesian speaking audience that, for him, the essential idea of a house lies in the word *Omah* itself, as indicated by the capitalized O. Playing with assonance, he declares, "*Rumah itu Omah*, a house is an *Omah*." This phrase is a particular kind of explanation, which looks for the meanings and senses of words in their form and sound. Darmanto-Jatman's strategy is comparable to the Javanese way of "etymologizing," popularly known as *kerata basa*, which explicates the intrinsic properties of a word or syllable rather than searching for previous forms.[2] This strategy breaks down the word into its phonetic or syllabic elements and associates each element with other words and constructing these associated words so as to form an explanatory phrase of the original word.[3] While Western linguists, particularly the Saussurian structuralists, emphasize the arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified, *kerata basa* attempts to discover the signified by explaining the signifier. This word-play approach to etymology seems consistent with Norberg-Schulz's notion (1985, p. 111) in his exploration of "dwelling" that words and language have a "thing-ness" quality. In playing with the syllables of the word, the poet seeks not only the etymology but also the ontological

exegesis of the term. In this case, Darmanto-Jatman formulates *Omah* as comprising *o* and *mah*, which extends the meaning of *Omah* as the meeting point between the *o*-ness of space-sky-male and the *mah*-ness of ground-earth-female. In much the same manner, a Javanese building treatise explains the "origin" of the word *omah* consisting of *o* and *mah* meaning *ngaqb sak ndhuwuring lemah* or taking shelter on the earth.

After asserting the essential meaning of the house through the word of *omah*, Darmanto-Jatman's poem explicates further the *omah* entity in terms of its architectural elements and the operation of these elements in domestic activity. This explication implies that such a meaning only exists and makes sense in the real world through things and actions, just as a grammatical rule only exists in utterance. In the objects and practices lies the existential idea of a house. He treats an *omah*, the word and the thing, as the signifier and signified together, an assemblage of meaningful things which correlate with each other, though it is obvious that his account is a romanticized one of a dwelling in a pastoral landscape where everything seems to exist in meaningful coherence. This poem runs more than a hundred lines, listing elements the of *Omah* and explaining their symbolic and functional significance: a houseyard for playing children; a well for physical and spiritual cleansing; a front hall for meeting with others; a gallery for a shadow-play, which entertains and educates; a sacred cella for correlating with spirits and the Omnipotent; a barn which relates the house with the field and the like. For the front hall he says:

> Here
> This is the *pendapa* [front pavilion/hall] of our house
> *Mandala* [cosmic schema] with four main pillars and eight corner columns
> Above the door is written a charm:
> *Ya maraja Jaramaya*
> Which means: Ye, who conspire evil
> cease your conspiracy!
> Here we receive our guests
> Relatives, neighbors
> The sharecroppers and those who share in raising our cattle
> Discussing the necessary matters for our prosperity
> (pp. 141-142)

The *pendhapa* may have symbolic attributes signifying its role as the axis-mundi protected by magical charm from intruders. However, it is in the encounter between the master of the house and others who are accommodated by this space, that such conception of the center of the surrounding "cosmos" or the frontier of the domestic territory may be communicated and have social significance. Otherwise, these meanings remain in the realm of ideas.

What I intend in this work is in many respects comparable to what Darmanto-Jatman's poem does: interpreting meanings embodied in the domestic setting by explicating their constituent properties in

terms of objects and practices. An *omah* can be broken down in order to identify its composing elements. But, as an entity, it has meanings in its spatial construction which are more than a sum of its parts, and comprehending how the elements are interrelated is as important as identifying them. The questions of what elements constitute a house and how these elements are interrelated are simultaneously addressed in investigating the domestic setting. Houses accommodate and guide multifarious practices. Each conjunction of house and practice tells a different story, though they may have similar themes–when a house serves, for instance, as a place for assembly, resting, ritual, defense or production. Therefore, to explore its elements and construction, I have observed the house as a setting for various kinds of activities.

In choosing the objects of my observation, I have taken a middle ground between simplicity and diversity. The so-called Javanese house is more varied than the single house that is the subject of the poem. To avoid arbitrary typification I observed houses of different forms and scales, from the simplest to the most elaborate. I compared one house to another, without proposing that there is an ideal type of a Javanese house, whether ideal is taken to mean the simplest or the most elaborate. On the other hand, to simplify the observation in the complex inner diversity of Java, I made observations in a single city, which has a clearly defined physical and cultural setting. I have chosen Yogyakarta, a city in the south-central Java, about which I have considerable information and with which I have considerable personal experience.

I use the word *omah* to signal a particular concept as well as the dwelling where domestic practices mainly take place. The Javanese language has several words for house which indicate the social status of its inhabitants. I chose the most familiar word, *omah*, from the lowest level of speech, *ngoko*, in which Javanese people of all classes actually think and spontaneously express their emotion. To explore the idea of domesticity, *omah* is preferable to other Javanese words for house since it has a wide formative significance for other words pertaining to domesticity, such as *ngomahaké*, to tame or to domesticate; *ngomah-omahaké*, to marry off; *omah-omah*, being engaged in marriage; *pomahan*, houseyard; *somah*, household; and *sèmah*, house-spouse. [4]

WRITINGS ON THE JAVANESE HOUSE

The Dutch architect and archaeologist Henry Maclaine-Pont (1923-24) pioneered the study of contemporary Javanese buildings. Seeing contemporary built form in a state of deterioration, he searched for its origin in the grander past. Some writings pertaining to the formation of the Javanese house and its cultural significance have appeared since Maclaine-Pont's works. Willem Hubert Rassers ([1931, 1940]

1982), a Dutch philologist and anthropologist, was the first Western scholar known to analyze seriously the cultural significance behind the spatial division of the Javanese house. He suggested that this spatial organization is a manifestation of the Javanese social system. Rassers followed Durkheim in emphasizing the role of ritual, and in ultimately aiming to reconstruct the initial state of Javanese society. He speculated that in its tribal stage this society was divided into two gender-based halves which came together, reconciling their wholeness in the most solemn ritual occasion which was the initiation of a new member into the clan. This ritual mainly employed a shadow-play with the shadow being projected onto a screen. The spatial division of the screen, Rassers suggests, corresponded to the dual division of the house with one side originally as the "men's tribal temple" in which the ritual was conducted, and other side as the women's domain, which was mundane and secluded from the solemn ritual.

As he never visited Java, Rassers relied heavily on other people's reports and studies. Therefore, he was more concerned with the typical Javanese house than with the more complex and diverse types in reality. He treated diversities in kinship, theater, myth and house, as deviating from the "true" logic of the totemistic stage. The entire cultural order, he believed, was based on the duality of society, assigning meanings to opposites as if the entire cultural system was a single puzzle, resolved once every element has matched with its complement.

While Rassers searched for the source of order in the organization of the primeval society, a philologist and historian specializing in Javanese materials, Timothy Earl Behrend (1983), looked at ancient literary traditions to explain the formulation of order. He followed Robert von Heine-Geldern's (1942) proposition that cosmological principles may explain spatial and social organization in Southeast Asia. Behrend mainly used the formulation of cosmology from an eleventh-century Javanese manuscript to describe the spatial arrangement of a contemporary Javanese palace, which he took to be typical. Focusing his attention on ancient literature, he isolated the palatial residence as a distinct phenomenon, different from other Javanese houses. One of Behrend's major arguments was that the palace was organized in a cosmologically-based concentric arrangement in which the center formed and unified the entire arrangement. This organization was very different from that proposed by Rassers, which had emphasized the tension between two opposites.

A student of rural Javanese performing arts, the ethnographer Ward William Keeler (1983) wrote on the symbolic dimension of Javanese houses. He shared Rassers' idea of dividing the house based on gender. For Rassers, however, gender was an ancient societal division whereas for Keeler it was a contemporary household construction. Intrigued with the superimposition of gender on domestic space, Keeler questioned whether there was "a basic tension between unitary versus reciprocal strains in Javanese social relation" (p. 1) since reciprocity in Java often looked "more like one party's inclusion within or

submission to another" (p. 7). Such confusion was echoed in Rassers' observation that men were involved in rituals performed in women's domain of the house.

Sixty years after Maclaine-Pont's article appeared, the discourse on Javanese houses reached architects' attention again with Joseph Prijotomo's (1984) *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture.* He employed a semiotic model distinguishing "content" and "expression" which he paralleled with "ideas" and "form." In structuralist fashion he demonstrated how "ideas generate form" and "form communicates ideas" (p. 11). Concerning the historical context of its development, Prijotomo saw the contemporary Javanese house as a transformation of a Hindu-Javanese formation in the present Islamic milieu. Prijotomo found that the Javanese house was primarily arranged according to linear and centripetal organizations which entailed the principles of duality and center. The linear organization revealed itself in the dominance of the longitudinal axis of the house which climaxed in the sacred cella in the rear part of the main pavilion. The centripetal arrangement was mainly expressed in the front pavilion, the only large uninterrupted space in the house, which had four tall columns to mark its center. This centripetality corresponded with the personal authority of the master of the house who presided over an audience in this place.

Inspired by Behrend's cosmological description and Prijotomo's notions of center and duality Gunawan Tjahyono (1989), a Berkeley educated architect, conducted a field study in an old quarter southeast of Yogyakarta. Tjahyono attempted to discover "some of the cultural themes, such as cosmology and world view, which play an active role in the Javanese built environment" (p. 11). Elements of these themes, he suggested, interact within a framework which enable the Javanese to absorb foreign elements. He also aimed to use the principles of cosmos, center and duality within this framework to produce design guidelines for contemporary Javanese architecture. To frame his arguments he proposed a general view which covered the diverse expressions of Javanese houses, even though he insisted that the palace employed a special cosmic scheme distinguishing it from other houses.[5]

REVIEWING APPROACHES

Many of the above arguments, especially those of Rassers, Prijotomo and Keeler, were imbued with a structuralist preoccupation with rules that govern expressions or, in more general terms, the signified which manifests itself in a multitude of signifiers. This structuralist approach has been recently criticized in architectural studies. Roy Ellen (1986), an anthropologist observing an eastern Indonesia settlement, warned of structuralism's potential reification, by which "the symbolic 'order' is somehow frozen into the fabric" of the house (p. 4). Instead, Ellen emphasized the multiplicity of orders in the house and their

relations with other symbolic systems. He believed that what was interesting about houses was that "they not merely express order, but that the [expressed] orders may be of various kinds, understood in different ways [by] different people on different occasions" (p. 4).

Pierre Bourdieu (1977), a preeminent sociologist, has considered the house as the principle locus for the objectification of a generative scheme. He has compared the house to a book since both contain the society's vision and structure. The inhabitants can comprehend the message conveyed in the house in their practical mastery of the fundamental schemes of their culture. The house provides a "cultural apprenticeship" for its inhabitants, who regularly use its organized space. Even though he has employed many of the structuralists' arguments, Bourdieu's observation of the Kabyle house in Algeria (1990) shows the dialectical interaction between body and house. As he argued, "the meaning objectified in things or part of space is fully yielded only through practices structured according to the same schemes that are organized in relation to them" (p. 273). By accounting for meticulous actions performed in the house and putting them in homologous schemes along with their narratives, he shows the logic corresponding to internalized experiences and routinized behavior.

Concerning this spatial learning of the body, the architectural anthropologist Roxana Waterson (1991), in her comprehensive account of Southeast Asian houses, has further remarked on the reciprocity between the production of meanings and the formation of social relations. She suggested that "rules about the uses of space provide one of the most important ways by which the built environment can be imbued with meaning; reflexively the environment itself helps to mold and reproduce a particular pattern of social relationships" (p. 167). In general, "practices, material construction and system of meanings are *reciprocally confirming.*" [6]

YOGYAKARTA IN THE JAVANESE CROSSROADS

Denys Lombard's three-volume history of Javanese mentality, *Le Carrefour Javanais*, (The Javanese Crossroads), is aptly titled as this mentality has been greatly shaped by its interaction with other mentalities, particularly Western, Islamic, Chinese and Indian (Lombard, 1990). Formed in the busy traffic of civilizations, the cultural picture of Java is more a unique amalgam of internal and external influences than something of wholly indigenous origin. Internally, Javanese culture is no less complex than its diverse outer influences.[7] Java is a quasi-geographical term to designate the medium-sized narrow island, about 1,500 km in length, lying on the southwestern part of the Indonesian archipelago. It more specifically refers to the central and eastern portions of this island as the homeland of the Javanese speaking people.

More than eighty percent of today's Javanese are Muslims. Situated at the farthest point of the expansion of Islam from its cradle in the Arabian peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago has a wide spectrum of Islamic traditions, covering a variety of beliefs and practices. Clifford Geertz's (1960) study on the Javanese value and cultural orientation in *Religion of Java* categorizes Javanese people into *priyayi*, the noble blood and bureaucrats who prefer mysticism and Hindu Javanese association; *santri*, the strongly adhering Muslims, and *abangan* the commoners, mainly peasants, who maintain some animistic beliefs. There have been many challenges of Geertz's categorical paradigm, and the categories are currently less distinguishable, superimposing over one another, with no new clear polarization having been formed.[8]

If we look at the elegant Minangkabau and Torajan houses with their soaring buffalo-horn-shaped roofs or the delicately carved Northern Balinese house, "traditional" houses in Java look quite simple. They are commonly built as timber structures, covered with clay tiles, and walled with woven bamboo, wooden panels or brick masonry. Javanese domestic architecture, however, differs from other traditional houses in Austronesia (encompasses Southeast Asian archipelago, Melanesia, Micronesia, Oceania and Polynesia). While most of the traditional dwellings in this region stand on piles, Javanese houses are built directly on the ground, though archeological evidence shows that house on piles was still widely found in Java up to the twelfth century. Unlike many of the Austronesian houses which are erected as free-standing structures, Javanese houses usually include some adjacent pavilions.

The story of Yogyakarta, where this study has been conducted, roughly began around the last quarter of the sixteenth century when the Princedom of Mataram established its seat four kilometers to the southeast of present-day Yogyakarta. Mataram had ruled major parts of Java by the early seventeenth century, which, coincidentally, was also when the Dutch established colonial power in Java, later spreading across the archipelago. Due to severe internal conflicts and colonial involvement, by the early nineteenth century the court was already divided into four principalities, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Mangkunegaran and Pakualaman, the colonial vassals for which contemporary remnants of dynasties still assume titles without any political power. By this division, the city of Yogyakarta was formally established in 1757. The independent Republic of Indonesia which was established in 1945 (internationally acknowledged in 1949), integrated the Yogyakarta Sultanate into its territory. The Republic granted the former Sultanate of Yogyakarta status as a special territory equal to a province, with Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX as its first governor.

Turmoil with massive bloodshed in Java and Bali in 1965 transferred the control of Indonesia to the present "New Order" government. Besides being military-dominated, this government is also Javanese-dominated, obsessed with reviving the "original tradition." This pleasing orderliness and tranquility which

may never have existed before which served to disguise their oppressive attitudes. Concerning this tendency, the historian and anthropologist John Pemberton (1994) notes,

> [...] one of the most distinctive features of New Order rule is the remarkable extent to which a rhetoric of culture enframes political will, delineates horizons of power. [...] The power of an indigenous discourse so self-consciously concerned with what constitutes "authentic" (*asli*) Javanese culture, with a "tradition" (*tradisi*) that must be preserved at all costs, operates to recuperate the past within the framework of recovered origins that would efface, for the sake of continuity (p. 9).

Standing as a glorification and romanticization of the past, the palace lies at the core of the fortified old-town, where most of the noble residences and neighborhoods, previously reserved for court servants, are situated. Many *kampungs* (urban neighborhood compounds) in this city proudly bear toponym related to the initial formation of this city as a Sultanate. A widely-held belief is that the city was laid out by its founder, Prince Mangkubumi, on the cosmic axis drawn from Mt. Merapi to the north to the Indian Ocean to the south. This axis manifests itself in the spine concourse leading to the palace, the area of the city's main monuments. The concourse has become the major commercial strip in Yogyakarta. There has been typical urban growth here. Slums have grown up along the railways and rivers, and commercial strips extend along the two major streets. Mass housing projects surrounding the city. To the north, educational institutions have mushroomed in Yogyakarta, a city which now has more than four hundred thousand people.

RESEARCH METHOD

Instead of taking a "typical" Javanese city, I have chosen a city with many special characteristics. Being the seat of power for a long time, Yogyakarta has many distinct cultural traits, such as the remnants of a Hindu-Buddhist heritage, a close but cautious relation with Islam, a proliferation of the court-oriented culture, a long and intense involvement with colonial power, widespread education and heavily promoted tourism. The intense cultural discourse in Yogyakarta provides a wealth of information for understanding Java. However, this does not necessarily mean that the city is exemplary of Javanese culture since many notions developed in my thesis are not fully compatible with the cultures of other regions, such as the stratification of society, the multi-level of language and the elaboration of rituals. Yet, choosing to study in Yogyakarta, I withdraw from the real complexity and diversity of its contemporary housing by pulling myself to the remnants of the past to find a higher coherence without sacrificing the variety of social as well as physical expressions of domestic spaces. To consider domestic practices over a substantial period of time, I have chosen houses which are at least fifty-years old and have been inhabited at least by two generations so that these houses may have accommodated their inahbitants' entire life cycle, and may have

experienced inter-generational transformation. In terms of space and practice, I also consider features which embody cultural specificity, such as the existence of inner sanctae in these houses and the domestic rituals performed within them.

To avoid a class bias, I chose houses belonging to people of different social strata. These also varied in terms of scale. The first house was initially a single structure house belonging to a petty food seller; the second is a multi-structure house of a batik-producing family; the third is a noble residence consisting of several courtyards and structures; and the fourth is the largest Javanese house, the Sultan's palace. These differences allowed me to consider connections between the ideas and practices of domesticity and the status of its inhabitants.

The primary intention of this thesis is to understand the spatiality of the *omah*. However, the spatial setting is not an explanation in itself and meanings are embodied in these settings. Such meanings are unearthed by observing how the inhabitants manipulate and respond to the settings in their domestic practices. The greatest percentage of this writing, therefore, is dedicated to describing the variety of practices in these houses shaping and being shaped by the spatial settings.

My main graphic tool for grasping the spatiality of these houses is the plan. Plans are constellational since they show the patterns of relations between spatial elements, and between an individual element and the whole. With this tool, I can gather information to reconstruct the spatial organization of the houses and map the allocation of activities as well as the placements of semi-fixed elements and bodily positions in space. However, it should be kept in mind that plan is only a tool to collect and describe data and not a graphic representation of the inhabitants' spatial experiences and mental images. Two physically adjacent spaces represented in the plan do not necessarily mean that, in practice, they are experienced as proximate spaces, since a social boundary may separate them. A door does not always mean a connection from one space to another if it is rarely opened and rules govern passage through it. The horizontal elements of figurative space are always experienced together with its vertical elements, which are often represented in elevation and section. Vertical and horizontal elements of space are well-represented in axonometric drawings. In most cases, I have chosen this more comprehensive way of representing the overall space and its composing elements. I measured and drew the first two houses; for the other two, I have relied largely on available secondary data, though these were checked against the actual houses and adjustments were made.

Webster's definition of "method," which is "a procedure, technique or planned way of doing something," is not the best definition to express the course of my research. Except for a few planned observations in my field research in the summer of 1994, most of the observations were not undertaken

with the intention of writing a thesis. In many cases, I have relied heavily upon my personal experiences with these houses.

Having varying familiarity with these houses, I gathered data of a variety of depths. The second house is the most familiar to me, since I lived and grew up near to it. I know from my personal experience who lives there and what major events have transpired there during at least the past twenty years. The house with which I am least acquainted is the first one, even though I have visited this house, measured it, and conducted a series interviews with people connected to it. A grandson of this house who once lived there has helped me in reconstructing the daily and ceremonial practices, the successive inhabitation, as well as the physical development of the house. I relate to the third house in a different way. In 1985, I conducted a brief survey in this noble residence, and had previously acquainted myself with some cultural activities in it, such as watching performances and involved in traditional dance training there. It has been inhabited by different families from 1985 to the present and during my observations in 1994, I had a chance to compare my previous data with the existing circumstances. The Sultan's palace was the object of my final undergraduate project in 1990-1991 at Gadjah Mada University, so I have considerable data on this residence. At that time my focus was on the palace as a cultural center. I did additional research on domestic activities here in 1994.

I participated in weddings celebrations in the second house, involving myself in diverse ways, from simply attending to carrying out significant celebratory tasks. For accounts of weddings in other houses, I have relied on secondary sources. I also had the opportunity to watch contemporary performances in the noble house and the Sultan's palace, enabling me to take domestic performances into consideration and to compare settings to each other.

Besides gathering contemporary data, I also collected oral histories by asking the inhabitants to relate their spatial experiences, and consulted written materials pertaining to events in these houses, in order to extend the time range of my observations. These past experiences of the houses were compared with the contemporary events I observed in order to give some comparative insight and sharpen the interpretation of how the inhabitants have conceived the spatiality of the house throughout time.

THESIS OUTLINE

Even though a house accommodates a great diversity of activities, it is primarily a domestic domain accommodating daily life. These routine activities are explored in the second chapter while introducing the physicality of the houses and their constituent elements (since every part of a house, I believe, has to address its meanings primarily to its daily users). The greater public significance of the house is gained in a

celebratory occasion when it becomes a congregational place where a larger society participates in its activities, as in ritual celebrations and performances. These are dealt with separately, in chapters three and four respectively. Rituals and performances are clearly related: ritual has a performative character and performance has a ritualistic quality. Both are congregational and both convey deep symbolic messages to the audience. However, they differ mainly in that a ritual, the performers and the listeners are the same people (Baumann, 1992, p. 98). The chapter on ritual emphasizes how the constitution of the social group involved in ritual celebration affects the appropriation of domestic space to form the spatiality of the ritual, in this case the wedding celebration. In a performance, skillful groups appear as performers, while the rest of the congregation is the audience. Discussing performing arts in a domestic setting, the fifth chapter underscores the dynamic relations between the performers, the audience and the master of the house who acts as the sponsor of the occasion, the primary beneficiary of the performance. Such dynamics greatly affect the spatial transformation of a domestic into a theatrical setting.

Following the discussion of these three clusters of activities, the sixth chapter will take into account the observed phenomena within a system of meanings in which the house and its activities both constitute and receive significance from the system. In responding to the question posed in this introductory chapter, the concluding chapter attempts to explicate the essential elements constituting the house and the interrelationships between them.

NOTES:

[1] I have translated the words in the Indonesian language, *Babasa Indonesia*, into English and keep the Javanese words as they are while italicizing them.

[2] For further discussion on the strategy in this "etymologizing" and its cultural significance, see Becker (1995, pp. 236-237), cf. Moertono (1969, p. 25).

[3] For example, *gedhang* or banana, is explicated as *digeged bar madhang*, to bite after having meals, and indeed banana is a common dessert fruit.

[4] *Omah* is also related with many other words in neighboring languages denoting its widely-shared root. It is akin among others to the Indonesian and other Western Malayo-Polinesian languages' term *rumah*, the Balinese, Rotinese, Rindi and Tetum word *uma*, Malay *huma*, the Savunese *amu*, the Atonese *umi*, the Ema *umar*, the Babar *em*, the Buru *huma*, and the Nuaulu *numa*. These words are derived from an Austronesian root meaning "an associated social group claiming some kind of common derivation or ritual unity" (Fox, 1993, p. 10).

[5] Tjahyono followed Behrend's method of looking at cosmology to explain the spatial organization of the palace, but he proposed a different cosmic scheme from the same era which he argued had more conformity with the Javanese palace.

[6] Sayer (1992, p. 33), emphasis in the original; cf. Bourdieu (1977, 1990).

[7] Lombard (1990 v. I) identifies several sub-ethnic groups concentrated around some particular geographical terrain which generally conform with the linguist Theodore Pigeaud's classification of sub-language areas in Java (Pigeaud, 1967 v. I, p. 9).

[8] The method of his categorization has been the subject for many criticism, particularly in Geertz's juxtaposition between religious association as in the dichotomy between *santri - abangan*, and *priyayi* which is a category of social class, supposedly put in relation with *wong cilik* or small people. See Koentjaraningrat (1985) for alternative religious and social categorizations.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION AND HABITATION OF THE DOMESTIC SETTING

As the first part of a series of discussions, this chapter introduces the four houses observed while exploring their role as dwellings which accommodate daily activities, before the two subsequent chapters which are dedicated to discuss the houses in their capacities of accommodating more public occasion: ritual celebrations and theatrical performances. These houses are described in this chapter primarily in terms of their spatial and figural arrangements, and their users' comprehension of meanings. These are embodied in the spatial settings and reflected in the users' habitual actions.

Doing their habitual practices, the users express their understanding of the house in their arrangement of things and positioning of their bodies in space. Concerning this matter, Roxana Waterson suggests that the production of meanings of the house "may take place, firstly, through the positioning and manipulation of objects in space, and secondly, through the human body itself–its placement in, movement through, or exclusion form a particular space, or in people's spatial interactions with each other (1991, p. 167)." [1] In the relations between spatial arrangements and bodily actions, there are two main ways of articulating a spatial setting: positively, by articulating its center; and negatively, by defining its perimeter. Both positioning a building in the middle of a site and enclosing a site with a wall transform the land into a defined space. In relation to the users' activities, a center orients the participants, while a perimeter controls their admission into the space.[2]

Center is a relative position: an object acquires centrality through people's actions which reveal its significance. More than simply standing in the middle or having an extraordinary shape, a central figure stands as an object in space which orients bodies and other objects to it, and interrelating them in meaningful actions. In this construct, "'center' is not a concept of geometry but one of the musculature with all its kinesthetic ramifications, of orientation in response to the pull of gravity, and a sense of feeling inside" (Bloomer, Moore and Yudell, 1977, p. 58). Related to practice, centrality is relative; a storage space in one day may become a focus of a ritual in another time. As a relative position, center is trans-figural and trans-spatial. It may be embodied in one object only to be transferred to another, in objects moving in space, or simultaneously in several objects.

In shaping the space, a perimeter means spatial boundaries as well as rules governing admission to the space. I extend the notion of space-defining perimeter to cover not only an opaque wall but also an elevation, a row of columns, eaves, a contrasting degree of illumination, with varying permeability. Inclusion and exclusion as mechanisms of control over the space are applied differently to different groups of people. In a domestic domain—where the inhabitants are of diverse and superimposing categories, such as, kinship, gender, age and status, and the visitors are related to the inhabitants with varying degrees of familiarity—there is no clear-cut division which fully separates the users. Consequently, these visitors also have varied degrees of penetration in entering the house or parts of the house. We will closely examine these diverse degrees to define the role of boundaries and connectors as the machinery for admission and seclusion.

In describing space as an enclosed domain, we find different levels of enclosure. Several rooms within a building form a certain configuration, but some buildings enclosed in a courtyard also constitute a higher-level spatial configuration; likewise, several courtyards are interrelated. To analyze the spatiality of a house, we should discern this multi-level spatial organization particularly in relation to the grouping of people and activities in space.

Due to the great diversity in the composition of the inhabitants as well as in the spatiality of these houses, I organize the following sections to introduce these houses one-by-one. Without proposing a linear evolutionary process, these sections are ordered from a simple house with a single pavilion inhabited by a nuclear family to those with more multifarious social and spatial constructions.

THE FIRST HOUSE: DIVISION AND FLEXIBILITY IN A SIMPLER OMAH

In an *omah* which was close to Pak (Mr.) Sura's work place, the Suras couple once lived with their six children, three boys and three girls. He traded in the neighboring market, after previously worked on his farmland which was being sharecropped by a relative. In addition to Pak Sura's income, Mbok (Mrs.)[3] Sura sold food in her house and in the market. After her husband died in the early 1960s and her children had left the house after their marriage, Mbok Sura now lives with her youngest son who is still unmarried.

Initially, the Suras' *omah* was a single structure with a rectangular plan and a rustic saddle-shaped roof. Later, they built an adjoining structure for a kitchen and storage beside their house since Mbok Sura's food business required a larger workspace for food preparation.

Their house which faces south is situated on the rear half of the land. South is the preferred orientation for houses in Central Java, and particularly in the south-central region. In many cases, regardless of the relationship of a house to an adjacent street, the house stubbornly faces south, which is

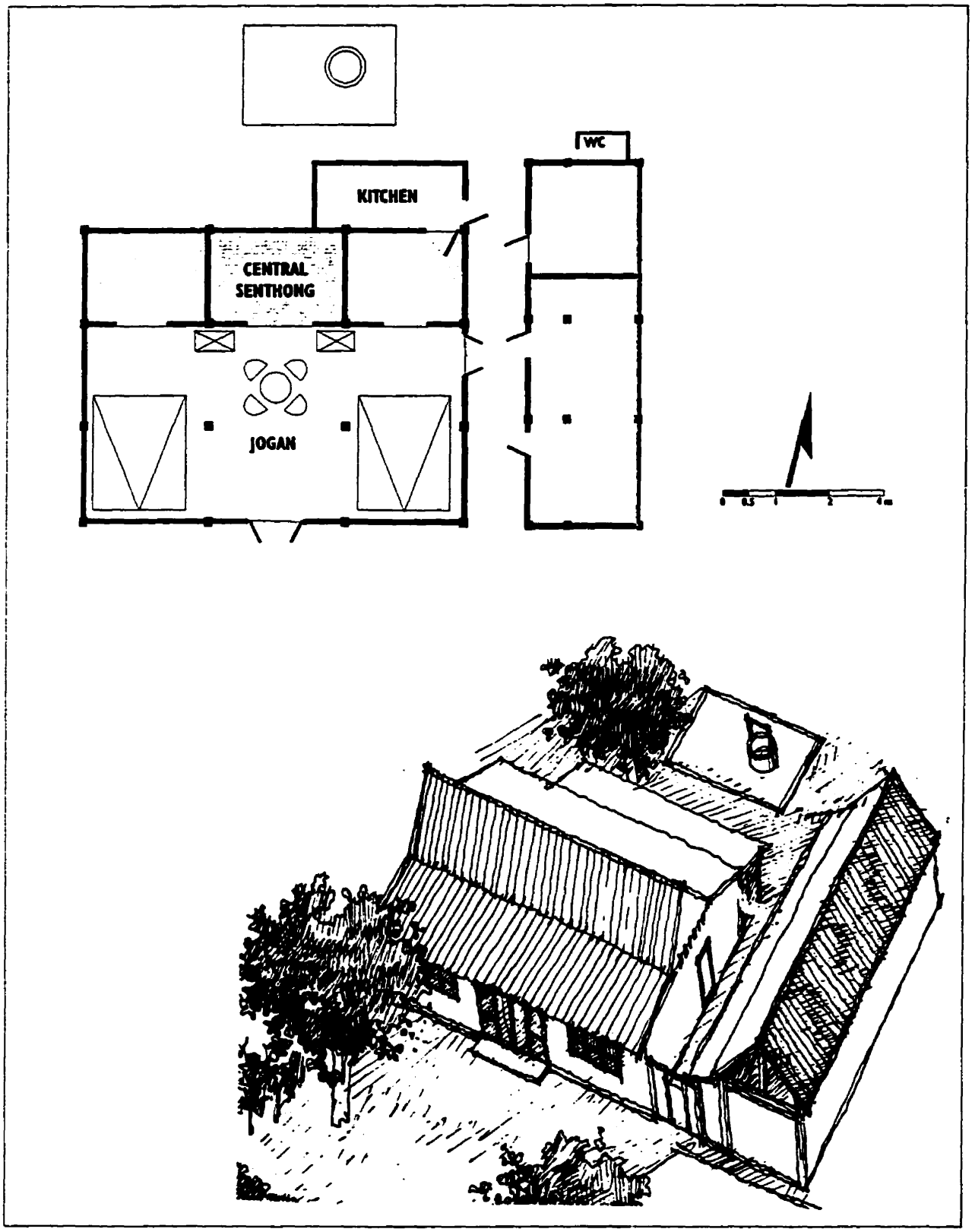


Figure 2.1.
The Suras' simple *omah*.

generally seaward. More than half of the land is left empty as a *latar* or houseyard. A couple of trees and bushes bordered the clear ground, the vacant *latar*. In the late afternoon, when the day gets cool and people had returned from their work, the *latar* became the most sociable part of the settlement.

Lying in the middle of the house's symmetric façade, the front door was the formal opening of the house, through which a guest, especially a male, was formally admitted to enter. It stood, then, as an invitation and admission point to turn a foreigner into a respected invitée. However, the action of entering was stopped with the *tlundhag*, a piece of wood laid as the lower threshold at the bottom of the opening. If a guest did not want to stumble over the *tlundhag*, he had to stand in front of the door for a while, and watch his step carefully, in order to prepare himself to enter someone's territory, to receive the greeting and to recognize the authority of the master of the house.

Besides the front door and two side doors, this house had no other opening, so that occupants often referred to its darkness. "I couldn't enter the house without stumbling my foot over something," a grandson said to describe the contrast between the dim inside with the bright outdoor. Apparently, shade was the primary spatial definition of the house space, contrasting with the dazzling exterior. With the poriferous *gedhèg*, woven bamboo walls, which enclosed the entire house, the interior might have sufficient ventilation, though the darkness remained. It was a space of visual privacy and intimacy where the dwellers withdrew from the social life into an unseen place where they could rest comfortably. In contrast to the clean frontyard which was swept everyday, the interior was quite messy. "It was very dark, so no one could see that it was dirty," one of Pak Sura's daughters said, as if to imply that they could do whatever they wanted.

The house space was divided into two main parts, separated by enclosures and floor levels (see Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2.). On a lower-level floor, the front room was a continuous space, occupying two thirds of the house. Both sides of this room was filled with two large *ambèns*, multipurpose wooden beds. Behind this large room was the elevated part of the house. This higher-level space was divided into three enclosed rooms named *senthongs*, simply meaning enclosed spaces, standing in a row against the back of the house.

Flanked by two forty-centimeter-high *ambèns* and surrounded by the four main posts of the house, the space in the middle of the front room was clearly defined. This space was commonly called *jogan*, from the word *jujugan*, meaning the destination, since it lay directly behind the main door as the arrival place for one who entered the house. The tops of these four surrounding columns were bound with double beams. With these boundaries, the middle space became the center of this room. A set of furniture, consisting of one round table surrounded by four arm-chairs, defined the function of this space. The set of furniture was the "throne" for the "king" of this *omah*, Pak Sura. Only the father had the privilege of

using this set of furniture in a formal manner. In this place, Pak Sura received his guests, especially the formal male visitors.

The *jogan* was the place for expressing and then negotiating the status of the family with others whenever Pak Sura, as the representative of the family, met a guest. This space had two adjacent buffet-like cupboards at the back containing glasses, china, silverware and some pillows. These cupboards were showcases for the best family possessions, which were not used for daily life. These objects also articulated the primary functions served by the *omah*. The house was the place for settling down and perpetuating life in sexual relations as represented by the piles of pillows; and the place for sustaining life as represented by dinner sets. Mbok Sura would receive female guests anywhere, though usually either in the kitchen or on the side *ambèns* where they might chat informally. Although female guests were marginalized, by not being entitled to enjoy the privilege of the center, they were also free from the burden of formality and politeness. They were intimately treated more as family members than formally respected guests.

After the death of Pak Sura, Mbok Sura assumed the role as the head of the family. Even though she was responsible for its well-being and dealing with the larger society, she did not fully act as the house's representative. This was clear in her reluctance to use Pak Sura's spatial attribute, the furniture in the *jogan*, which was too formal for her to sit face-to-face with guests and was too

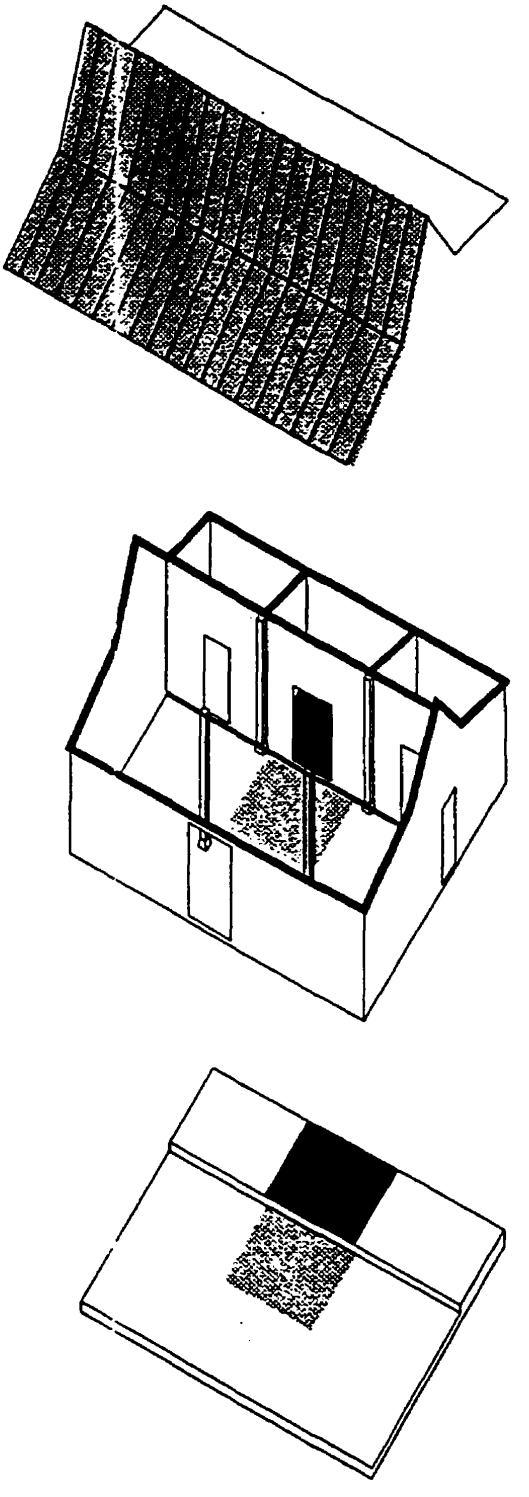


Figure 2.2.
The spatial elements forming the Suras' main house

exposed, since it lay directly in the main access to the house. Later, when only two people were living in this house and all *ambèns* had been removed, she changed the furniture to a less formal style–a set of inexpensive metal chairs with vinyl covering–and placed it in the west side of the house, in a less exposed place. The style and the location of the furniture had changed, but this elderly Javanese woman was still quite uncomfortable receiving an unfamiliar male guest in this place. At the time I visited her, she would sit here while I wandered about the house, and she would leave upon my return, on the pretext of doing some domestic chores to avoid sitting face-to-face with me.

Immediately behind Pak Sura's territory was an enclosed room. It was the middle room of three, standing against the back of the house, the *senthongs*. Covered with a piece of cloth, this central *senthong* was accessible but invisible. Except for a low *ambèn* covering its whole floor, it was empty and remained unused for any domestic activity. This room was a spatial interruption, a piece of emptiness in the middle of busy areas.

The central *senthong* was regularly transformed into a temporary household shrine. Once every thirty-five days, Mbok Sura used to perform a ritual, putting in this room a small offering consisting of a small oil lantern, some sorts of flowers and burning incense. She converted the cella into the shrine of the household, a seat for the ancestral spirits temporarily residing there to bring prosperity. In popular belief, the visiting spirit was personified as Déwi Sri, or more familiarly Mbok Sri, the goddess of rice and prosperity, and the patron of agriculture. As the woman of the house, Mbok Sura was responsible for dealing with the ancestress. Thus, the remarkable tie of solidarity among Javanese kinswomen as observed by an ethnographer, Hilderd Geertz (1961), apparently went beyond the human sphere reaching the realm of the spirits.

When this family was still engaged in farming, this room had another significance as the point connecting the house, the rice field and the ancestral power protecting both. Before the family harvested their field, they performed a *wiwit*, the ritual of beginning, to seek pardon from the rice and its protector before they cut the stalk in order to ensure a prosperous harvest. In the rice field, which was relatively far away in the countryside, Mbok Sura cut some ears of rice, and tied them together. She called this bundle *mantèn*, meaning bride or bridal couple. She solemnly brought the *mantèn* home to be placed in the central *senthong* for several days. In so doing, she converted the house into a granary. After the rice was dried and hulled, it was stored in the east *senthong*, in the elevated part of the house, between the shrine of prosperity and the kitchen, the real place for fulfilling family needs.

Located in the very center of the house surrounded by other rooms, the central *senthong* also meant security. Precious family possessions were commonly stored in this place. One of Pak Sura's sons said that a *senthong*'s *ambèn* was usually made very low, only several centimeters above the floor, to protect the

valuable articles inside. With a very low *ambèn*, a thief could not *mbabah* (a common way at that time for a thief to break into a house by making a hole in the wall underneath an *ambèn* and hiding there until it was safe to thieve).[4]

As a holy spot, this *senthong* was somehow separated from daily life. Geometrically, it was exactly in the middle, but, functionally, it was at a distance. With no function relating this space to other activities in the house, in pragmatic terms, the day-to-day function of the house was undisturbed when this room was taken away. Once in the 1970s the family was in a financial shortage, when it no longer functioned as a household or agriculture shrine, the *senthong* was the first part of the house the Suras rented to a couple.

In front of the east and west *senthong*, there were huge *ambèns* flanking the *jogan* space. They filled both sides of the house and could not be taken out without disassembling their elements. Due to their size and immovability, these *ambèns* were not furniture. They were platforms within the house, elevating the floor level to define functional zones from circulation areas.

These *ambèns* were multipurpose. The bustling domestic life took place on them, from day to night, throughout the life cycle. They were both places for resting and working, as well as giving birth and dying. In the afternoon following work, they were places for a nap or just relaxing, and in the evening they became sleeping platforms for the whole family. However, there were no restrictions against doing small domestic chores on the *ambèns*, particularly women's work, such as sewing clothes or chopping vegetables. Interaction between family members as well as with familiar guests could be conducted comfortably in these places among stored small utensils, tools and clothes. It was also a suitable place for everyone to have a meal. When the house received a larger number of guests, the *ambèn* might also serve as the extension of the formal set of chairs. If the *ambèns* were to be labelled, it would read "bedroom, living room, dining room, storage and closet."

No definite physical boundaries appeared on these "living platforms." Gender and age were not the matter of a permanent space designation. Daughters tended to sleep close to one another, though in no special place, likewise sons. There was only a small divider to the east of the door behind which the parents would usually sleep, though if they needed more privacy, they would sleep in the west *senthong*. In Mbok Sura's later years, when she needed a more private place to sleep, this *senthong* became her permanent bedroom.

In 1985 the house was totally renovated. A brick masonry wall replaced the *gedhèg* encircling the house. Windows were added since the massive wall did not allow ventilation. These windows also allowed greater illumination, and it was as if the whole front space was transformed into a bright, exposed *jogan*. However, the windows on the corner where the son now stays are rarely opened, and Mbok Sura's room,

the west *senthong*, has no windows. Therefore, both of them still live in dark spaces, as they did previously. After the renovation, the only preserved *gedhèg* wall was that covering the three *senthongs* denoting them as places of origin.

Reviewing the spatial division in this house, there are two kinds of spaces, remarkably articulated and placed along the main axis of the *omah*. The portion that is wider, brighter, more exposed, accessible, public and often "male," stands in front of the more narrow, dark, protected, enclosed, private, sacred, inaccessible, "female" part. One relation expressing this duality is in the contrast between the exposed *jogan* for social interaction and the enclosed sacred central *senthong* used for household rituals, and is elaborated in the contrast between the lower, wider and higher-ceilinged part of the front space and the elevated and enclosed row of *senthongs*. The wide and public *latar*, and the dark and covered *omah*, show a comparable duality. Thus, even this simple house has already shown several levels of spatial differentiation.

Unlike the formal relation between the front and the rear portions, the relation between the side parts is more flexible. The tension resulting from the grouping of users and activities is evident, but it is always in a state of exchangeable spatial allocation. If the parents prefer to stay on one *amben*, the children stay on the other; or if someone is working on one side, the other person sleeps on the opposing side. The tripartite division of the *senthongs* reveals the same idea of a firm center and alterable supporting sides.

THE SECOND HOUSE
EXPANDING THE FAMILY, ELABORATING THE *OMAH*

Though no one knows when this house in Karangkajèn, a neighborhood at the south end of the city, was built, the inhabitants estimate it was roughly around the end of the last century. The house appears as a row of three buildings with similar roof shapes and sizes, interrupted by a small courtyard after the second building. On the eastern side of this facing-south house stands a long pavilion adjacent to the two front buildings. Compared to the Suras' *omah*, which consists of a single pavilion, this multi-pavilion *omah* has a more complex spatial arrangement.

There are two families currently living in this house. The Amads is the principal family. Mbah[5] Amad, husband and wife, have twelve children. Most of the children have married, and some of them stay nearby and often gather in this house. After the husband Mbah Amad died in 1976. His wife currently lives in this house with her only unmarried son. Like many families in Karangkajèn, the Amads were engaged in traditional batik-making. Using some parts of their house for producing batik, they employed

a couple of dozen workers until the factory closed down in the late 1970s due to the coming of silk-screen printing technique.

Sutinah, an elderly woman who is a quite distant cognate of this family, heads the other family. In the late 1960s after she had separated from her husband, she asked Mbah Amad if she could live with him in the house. She stayed in the house with her two children, helping with domestic chores and other menial jobs. It was common at that time to extend family solidarity by accommodating distant relatives, especially those coming from the countryside to find new livelihoods in the city. After her daughter had married, she continued to live in this house with her unmarried son.

In the mid 1960s, the Amads renovated their house. They replaced *gedhèg* walls with brick masonry, except for the two adjacent pavilions in front, which remained as they were. The front of these two pavilions was enclosed with *gedhèg* walls, and fine wood carving partitions enclosed the pavilion behind. As the initial parts of the house, these two buildings were well-preserved.

Similar to the name of the entire house, the rear pavilion of these two is also called *omah*. This name is used in a relative sense. If from the outside we say "Mbah Amad is in his *omah*," this may mean anywhere inside. But, if spoken in one part of the house, it would mean that he is in this particular pavilion. The similarity of the names suggests that this part represents the whole house.

As the representation of the whole *omah* idea, this pavilion bears some qualities of *omah* as a totality. If we detach this inner *omah* pavilion, we would find that this building would have many qualities to stand alone as a complete house. Five windows are placed around the wall, as if this pavilion stand independently, even though three of these windows are never opened, since they do not have direct contact with the outside. The spatial arrangement of this building very closely resembles that of Pak Sura's house. Three rooms in a row, the *senthongs*, are set against the back with a large space in front of them (compare Figure 2.1. and Figure 2.4.).

With a spatial arrangement similar to that of a freestanding house, further spatial division in this building was accomplished by placing furniture in the manner of an independent house. Two large *ambèns* filled both sides of the room and a table and four chairs occupied the space in front of the central *senthong*. The front door was hardly opened, so no guests entered at this private and enclosed pavilion, though the furniture was set in a formal manner as if it were ready to receive some.

With delicately-carved wood frame, the opening of central-*senthong* is the most elaborately decorated part of the house. A bright blue curtain, contrasting with the dark brown surroundings, covers the opening of the *senthong*. This rarely-opened curtain is a screen to conceal the mysterious realm behind. A 10-cm-high step and a stumbling *tlundhag* beam obstructs the way to enter this cella discouraging the inhabitants from functioning this room in daily purposes.

With the coming of the Islamic reformist movement in Karangkajèn around 1925, many forms of ancestral cults were discouraged, even abolished. The tradition of presenting an offering to spirits residing in the house shrine or to possess sacred objects commonly stored in the *senthong* disappeared.

This *senthong* is a space dissociated from contemporary circumstances where they store things which are not part of the present life. Later, when they were no longer engaged in the batik business, the Amads stored their valuable tools inside this room, where they became a part of the past. Many scattered chalk-writings are inscribed on the inside wall of this *senthong*, mainly recording significant family events followed by their dates–for instance, the birth of a child or grandchild of this family, their graduations from high school and even the birth of their cat. This wall became a unique family chronicle, inscribing events in a timeless space.

This house within a house, the inner *omah*, was mainly dedicated to the masters of the house, Mbah Amad, husband and wife. When they were newlyweds, the whole *omah* pavilion was exclusively theirs. They usually slept on the western *ambèn*, but the wife Mbah Amad started using the eastern one when she began having children. The eastern *ambèn* was a special place for Mbah Amad to give birth, since at that time most women had their babies at home. She cuddled her babies while they slept and breast-fed them on this *ambèn*. This east-west division recalls the prevailing Javanese association of birth and growth with the east, and age and rest with the west.

A similar and adjacent pavilion in front of the *omah* is called *pendhapa*, an open-plan building encircled by a simple *gedhèg* wall. Placed in the front portion with a simpler enclosure, this building is much more accessible than the inner *omah*. However, most of the time, the *pendhapa* did not function as an introductory space before entering the *omah*, since both spaces is hardly connected.

Lying at the periphery, this pavilion is the most public portion of the house. Familiar people, closer neighbors and workers, may freely enter the *pendhapa*. Until the early 1960s, radio was still very rare, and Mbah Amad was among the very few people to have this electronic luxury. To entertain neighbors and workers staying overnight in his house, he frequently put the radio in the *pendhapa* in the evening and played it loudly. He let his front house fill with people, women, as well as men, sitting on mats listening to their favorite programs until midnight. When Mbah Amad was still involved in social organizations, this building occasionally served as a meeting room for him and his male companions. A large table and some high chairs were placed exactly in the middle of the pavilion, a larger version of the furniture set inside the *omah*. In this more elaborate house formal social interaction activity was detached from the inner *omah* to occur in a special place, the *pendhapa*.

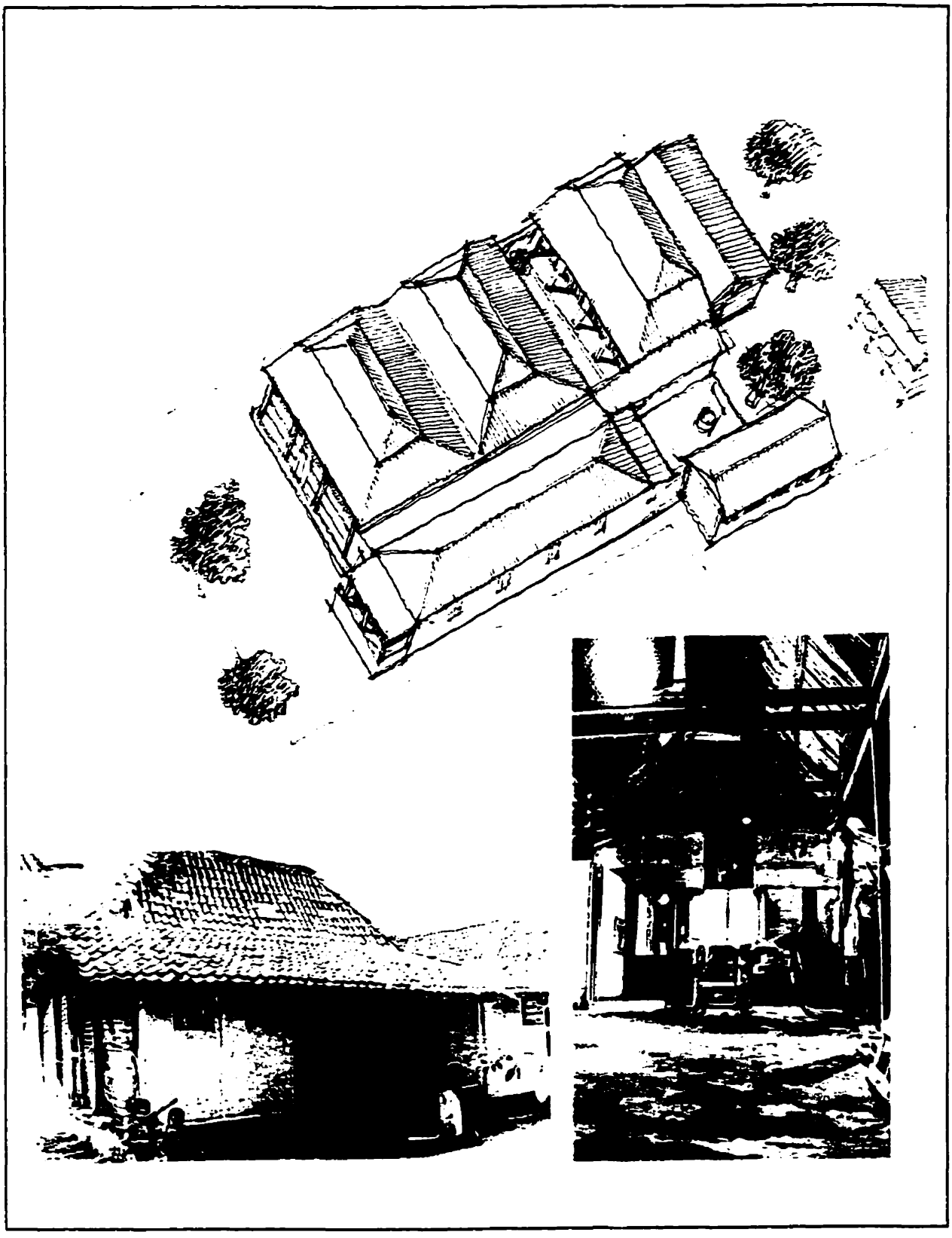


Figure 2.3.
The Amads' expanded *omah*.

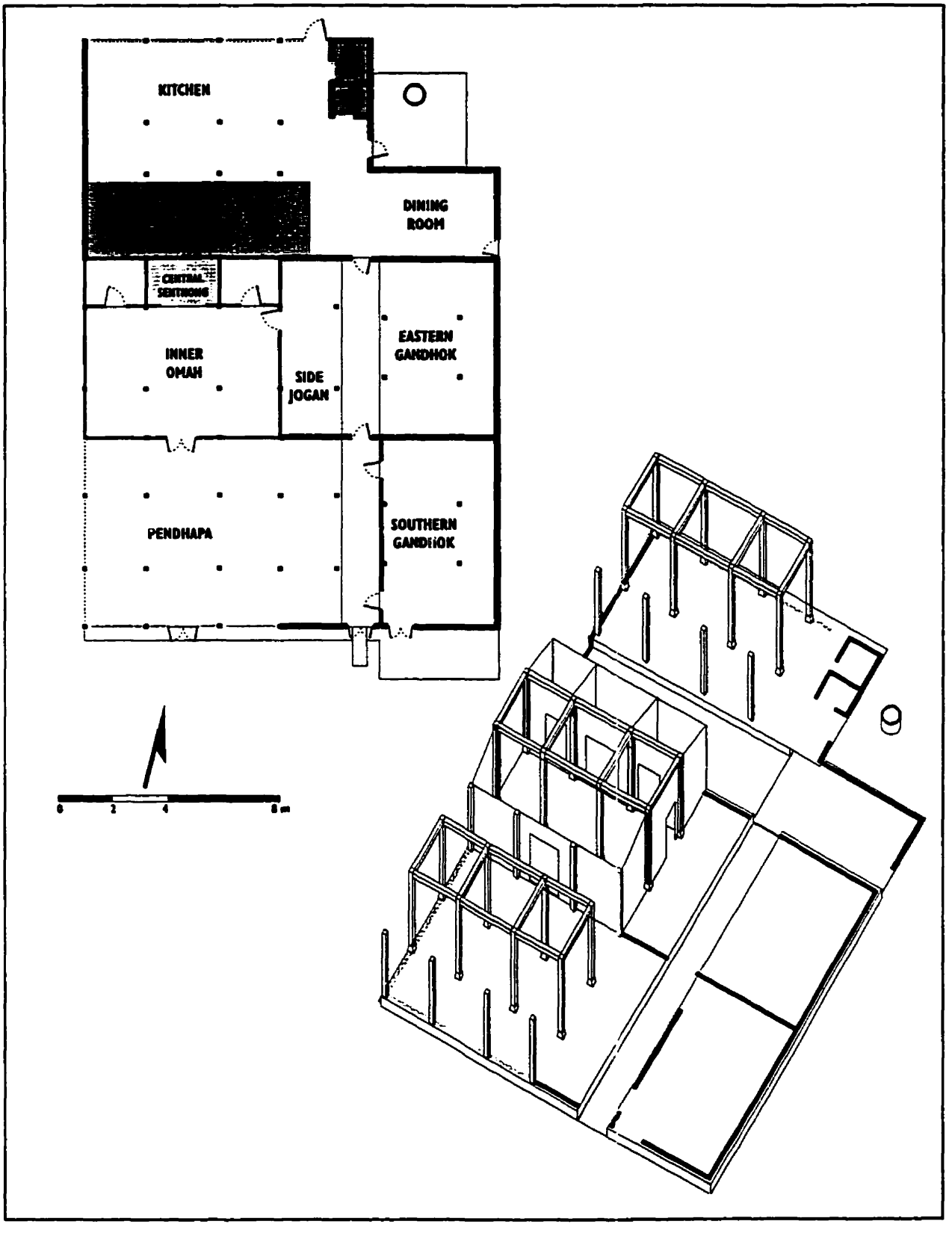


Figure 2.4.
The Amads' expanded *omah*: plan and axonometric drawing.

Nowadays, this *pendhapa* mainly serves as the living space for Sutinah and her only son. Some *gedhèg* dividers are placed between columns making two small bedrooms at the corners. She stays on the east side of the *pendhapa* and her son takes the west side for his room. These rooms provide some privacy for the inhabitants in this public pavilion. However, living is not only about withdrawing inside; it is also about meeting others. A facility is set aside for this subordinate family to receive their guests. Some old chairs and a table are placed along the west side for this purpose, since placing them at the center would look too ostentatious for this family.

A strikingly similar spatial division occurs between the *pendhapa* and the inner *omah*. At this time, the inner *omah* has the same composition of inhabitants, a widow and her bachelor son. Similarly, Mbah Amad occupies the east part and her son stays on the west side of the *omah*. The east-west order related to youth-old is reversed. Since no father authority exists in this building anymore, the furniture symbolically set in front of the *senthong* has also been removed to the west leaving the central space empty.

The most heavily-used part of the house is the *gandhok*, the attached pavilion to the east, which was the living space for Mbah Amad's children in their adolescence and the place where they did almost everything. Obviously, with eleven children this place was very busy. This place also had the most frequently changing functions. When most of their children stayed together in the house, it was filled with *ambèns* to accommodate their domestic activities. Gender segregation was the only consideration for deciding which *ambèn* they slept on, without any vertical boundary separating them. The *ambèn* at the rear was for the girls, while the boys occupied the front *ambèn*. When only a few children remained in the house, half of the *gandhok* was allotted for dining, though it was rarely used for eating together. Later, after the youngest daughter had married and needed a living place, this half was used for her room and the dining room was shifted to the rear extension. Nowadays, the space is used for watching television and other casual activities. With its flexibility, the *gandhok* is a buffer zone for accommodating the changing needs of the family.

The inner *omah* extends to the east, forming another *jogan* near the *gandhok*, the critical point between the parents' and children's spaces. This *jogan* is a very casual place, with no furniture aside from some mats spread over the floor. Sitting cross-legged and leaning on the carved-timber wall of the *omah*, Mbah Amad, husband and wife, enjoyed gathering with their children and grandchildren. Rather than using the *pendhapa* pavilion, they received most guests in this familiar space leaving the large hall for very formal meetings when they needed to express their status more explicitly, or for public gatherings when a larger space was required.

A corridor with a lowered floor separating the *gandhok* from this side *jogan* is where most of the traffic occur. It is the functional line connecting many parts of the house, in contrast to the symbolic spine, the axis of the *pendhapa* and *omah* connecting the main doors, which is hardly used in daily activities. The *pendhapa*, *gandhok* and inner *omah*, are all accessed from this passageway. It also serves as the garage for their bicycles and a motorbike, because the dwellers perceive that this busy path is the continuation of the circulation system outside. "It went through the mosque," Mbah Amad said pointing this passageway to explain that, for the dwellers of this *omah*, the indoor path was part of the network of neighborhood alleys.

When this family was still engaged in batik-making, the livable *gandhok* and its busy pathway played another critical role. They connected the two working spaces, the *pendhapa* where women waxed the fabric, and a working space behind the house where men dyed the waxed cloth. Therefore, while sitting on this *jogan*, Mbah Amad might supervise these working people. Along this pathway, the raw materials and the products of this factory were stored, allowing the owner easier control.

This *gandhok* extends to the front, along the east side of the *pendhapa*. The front portion, named the southern *gandhok*, is a special place in this house for newlyweds to stay before they have their own house. Mbah Amad's brothers and children, as well as Sutinah's daughter, lived in this part for a some years after their marriage. With a removable partition, the southern *gandhok* was divided in two, the front guest room and the rear bedroom, to fulfill the "essential" necessity of domestic life. The similar dual division of an *omah* appeared, making this part like another house within a house.

Another pavilion of similar size to the inner *omah* is *pawon*, the kitchen. The kitchen is the common facility for the all families living in the house by their sharing hearth and meals. A large ambèn occupies the center of this pavilion where the women of the house often spent their time doing domestic chores as well as relaxing.

Comparing the overall spatial arrangement within Mbah Amad's house with the simpler arrangement in Pak Sura's house, there are two basic ideas, the elaboration and replication of order. The axial arrangement of an open place for social interaction and enclosed domestic shrine flanked with multi-purpose domestic spaces is elaborated in Mbah Amad's house by the development of each element into a pavilion. The *pendhapa* hall corresponds with the *jogan*, an exposed and public guest-receiving space. Both are places where the men of the house represent the family in interactions with members of the wider society. The limited access of the inner *omah* behind the *pendhapa* recalls the impenetrability of the central *senthong*. In Mbah Amad's house, the accumulations of domestic activities on Pak Sura's lateral *ambèns* are transformed into a multipurpose pavilion, the *gandhok*.

Besides having a place to stay, other families living in the Amads' house also need to express their existence by conducting their own interactions in their "sub-houses." Therefore, they configure the assigned spaces to resemble the inner-outer duality of an *omah* space.

The inner *omah* itself stands as a prototype of a house or a replica of the "ideal" spatial arrangement. It inspires the spatial arrangement of the parts of the house as a whole. However, the application this order is interpretable according to the values of the users, adjustable to accommodate particular needs; replicable in many parts of the house, or even partially reversible and reducible.

THE THIRD HOUSE: DALEM, THE SITE OF A POWER STRUGGLE

A larger Javanese house, usually that of the nobility, is called a *dalem*. It is named after the owner, since it indicates the existence of the owner as the word "*dalem*" also means "I" for a noble person. As a city initiated by aristocracy, Yogyakarta has a significant number of *dalems* scattered around the city, either inside or outside the inner-city wall. *Dalem* also means inside and enclosed. Accordingly, this type of residence is usually distinguished by its high wall encircling the entire territory.

Socially, a *dalem* is a multi-family dwelling and a community house, encompassing a wide range of societal groups. Besides the noble families, there are many *magersaris*, common people living in this *dalem*. Initially, they were the servants of the nobility who lived here with their families. They came from the countryside not only for economic reasons, but also with the expectation of the blessing of the aristocracy and the prestigious status of living closer to the nobility. They provided protection and service to the nobility, and the nobles gave them the right to live on part of the *dalem* (Ikaputra et al., 1993, pp. 2-3).

The Inhabitants: Status and Territorial Control

The history of this Dalem shows that space is socially attributed to power ruling over it, and power needs to control a certain territory to express its existence. Within the stratified community living in the Dalem, social mobility has resulted in struggles over territory. However, the most obvious dynamics are among the dwellers of the main house, the nobility whose existence depends heavily on the proximity to, and the favor of the Sultan. Genealogically, each successive generation of a noble is a step away from the ruling lineage, which means one step down in its status, unless it successfully refreshes its ties with the succeeding ruler.[6] Consanguinal relation, however, is not the only way to link to the ruler. A closer affinal, official or personal relationship with the sovereign could grant one higher status.

In 1924, Kangjeng Radèn Tumenggung Wiraguna, a *patih kadipatèn* or chief administrator of the Crown Princedom, started to transform his office into something of a *dalem*. He began by building a

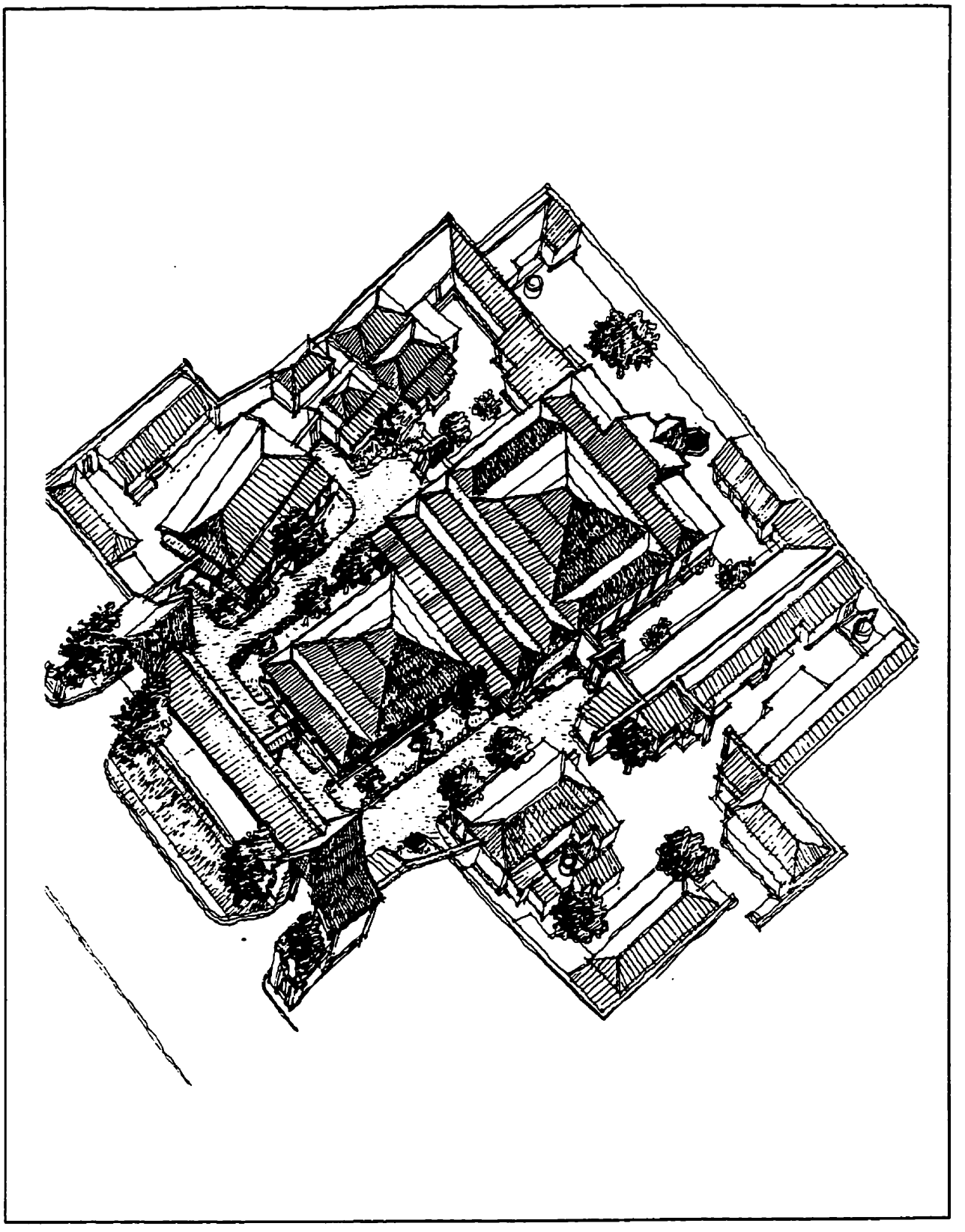


Figure 2.5.
Dalem Wiragunan/Kanoman

small house on the west side of his property, temporarily residing there. Subsequently, Wiraguna set up a large house in a princely style of *joglo*, the building with three-layered roof in a truncated-pyramid shape, at the center of his land. Known as Dalem Wiragunan, the house had a size and style which showed the relative power its master had accumulated.[7] Around the palace only higher nobility was customarily deemed suitable to live in a *joglo* house of such a size.

Wiraguna acquired many ways to relate himself with the Sultan. As a chief administrator of the Crown Prince, he was one of the higher Sultanate officials. Being an artist of the court, he was a prominent dancer and a great composer. In terms of kinship, Wiraguna was related to the ruling persons in various ways. He was a grandson of Sultan Hamengkubuwana VI, and he assured his position by marrying his eldest son, Purwadiningrat, to a daughter of Hamengkubuwana VIII, making him a *bésan* (a parent-in-law of someone's child) of the Sultan. One of Wiraguna's sisters was the official consort of the

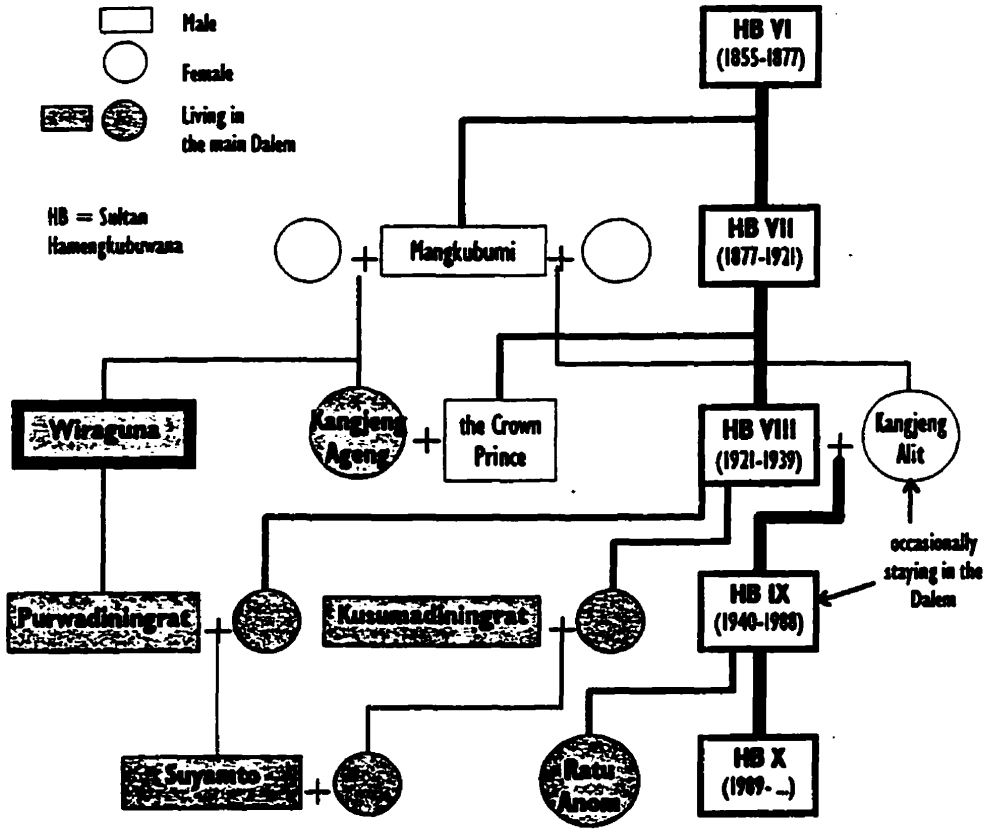


Figure 2.6.
The genealogy of the families living in Dalem Kanoman and their relations to the ruling lineage

Crown Prince, the son of Hamengkubuwana VII, but she was widowed before her husband ascended to the throne. As a respected dowager she was known as Kangjeng Ageng, The Older or Greater Lady, who also lived in this *dalem*. Upon completion of the house, Wiraguna stayed in the western half of the main living space, while the other half was reserved for Kangjeng Ageng. Changing its name to Dalem Purwadiningratan, Purwadiningrat occupied the main house after Kangjeng Ageng and Wiraguna died. However, the Sultan also allowed Kusumadiningrat, another Hamengkubuwana XI's brother-in-law who was also Purwadiningrat's *bésan*, and his family to stay in the part previously used by Kangjeng Ageng. By the time Hamengkubuwana IX died in October 1988, Kusumadiningrat and Purwadiningrat had a more distant relationship with the ruling power. Purwadiningrat died shortly after the death of the Sultan. Hamengkubuwana X assigned this *dalem* to his eldest sister Gusti Kangjeng Ratu Anom, and asked Kusumadiningrat to leave the *dalem* and stay in a much smaller house. Families of Wiraguna's and Purwadiningrat's descendants moved to more marginal places in the *dalem*.

Ratu Anom started to live in this *dalem* at the end of 1989, after which the *dalem* became officially known as Dalem Kanoman. As the eldest daughter of the deceased Sultan, Ratu Anom is in a very secure position to occupy this house. Hierarchically, she is third among the female aristocracy, immediately after the position of the consort of the ruling Sultan, and the wives of the deceased Sultan (Saleh, 1989, p. 36). With one of her two sons, she occupies the entire main building of the Dalem, since her husband and her other son remain in the capital city of Jakarta. Due to her secure status, Ratu Anom does not hesitate to spend money renovating the whole Dalem. Besides improving its appearance, renovating the whole Dalem means reclaiming the territory as being under her control.

The dynamic tensions among dwellers of this house from one generation to the next show how a house acts as a statement of status. By elevating his or her status, one occupies a certain position in the social hierarchy that determines his or her right to occupy a certain part of the house. Reciprocally, one's occupation of a particular part of the house enables him to maintain his or her status.

The Courtyard Configuration

Like most Javanese houses in Yogyakarta, Dalem Kanoman is oriented toward the south. Two huge front gates arranged symmetrically dominate its appearance from the street, revealing the house as a walled space. Through these gates one can see the next gates to enter the inner enclosure which are placed axially behind the main gates. Therefore, from first glance one knows that the *dalem* basically consists of several courtyards. There are two main adjacent courtyards arranged axially, while two smaller courtyards extend to the east and west of the main parts.

The front courtyard serves mainly as a public space, an island of open space in a dense urban settlement. It is centered in the *pendhapa*, an unwalled hall standing at the middle of the courtyard. The openness of the *pendhapa* gives a visual continuity across the yard, making the structure appear as a shelter in the middle of a yard, unifying the surrounding open space and buildings, rather than as a building blocking the interaction between two sides of the courtyard. Rows of *sawo kecik* trees (*Manilkara kauki*) around the *pendhapa* extend the shade of the hall.

Having direct access to the eastern and western courtyards where most of the *magersari* houses are located, this open space is the houseyard for everyone living in the *dalem*. Even though the main hall remains under the owner's control, the surrounding buildings function as community facilities. At the front, between the two main gates, is a long pavilion initially built as a guard house and garage. This building, along with a gallery on the southern edge of the *pendhapa*, was used as a kindergarten and an elementary school, educational facilities within walking distance of the neighborhood.[8] A prayer house on the northwest corner of the courtyard, recently restored by Ratu Anom, is used for daily prayers initiated by a neighborhood youth organization. Children playing outside, people chatting, boys playing soccer, vendors selling snacks and other daily social interactions are developed in this open space. After the 1990 renovation, this courtyard was paved and bordered with ornamental gardens separating these buildings from the rest of the yard, and the open space changed from a livable courtyard for the people into a vehicle traffic area (see Figure 2.5. and Figure 2.9).

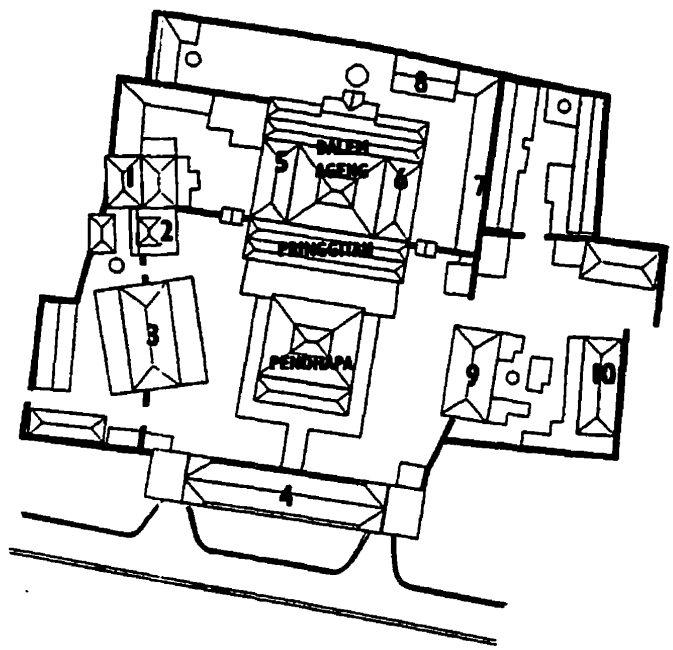
In general, the rear courtyard serves the domestic purposes of the owners and their closer families. With the main house standing in the center, this courtyard is divided into eastern and western halves. Unlike the public-private separation of the front-rear courtyards, gender segregation plays a prominent role in the division of activities in the east-west courtyards. This gendered division appeared clearly, particularly at the time of Wiraguna, when two family heads of different genders but with equal social status, Wiraguna and Kangjeng Ageng, lived in the Dalem. The western courtyard was mainly used by Wiraguna for male activities, while the eastern courtyard was for Kangjeng Ageng and female affairs. Both courtyards have direct access to the main house and the public front courtyard.

A building on the western end of this space was the temporary house where the Wiragunas resided before the main house was completed. After the completion of the main house, this house functioned as a *gamelan*-orchestra rehearsal hall, typical male aristocratic entertainment, since Wiraguna was a great Javanese composer. The western courtyard continues to accommodate a family from the male lineage. Purwadiningrat's son who married Kusumadiningrat's daughter stays in the north-west corner of this courtyard with his family, after moving out of the main house because of the arrival of Ratu Anom.

With the elderly woman, Kangjeng Ageng, occupying the principal part of this space, the eastern courtyard was chiefly a women's sphere. This courtyard was extended to the back of the house. At the rear end of this space was the most obvious women's domain, the kitchen for both households. A long building containing a row of rooms was situated along the eastern wall of the courtyard, that was reserved for Wiraguna's unofficial wives and daughters. Currently, the building is inhabited by the family of Purwadiningrat's daughter, a family tied through its women to the house lineage.

The courtyards extending to the east and west accommodate various activities. Most of their areas are occupied by the *magersaris*, people living with and providing service to the nobles. About fifty households currently live in these areas, creating a dense settlement. Houses are placed along the border of these courtyards with public wells and bathrooms in the middle. This courtyard also served as a extended space for conducting some of the Dalem affairs. After reaching their adolescence, some of Wiraguna's sons left the main house to stay in a pavilion in the eastern courtyard. On the southern part of this courtyard was a stable for Wiraguna's horses.

To sum up, the spatial configuration of this Dalem consists of a public courtyard in front of a more private inner area divided into male and female halves. Two buffer courtyards with various functions adjacent to both sides support the two main courtyards. Such a courtyard configuration



1. Wiraguna's initial house
2. Prayer house
3. Wiraguna's office
4. Guard pavilion
5. Wiraguna's living space
6. Kangjeng Ageng's living space
7. Wiraguna's secondary wives' living space
8. Kitchen
9. Tea-making house
10. Stable

Figure 2.7.
The initial configuration of Dalem Wiragunan.

recalls the pavilion arrangement in the Amads' house with the public *pendhapa* standing in front of the inner *omah* which has a multi-purpose *gandhok* on its side; and the *jogan* and *senthong* flanked by *ambèns* in the Suras' house.

The Main House

A group of structures at the center of the *dalem* territory comprising the house of the nobility is the main part of the dalem territory. This building has a strict symmetrical arrangement, contrasting it with the more organically arranged surrounding buildings. The axis of this symmetry begins from the point between two huge gates on the front wall, continues through all the parts of the main house and ends at a small octagonal pond at the back of the house.

Conforming to the division of courtyards, the house has a front and a rear part. The front part is a *pendhapa*, the open hall, and the rear part is called *dalem*, or more precisely *dalem ageng* (great *dalem*), to distinguish it from the like-named main building and walled area. This similarity in name denotes that the *dalem ageng* stands as the representation of the whole *dalem* main house; and in turn the main house is the manifestation of the entire walled space called Dalem Kanoman. Unlike the opened *pendhapa*, the *dalem ageng* is a totally enclosed space. A thick wall, with rarely opened windows and doors, encircles the *dalem*'s space.[9] Both buildings are covered by *joglo*-shaped roofs with their striking mountainous appearance standing on the main axis of the territory.

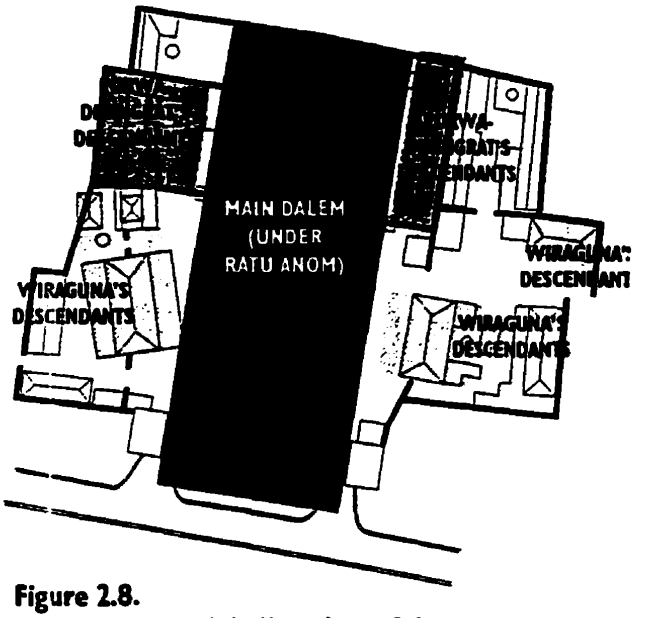


Figure 2.8.
The present spatial allocation of the inhabiting families.

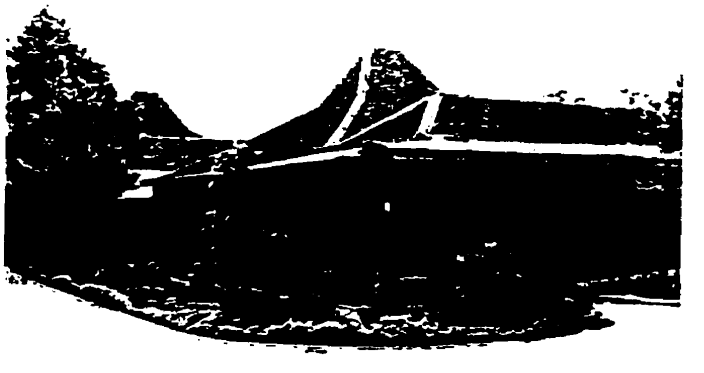


Figure 2.9.
The front courtyard during the residency of Purwadiningrat (1985) and Ratu Anom (1994).

This *pendhapa* has three layers of roof supported by rows of columns concentrically arranged. Four main posts, the *saka gurus*, support the uppermost layer of the roof at the center. These soaring pillars vertically mark the central space of the *pendhapa*. Two rows of columns encircle the *saka gurus* to strengthen the existence of the vertical center. Some layers of beams arranged in section as reversed stepped pyramids, the *tumpangsari*, bind the top of the main posts and crown the interior. This whole upper structure stands on one-meter-high stereobate. By elevating its ground and opening its enclosure, the *pendhapa* is a stage with the surrounding space as the audience hall. On this stage, the master of the house acts as the patron of the arts performing spectacles for community members who, through their witnessing of the patron's privilege, affirm the prevailing social stratification.[10]

Today, courtly dances and dance dramas are still performed regularly, though as an exotic attraction for foreign tourists, rather than as a spectacle for amazed community members to display the nobility's privileges. The *pendhapa* and its surroundings were renovated by Ratu Anom in 1990. The physical condition is considerably improved, but the renovation has totally changed the relationship between this stage hall and the surrounding audience. Lined gardens flank the *pendhapa*, which beautifully borders the hall, but no longer permit people to stand close to the stage. The only audience side is the hallway adjacent to the *dalem ageng* where seats are arranged for visitors. The three-sided amphitheatre has disappeared and been replaced by a one-sided proscenium-like stage.

To the south of the *pendhapa* is a long structure for playing and storing *gamelan* instruments. The *gamelan* is arranged so that the musicians are facing north toward the *pendhapa*, accompanying the performance in this hall. On the north side of the *pendhapa* is a passageway running east-west called *longkang*, meaning "space in between," for entering either the *pendhapa* or *dalem ageng*. The northward orientation of the pavilion attached to the *pendhapa* and the access on the north indicates that the *pendhapa* is actually facing north, toward the *dalem ageng*.

Facing each other, the *pendhapa* and the *dalem ageng* are ambiguously related. On one hand, referring to the similarity in their shapes and sizes and their common access from the *longkang*, they are complementarily related buildings; on the other hand, the *dalem ageng* is a center of a concentric arrangement if we look at the association of the master of the house with this portion of the *dalem*. The Wiragunan case, furthermore, shows another attribute of the concentric form. In this house, the *dalem ageng* is surrounded by four long, open verandahs (on all sides) and an enclosed room on each corner, forming a fourfold arrangement centered in the *dalem ageng* (see Figure 2.10.). The front and back verandahs are complementary. The front porch, called *pringgitan*, is a formal antechamber of the *dalem*. Two rooms in the front corners flanking this hallway also serve more formal functions. Wiraguna

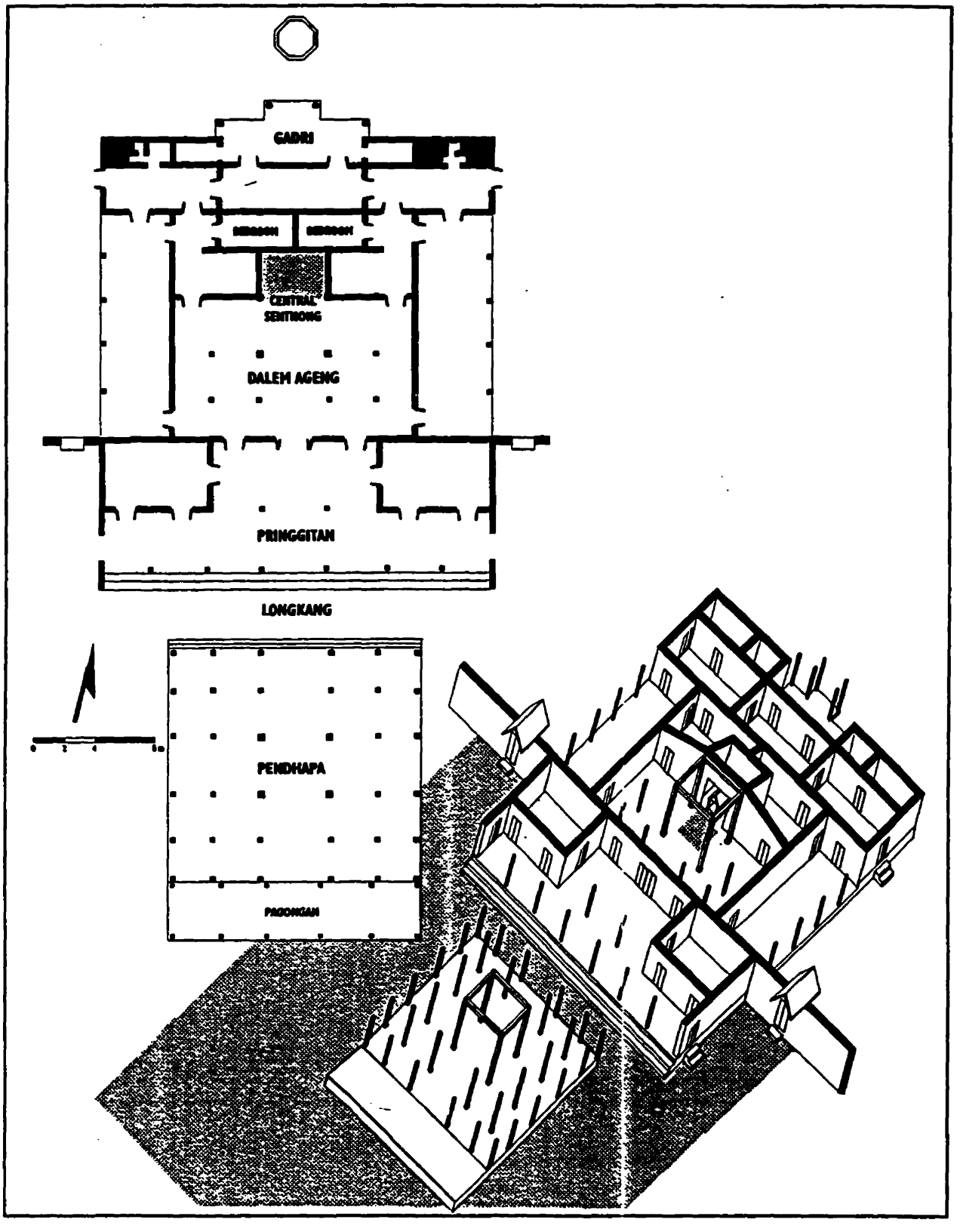


Figure 2.10.
The main part of Dalem Wiragunan/Kanoman.

used the west room for his private office, as does Ratu Anom. Located at the critical point between the outer and inner domains, this office is the appropriate place to control both territories. The east room was reserved for Darajatun, the prince to be Hamengkubuwana IX, during his frequent visits to Dalem Wiragunan. Currently, it is used as a museum of the owner's family. On the opposite side, the *gadri* or the back porch facing a small pool with a fountain in its center, is a place for informal interaction with familiar guests or for family gatherings. The west and east porches are equal in function, while the gender of the users distinguishes one from the other. In the west verandah, Wiraguna devoted most of his time to composing *gamelan* orchestration, while Kangjeng Ageng enjoyed batik-making in the east porch.

For daily purposes, *pringgitan* is the introductory space for entering the *dalem ageng* from the *longkang*. It was the place where Wiraguna appeared in formal attire to receive his official guests, usually the nobility or Sultan's courier conveying the sovereign's order. This porch was also a formal departure point for a ceremonial outing. Accommodating these functions, *pringgitan* is a place for receiving and leaving in a formal manner. Another main function of the *pringgitan* is the place for shadow plays. During these performances, a wide white screen spans the two main hallway columns, separating the rear *dalem* and the front *pendhapa*. The spectators enjoy the play from both sides, recalling the complementary relationship of the two main buildings.

As in the Amads' *omah*, the *dalem ageng* asserts its central position by acquiring the spatial arrangement of the whole house, three *senthong* rooms in a row facing a vast continuous space. The vertical center manifests itself in the middle space marked by four saka gurus and crowned with a *tumpangsari* resembling that of the *pendhapa*. This space is set against the inner wall, the facade of the three *senthongs*, which has an impressive appearance in a truncated triangular shape. At the middle of this wall, the opening of the central *senthong* interrupts the massiveness of this enclosure. The whole *dalem ageng*, especially the central *senthong* and the large front space, is excluded from mundane affairs. Taken together, these spaces have been consecrated as a family sanctuary, serving a role similar to the central *senthongs* of *omahs* discussed above.

A huge lavishly-decorated bed fills almost the entire space of this cella. This piece of furniture has the shape of a simple house with a saddle-shape roof. The miniature house-bed reveals the idea behind the formation of a house as a place for settling down and perpetuating lineage, as symbolized by the sleeping and sexual-intercourse activities of a bed. In front of this bed of state, several symbols represent the continuity of lineage, achieved by unifying both genders supported by an abundant prosperity. Two sitting dolls called *loro blonyo*, meaning the anointed pair, male and female dressed in court-style bride and

groom,[11] are placed side-by-side in front of the bed, accompanied by two water jars, two rice containers and a small oil lamp. These "sleeping" and "food" symbols are elaborate versions of pillows and silverware stored in Pak Sura's cupboards.

Besides manifesting ideas central to a domestic establishment, the *senthong*, as a dynastic shrine, and its properties, embody lineage emblems defining the "origin" of the inhabitants which Ratu Anom explicitly displays. More than the physical aspects of the Dalem, her lineage as the daughter of the late Sultan is the main attraction for the Dalem's visitors as the *dalem ageng* is the main part of the house to show. Two large pictures of her father, Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX, are placed on the trapezoid wall of the *senthong* flanking the cella's opening. Several other pictures portraying her with her father are hung along the front wall of the *dalem ageng*, facing *pringgitan* to assert her close personal relationship with the most prominent contemporary Javanese ruler.[12] Most of these pictures depict moments around her marriage, a stage when she is fully involved in perpetuating lineage. At that time, she acquired the title of Ratu, signifying her position as the eldest daughter of the Sultan and distinguishes her from other nobility. To trace her lineage more comprehensively, she creates her family museum out of the room to the southwest of the *dalem ageng* where Hamengkubuwana IX would stay temporarily in his youth. The most obvious image depicted in this museum is the father Sultan. Personal belongings of Hamengkubuwana IX, such as clothes, furniture and some other small memorabilia, dominate the displays in this small museum.

Two rooms flanking the *senthong* are the functional parts of this *dalem*. Both of them are main bedrooms. A Javanese person may sleep anywhere in the house, since sleeping is not a very private activity which needs an enclosed space to protect it from disturbance. Only the master of the house deserves a permanent space for rest. The two equal bedrooms indicate that there were initially two equal masters of this house, Kangjeng Ageng in the eastern room and Wiraguna in the western one. Presently, Ratu Anom lives in the western room and her son stays to the east. Gender opposition remains, but in a reverse direction.

KRATON, MAKING THE DIVISIONS FIRM

The word Kraton designates the house where the royal family lives as well as the realm ruled by the head of this family; both of them are territorial manifestations of the ruling authority.[13] As the seat of power, the palace has to have the capacity to articulate and to maintain the social order in which the Sultan occupies the supreme position. In performing these capacities, this 14,000-sq.-m. residence provides a

celebratory setting in which to display the sovereign's privileges, and a system of spatial division to affirm the social stratification of the dwellers, a domestic *divide et impera.*

As a dwelling, the Kraton is basically inhabited by a single family, the Sultan's. The ruler is the sole man living in the Kraton, the other inhabitants being his wife(ves) and unmarried children. The highest ranks among the women living there were those of the official wives of the Sultan. Bearing the title of Ratu; they were commonly granted the name of Ratu Kencana or Ratu Mas both meaning the Golden Queen. In old age their title was usually changed to Ratu Kilèn, the Queen of the West, respecting the westward spatial shift of their residences in the Kraton.[14] Old age did not necessarily mean a decline in a woman's status. It also meant liberating herself and obtaining a higher respect as an independent woman. When a Sultan died, the name of the widowed consort was usually transformed into Ratu Ageng, the Great Queen, as she acquired a special position as a queen mother living in the largest residential complex in the palace. Other court ladies living in the Kraton were the Sultan's unofficial wives. An unofficial wife had the status of "*klangenan*" meaning adornment, entertainment, or simply plaything, of the ruler. [15] A similar term was used to address artistic creation, mainly music and dance, that was attributed to the ruler; women and arts are the surrounding beauty adorning the palace.

Some of the favored *klangenans* were distinctively addressed as *ampèyans, pangrembès* or *selirs.* However, in Yogyakarta at least, this distinction was very fluid so that Poerwokoesoemo (1985, pp. 31-37), in discussing the legal aspect of the status of the Sultans wives, does not regard these variety of the status of the unofficial wives as significant categories. Moreover, in terms of spatial provision, all structures reserved for the unofficial wives were considered as *klangenan* houses.

Other royal family members living in the palace were the Sultan's unmarried daughters and sons. Before they reached puberty, they were not the subjects of gender segregation, but belonged equally to their mothers. Upon reaching puberty, an initiation rite was conducted to affirm his or her gender identity which was followed by the separation of their living spaces. Girls continued to stay with the women's group. They were assigned to a special pavilion called Mayaretna in the women's quarters. Problems arose with the boys; the father needed to transfer his power and authority to his son as his successor, but he saw that the son could contend his authority.[16] These problematic relations were reflected in the spatial assignment for sons in the palace. When they grew up, they moved out from the women's quarter to the men's domain in the palace. By moving out, they avoided prolonged conflicts with their father; they also had the chance to exercise their growing power. Exercising a greater authority, a crown prince lived outside the palace to build up the allegiance of royal families to ensure their loyalty upon his succession (Remmelink, 1994). After the children were married, they were no longer allowed to stay in the Kraton, since the Sultan's family were the sole resident family.

Formalizing a Multi-level Spatial Order

In general, the Kraton of Yogyakarta is composed primarily of a series of courtyards symmetrically arranged which run north-south. Starting from both ends and moving in consecutive order toward the center, the courtyards are two vast plazas (Northern and Southern Alun-alun), two elevated grounds (Northern and Southern Siti Hinggil), transitional and passageway courtyards (Northern Kémandhungan and Srimanganti to the north and Southern Kemandhungan and Kemagangan to the south); this series of courtyards climaxes at the central courtyard, Kedhaton, the pinnacle of this constellation. Kedhaton is flanked by two domestic courtyards where the royal family lives.

As the seat of power, the Kraton concentrates its ceremonial activities in Kedhaton and Northern Siti Hinggil. In these two places court assemblies presided over by the ruler were conducted to manifest the unity of the realm. As a dwelling place, the Kraton centers its domestic activities in the two courtyards flanking Kedhaton: Kasatriyan, the male domain to the east, and Keputrèn, the female sphere to the west. This domestic domain is also called Dhatulaya, or the sleeping place for the sovereign, recalling the state-bed or piles of pillows in the center of a house.

Unlike other courtyards in the Kraton, which are oriented north-south, Kedhaton faces to the east, the direction of sunrise and power because only the ruler is entitled to acquire solar power.[17] Bangsal Kencana,[18] an open hall standing in the middle of this courtyard, is the main representation of this orientation. This building is the principal audience hall in the Kraton. Sitting on the throne in front of his subjects, the Sultan symbolically governed and ordered his realm. He conducted this audience regularly to ensure his position at the peak of this order.[19] Within the Kedhaton courtyard the Sultan governs his immediate officials and families. Some buildings for inner court affairs surround the hall along the edge of this courtyard. Kedhaton also serves as a place for performing court arts, the main stage being Bangsal Kencana.

Like the central part of an *omah* or *dalem* lying at the rear, Kedhaton courtyard is excluded from most mundane domestic activities. It is mainly reserved for ceremonial purposes and the court's interior affairs. As a place for audience, administration and performance, this central courtyard is full of people unlike the empty core of an *omah*. Every day in this place, hundreds of court servants perform *caos*--presenting oneself to his or her master throughout the day and awaiting his orders. Sitting cross-legged in designated places and facing Bangsal Kencana, a hall to seat the ruler, these servants are meditating, hoping for the sovereign's blessing, rather than carrying out duties.

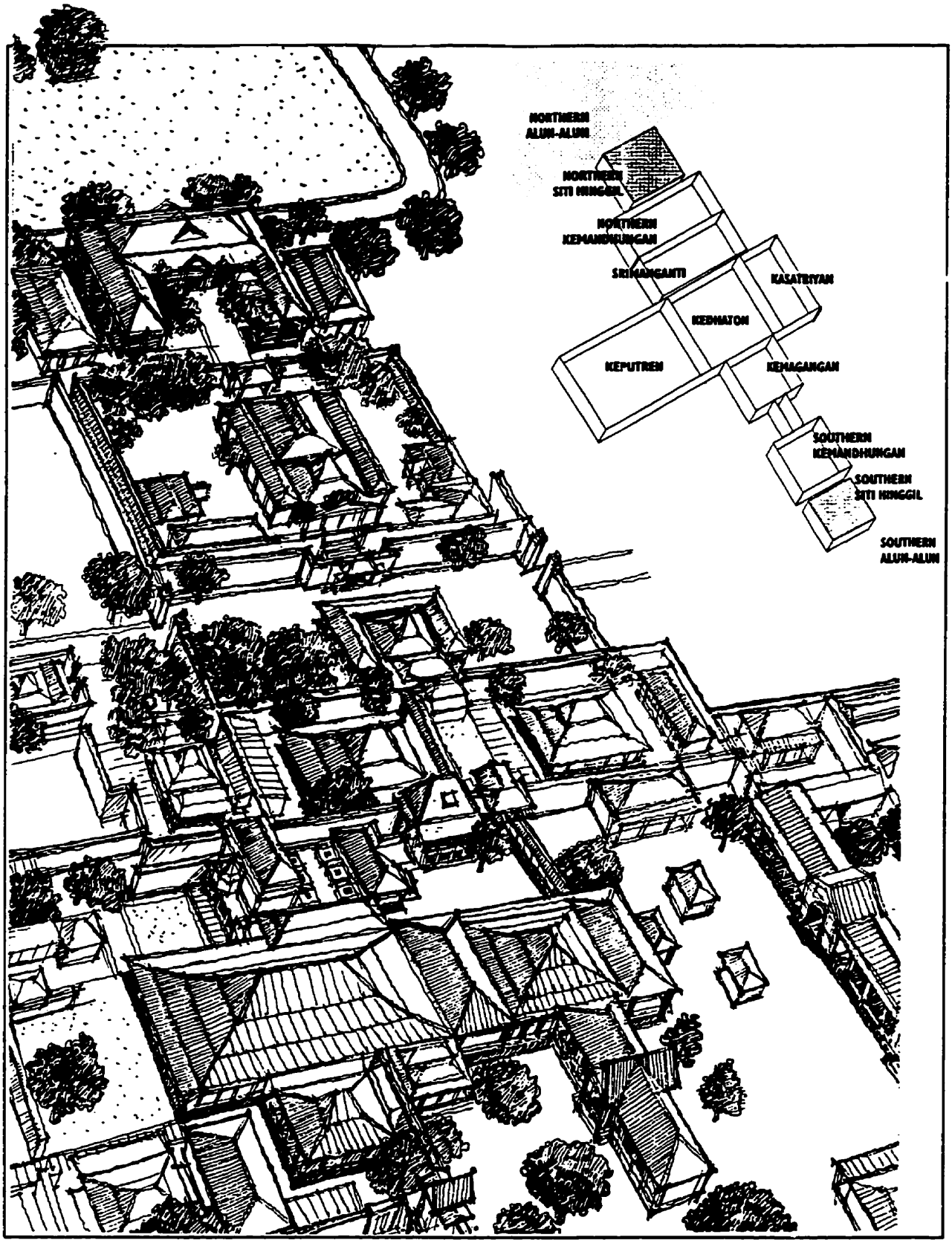


Figure 2.10.
Courtyard Division and Building Constellation of the Kraton

The other place where the Sultan showed himself as a ruler was Northern Siti Hinggil, his public seat. Three times annually he made appearances to lead the Garebeg ceremony commemorating the Prophet's birth, the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan and the time of pilgrimage to Mecca. During this ceremony the Sultan sat in a small hall in the middle of the elevated ground facing Alun-alun, the grand plaza to the north where people from throughout the country and regents from all parts of the Sultanate came to attend this occasion. This was also the time for regents to pay the taxes they had collected, as well as to submit themselves to their sovereign. The dual audience halls serving as ritual foci, in Kedhaton and Northern Siti Hinggil, remind us of the ambiguous dual centers of *pendhapa* and *dalem*.

Between Northern Siti Hinggil and Kedhaton are Northern Kemandhungan and Srimanganti courtyards. Unlike other courtyards, Northern Kemandhungan is not defined by its enclosure. It is a thoroughfare, a passageway for entering the inner Palace without penetrating the front part of Siti Hinggil. This courtyard functions like the *longkang* of Dalem Kanoman, the passageway facing the departure and arrival part of the Dalem. Similarly, on the southern side of this courtyard are Srimanganti gates, the departure and arrival point in the Kraton. At this gate the Sultan greets his formal guests and departs for his outings. Likewise, offerings to be sent to ancestral lands and the musicians who perform outside the palace depart from this point.

Two courtyards flanking Kedhaton are the living places of the royal family. Keputrèn, the women's domain, lies to the west, and Kasatriyan, the men's quarter, lies to the east. This arrangement reflects the role of the Sultan as the figure resolving gender duality by concentrating male and female qualities in himself. Kedhaton, the courtyard under the ruler's authority, is located between the male and female spheres. This positio symbolizes how the Sultan controls interaction between both sexes by guarding the connection between these courtyards. Gedhong Jené, the Sultan's private pavilion, lies partly in the women's quarter facing Kedhaton courtyard. It is a two-storey building with a glass-covered balcony at the back of the upper floor facilitating his role as the overseer of the female quarter. Within these enclosed quarters, social interactions between the sexes were highly controlled. Until the time of Hamengkubuwana VIII, if a wife wanted to meet her own son who lived just a hundred meters away in the same large house, she had to have an appointment with him. The son might then enter the women's quarter on a designated day with appropriate attire to see his mother or they might rendezvous at Bangsal Tamanan, a building next to Gedhong Jené.

In general, Keputrèn consists of two parts. A small portion to the north is reserved for the Sultan, the male space within the female domain, and the remainder is for the women of the palace. Besides his own private pavilion, Gedhong Jené, there are buildings which express his military and religious attributes

to confirm his title as Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdulrahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalipatullah, the Commander in Battlefield, the Servant of the Merciful Lord, the Leader of Religious Affairs, and the Representative of God. Gedhong Pusaka is a two-storey building for storing sacred weaponry to represent his military faculty. His religious capacity is represented by Masjid Panepèn, a small shrine behind his pavilion.

The women's domain is separated from the Sultan's area by walls. If one expects the Oriental splendor of a Sultanate harem, one is disappointed. As an enclosed compound which is not shown to outsiders, there is no intention to make it more attractive then aothe parts of this complex. Buildings here are simple, and many of them are now empty and decaying. Even in its heyday when there were numerous women living in them, they had no special appearance, as an Englishman reported from his visit in 1828:

> Their apartments were the reverse of splendid, exhibiting nothing of that oriental magnificence one reads of in Eastern tales; they were out of repair and dirty, the painting worn off, the furniture (such as it was) out of order, and the marks of negligence and poverty everywhere apparent (*Journal of an Excursion*, 1853, p. 241).

In this female portion of the large house, the Kraton, there are many houses for the court-ladies replicating the spatial order of an *omah*, a hall in front and a domestic sanctuary behind. Each house was a full domestic unit headed by a wife and conducting its own affairs. In accordance with the status of every wife, a number of female servants were there to serve each of them. By assigning "a complete house" for each wife, the Sultan could not only have a private interaction with every wife when he visited, but he could also control the social interaction of every wife in her own cell.

The buildings in Keputrèn are arranged according to the status of the inhabitants, as are their forms, sizes and enclosure systems. The *dalems* of the official consorts lie about the axis of the courtyard right behind the center of power, Dalem Prabayeksa. In a plan from the 1930s,[20] a building at the east end of the axis is labelled as Dalem Ageng,[21] perhaps because it was the house for the official wife of Hamengkubuwana VI, later known as Ratu Ageng when she was the queen mother of Hamengkubuwana VII. Standing to the west of the former Dalem Ageng is Dalem Ratu Kencanan, the House of Ratu Kencana, the primary consort of Hamengkubuwana VII. The territory of this Dalem is defined by an encircling wall with a gate facing the main alley in Keputrèn. A pair of soaring *joglo* roofs covers the *pendhapa* and the inner *dalem* of this house, signifying the status of its dweller.

Along the southern side of Keputrèn is a row of houses inhabited by the Sultan's unofficial wives. The house is called *pondhokan* meaning boarding house.[22] This term signifies their temporary inhabitation

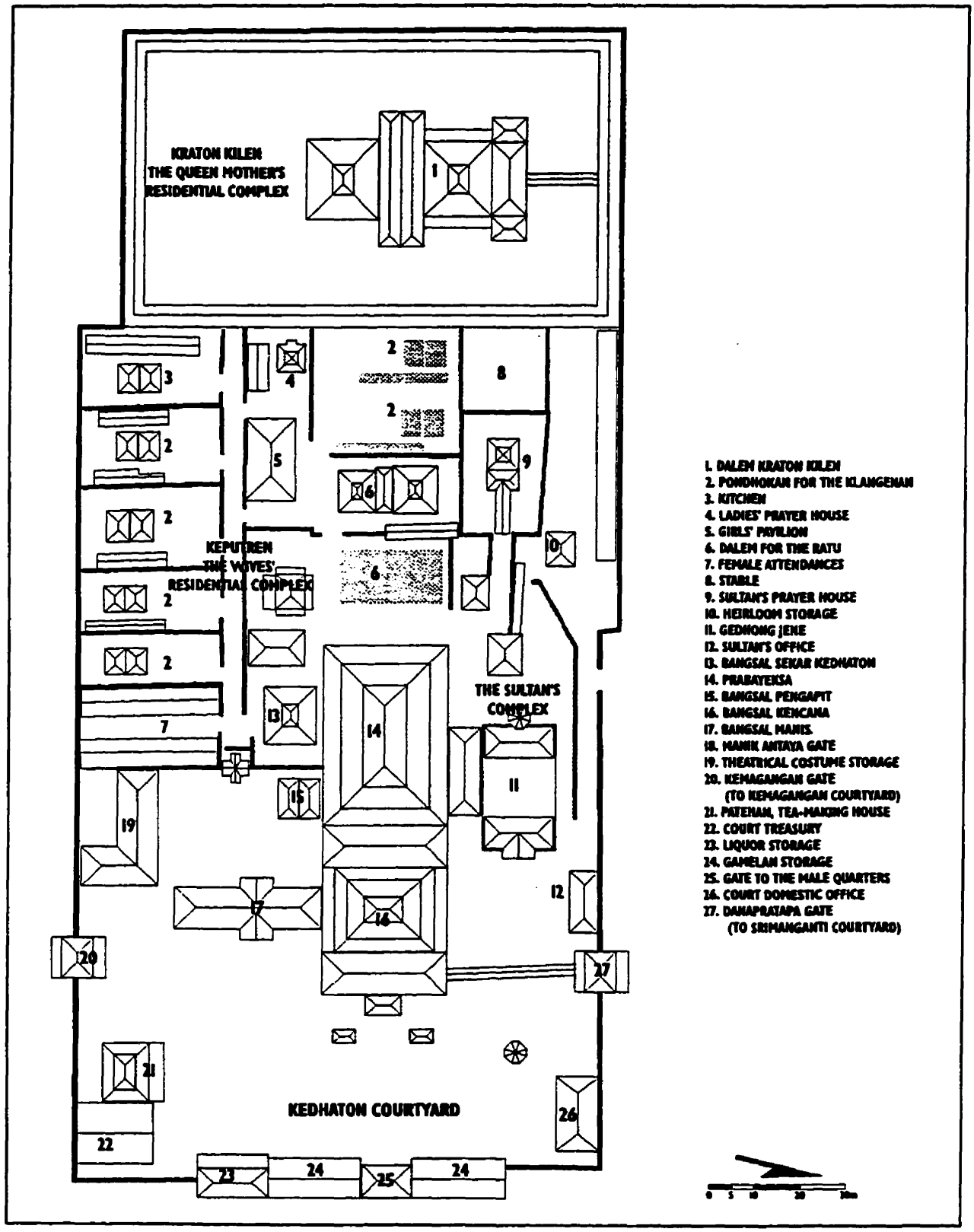


Figure 2.12.
The central courtyard and the female domestic courtyard of the Kraton.

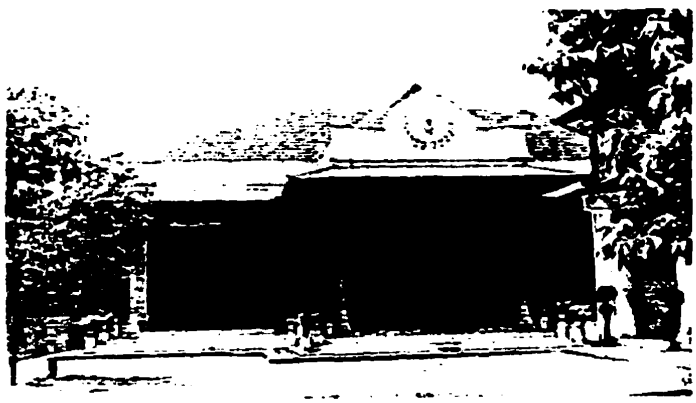
of the palace, which depends on the Ruler's favor. When a Sultan was in his old age, he usually expelled most of his *klangenans*, many of whom were returned to their parents or granted to marry to an official, to provide the space for his successor's family.[23] Kangjeng Retna Wilanten, the only *klangenan* living in the Keputrèn now, told me about this rule so that on her marriage with Hamengkubuwana VIII her father had to request the Sultan to promise that his daughter would not be expelled from the Kraton.[24]

In Keputrèn there are fewer than ten *pondhokans*.[25] Because of the enormous number of the Sultan's wives (particularly those of Hamengkubuwana VII who had more than 70 official and unofficial wives), the "turnover" rate of the unofficial wives living in the palace must be quite high. These *pondhokans* are much smaller than the *dalem*. Bordered with low fences, these houses are exposed from the alley connecting these houses with the main gate where the servants and guards are ready to serve and observe the ladies.

At the west end of Keputrèn, a group of structures set as a complete *dalem* stands independently in the middle of a well-enclosed courtyard. This is Kraton Kilèn or the Western Palace complex. The name Kilèn connotes the idea of old age, as signified by the use of this word to address an aging Ratu. Kraton Kilèn was chiefly used as the residence of the queen mother.[26] As an old lady, a queen mother has a

PRABAYEKSA

DALEM RATU KENCANAN



GEDHONG JENÉ

Figure 2.13
Some buildings in the domestic quarters of the Kraton.

venerated and independent position. This status manifest itself physically in Kraton Kilèn, the largest and most enclosed domestic complex in the Kraton. Accommodating numerous people, this complex had a dozen-or-so kitchens and more than forty rooms surrounding the courtyard. We might estimate the authority of the person controlling this territory from the number of people who used to live in this area. Within this highly-controlled women's quarters, the courtyard stands independently, because it has direct access to the Sultan's territory, the wives' areas, and the outer world.

Currently, the *dalem* in Kraton Kilèn is inhabited by Hamengkubuwana X and his nuclear family, his consort and four daughters. Rather than residing in the formal Gedhong Jené in Kedhaton courtyard, he feels more comfortable to stay in these private family quarters. Having no realm to govern, he does not feel the need to secure his existence by staying in the formal Gedhong Jené, which he only uses to receive his formal guests.

The other domestic compound is Kasatriyan complex, situated on the eastern side of Kedhaton courtyard. It was the male sphere in the Kraton where the Sultan's sons reside between the time they are circumcised until they marry.[27] This complex was centered in Dalem Kasatriyan, the main house in the middle of the courtyard. Some pavilions for these princes were placed around this main house. No one lived in Dalem Kasatriyan; it was more like a meeting hall for the dwellers of this compound. Unlike the more permanent inhabitants of Keputrèn complex, these sons were not settled in this complex. They lived here only temporarily, during the short period of their adolescence. Therefore, this courtyard was not intended to nurture the family. In contrast to houses for the wives, where every house stood as an independent household conducting its own affairs, in these youth pavilions, each building contained only a series of rooms for living served by a single kitchen situated at the north end of this courtyard. A large stable, located near the gate into this compound, indicated the high degree of mobility of the inhabitants.

With its two centers on the axis and two domestic spheres on the sides, the courtyard configuration of the Kraton resembles the spatial arrangement of smaller houses. However, in this place everyone is firmly associated with a particular place resulted by the formalization of status. This social and spatial segregation limits interactions between users. Court retainers guard every gate to ensure that no one trespasses on the territory.

The Main Buildings: Concentrating Ambiguities

The pinnacle of the building constellation in the Kraton is a pair of structures which is situated in the domestic courtyards lying east-west in the middle of this palace. An open front and an enclosed rear are respectively named Bangsal Kencana and Dalem Prabayeksa. These building serve complementary function. As an audience hall and theatrical stage, the former is primarily the place for expressing power

and is predominantly male, the latter serves as the place for accumulating power and predominantly female. While chapter IV will discuss further the role of Bangsal Kencana as an expression of supremacy in the form of theatrical performances, this section will focus on Dalem Prabayeksa.

This gigantic timber building, Dalem Prabayeksa, is a container of power in the form of regalia and sacred heirlooms, the *pusakas*. Javanese kingship relies heavily on the accumulation of these power-laden talismanic attributes. The accumulation of *pusakas* around a ruler, as performed in Dalem Prabayeksa, is a very important way to claim sovereignty. Storing these powerful objects not only means accumulating them in a certain place but also controlling their power.[28]

Dalem Prabayeksa is a woman's domain. Matters pertaining to this building are performed by women in the palace, from consorts, *klangenans* to servants. The daily affairs of guarding and caring for the building are entrusted to the Keparaks, the female servants in the women's quarter, who sit outside the building during the day and sleep on the floor inside at night. The consorts and other high-ranking female nobility are in charge of regularly "feeding" the main heirlooms in this building. More distant female relatives associate themselves with these female activities by occasionally performing *caos* in Dalem Prabayeksa.

This building shows its superiority not in a clear and straightforward unity, but in a series of ambiguities, expressing the accumulation of dualities. First, there is ambiguity in its location. The eastern half of Dalem Prabayeksa is located in Kedhaton courtyard, surrounded by buildings for conducting formal court affairs, while the western half lies among domestic facilities in Keputrèn courtyard. One side belongs to the state, interrelates with the ceremonial hall, and the other side is a dynastic shrine of the ruling family. With respect to this ambiguous location, the interior of this enormous building is divided into two halves with a royal state-bed in each half.

The consequence of this split interior is an ambiguous orientation. The eastern space is oriented toward the east, the direction of sunrise and power, facing its counterpart, Bangsal Kencana, the fully-gilded royal audience hall. The western half of the Dalem faces to the south, the direction of domesticity, similar to that of most ordinary houses in Yogyakarta. The counterpart of this half is Bangsal Sekar Kedhaton, the Hall of the Princess. Compared to Bangsal Kencana, this hall has almost no ornamentation. Family rituals, particularly those related to women, fertility and life cycles are the main rituals served by this building. With respect to the spatial division of the Dalem's interior, the Keparak corps is also divided into two groups, the Inner and Outer Keparaks.[29]

Dalem Prabayeksa is a dynastic temple enshrining the ruling family's lineage. Many symbols related to lineage perpetuation are prominent here. In its darkness, Prabayeksa is the huge womb of the Kraton.

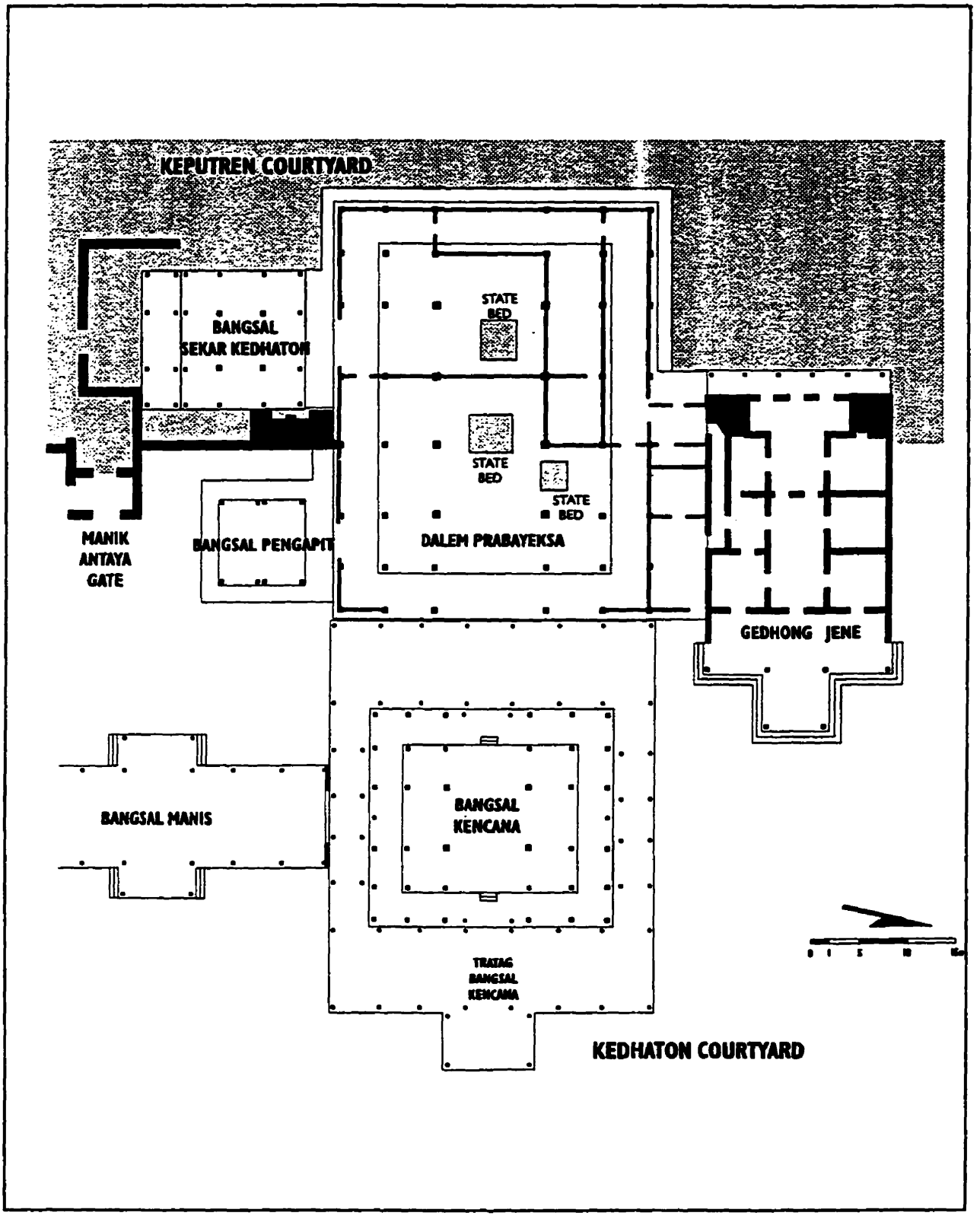


Figure 2.14.
Buildings in the main part of the Kraton

At the same time it is also the place of an eternal light and continuous power. Immediately in front of every state- bed in the Prabayeksa and Kraton Kilèn rooms, a small oil lamp is placed, believed to be burning for centuries with fire from ancestral land since the establishment of this building.[30] The notion of the place of origin where the seed initially grows reveals the functions served by this Dalem. Lucien Adams (1940, p. 196) mentions that a room named Mandragini behind the bed of state in Kedhaton Kilèn is reserved for a consort if the Sultan wants to sleep with her.[31]

Along the north side of this symbolic dwelling is the real dwelling of the sovereign, a two-storey building facing east, named for its color, Gedhong Jené, the Yellow Building. Only the Sultan himself lives here; it is not intended to accommodate a family; therefore, there is no *omah*-like spatial division. Most parts of Gedhong Jené serve as meeting places where the master receives his (mostly male) guests. A long hallway and parlors on its both sides are the main rooms. This hall is continuous from the front door to the end of this building as if it were a passageway connecting the formal Kedhaton courtyard in the front with the domestic domain behind. Indeed, his role is to connect and control both realms.

With its role as the connecting pathway, the Gedhong Jené is not a place for settling down. There is no *senthong* sanctuary in this house, since it has no woman to perform domestic rituals. It also has no bedroom, since the sovereign has no woman to sleep with here.[32] The Sultan is a person who wanders about, encountering the outer world by greeting guests in front of his house, and going to his wives' compound behind the Gedhong Jené.

The spatial configuration and figural representation at the center of the Kraton shows that supremacy is attained by concentrating both sides of the dual characteristics—outer and inner affairs, state and the ruling family domains, men's and women's spheres—with the sovereign asserting himself as the channel controlling both realms. Such a concentration results in a series of physical and functional ambiguities as reflected in Prabayeksa and surroundings

ARTICULATING THE DOMESTIC SETTING

An *omah* comprises a pair of spaces: a front and rear portion. This pair embodies principal ideas underlying the formation of a domestic setting: as a place to settle down and a place to establish relations. Throughout this chapter I have made cross references between houses to show the variety of ways in which this pairing is articulated.

Emerging from the settled domain, the dwellers meet others in the exposed front space. Boundaries of the exposed space which obstruct visual and physical relations are minimized to allow intensive relations with the outside. A *pendhapa's* boundary is articulated in the elevation of its stereobate, the

shades of its eaves and rows of its columns. Similarly, Siti Hinggil complex is defined by the elevation of its ground rather than by the perforated wall encircling this courtyard.

To compensate its exposure, the front space has to secure its center, or otherwise the space will lose its orientation. The bounding center is expressed in figures and actions. Tall columns surmounted by piles of beams in the middle of a *pendhapa* or *jogan* are vertical figures defining the centrality of the domain, likewise, the *pendhapa* itself which stands in the middle of the front courtyard. In practice, this center-defining expression means displaying the authority of the master of the house as the focal power in this domain. Its nature is absorptive and expansive. Formal audiences, theatrical performances, communal radio-listening and even simple guest receptions are among the ways to incorporate other people into a domestic assembly in the exposed front part of the house, in order to expand the authority of the master of the house to the surroundings.

As the setting where one is settled and to which one primarily belongs, the rear part of the house is constructed as a secure domain. It is well-enclosed by maximizing its boundaries. Among the ways to articulate figures in accomplishing this secure characteristic are layering, heightening and thickening the enclosing walls, and minimizing the aperture thereby limiting the penetration of daylight. Functionally, this security means limiting access. The nature of this part is more protective rather than

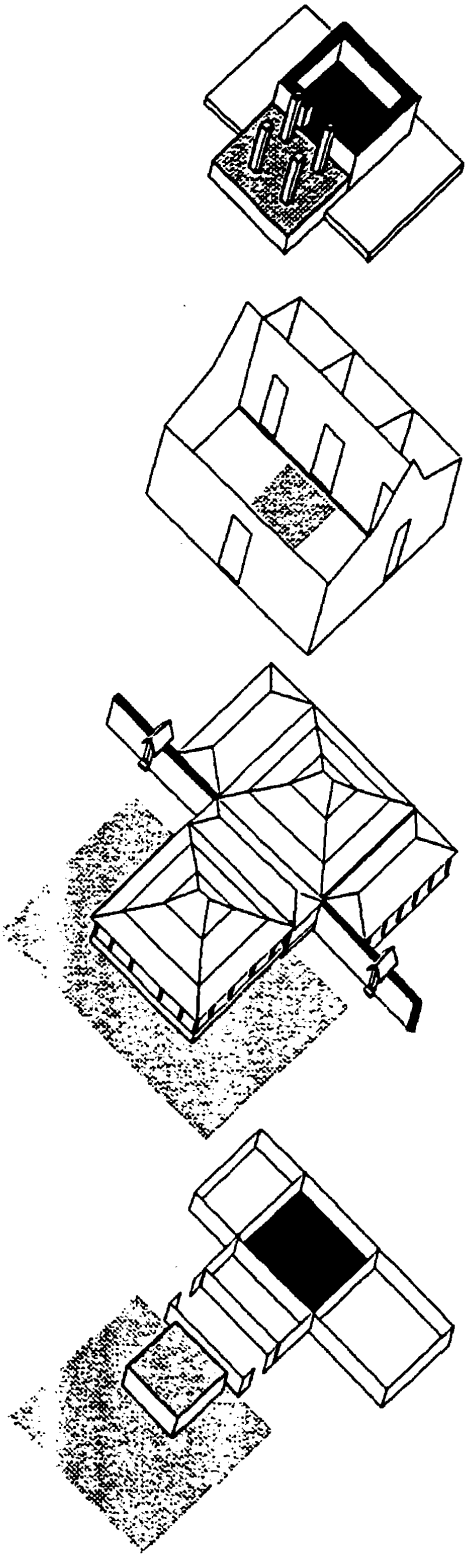


Figure 2.15.
The variety of the dual spatial arrangement of the *omah*.

strictly private. Intimately related people whom the inhabitants trust and subordinate people over whom they exert control are among the groups of people allowed to penetrate this domain.

Lying at the end of the axial path of the house, this rear part serves as the firm center of the house. Around this point the inhabitants settle themselves in a well-protected spatial setting. In his phenomenological approach to architecture, Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985) identifies the center of a dwelling with the ***known*** in contrast to the unknown outside. Rather than representing the known, however, the finality in this case, is more concerned with the ***certain*** to which we may put confidence without necessarily understanding it. In manifesting our confidence in "the certain," we imagine it as the prototype of the ***omah***, a scheme according to which we set other parts of the ***omah*** as well as extending it to a larger scheme. The inner ***omah*** embodies the spatial organization and figural representation of an entire house without necessarily serving the whole function of the house; but, we are sure that if other extensional parts were removed, we would still have a house entity standing as complete as before. As more concise figural representations, the house-shaped bed and its attributes, and the curtained ***senthong*** manifest similar ideas of the certain domain.

Considering the rear portion of the house as a represention of its totality (the front and the rear parts) explains some intriguing questions about the Javanese house. It throws light on Willem Rassers' (1982) question of why men appear in the solemn observance of the ritual conducted in the rear house, supposedly a female's domain, even storing their phallic weapons which serve as their alter egos. While the rear house is the women's domain, it also bears the inclusive capacity to represent the totality of the house consisting of the men's and women's domains. A similar statement answers Ward Keeler's (1983) query regarding the inclusion of one gender domain within another in the Javanese house, which he considers as a manifestation of the underlying unitary value behind the reciprocal relations between man and woman.

Most of the domestic activities, however, are not carried out in these two main portions of the house which primarily serve symbolic and ceremonial purposes. Domestic activities are concentrated in the areas around the firm center at the rear part of the house. These most livable areas, which may take form as living platforms, multi-purpose pavilions, or domestic compounds. Flanking the rear sanctuary, these areas are laterally divided into two halves, the eastern and western parts, to conform with gender segregation of the inhabitants. Gender segregation in these parts, however, appears in a great exchangeability. A certain half which at one time is designated as a male portion, at another time it may become a female domain. The simpler the house, the more flexible they are in exchanging the function and gender association of these side parts. Therefore, in the Kraton, the most complex house we have

discussed, the gender-based spatial assignment for its dwellers appears as definite, ensured by layers of walls and hundreds of guards.

This chapter introduces the spatial construct of the houses observed especially in their capacity as private dwellings accommodating the resident family. However, in Javanese case at least, a structure we call house serves other purposes involving larger community as important as it does for the private family. The two following chapters explore the house spatial configuration when it accommodates a ritual celebration and a theatrical performance during which the house addresses its embodied meanings to society at large.

NOTES:

[1] To put more comprehensively, I consider that it is the arrangement of things and the disposition of bodies *toward* the space rather than *in* space. Exclusion of someone from a space is also a form of bodily arrangement toward the space, as Waterson herself (1991, 1993, 1995) repeatedly recalls the significance of "origin house" in Toraja which is built as the remembrance structure and not to be occupied.

[2] Norberg-Schulz (1985) defines the three attributes of dwelling, namely center, path and domain. I only emphasize center and domain (as defined by perimeter), since path I consider as the consequence of the orienting center.

[3] Mbok means mother; it is also an old-fashioned Mrs. especially to address a lower-class or rural woman.

[4] The perception of a thief doing *mbabah* by making an opening at the rear wall put a thief, as an intruder, in contrast with a guest who was expected to enter the house from the front opening.

[5] Mbah is a kinship term meaning grandparent which is used to address someone's grandparent or an elderly person.

[6] This dynastic inheritance is quite different from that of the European nobility where the main consideration are legal and bureaucratic, for further description see Anderson (1990, pp. 39-41) and Geertz (1980, pp. 16-18).

[7] Even though Wiraguna was not a prince, his house was about the size of a senior prince's *dalem*. Currently, this house is the largest *dalem* inhabited by nobility in Yogyakarta.

[8] Unfortunately, these educational facilities had been moved out when Ratu Anom renovated the *dalem* in 1989.

[9] Only after Ratu Anom makes the *dalem ageng* a part of a tourist attraction, the windows and doors are opened but not the main door facing south; this door remains a ceremonial element that should not be opened for daily purposes.

[10] Before the reign of Hamengkubuwana VIII, court art performance, particularly dance, was restricted to the ruler and higher aristocracy

[11] Since Islamic teaching strongly forbids any forms of idolatry, Ashabranner (1980) rejects the notion that these dolls are an iconographic representation of Sri and Sadana, the heavenly couple giving prosperity to the earth.

[12] Due to his democratic attitude, Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX became the most popular figure among contemporary Javanese rulers. To give an illustration of people's respect for the Sultan, at his death in 1988, the city was totally in mourning. Kilometers of people stood in line to enter the Kraton to express their deference and condolences to the deceased Sultan. During his funeral procession, more than a hundred thousand people stood along the seventeen-kilometer street to the royal burial hill to watch this parade.

[13] Morphologically, the word "*kraton*" and its synonym "*kedhaton*" are formed from the pattern "*ka-ratu-an*" and "*ka-dhatu-an*" meaning the abode of *ratu* or *dhatu*, the sovereign.

[14] *Babad Kraton Ngayogyakarta* (p. 349) clearly notes the westward shift related to the increasing age and the changes of title in the Kraton following the installation of Hamengkubuwana V in 1822 (my translation),

> regarding Ratu Ageng [the queen grandmother of Hamengkubuwana V]
> when she is in a good mood
>
> at that time she moves
> resides to the west of the palace
> . . .
>
> The queen mother of the king [Hamengkubuwana V]
> shifts to the west a little
> and Ratu Kencana [the newly-consecrated consort of Hamengkubuwana V]
> now resides in Prabayeksa [the main building in the Kraton]

[15] The only remaining *klangenan dalem* living in the Kraton is Kangjeng Retna Wilanten. She was an unofficial wife of Sultan Hamengkubuwana VIII (r. 1921-1939). The Sultan took her as *klangenan* in her early adolescence, and she became a teenager widow a couple of years after that.

[16] In Yogyakarta the father-son conflicts were exemplified in the relationship between Hamengkubuwana I and the Crown Prince which makes the former having to put the latter to death (Ricklefs, 1974); and the prolonged dispute for the throne between Hamengkubuwana II and his son, Hamengkubuwana III (Carey, 1992).

[17] The use of sun as the emblem of royalty is an old tradition in Java. Majapahit, a fourteenth-century imperium, employed this symbol most extensively.

[18] *Bangsal* is the term to refer to an unwalled hall (from Dutch "zaal"). An enclosed building is usually referred as *gedhong* (from English "godown").

[19] The audience in Bangsal Kencana was conducted regularly twice a week, particularly prior to the British attack in 1812 (Carey, 1992). Currently, such an audience is arranged only on Syawalan occasion marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan. In this occasion, Javanese people have family gathering or visit each other to ask forgiveness. It is the moment when social order which based on asymmetric relations is re-stated. In the Kraton, it is called *Ngabektèn* meaning paying homage and asking blessing to the sovereign. Hierarchy is made explicit in *Ngabektèn* as the order to approach the Sultan is minutely regulated.

[20] This Kraton document plan has no exact date. However, by referring to the physical condition of some renovated buildings, we may infer that this plan was most probably drawn around the late 1920s or the early 1930s.

[21] In Adam's plan (1940) the building behind Prabayeksa was referred to as a school, perhaps, it was for the daughters of the Sultan who lived in Keputrèn. This building was demolished several decades ago and presently a garden is under construction on this site.

[22] In Surakarta palace, a house for a ruler's wife is called *tenggan* meaning waiting place (Darsiti, 1989). Like *pondhokan*, this name also signifies the temporary existence of the inhabitant.

[23] A particular case was for Hamengkubuwana VII. In 1921, when he was in very old age, the Sultan abdicated from the throne and stayed in Pasanggrahan Ambarrukma, a royal retirement residence to the east of Yogyakarta, presumably with all of his wives (Poerwokoesoemo, 1985, p. 52).

[24] Personal interview with Retna Wilanten, August 1994.

[25] Nowadays only three *pondhokan*s are in habitable conditions.

[26] The last queen mother who resided in this complex was Ratu Ageng, the wife of Hamengkubuwana VI (Adams, 1940, p. 198). After the installation of Hamengkubuwana IX, Kangjeng Alit, the mother of the ruling Sultan, was allowed to stay in the palace. Even though she had no Ratu title, as the mother of the ruling person, she stayed in Kraton Kilèn.

[27] No one currently lives in Kasatriyan, since the present Sultan has no son.

[28] The most obvious example of this controlling power action occurred when in 1948 Kangjeng Kyai Surya Raja, an allegorical historic book believed to have enormous power, had to be brought into this building from its former location in the court library in order to control its power which had been suspected to cause the illness and death of some people around (Ricklefs, 1974, p. 188). This book remains a sacred heirloom.

[29] *Keparak* literally means one who comes closer. Initially, the term *keparak* is used to address either male or female personal servants of the nobility living in the Kraton. Nowadays, all *keparaks* are women, since no male noble should be served by male *keparak* living in the Kraton anymore. I get the term Inner and Outer (Jero and Jaba) respecting the grouping of the *keparaks* from the chief of this corp(personal interview, July 1994); whereas Adams (1940, p. 197) addresses these groups as *keparak para gusti wétanan* (the eastern *keparak*, the outer) and *keparak para gusti kilènan* (the western *keparak*, the inner) referring to the place they perform *caos*.

[30] The same eternal light in Surakarta court is renewed annually using the natural fire from Sela, the place of Kyai Ageng Sela, the semi-legendary ancestor of the Mataram dynasty (Graaf, 1985).

[31] *Babad Kraton Ngayogyakarta* accounts Prabayeksa as the resident of the newly-consecrated consort of Hamengkubuwana V, see note 14 in this chapter.

[32] Hamengkubuwana X does not use Gedhong Jené at all for his domestic purposes. Hamengkubuwana IX only had a simple folded bed placed in one room at the corner for taking nap.

CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC RITUAL CELEBRATIONS

Embodying social agreements in symbolic actions, a ritual is often perceived as a reflective action performed by a society in order to convey their collective consciousness, their deepest self-reflection and their effort to make sense of their timeless experience. As a public symbol, it manifests the society's internal discourse about its identity into actions. Arguing this notion of self-identification in ritual, Clifford Geertz (1973) describes Balinese ritual cockfighting as "stories Balinese tell themselves about themselves" (p. 237). Likewise, a ritual sociologist Émile Durkheim (1915) views ritual as a celebration of a community for itself.

Transcending daily mundane gestures, ritual has a myth-like capacity to express common consciousness in a society. Unlike a myth which relies on words to deliver its idea, a ritual manifests itself in concrete actions performed in space. The word is in a secondary position. Rather than an abstract concept or reflection of an idea, a ritual is a concrete action which has its own aims. As Pierre Bourdieu (1990) remarks, "rites are practices that are ends in themselves, that are justified by their very performance; things that one does because they are 'the done thing,' 'the right thing to do'" (p. 18).

Since such actions exist in space, David Parkin (1992), a ritual anthropologist, ventures to define ritual by its primary capacity to organize people in space, suggesting that "ritual is *formulaic spatiality* carried out by groups of people who are conscious of its imperative or compulsory nature and who may or may not further inform this spatiality with spoken words" (p. 18, emphasis added). The participants of a ritual may have diverse verbal interpretations or just ignore what the ritual means, but they are bound by the so-called "formulaic spatiality" which governs their participation in the course of the ritual. In its broader sense, as Parkin extends his term, this spatiality includes phasal movement, directionality, orientation and bodily position.

Having its own spatial rules, a domestic ritual takes place in the house, which regularly accommodates daily activities. A domestic ritual redefines the house into its terms by incorporating the spatial and figural elements of the house into a setting for formulated actions. However, rather than taking the ritual as non-domestic event borrowing domestic space to serve its ends, I consider it as a quintessential domestic activity and as an inherent part of domesticity itself.

The wedding is the best example of a domestic ritual widely observed in Java. For the Javanese, marriage is the climax of their trilogy *metu-manten-mati* or born-wed-dead. Marrying off a daughter is the most significant celebratory achievement for parents. It is the occasion when they show to society their ability to raise their daughter properly and to find a suitable match for her, as well as their capability to mobilize and manage social and material resources in the form of a celebration. As the pre-eminent domestic ritual, a wedding is also the peak event for the house, during which it fully experiences its public role.

By exploring the appropriation of Javanese domestic spaces for celebratory purposes, this chapter describes how a wedding, as a domestic ritual par-excellence, conveys its messages in space. Applying the formulaic spatiality of a ritual requires the management of two main interrelated objects in space: the spatial setting itself and the disposition of the celebrants. The spatial setting where the ritual is carried out is manipulated to accommodate and to guide the actions of the ritual, as well as to enhance the message delivered in the actions. Semi-fixed elements are added to or removed from the house to suit the space with the symbolic and functional requirements of the ritual. As bodily involvement in space is the main "ingredient" of a ritual, it has to be properly disposed in space and time. The arrangement of the ritual constituents including the guests, sponsors, and beneficiaries composes the bodily discourse and communication of the ritual's message.

The first two sections of this chapter are dedicated to discussing these two matters in a variety of spatial and temporal settings. Some tendencies are indicated. The elaborate manner of decorating the ritual setting in the aristocratic residence shares some common principles with that of the humbler *omahs*. Commercialization has popularized the aristocratic manner since it made the nobility's privilege available to everyone who can afford it. In terms of bodily arrangements, the social relations tying the sponsoring family and the guests have greatly influenced the location of the celebrants in the ritual setting.

To perform a customary "ritual scenario," sponsors and beneficiaries of a ritual require a suitable status so that they may enact the scenario appropriately in space. The third section of this chapter discusses some problematic circumstances where the conceived scenario does not correspond with the status of the sponsors and beneficiaries, which might be too low or too high. In these cases, the spatiality of the ritual has to be redefined to create a setting appropriate for these special cases.

TRANSFORMING THE DWELLING INTO A RITUAL SETTING

A domestic ritual celebration transforms an *omah* into a hallowed and public space. As a sanctified setting, it articulates the meanings stored in its elements ready to accommodate the sacred moment. The space is

adorned not to make it a different kind of space, but to articulate meanings it already embodies. As the proper place to enact the drama of a *rite de passage*, an *omah* provides a setting to enhance the beneficiary's transformation of status by contrasting the departure and arrival points and marking the critical point. As a public space, the house is now open to people from the wider society. It thus bears a greater task in organizing people who have diverse social attributes and relationships to the house.

In preparing the space for a wedding in the Amads' house, the first task was to remove all furniture from the *pendhapa* and inner *omah*, which will be used for the celebration. By removing mundane household equipment, these pavilions were "cleansed', unadorned and unfurnished ready to regain their innate qualities as ritually constituted spaces.

The two similarly-shaped structures, the *pendhapa* and inner *omah*, comprising the core of the house, became a pair of spacious halls ready to accommodate a ritual celebration. Another spatial pair is also set: the kitchen at the rear was reserved for cooking meals and was occupied by females, while in the frontyard tables are set for some men to prepare tea. These two areas are connected with a busy side passageway running through the *gandhok* (the multipurpose side pavilion) which now becomes the place for setting meals and refreshments.

There was no major change of function in the princely house of Wiraguna since in this house the front hall and inner house, the *pendhapa* and *dalem ageng*, were permanently reserved for celebratory purposes, secluded from daily activities. However, some functions which involved a greater number of people needed larger spaces. A large pavilion on one rear corner was changed into a kitchen and another pavilion next to *pendhapa* became a tea-making building. In the Suras' limited-size house, besides removing the furniture, a larger wedding would require adding an awning in front of their house to extend the interior space and setting another space to pair with the interior which serves solely as an inner *omah* during the occasion.

The pairing of the two halls is primarily established by opening the door that separates them. The two spaces, which in daily situations hardly interact, are now fully and visibly connected so that people may see their complementary relationship. Therefore, the aim of such an opening is to demonstrate relations between the enclosed and the opened portions in the whole house, rather than simply expanding the space. In preparing the space for a wedding celebration in the Kraton, the partition on the east side of Dalem Prabayeksa is opened to connect this enormous and enclosed inner sanctum to a splendid hall in front of it where the ritual was conducted. The Dalem was not used for seating guests, but it had to be opened to let the celebrants conceive the pairing of the spaces, as if these spaces were also wedded on this occasion (see Figure 3.1.).

Connected as a pair, these spaces do not dissolve into a single, uniform entity, as decoration emphasizes their contrasting identities. There are two consciously distinguished treatments, *majang* and *tarub*, for two clearly distinguished adjoining spaces, the rear house and the front house respectively. Both the decorating process and the decorations themselves are related with the gender associations of these spaces, the front house being the men's sphere while the rear house is the women's.

Majang is accomplished primarily by dressing the state bed inside the *dalem* with textiles consisting of various sorts of customarily dyed fabrics (especially the bi-colored cloths, such as, red-white, green-yellow, blue-white, and black-white), several kinds of striped cloth (*luriks*) and plain white cotton (Poeroebojo, 1939, p. 305). The inner house is associated with femaleness. Only female retainers may open and unwall the inner sanctum of the palace being *pajang*-ed,[1] and the most respected court lady leads the womenfolk to do *majang* in this place. Cloth, since it is supposedly produced by the household women's weaving and dyeing, is also an attribute of the inner house and femaleness. Men decorate the outer part of the house by setting *tarub* and *tuwuhan*. *Tarub* are bent yellowish coconut fronds placed around the eaves of the front hall and outer galleries, forming arch-like fringes. *Tuwuhan* simply means plants, and these are set by placing some vegetation, banana trees (complete with fruits) and some coconuts, to flank the entrance

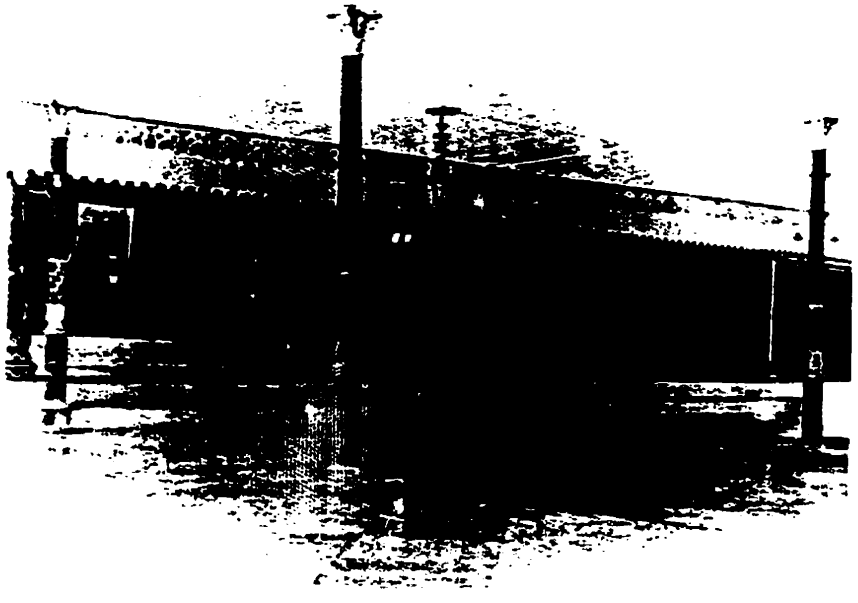


Figure 3.1.
The opening which connects Prabayeksa and the audience hall, source: The Indonesian Archaeological Service.

to the hall. Agricultural products are obviously objects belonging to the outside realm; hence *tarub* are associated with males. Men deal with large plants like palm, cane and banana, which are used in these decorations. Indeed, "*tarub*" recalls the rural male ancestor of Javanese royalty, Ki Ageng Tarub, a villager who married a heavenly nymph. Because it is placed in the outer part of the house, *tarub* has a particular significance as a public sign of a wedding celebration. If a father was asked when he is going to set a *tarub*, that means he is asked when will he marry off his daughter.

Formerly, in the Amads' house, *tarub* was the only decoration to set since the *senthong* in front of which the bridal couple would be seated had already had a framed cloth screen. The celebratory occasion merely revealed the significance of a decoration already there. Occasionally, some sheets of plain white cotton were spread on the inner wall to enhance the "clothful" ambiance of the house.

Tarub and *majang* enhance the polarization between the female (inner) and the male (outer) parts of the house. During the celebration the gender construct is dramatized in the *temu* or *panggih*, meaning the ritual meeting or encounter, in which the groom and his entourage proceed from outside, meeting the escorted bride at halfway point as she emerges from the inside. Some customary practices mark this meeting as signifying fertility, exchange and submission of the bride to the groom's patriarchal authority. In one customary practice the bride and groom perform betel toss to signify the equal exchange between them. Following the betel toss, another practice is often performed to show paternalistic authority in which the groom crushes an egg with his feet, and then the bride washes his feet.

As a space-defining activity, decoration does not cease when the spatial polarization has been marked with some semi-permanent embellishment. It is also actively involved in this processional meeting in the form of some temporary elements. Each party brings a pair of *kembar mayang*, mock trees made of green coconut fronds and some other sorts of leaves attached to a piece of banana trunk. In the moment of *panggih* these mock trees are exchanged between parties, then placed to flank the bridal seat after the *mantèn* (bridal couple) have been seated. Later, they are discarded on the ground marking the end of the ceremony when the duty of this moving decoration is completed.

A quasi traditional revival assigned *kembar mayang* a new role and gave it a new appearance. In the 1970s a flower-arranging course named Mayasari in Yogyakarta was much responsible for re-introducing and transforming *kembar mayang*. The moving decoration with, a bushy dark-green look now appeared as tall and handsome adornments dominated by golden-yellow young coconut fronds and various sorts of colorful flowers and fruits, secured on shining brass spittoons standing stately on both sides of the bridal seat. In a more elaborate wedding, the beautifully arranged *kembar mayang* figure was not only set flanking the nuptial seat but was also indiscriminately scattered over the ritual setting.

THE CHANGING ARRANGEMENT

At a wedding, the entire house becomes a ritual stage in which guests are also part of the drama itself. The relationship between the ritual and its inherent audience guides what kind of story is communicated in the moment. With a different bodily arrangement of the celebrants, the same spatial setting may produce different kinds of relations and communicate different messages.

Bodily dispositions of the celebrants which constitute the spatial arrangement of the setting embody particular patterns of relationships. It perhaps sounds too formulaic to consider a ritual celebration a metaphor of social relationships, but rituals are one main occasion when many relationships are brought into a public drama. With the change of spatial setting, there are other changes in the ways relations are built during the celebration, such as ways to invite, present food, contribute and participate. From these examples, we may infer that with the changing spatial arrangement there are also some deeper changes in social relationships, rather than simply changing fashions. In a domestic ritual this change also entails a change in how houses and households are interrelated.

Growing up in Karangkajèn has given me the opportunity to observe many marriage celebrations in this neighborhood, particularly in the Amads' house, and to be involved in various capacities. Therefore, I will take weddings in the Amads' house as points of departure. In the sections below I trace the variety of wedding practices through time in this locality, with an emphasis on its spatiality, while indicating possible social changes underlying such change and diversity.

My observations show that weddings in this locality have experienced changes from a communal gathering to an institutionalized celebration and, further, to a kind of commodity. These changes greatly shaped the way the wedding itself was conducted. When social relations were primarily binary ones between the sponsoring family and every involved household, the wedding was a kind of communal gathering in which guests and other participants, labor, equipment and foodstuff were related under the same network based on kinship and neighborhood. As the community institutionalized in many matters, equipment and labor for the celebration were already in permanent, though still in community-based organizations. Guests were no longer directly involved in the preparation of the celebration. In the ritual setting, they became an audience watching the ceremony. The introduction of chairs enabled the sponsor to arrange the guests in an orderly manner as they were also subjected to many celebratory regulations. A further step was the commercialization of the celebration. House and community lost their role in providing the necessities of the occasion since everything could be purchased. In this stage, gathering and domestic location were much less necessary.

The Sitting-on-Mats Manner

Bu (Mrs.) Jarir, Mbah Amad's daughter-in-law, described the first distinct feature of the former Karangkajèn wedding by remarking that people called it *cara kaji*, the *hajj* (returning pilgrimage from Mecca) manner. She pointed mainly to the bridal costume whose head cover conjured up the image of the people somewhere in Middle East or South Asia from where Islam in Indonesia allegedly originated. The groom wore a black cap or *pici*, a common headcover for a Malay Muslim. As Karangkajèn was regarded as a distinctively Islamic kampung, this *kaji* manner was a way to articulate its identity; it was, therefore, the first feature that came to Bu Jarir's mind in characterizing the local tradition in a wedding celebration. The bridal couple did not appear so much different from the guests as many of the guests dressed similar to the *mantèn*.

The *ijab* (marriage contract arrangement), an all-male ritual, took place in *pendhapa*, the front portion of the house. Invited guests, religious officials registering the marriage contract, the legal witnesses and the youth serving tea and refreshments were all male. Even the bride was often absent, represented by her father. At the very center of the *pendhapa* a low table was set up, around which the main actors of the *ijab* took their places to perform their roles. In a larger circle the guests sat on mats spread over the *pendhapa* to witness the ritual. As regulated by Islamic law, *ijab* was a fully verbal ritual; the power of uttered words prevailed. Under paternal authority, the bride's father or his representative granted the groom's request for the bride.

Following an *ijab* was a *temu* celebration (*panggih* in High-Javanese) meaning meeting or encountering. This event featured the ritual meeting of the bride and groom. Even though the *ijab* was the only legal necessity for a marriage, the *temu* was customarily considered the main wedding celebration. In contrast to the *ijab*, a *temu* at that time was a female-dominated occasion. The females gathered in the *temu* either at noon or in the evening, while their husbands had attended the *ijab* in the morning.

As in the *ijab*, guests were seated casually on mats spread all over the floor. Having a larger audience, this occasion involved the entire main house, the *omah* and *pendhapa*. As such, the *temu* not only enlarged the space but also shifted the ritual center from the front to the rear portion of the house. Conducted in the bride's house and attended mainly by females, *temu* was a womanly ritual which took place in the inner *omah* where the domestic shrine was situated.

The guests formed circles, gathering around a set of meals--mainly rice, side dishes, fruit and snacks. Each circle occupied the space between two columns of the house, forming repeated "modular" gatherings. "They used to sit surrounding food already served on high plates," Bu Jarir described this manner. While they were chatting to each other, they served themselves food. In this multinuclear formation the main

interaction was among guests in a given circle. Men had their own circle separate from the majority of women on this occasion.

The core of the *temu* ritual was quite simple. The groom and his entourage proceeded to the *pendhapa*, while the bride and some respected female relatives emerged from the *gandhok* into the inner *omah*. Both processions moved forward along the axis of the house until they met at the door connecting the two main portions of the house. They then walked together toward a carpet spread in front of the central *senthong*, were seated side-by-side, and sat motionless.

As the only program in the celebration, the ritual meeting between the bride and groom did not dominate the audience. It was more a ritual cessation of the gathering when, for a while, all guests attended to the ceremonial encounter. After the married couple were joined and seated, the guests turned back to their circle and continued conversations among themselves until they felt it was time to leave their gathering circles.

Guests were invited explicitly to bestow their blessings for the occasion, and implicitly for their support of the sponsoring family. Contributions of cash or foodstuffs enabled the sponsors to conduct a proper celebration and repaid whatever the sponsors had contributed to the guests' celebrations in the past. Everybody owed and lent something to someone else. Behind the celebratory scene was a chain of mutual assistance, particularly among female kins and neighbors, who were in the kitchen preparing foods for a couple of days prior to the wedding proper. Men usually came a day before the wedding to "cleanse" the *pendhapa* and inner *omah* of furniture, to place *taruh* around the house and later spread mats over floor of the main house.

The Sitting-on-Chair Celebration

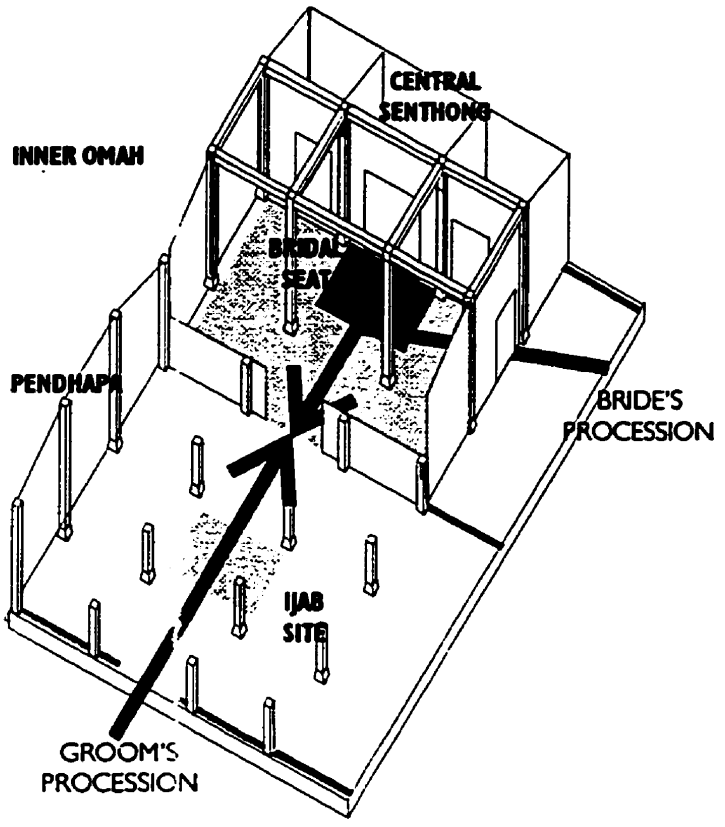
Chairs were introduced as ritual equipment in Karangkajèn in the late 1950s. Some local affluent, mainly the big batik entrepreneurs, were among the first to have celebrations with chairs, because only they had a large number of chairs and were able to borrow more from other wealthy families. Later, when some community organizations in Karangkajèn acquired and rented a couple of hundred inexpensive chairs, people felt obliged to use chairs for their celebrations.

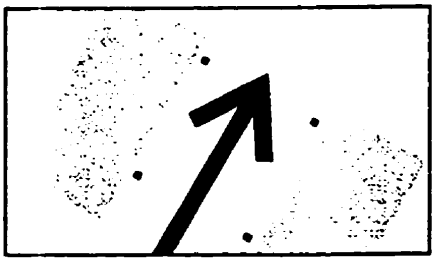
For the *ijab*, a couple sets of typical guest reception room furniture—each consisting of several armchairs, a sofa and a low table—were commonly set at the middle of the *pendhapa* as the focal setting for the signing of the marriage contract. With only a handful of the closest male relatives and neighbors invited, the *ijab* needed only a few rows of straight chairs for the guests.

In the *temu*, the chairs were usually arranged in rows with a table inserted for every six to ten chairs for food and drink. In the Amads' house they were arranged facing the axis along which the *mantèn* proceeded and encountered each other. The guests did not face each other because they were witnesses of a ritual which focused their attention on the sacred setting throughout the celebration.

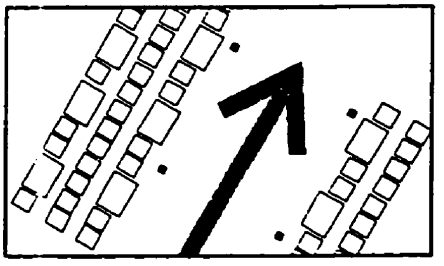
The adoption of chairs, then, was more than a matter of raising the seating level one-and-a-half feet. In contrast to mats, where guests would gather informally, chairs were individual seats which could be easily set in a particular arrangement. Seated individually, the guests were repeatable units: units of service and units of discipline and order. Being subjects of ritual discipline, guests were ushered upon their arrival to a particular row, according to their social status and familiarity with the sponsoring family. Respected ladies would likely be seated in the first row inside the *omah* next to the sponsoring family. Men were quite freely seated in the *pendhapa*.

The *mantèn* distinctively appeared from the guests. They were dressed in quasi-aristocratic fashion: a long gown for the bride and a short jacket for the groom, both made of black velvet with golden embroidery. The lower garment was a piece of gilded batik. A high black, gold-rimmed fez adorned the groom's head while the bride's had many imitation gold tiara-like accessories. Intended as the focus throughout the





SITTING-ON-MAT WEDDING



SITTING-ON-CHAIR WEDDING

Figure 3.2
The wedding celebration setting in the Amads' house

ritual, their costumes were strikingly different from other people's. Likewise, the elaborately decorated bridal seat was very different from the spectators' chairs.

As in older times, the *mantèn* proceeded and encountered each other under the inner *omah* threshold, before being seated in front of the *senthong*. In this manner the procession was accompanied by a tape-recorded version of a loud *gamelan* instrumental piece entitled Gendhing Kebogiro. As the music played the audience was asked to stand up to witness the *temu*'s climax.

Afterwards, a local religious leader was invited to give a speech instructing the married couple and audience on proper conduct in marriage. A series of speeches from the sponsoring family's representative greeting the guests–the groom's family introducing themselves to the bride's family who received the groom as the new family member–usually preceded the *temu*. Throughout the celebration, a master of ceremony ceaselessly greeted, announced, and gave commands for the minutiae of the ritual program, framing its various stages into a single celebratory entity. The space under the inner *omah* threshold which formerly only gained significance in the *temu* moment, was now equipped with a microphone and became a powerful setting from which holy recitation, speeches, greetings, stylized commentaries and commands were issued. As masters of the celebration and celebratory space, the sponsoring family were totally absent from this stage, but their wishes were delivered through the speakers.[2]

After observing the solemn *temu* and its ritual attributes, the guests were served with a series of meals. Following tea and appetizers, was the main course, consisting of a small lump of rice surrounded by some side dishes, which was delivered at about twelve o'clock. The main course was a pre-set dish presented directly to every guest, making any contact with the person sitting nearby less necessary since everything was ready on the plate.

People distinguished between the ritual and the *resèpsi* (reception). During the *temu*, the guests remained silent, witnessing the series of speeches and rituals, while in the *resèpsi* they were more relaxed. There were no more commanding speeches, only the tape playing selections of popular Javanese *gamelan*. The distinction was so clearly expressed that prior to the *resèpsi* in Mbah Amad's daughter's wedding in 1975 the bridal couple changed into less formal (but still aristocratic-like) clothes, and the mood of the celebration changed noticeably.

Order was omnipresent. It was institutionalized in the seating arrangement, in the series of speeches, in the concentration to the ritual which was reflected in the dominance of the wedding icon: the elaborately dressed *mantèn* and nuptial seat. Unlike those in the sitting-on-mats manner with its predominant sense of gathering, the guests of weddings with chairs were like theater spectators, confined to their own chairs, watching the series of rituals performed in front of them.

A wedding celebration was an institution through which social relations were developed. In the sitting-on-chair wedding, the main relation was between individual guests and the bridal couple as the main icons of the ritual. Behind the celebration scene, many other relationships were developed, but indirectly through particular institutions rather than directly between people. The network of borrowing silverware and other utensils was replaced by a community organization. Likewise, the chairs and the sound system were in the possession of some social organizations to rent inexpensively. Decoration was done by a neighborhood youth group rather than by individual volunteers. Mobilization of kinship and neighborhood in the form of mutual assistance during a celebration, called *réncangan* or *réwangan*, was also regarded less favorably. Instead, a semi-commercial caterer was usually hired to lead the cooking, assisted by few closer relatives and neighbors of the sponsoring family. "*Nyuwun pangapunten mboten mawi réncangan*," or "We apologize for having no *réncangan*" was a common phrase written in small print at the bottom of an invitation letter in the 1970s. Soon, everyone knew that there were no longer weddings with *réncangan*. These circumstances were just a step away from the fuller commercialization of celebration, when cash would speak for every necessity.

The Standing Party

The *resèpsi berdiri*, or standing party, was another manner which gained popularity since the early 1980s. As its name suggests, this was an elaboration of the *resèpsi* part of the domestic wedding, rather than the transformation of its entirety. It usually took place in a rented hall, and so it was no longer fully a domestic celebration. The gathering of people was almost completely omitted in this manner of wedding. Invitations mentioned a range of time, usually for one to three hours, in which the guests might choose a convenient time to come. They were invited to attend a personal meeting with the bridal couple. Consequently, there was often no ritual program or even no *temu* at all, since there was no moment observed by all guests. Some standing parties featured customary rituals and traditional dance presentations. However, these programs were quite "marginalized" since the guests, especially in their collectivity, were not fully expected to attend these rituals and performances.

Upon their arrival, guests gave their presents to the people in charge who stood at the entrance, where a guest book was signed as a mark of personal attendance of the celebration. The guests went directly to the *mantèn* who were standing before a lavish decoration at the rear end of the hall and congratulated them in person. In front of the bridal setting, there were several rows of tables where a buffet of full-course meals had been arranged. Guests served themselves. A few chairs lined the edge of the hall for those who wanted to sit for a while, but many enjoyed their food standing.

Even though there was no gathering, usually there was an announcer. The announcement was not addressed to the assembly of guests but to small groups of invitées, some close families, officemates, schoolmates or other circles which the *mantèn* or their parents might have interacted with or belonged to. These groups were asked by the announcer to have their pictures taken with the *mantèn* creating the image of the series of encounters between the *mantèn* and the guests. The sum of these encounters was the celebration itself.

In terms of the food, hall rentals, costume, decoration, photography and video recordings, many of the standing parties were more elaborate and lucrative than those in regular domestic weddings in Karangkajèn houses. The bridal seat had a mock-up *senthong* opening in the form of a screen made of gilded batik framed with wood-carving which served to "domesticate" the non-domestic setting of a rented hall. Many of the halls have large, elaborately carved *senthong* imitations, larger and more lavishly ornamented than any true *senthong*. Everything can be purchased, thus, it was a fully commercialized wedding.

STATUS AND SPATIAL COMPATIBILITY

During a wedding, the potential power of status now is exercised in a cultural drama in front the public. In a domestic ritual, the status is gained spatially by appropriating the house's space and transforming it into a ritual setting. The ideal relationship between the bride, sponsors and domestic space is if the bride is the daughter of the sponsors and the sponsors are the owners of the house where the wedding takes place. In this triadic relationship, the parents as ritual sponsors may assume their full authority to give their daughter to a suitable groom and to transform their house into a ritual setting.

Problematic circumstances arise when the status of either the sponsors or the beneficiaries of the ritual do not suit the available space. They might be too humble so that they are not entitled to fully appropriate the house space, or too exalted so that no regular ritual scenario would work. Adjustments are needed to provide matching circumstances. It demands a reinterpretation of what is "essential" to a wedding and what is mutable. Looking at the variety of responses to such problems will give us deeper insight into how such a ritual is conceived and constructed.

The Lower Status

When Sutinah prepared for her daughter's marriage, a problem of space and authority arose in the Amad family. A wedding for her only daughter was the only celebratory chance for Sutinah to elevate her status.

Her ability to conduct a proper celebration might be remembered by her neighbors for a long time. But she was only a single parent who was Mbah Amad's distant cognate and she had no family on which to rely, besides the Amads.

A particular spatial problem which arose was where Sutinah would conduct the celebration. It was unthinkable to ask the wife Mbah Amad if they could use the inner *omah,*[3] the secluded portion of the house where the elderly master of the house conducted all her daughters' marriages and where she slept every day. Such a request would have shown that Sutinah intended to act as the master of the house who could push the initial master out of her own private room. Mbah Amad resolved this problem by allowing Sutinah to use the entire house for the celebration, except the inner *omah,* which remained totally under her authority. By doing so, she expressed a gracious gesture without compromising her own territorial dignity.

With the exclusion of the inner *omah,* where the core of a wedding celebration was customarily performed, the *pendhapa* hall as half the *omah* had to act as the entirety, which shifted the center of the ritual. Visually, this hall retained some aura of a gathering place, and had a highly pitched ceiling in its middle which enhanced the ritual center. The *mantèn* would be seated underneath, in front of a delicately carved wall of the inner *omah.* Due to its limited size, about half the main house, the *pendhapa* could not accommodate all seated guests. A temporary shelter, a *tratag,* was erected in front of the house to extend the *pendhapa*'s space.

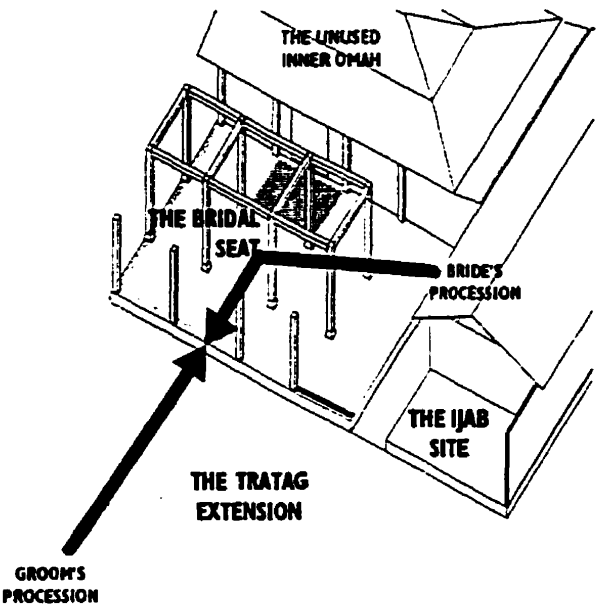


Figure 3.3.
The setting of Sutinah-sponsored wedding in the Amads house.

Serving as the center of the ritual, the rear end of the *pendhapa* was decorated with gilded cloth and a pair of *kembar mayang* flanking the bridal seat. Decorating the *pendhapa* in this manner not only meant beautifying it, but also fully identifying it with the inner *omah*. An imaginary spatial structure of an *omah* was constructed. Functioning as an inner *omah*, the *pendhapa* during the celebration was reserved only for the *temu*. Rather than superimposing other ritual functions usually accommodated in the *pendhapa* with the *temu*, they were accommodated in other parts of the house which were temporarily functioned as a *pendhapa*.

The *ijab*, which was usually conducted in the *pendhapa*, should not take place in this hall, since on this occasion, however, this structure was conceived as a inner *omah*, even though the setting was adjusted easily enough to accommodate the simple marriage formalization ritual. So the *ijab* was shifted to a smaller guest reception room, the southern *gandhok* attached to the side of the *pendhapa*.

During the *temu*, the relation between the *pendhapa* and *tratag* paralleled that between the inner *omah* and the *pendhapa*. Treated as a *pendhapa* for the guests, the *tratag* was decorated in the appropriate manner, with *tarub* arches along its edges. Male guests were seated under the awning, while female guests and the closest relatives were ushered to the *pendhapa*. Under the threshold of the *pendhapa*, the bride and the groom met in the climax of the ceremony, and in the same place one of Mbah Amad's grandsons, who was eloquent in stylized Javanese, served as the master of ceremony.

The Exalted Status

Two years after his enthronment the 11 year-old Sultan Hamengkubuwana IV was considered to have reached a marriageable age. There had never been a marriage of an already installed Sultan in 60 years of the history of Yogyakarta Sultanate, nor apparently in the previous couple centuries of the Mataram dynasty, as a chronicle recounted, "[...] in the lifetime there has never been told/ a youth King getting married// in the past but nowadays/ therefore, the entire country is in uproar."[4]

The problem in this case was quite the opposite of that experienced in the Sutinah's daughter's wedding, as the status of the boy Sultan bridegroom was so high that no one was suitable to act as sponsor, authorizing the wedding, granting the boy a bride, and bestowing blessings on such a majestic groom. As sovereign, he was the master of the entire palace and supposedly was the authoritative sponsor in celebratory occasions in his residence, not the beneficiary. Pemberton

Another problem in this marriage was the political and genealogical connection between the bride and groom. On the one hand, the bride-to-be, Radèn Ajeng Sepuh who was also called Radèn Ajeng Supirah, was the cousin of the groom. On the other hand, Radèn Ajeng Sepuh was the daughter of Patih

Danureja II, the grand vizier of Yogyakarta, who was murdered by Sultan Hamengkubuwana II over political matters on October 1811, just five years before this royal wedding. Thus, this marriage had strong overtones of political and familial reconciliation between these two closely related families.

No one else in the royal family was more concerned in such a family reunification than Ratu Ageng, Hamengkubuwana II's consort and the grandmother of the bride and groom. Moreover, Ratu Ageng previously was the guardian of the Crown Prince to be Hamengkubuwana IV.[5] This Queen Grandmother who was still in an influential position was the figure behind the arrangement of the wedding scene. In the meeting between the court family, the British Resident John Crawfurd, and Patih Danureja IV planning the wedding celebration, Ratu Ageng reportedly made a pledge concerning the arrangement of the occasion:

> Ratu Ageng speaks calmly
> "In the wedding of the King
> with Retna Supirah
> I would like to make a vow
> that the *ijab* will take place in the Grand Mosque
>
> so that it will not to be gossiped
> since both of them [the bride and the groom] are my grandchildren
> both of them have no father anymore
> even though the bride
> is only the daughter of a *patih*
> but [the *patih*] died to defend the King [Hamengkubuwana III]"[6]

Ratu Ageng conceived an extraordinarily grand wedding. After the two abdications and banishments of Hamengkubuwana II, the brutal British siege to the Kraton and the deduction of a large portion of the Sultanate's territory to form another colonial vassal, it was not surprising that the courtiers wished for the restoration of the Kraton's authority and dignity. Meanwhile, the thirteen-year-old King was probably too young to be aware of how delicate was the situation of the wedding's setting.[7]

To fully rehabilitate the status of the bride as the daughter of the highest official in Yogyakarta, Ratu Ageng and her daughter, who was also the bride's mother, Ratu Angger, entrusted the bride to Patih Danureja IV, the grand vizier at that time, until the wedding day. Early in the morning on the day before the *ijab*, a procession emerged from the Kraton to the Kepatihan carrying numerous bridal gifts. The Patih and his wife solemnly received these presents on behalf of the bride's family.

Ratu Ageng was most concerned with the *ijab*, probably because this stage was the only all-male occasion in the course of the wedding when the court ladies had no direct control. Therefore, she ensured that this stage was pompously celebrated. Unlike the common practice in the Kraton where the *ijab* was conducted in the Mesjid Panepèn, a small shrine hidden in the private quarters of the ruler, this *ijab* took place in Mesjid Agung, the Grand Mosque facing the great plaza before the palace.

By having his *ijab* in the Grand Mosque, Hamengkubuwana IV seemingly enacted the grandest form of a royal appearance, the Garebeg Dal, as the model of this unprecedented wedding. The Garebeg Dal was an eight-yearly ritual celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad when the Sultan and his entourage appeared in a royal procession in the Grand Mosque observing the ritual. The sacred *gamelan* Sekati, specially reserved to precede Garebeg celebration, was played for two weeks which was even grander than a Garebeg since in that celebration the *gamelan* was only sounded for one week. Decorated with curtains and canopy, the Mosque appeared as it did in the year of Dal. This setting was how Panular, the author of *Babad Bedhah Ngayogyakarta* perceived the wedding too, "it is like a Garebeg."

In relation to the colonial power, nineteenth century royal weddings indeed were problematic. In this later colonial era during which native rulers highly depended on the colonizer, politically and financially, the rulers nevertheless sought means, including ritual pomp, to restore their dignity and to disguise their impotency. Pemberton (1994) sees that a nineteenth-century ruler of Surakarta conceived the pomposity of his royal wedding as a chance to double his public significance, as a king and as a groom, to elude the colonial authority. This Yogyakarta ruler employ a different mean to elevate his appearance. Garebeg was a celebratory occasion which the Kraton *demand* the presence of the Resident, as the colonial representative, therefore, the Kraton rightfully imposed its protocol to this Western guest. As in Garebeg, John Crawfurd escorted the Sultan in his progress to the mosque. Reaching the mosque, the Sultan was carried on a palanquin, while the Resident walked behind. Furthermore, Panular did not fail to express his pleasure in seeing Crawfurd sitting cross-ledged in the mosque floor during the *ijab*.

For the *temu* in the evening following the *ijab*, Ratu Ageng again apparently told Crawfurd "Indeed, Minister my intention/ I would like to personally fetch [the bride]."[8] Ratu Ageng paraded from Kepatihan to the palace and was carried on the same palanquin as the bride, followed by Danureja IV on a horse and great entourage.

Ratu Ageng was greatly and personally involved in arranging the wedding celebration. In the intricate relations between the bride-giver and bride-taker parties, she acted as representative of both parties, successfully avoiding the elevation of the former's status and demotion of the latter's during the ritual. She performed her key role as the bridging agent by employing another focal point outside the palace, Kepatihan, and actively connecting these two centers. As the bride-giver's representative, she delivered and entrusted the bride to the Patih, but she also personally fetched the bride, representing the groom's family, the bridetaker's party.

During this *temu*, another ritual displacement was employed. The kingly groom was already waiting in the gallery next to Bangsal Kencana when the bride arrived and approached him. In this place the bridal couple performed the customary betel toss. Afterward, they proceeded hand-in-hand to the bridal

seat facing east in Dalem Prabayeksa where the queen grandmothers and mothers were seated flanking the couple. In this processional entrance the Sultan acted in guest reception gesture. By this manner, the kingly groom treated the bride with high respect but as an outsider, so that the he might secure his position as the master of the house. Along with the marriage itself, the bestowal of the Ratu title as the bride proceeded to where the Kraton womenfolk were seated could be perceived as an initiation rite of the bride to the royal domestic party.

MAKING THE OMAH A RITUAL SETTING

The spatiality of the wedding and that of the house are reciprocally conforming. A wedding ritual is so tied up with its domestic setting that many of its ritual stages are prescribed to take particular places in the house and to imbue these places with significance. Furthermore, not only does an omah provide a setting for a wedding, but it is probably built mainly with a wedding celebration in mind, so that we can most fully conceive its spatiality during the celebration.

In the preceding chapter we have discussed how an *omah* space is constructed as a dwelling, with a private portion to the rear and a public portion to the front. However, the dual division of the house does not always function in this manner. During a wedding we find that the pair of spaces composing the main house becomes a public area, but the house retains its dual division. By removing their divider, these two spaces are joined to celebrate the marriage unification.

The duality of the space is profoundly articulated as there are diverse ways to accomplish the interplay of the dual domestic spaces, enhanced by contrasting decorations, allocating stages of the ritual and segregating guests. In the intricate and tense relation between Islamic and Javanese "traditional" beliefs, people consciously distinguish what belongs to each. *Ijab*, which is regulated in religion, is on one side of the ritual and the customarily prescribed *temu* is on the other.[9] Such a distinction falls into the system of oppositions which they already conceive. This distinction is easily applied, since it also contains gender opposition; the *ijab* and *temu* respectively contains profound male and female association.[10] Regarded as parts of a domestic ritual, these two wedding stages are assigned in the pair of spaces already established.

Rituals can be seen as a system of power embodying social relations in space which are dramatized in a certain time. In analyzing the efficacy of the system of relations developed in Javanese ritual celebrations for articulating status and power, Ward Keeler (1987) suggests that the exercise of power in

the course of a ritual is temporarily and spatially limited to its own domain, but these relations are only meaningful if they are based on larger social networks:

> [a ritual system] realizes certain ties, ties that are otherwise obscured or that really exist only in the context of ritual celebrations [...] The net of relations drawn upon in ritual celebrations may reflect social organizations–kinship groups, patron-client ties, and association through territory, work, etc.– and its history (p. 155).

Observing some weddings in Karangkajèn from time to time, we may discern that the spatial arrangements have some underlying interplay between the wider system of relations and that during the celebrations. When a celebration was a community-based occasion in which guests, working people and other participants were involved in roughly the same network, the sitting-on-mats style in which guests intensively interacted one another was quite meaningful. By contrast, individual chair seating requires less interaction between guests, who were treated as reproducible-unit spectators subjected to the ritual's discipline and service. As the *temu* ritual became a spectacle, it became more elaborate and was accomplished more through capital-based ties than through kinship networks.

The interdependency of the spatiality of the house and wedding ritual is not always harmonious. The weddings of Sutinah's daughter and Sultan Hamengkubuwana IV demonstrate different ways to conceive such conformities when the social circumstances do not allow these occasions to be delivered in a regular manner. In the Sutinah-sponsored wedding the conceived spatial formula was applied by employing the spaces she was allowed to use. An imaginary *omah* was constructed using scattered spaces available in the house. This wedding transformed these scattered spaces into the spatial logic of an *omah*.

All spaces in the palace were available for the celebration but the regular princely wedding scenario employing these spaces was deemed inappropriate for the kingly groom's problematic and unprecedented wedding. Several fragments of ritual were strategically combined to form a newly-conceived ritual intended to maximize the ceremonial benefit of spaces and to avoid some potentially demeaning scenes. Among the strategies employed were shifting the ritual core into *ijab*, manipulating Garebeg celebration and reversing the course of procession which altogether enhanced the pomposity of the occasion.

Ritual celebration can be seen as a kind of spectacle with the beneficiaries as its performers, and guests as its audience. The more the beneficiary is distinguished from the guests, and the more the ritual site is distinguished from the surroundings; the more theatrical a ritual celebration looks. When a house accommodates a performance, it becomes a theater. A stage is set aside from audience space. The next chapter discusses the role of performance in a domestic setting and its spatial consequences.

NOTES:

[1] Only females are allowed to open this building. However, nowadays, due to the old age of most female retainers, some male servants usually help to open and detach these heavy teak partitions.

[2] The sponsor family as the master of space and occasion, like the *mantén*, was completely mute. Their speeches and wishes were delegated to other people. For a discussion on speech delegation in ritual celebrations, see Keeler (1987).

[3] Mbah Amad the husband had died several years before this wedding.

[4] *Babad Bedhah Ngayogyakarta*, canto LXI: 25-26 in Carey (1992) my translation. In its history, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta experienced majestic weddings twice for two subsequent Sultans, Hamengkubuwana IV (r. 1812-1822) and Hamengkubuwana V (r. 1822-1826, 1828-1855).

[5] On the general role of old women in holding the guardianship of young princes see Carey and Houben (1987).

[6] *Babad Kraton Ngayogyakarta* vol. I, canto XCVI: 35-36, my translation, parentheses added. In the severe conflict between Hamengkubuwana II and Hamengkubuwana III (who was backed by the British), Danureja II was murdered by the former since he stood on the latter's side.

[7] The dominant role of Javanese nobility was only possible prior to the Java War (1825-1830). After this severe war, the Javanese aristocracy lost their independent dignity. As Ricklefs (1981, p. 113) notes "The Central Javanese Courts [...] became ritual establishments and generally docile clients of the Dutch." Analyzing the post-Java-war weddings of some Central Javanese ruling princes, Pemberton (1994) notes that the Resident regulated every detail of the rituals.

[8] *Babad Kraton Ngayogyakarta* vol. I, canto XCVII: 49, my translation. Minister was the designation for colonial representatives in Yogyakarta after the regulation issued by Franco-Dutch Governor General H. W. Daendels (in office 1808-1811). Even though the formal title for this position under British administration (1811-1816) was Resident, Minister was still widely used by the Javanese to address the official.

[9] Even though the *ijab* and *temu* are performed in the house, they might be carried out in different occasions. In the Amads family, most of the *temus* were conducted at the same day as the *ijab*. However, for some reasons, in two weddings in this family the *temu* was performed almost a year after the *ijab*.

[10] The gender association of the verbal aspects of a ritual with male, and the material aspects with female is commonly found in the Malay region (Carsten, 1995).

CHAPTER IV

PERFORMANCE IN THE DOMESTIC THEATER

"Performance is a mode of action in which performers display skills," Bernard Arps (1992, p. 2) defines in introducing performance in Java and Bali, "it is a temporal process rather than an entity, taking place in the flow of human action." As a distinct occasion, a performance is neither an independent phenomenon dissociated from its social context, nor a mirror merely reflecting the surrounding reality. It is a reality standing among other realities which reciprocally reflect each other. Commenting on the interrelationship between a theatrical ritual and its environment in the Balinese context, Clifford Geertz (1980) says that a spectacular ritual "was not an echo of a politics taking place somewhere else. It was an intensification of a politics taking place everywhere else" (p. 120). The interrelationship between theatrical events and non-theatrical circumstances confirm Ward Keeler's (1987) arguments regarding the social dimensions of Javanese shadow-play that performing arts consist of relations comparable to other relations in society.

In reading a performance as a distinguishable phenomenon lying in a social and spatial continuity, we should judge off-stage circumstances as important as those on-stage for constituting the meanings of the play. Spatially, this principle means that the stage on which the performance is carried out is not a cut-out space standing independently from the surrounding spatial order. In particular, when a dwelling becomes a theater, it retains its characteristics as a domestic setting to affect the spatial arrangement of the theatrical setting. Socially, this notion means that, audience can be seen as "off-stage actors" whose presence is embodied in the spatial arrangement which have transformed a dwelling space into a particular theatrical setting. Authoritative sponsors, respected invitées, wandering commoners and even ancestral spirits[1] are groups of audience watching the performance with their diverse social standings and different capacity to affect the course and the spatiality of the play. Furthermore, this off- and on-stage interrelationship also implies that, while on-stage, a performer remains a part of the daily social order.

This chapter explores the transformation of a dwelling space into a theatrical setting. In adjusting its spatial arrangement to that of the house, a theatrical setting might enhance, reproduce or manipulate the existing spatial organization. The role of the performance's patron or sponsor, to whom the benefits of the performance are accorded, is crucial in this transformation since he or she is also the master of the

house. What kind of setting is formed out of his or her house largely depends on what kind of relations the master of the theater and the space expects to happen.

In exploring the spatial aspects of performing arts in Javanese house, I start with *wayang* or shadow puppet play. As the major performing art for Javanese people from many strata, *wayang* is basically a one-man show in which a puppeteer is the sole interpreter of a repertoire who orchestrates the whole performance. He is the one to whom the sponsor has fully delegated the authority to perform in order to entertain and impress the guests and watching crowd. By erecting a screen to cast the shadow, a *wayang* produces a profound duality which demarcates the domain of the performer and that of the sponsor. The popularity of this theater has enabled me to observe its production in a great variety of settings and to compare the resulting spatiality.

A duality comparable with that of a *wayang* is also legible in organizing space in some courtly performances to be discussed in subsequent sections. This is studied through a genre of female dance and a certain type of dance drama, developed within the walls of Yogyakarta palace and noble houses. In these performances, the duality orients the theatrical setting to reveal the gender associations of the performance and to conform with the dual space of the house where the performances takes place. Comparing these noble performances, which are initially presented by court servants, with the popular *wayang*, which is performed by an authoritative puppeteer, we discover an increasing degree of the sponsor's or patron's involvement in the courtly theatrical settings. The kingly patron's engagement within the play has shaped the setting to accommodate his presence. As today the Sultan's authority is limited, his presence in the theater presented in his residence is also much less ostentatious.

WAYANG IN A NOBLE RESIDENCE: A SCREEN TO ENHANCE DIVISION

In contemporary usage, the word *wayang* refers to a wide variety of traditional theatrical performances. The most popular among them, which is discussed in this section, is a carved-leather puppet theater played against a white screen to project shadows cast by the puppets. It is called *wayang kulit*, or in High Javanese *ringgit wacucal*, meaning leather puppet. This play is also named *wayang purwa*, the primeval or initial *wayang*, since its repertoire, the Indian-origin epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana which have been heavily re-interpreted and re-adjusted to fit the Javanese cultural setting, is regarded as the oldest stage of the history of Java.

Taking place in Dalem Wiragunan, the first performance to be discussed employs the spatial duality of this noble house, the front and the rear spaces, which are amplified into symbolic and functional divisions. The notion of enacting the duality during a *wayang* play is apparently powerful enough to shape

the spatial division which implies a social division of the spectators in a *dalem*. In a very limited-size house, we may observe how such division operates in the single space available.

It was in Dalem Wiragunan in 1979 that I first watched an all-night *wayang* performance sponsored by a family who was not the owner of the Dalem. A privately sponsored *wayang* was always free for everyone. One need not be related to the sponsor in a special way to come to the Dalem and watch the *wayang*.

A white screen about three meters wide was spread open along the rear edge of the *pendhapa*, dividing the continuous space from the front of the *dalem ageng* to the *pendhapa* into two: the spaces in front and at the back of the screen. This line was the focus of attention, leaving the center of the noble hall with a high pyramidal ceiling for the accompanying musicians. The divider was extended almost across the *pendhapa* by two rows of a couple hundred brightly colored *wayang* puppets which were secured on some banana trunks lying along the screen. To the front of the screen, in the *pendhapa*, the *dhalang* would sit and play *wayang* all through the night. He sat underneath an electric light which replaced a flickering oil lamp in olden times. This light would be reflected by the colorful puppets on the stage, enhancing their appearance on the *dhalang* side. It would also cast the silhouettes of the puppets on the white screen, enacting the theater of shadow seen from the other side of the screen. Behind the *dhalang* was a complete set of Javanese *gamelan*, a possession of the Dalem, played by some twenty musicians accompanied by four female singers and a group of male chorus

At about nine o'clock the *dhalang* started the performance by knocking the wooden chest to his left with a mallet, in staccato fashion, which signaled the musicians to play Ayak-ayak Lasem, the opening piece for a *wayang* performance. Throughout the performance this knocking sound was noticeable, directing music, punctuating dialogues and dramatizing songs intertwined with the *dhalang*'s constantly changing voice to animate the puppets.

The invited guests, arriving since eight o'clock, were ushered by some people in charge of seating the guests in rows of rented chairs behind the screen together with the sponsoring family. Rather than seating the guests in the noble hall of *pendhapa*, the sponsor preferred to receive them in the humble *longkang*, a low-level passageway with a roughly cemented floor and corrugated iron roof, situated between the two main portions of the house.

These privileged spectators did not see the "real" performance, the vigorous action of the *dhalang*, the jumping of the glittering puppet and the orchestration. Compared to the other side of the screen, this privileged side was dimmed to keep the translucent screen as the focus. All they could see was the shadows of the puppets projected on the screen. Watched from the shadowy side, the performance appeared more

mysterious, almost magical, since the audience did not see the puppeteer animating the puppets, who were accompanied by an unseen orchestration. Some people said that these moving and speaking shadows were the "essence" of the performance; therefore this side was reserved for special spectators.

Distinguished from uninvited outsiders crowding the yard, the people associated with the sponsor of the performance (who was supposedly also the master of the house) were seated next to the main house. Previously in this house, according to tradition, women were also specifically seated behind the screen inside the inner house. One argues that the reason for this tradition was because the "essential" shadow play was presented for the benefit of the women of the house (Tjahyono, 1989), another says women were excluded from seeing the ritualistic theater performed by the *dhalang* (Rassers, 1982). Moreover, self-respecting women were deemed inappropriate to wander around the yard at night. One practical reason for this seating arrangement, however, was that this would place the women closer to the kitchen, where some of them from the lower strata were in charge of preparing meals for the guests. Consequently, the guests were seated in this section partly because of the ease in serving them.

Uninvited but expected spectators, the commoners (mostly the *magersari* and the neighbors of the *dalem* including children and teenagers like me) stood freely or squatted around the open hall,

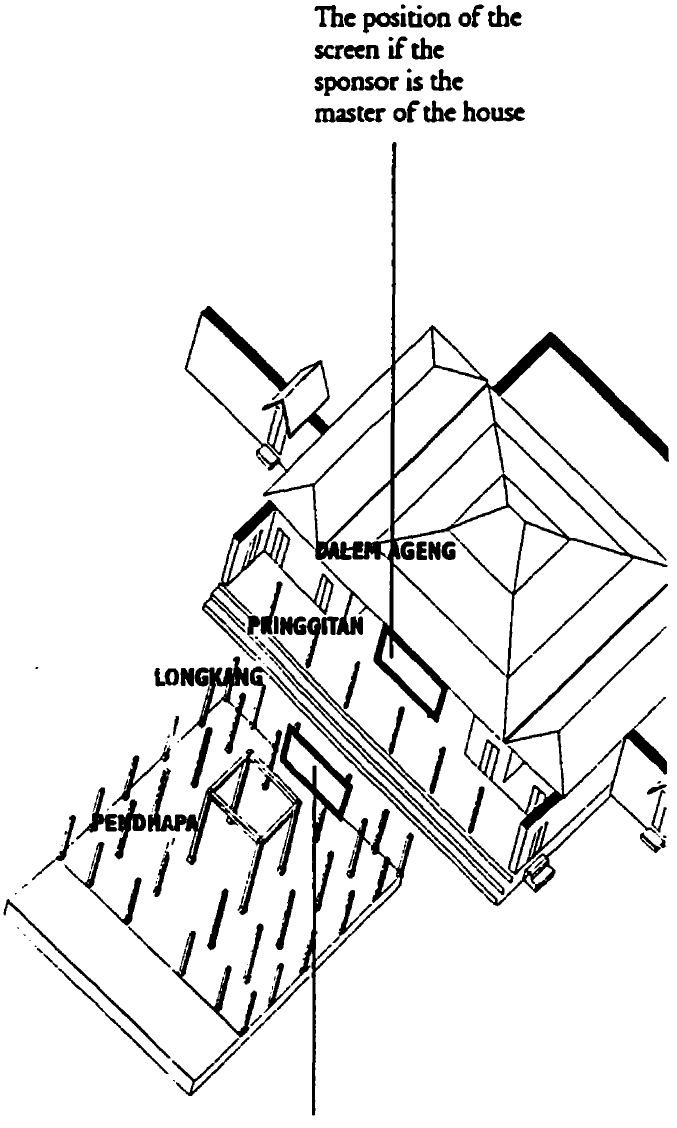


Figure 4.1.
The position of the screen in a wayang presentation in Dalem Wiragunan according to the status of the sponsor

chatted in groups in corners of the yard or sat along the edges of the *pendhapa*. Scattered in and around the *pendhapa*, we watched everything but the shadows.

Approaching midnight, after the main course of the meal had been served, the guests one-by-one found an excuse to leave their seats early. Since these people departed and did not return, the commoners came and went as they wanted. Invitées were well-served, but they were restricted by rules of behavior. A few more serious guests moved forward to the front rows, leaving the rear seats empty to be occupied by more interested common people.

It had been a long time since the master of the house had commissioned a *wayang* performance.[2] If the sponsor was the master of the Dalem, the performance would be accommodated in the designated place, the *pringgitan*, meaning the place for performing *ringgit*, the High-Javanese word for *wayang*. It was a long pavilion standing in between *pendhapa* and *dalem ageng*, a critical space lying in between the two main portions of the house. In the span between two main columns of this hallway the screen was spread right before the main door of the *dalem ageng*. The dual space created by placing the screen in the *pringgitan* fully conformed with the duality of a *pendhapa* and *dalem*, or more generally with the front and rear portions of a Javanese house. Even though the entire performance that night took place in the front or outer area, this duality continued to govern the spatial division.

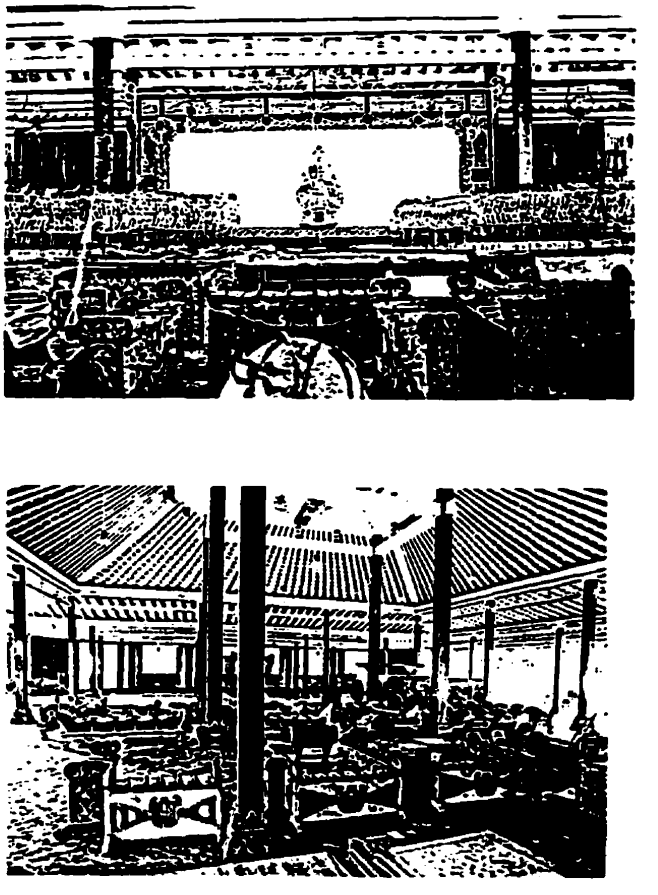


Figure 4.2.
The Arrangement of screen, puppets and gamelan orchestra in Bangsal Kasatriyan in the Kraton.
source: Mujanattistomo et. al. (1977)

A striking contrast appeared between the shadowy and the bright sides of the screen. The front was the side of the ostensive show featuring the *dhalang*'s vibrant actions manipulating the puppets, two sets of beautifully decorated bronze *gamelan* sounded by the musicians dressed in formal Javanese uniform, the chandelier hung at the hall and the light above the *dhalang*'s head. By contrast, the dim environment of the rear side was comparable to the unilluminated aura of the *dalem ageng* behind this place. Intimacy and control prevailed on this side; only those who had a respected relationship with the sponsor were formally admitted to this place. The screen of performance had created two distinguishable areas, visually as well as socially. An *omah*-like space was temporarily created during the play, enhancing the existing spatial arrangement of this noble residence.

WAYANG IN A HUMBLE HOUSE: A SCREEN TO CREATE DIVISION

A *wayang* can be performed in a noble *dalem*, but it is also fit to be enacted in a much humbler house. There has never been a *wayang* performance in the Suras' simple *omah*, most likely due to the social standing and the economic ability of its owner.[3] However, I had a chance to observe another *wayang* performance in a house of similar size and plan to Pak Sura's house, located in a hillside village to the north of Yogyakarta. I will compare this performance to that of the Dalem in order to comprehend the spatial accommodation of a *wayang* play in a house of quite limited size. In the humble house of a recently-elected village headman, I called him Pak Trima, the *wayang* was performed in late 1989 when I stayed for a couple of months in this house doing mandatory fieldwork for my undergraduate study.

The Trimas' house was mainly made of timber, typically consisting of a line of three *senthong* rooms in the rear facing a larger reception room to the front, with a kitchen attached to the eastern side of the house. Just before noon Pak Trima had some people remove the front wall of his house, making a continuous space from the front of the *senthong* rooms to the yard. Right in front of the two main columns of this house the screen was erected and a couple of dozens puppets were arranged on banana stems. Simple *gamelan* instruments made of iron were crowded behind the *dhalang*'s seat. Some wooden sofas and armchairs for guests were placed in a row behind the screen where a dozen-or-so male village notables were seated during the play. Crammed in a two-meter-wide space, the guests were entertained with the shadow-play as well as meals and refreshments. Before the performance the Trimas served the *dhalang* and his troupe with meals in the "dining room" between the stage and kitchen. Meals, snacks, coffee and cigarettes were also delivered directly from the kitchen to the privileged spectators behind the screen during the performance throughout the night.

In the limited space of his house, if he had placed the screen directly against the *senthong* wall, he would have had a proscenium-like stage with more space to entertain his guests in the first rows of the audience seats. However, he preferred to have a bi-directional performance with the shadow play on one side and puppet play on the other side. By reserving the space for the invited guests on the inner side he claimed his two distinct statuses, as master of the house who invited his associates to enter and as a sponsor who graciously presented the play to general spectators outside. Acting as hostess in her modest house, Bu Trima and some female relatives who assisted were busy preparing and serving meals in the rear part of the house. However, Bu Trima also enjoyed the privilege of a direct connection with the performance on this side by ordering the *dhalang* to play her favorite song. She did so by giving a small piece of paper with the title of the song to the *dhalang* through the hole underneath the banana-stem stage while she served hot drink to him.

Controlling admission, facilitating guest services and having direct connections and involvement with the play are among the functional reasons for the side behind the screen. In this side, the authority of the sponsor visibly prevails, directly affecting the behavior of the guests. Dissembled behind the screen, the sponsor is an authority concealed from the view of the commoners who largely watch the play from the *dhalang* side. He delivers his wish through the

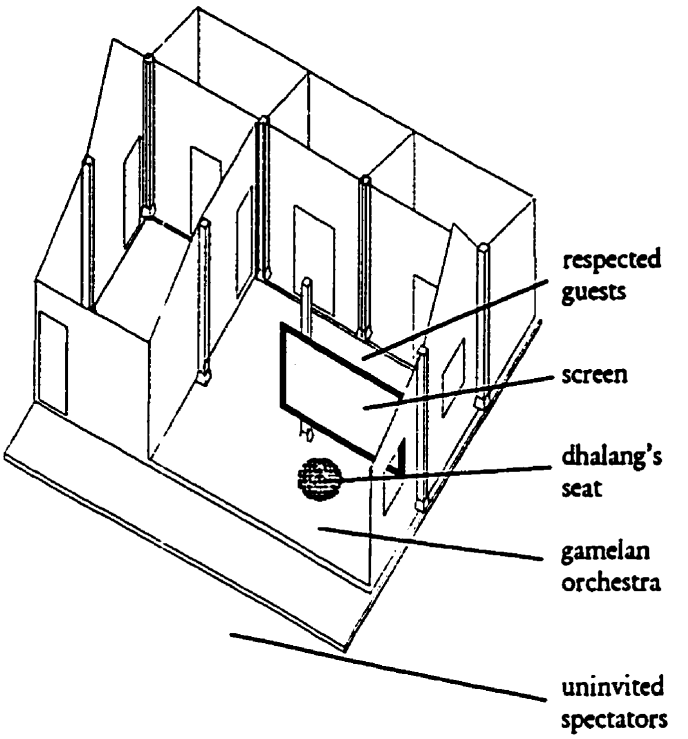


Figure 4.3.
The setting for the wayang performance in the Trimas' house

dhalang's actions directing all aspects of the play. They realize there is an overwhelming power behind the screen indirectly commanding the performance through a single agent, the *dhalang*. The *dhalang* and his actions are a real and visible power seen from this side. On the other hand, for the respected guests sitting behind the screen, the *dhalang*'s directive capacity is a concealed power, since they only see the actively moving and speaking shadows accompanied by unseen musical orchestration. For them, the sponsor is the real controlling power with which they directly deal. The sponsor greets and receives them on their arrival, chats to them during the play, entertains them with meals and theater, and occasionally gives commands to the working people.[4]

A special performer-sponsor tension arose in this performance due to the fact that Pak Trima himself was also a *dhalang* and he also invited a couple of his *dhalang* colleagues to attend the play as his respected guests sitting behind the screen. In the beginning of the play, he was quite unsure of the ability of the *dhalang*, who was junior to him, to perform until morning and prepared himself to continue the play if the *dhalang* proved incapable of finishing it.[5] After he realized that the performance was likely to run properly until dawn and probably knowing that his continuous and overt presence might hinder the concentration of the performer, he stayed after midnight in his bedroom behind the guests' seats to hide behind a more impenetrable "screen," sometimes leaving the few remaining guests watching the play.

PUBLIC WAYANG PERFORMANCES IN A VARIETY OF SETTINGS

In the two cases discussed above, a *wayang* play is to mark the division of outer and inner parts of a house. A *wayang* performance in itself constructs a particular spatial structure which embodies dualities resulting from the erection of a screen, so that it may be performed virtually anywhere. *Wayang* is performed with greater flexibility as in the Kraton, a large residence with numerous halls and buildings. It can be performed virtually at every hall in the palace except those in the secluded women's quarter.[6] In a village annual celebration, *wayang* is presented according to very local custom, which might prescribe as the performance location the village headman's house or house yard, a sacred burial ground, a blessed well, under a big tree or some other locally designated holy sites.[7]

The spatial arrangement of a *wayang* performance mainly depends on the conjunction between the place to perform and the authority of the sponsor. If the sponsorial authority goes beyond family circle or it is depersonalized in the name of institutions—whether community, commercial, governmental or other institutional form—then the presence of a person acting as a sponsor who authorizes the play and guests' admission is deemed less necessary. In this format, the spectators are less segregated between the common

crowd and the respected invitées (who in some ways are required to have a personal attachment to the sponsoring person or family).

Often *a wayang* became a one-sided performance when it is detached from the house setting and when the audience is less segregated. In many *wayangs* performed in the public realm, the screen might stand in the middle of a yard, against an entrance, or at the rear end of an auditorium with all the seats were on the *dhalang*'s side. In a public setting, there is no rear part to be claimed by the sponsor functionally to serve guests or symbolically as a repository of power. In some public performances I have watched, no chair was arranged in this dim side. Only a handful of bystanders occasionally peeked from this side, watching the play of shadow near the screen, and many more people saw this side from a distance.

A deeper concern to observe the *dhalang's* action may also lead to similar spatial arrangements which emphasizes the puppet's side of the play. Laurie Sears (1996), an historian of Southeast Asia, observes a special contemporary *wayang* which was commissioned monthly by a famous *dhalang* held in his house. In this case, the *dhalang* acted as a sponsor who assigned other *dhalangs* to provide a forum for exchanging puppeteering knowledge. In this performance the shadowy side was omitted by placing the screen against a wall, and spectators, many of whom are also *dhalangs* or puppeteer apprentices, including the sponsor keenly observed the *dhalang*'s skills from the behind the puppeteer.

PAIRING SPACES AND GENDERS IN COURTLY PERFORMANCES

In Dalem Wiragunan, I attended a performance in 1983 celebrating the anniversary of the Siswa Among Beksa Foundation. The occasion featured two performances, a choreographed female group dance and a dance drama, *bedhaya* and *wayang wong*. Belonging to the genre of *bedhaya*, the female dance was performed by nine dancers. The *bedhaya* presented that night, which lasted about thirty minutes, was named Bedhaya Suryatmaja Krama, the Marriage of Suryatmaja, recalling the story enacted in the choreography. The dance drama was entitled Suciptahening Mintaraga, depicting the story of Arjuna, a major hero of Mahabharata epic, when he performed asceticism on Mount Indrakila disguising himself as a hermit under the name of Suciptahening Mintaraga to obtain a divine weapon.

As on this occasion, *bedhaya* or sometimes its "younger sibling" *srimpi* which was performed by four identical women, was usually paired with *wayang wong*.[8] Presenting *bedhaya* and *wayang wong*, the performance that night revealed a contrast between a female dance and a male dance drama, a polarity which also affected the spatiality of the performance. Dressed in a room near the *pringgitan* of Dalem Wiragunan, the dancers of Bedhaya Bontit appeared from the rear side and then climbed the *pendhapa*

stage to execute the dance. In contrast to the emergence of *bedhaya*, the actors of the *wayang wong* entered the hall from the frontmost part of the main house. They prepare themselves for the presentation in a semi-permanent room enclosed with plywood on the corner of *pagongan*, a long sheltered gallery attached to the front edge of the *pendhapa* where the *gamelan* instruments were stored. The *pendhapa* was consecrated as the temporary center of the house during the performance by concentrating the two halves of the house and the two halves of society.

Yogyakartan *wayang wong* has strong masculine characteristics. Previously, it was an all-male performance intended for the Sultanate troops and male nobility, and it was trained and prepared in the male quarters of the palace. Moreover, prior to their ascension to the throne, heir apparents were *wayang wong* dancers.[8] This suggests that this dance drama served as his alter-ego.[9] Meanwhile, *bedhaya*–its presentation, litany and the association of the dancers–indicates that it served as the ruler's counterpart, the opposing half of the Sultan's self.

BEDHAYA: A TRIBUTE TO THE HOUSE

Cultivated in noble residences, *bedhaya* is choreographed to suit this setting. It is a moving beauty presented to conform to its domestic setting, the *pendhapa*. "It is a *bedhaya* if presented in a *pendhapa*. If you perform that dance, for

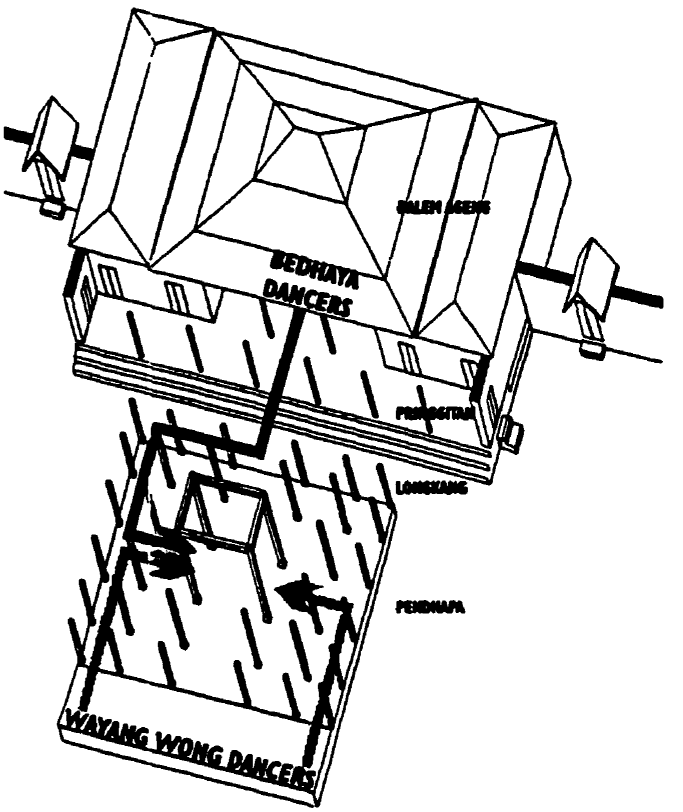


Figure 4.4.
The entrance of *wayang wong* and *bedaya* dancers to the stage.

instance, in a stadium it is not a *bedhaya* anymore, it just a dance, any dance," said a Javanese courtier.[11] Under court patronage, *bedhaya* flourished in the pillared halls of the Kraton for centuries, developing a profound association between the two "properties" : His Majesty's Entertainment, and His Majesty's audience hall, the very space where his authority prevailed.[12]

The *bedhaya* not only conforms to the *pendhapa* setting, but the unity of the house is also revealed in its dance movements. Remembering the *bedhaya* she performed and watched in the "good-old-days" in Dalem Wiragunan, an erstwhile *bedhaya* dancer who was also a relative of Kangjeng Wiraguna said, "That was really grand; the dancers emerged in *kapang-kapang* gait, from inside the *dalem ageng*. Slowly and impressively they walked across the *pringgitan* and *longkang* among the guests' seats, and then climbed the *pendhapa* to dance on it."[13] She did not remark on the beauty of the *bedhaya* of the past, its longer duration or more frequent performance. In fact, she did not say anything about the on-stage dance itself. The only thing she mentioned was the long stately gait of *kapang-kapang* movement along the axis of the house toward the hall, a grand procession which has been greatly abridged in recent performances.

Walking in this gait as the indispensable introductory part of the dance itself, *bedhaya* dancers were already in dance formation and remained in this arrangement when they started to dance on the stage, likewise in their withdrawal. Enacting the gait to connect both halves of the main house, *bedhaya* integrated the entire *dalem* and transformed it into a theatrical stage. By revealing the totality of his house in the dance movement, Kangjeng Wiraguna asserted himself on that occasion as the patron of the performance and the master of the entire house. This dance was one of the patron's living attributes, stored in the core of his residence, which on this occasion was ostentatiously revealed in front of his respected guests and enchanted commoners. In the Kraton, the dancers emerged from the side where the female nobility and attendants were seated, which is also the side of the female living quarters.

At the 1983 *bedhaya* performance in Dalem Wiragunan, the dancers of Bedhaya Bontit had only a short *kapang-kapang*. They started to walk in this gait only when they climbed the edge of the *pendhapa*. With no dance movement outside the hall, the stage was limited to the elevated ground of *pendhapa*. The patron of this performance was the Siswa Among Beksa Foundation, an impersonal authority which was not the master of the Dalem and whose sphere was only the front half of the noble house where it held the twice-weekly dance course. In the Kraton where the performance took place in Bangsal Kencana, either *bedhaya* or *srimpi* dancers emerged from behind His Majesty's throne where Dalem Prabayeksa, the enormous building serving as the repository of power, was situated.

Bedhaya and *srimpi* were the only two kinds of court performing arts presented in the highest floor level of Bangsal Kencana, the same level as the Sultan's throne. In bridal dresses in front of the ruler, the

dancers manifested themselves as the consorts of the kingl.[14] For the spectators around the hall, there were two royal icons simultaneously appearing on the stage facing each other, the Sultan in his ceremonial dress and the bride-like dancers.

Most of the *bedhayas* enact the dual encounter in themselves. The second half of the dance usually includes a duet between the two leading dancers, the *batak* and *èndhèl*, in various configurations. In a few most sacred *bedhayas* which are only presented before the ruler, there is a part in which the *batak* dances alone instead of duetting with the *èndhèl*.[15] Facing the ruler to the west, the *batak* in Bedhaya Sumreg of Yogyakarta starts to move from south to the north and turns east at the end with a hand position of *ulap-ulap* resembling a person looking at someone in a distance. Perhaps, her solo movement from the south depicts the ghostly Queen of the South Sea looking for her kingly consort, the ruler of Mataram. During the execution of the dance, the *pendhapa* becomes the stage of encounter. The still kingly patron joined his moving and living adornments to share presentation.

Several *bedhayas* were presented in very solemn and sacred occasions like that of the holy Bedhaya Ketawang. However, many others were quite casually carried out. Often on a feast day the Sultan and his guests, including Dutch ladies, danced polonaise following a *bedhaya* presentation in the same place.[16] The pairing of the ruler with his female counterpart revealed in a *bedhaya* performance was easily adapted to a contemporary form with non-indigenous elements. In this Western version, the still icon of the royalty moved gently, hand-in-hand with his overseas counterpart.

SULTAN AS DHALANG: PATRONAGE AND DIRECTIVE AUTHORITIES ON THE STAGE

Its very name, *wayang wong*, the human *wayang*, suggests that this kind of theater is somehow related to the well-known *wayang kulit*. In her comprehensive account *Arts in Indonesia*, Claire Holt (1967), an art historian, indicates some technicalities in presenting *wayang wong* which have their parallels in *wayang kulit*. In defining their ideas of Yogyakarta *wayang wong*, these Javanese and Western scholars are preoccupied with those produced in the 1920s and 30s, an era considered as the "golden age" of *wayang wong*. During these decades, *wayang wong* in Yogyakarta court flourished into an extravagant performance, starting at 6.00 and ending at 23.00 with a repertoire that might last two or three days. With a couple of hundred performers and more than twenty thousands spectators, it was a colossal occasion.[17] In the turmoil of World War II leading to the incorporation of Yogyakarta court into the newly-born Republic of Indonesia, this magnificent theater suddenly disappeared, leaving only stunning images of glorious

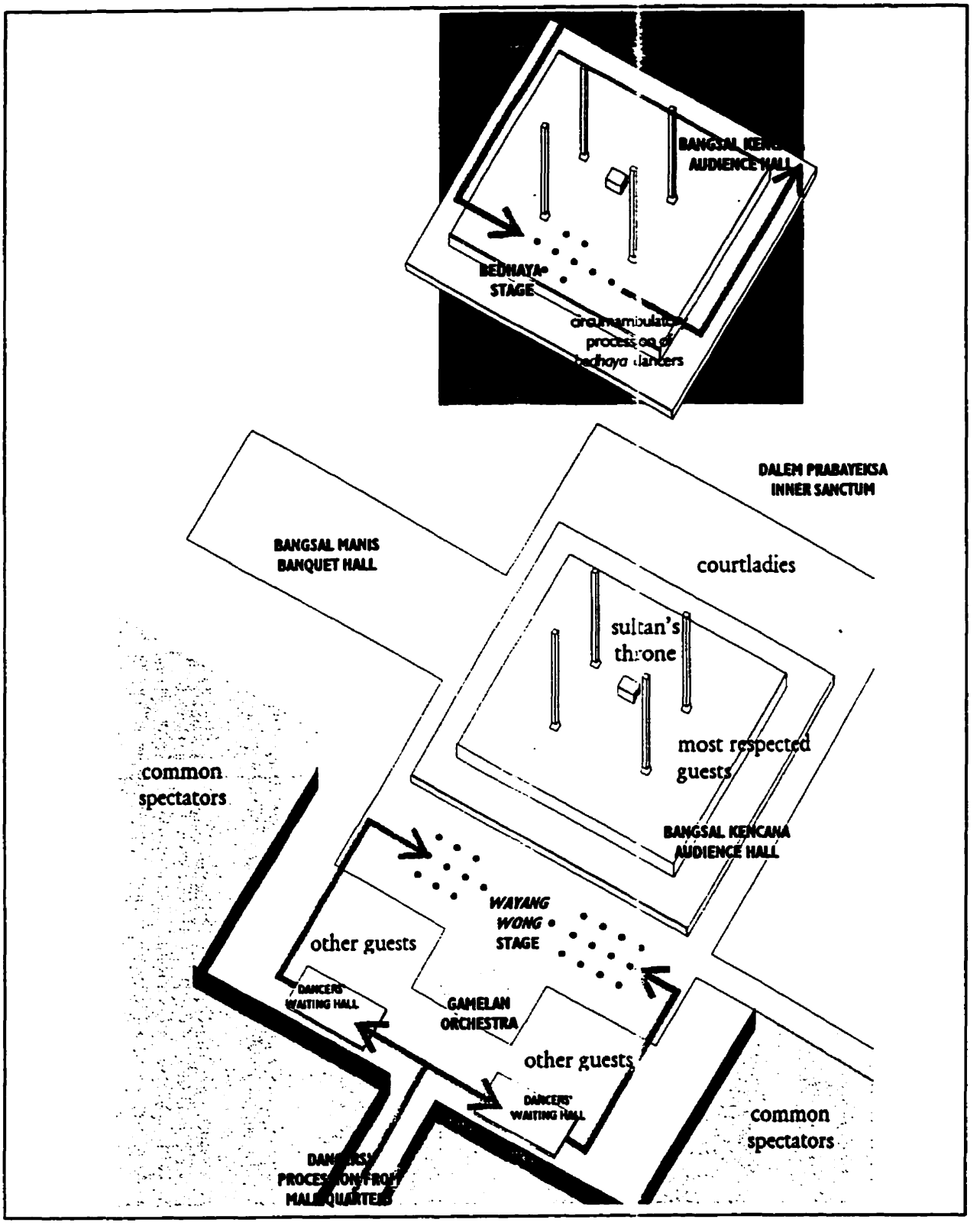


Figure 4.5.
The setting for *bedhaya* and grand *wayang wong* performances in Bangsal Kencana.

performances in the memories of old dancers and courtiers. Such memories demanded revival, so in the 1980s some performances were produced in the spirit of resurrecting the dazzling past.

Comparing the theatrical aspects of contemporary and past performances, Jennifer Lindsay (1992) explored the contemporary performers' understanding of what are now considered classic performances. One performance she observed showed that attempting to invoke the spirit of a 32-hour play into a heavily abridged 3-hour presentation forced the performers and choreographers to radically re-interpret the repertoire and the technicality of the performance.[18] In comparing the spatiality of *wayang wong* and that of *wayang kulit*, Holt (1967, p. 158) equates the shallow stage of *wayang wong* with the screen and banana-trunk stage of *wayang kulit*. Resembling the screen, this stage is axially divided into two halves by an invisible line grouping the dancers into left and right parties, and dividing the audience into those in front and those behind. The grouping of performers and the grouping audience are the results of this *wayang-kulit*-like spatiality.

This section attempts to evaluate further the conformity between the arrangement in a royal *wayang wong* and that of a *wayang kulit*, followed by the section discussing some contemporary performances in the Kraton in which spatiality greatly changes. Looking at the dual division it was obvious that the setting of the play resembled that of *wayang kulit*. However, if we observe further the relationships developed during its course, they were quite unlike those of the *wayang kulit*, being pushed forward from the usual *pringgitan* to the *pendhapa*. In this arrangement the sponsors, instead of sitting behind the screen as the unseen and dissembled authority, were visibly seen from the stage and were directly connected to the play, as indicated by the gestures of the dancers. A tension occurred between the roles of the master of the play, as the patron delegating his or her theatrical wish to the performers, and as a participant the ongoing performance. This tension was even greater in the Kraton where the Sultan once monopolized the courtly play.

Assuming the role as the sponsor, the Sultan ordered the production of a *wayang wong* as the manifestation of his wish. Asserting himself as the sole patron and creator of the performance, the ruler was a *dhalang* who simultaneously was actively engaged in producing the performance and was a sponsor who passively observed and presented entertainment to his guests and subjects.[19]

The spatial setting of the performance showed the ostentatious appearance of their patron. In a *wayang kulit* the sponsor sat behind the screen largely hidden from public sight. Meanwhile, in a grand *wayang wong* the celebrated hall of Bangsal Kencana was occupied by the Sultan with other respected guests watching and supervising the play. Dutch high officials were seated, mingling with Javanese dignitaries on the high floor of Bangsal Kencana and enjoying the day-long performance and elaborate luncheon served to them.

The performance itself took place at the long gallery called Tratag Bangsal Kencana situated in the front edge of the Bangsal. With cast iron columns and a flat and plain ceiling, this Tratag was much humbler than the fully gilded Bangsal itself. The performers waited to play at two small shelters in front of the stage and they entered the stage from both ends. Performing on a lower level floor, the actors were even less visible from a distance than the guests and patrons. As Holt (1967, p. 157) notes, "[the commoners] could catch a glimpse of both the stately assemblage presided over by the Sultan in the hall and the drama unfolding in the tratag. Those in front could also see at close range the gorgeously attired dancers."

These Dutch invitées were more than just associates accompanying the ruler in watching his entertainment or giving courtesy by fulfilling invitation. They were part of the authority to which the performance was dedicated.[20] If a *wayang wong* was regarded as a "state ritual" as suggested by Soedarsono (1984), an art historian and a member of the Yogyakarta court, it obviously was not in the Durkheimian notion of a ritual as a reflective action of a society. It was a ritual celebrating the encounter with others rather than with selves. The main social relation being ceremonialized was that between the courtiers and the Western guests.[21]

There was a group of men on the other side of the stage, sitting face-to-face with the ruler. Together they carried out the performing capacity of the *dhalang*. They were *pemaos kandha*, the melodious narrator of the story; *pemaos pocapan*, the reader of the dialog book who checked the dialog of the dancers (generally absent in recent performances); *pengeprak* who directed and accentuated the music and movements of the dancers by hitting a *keprak* (a slit wooden box); and several males singing in unison, the *wiraswara*, who chanted passages to dramatize the performance.

The appearance of a *dhalang* as a single powerful performer controlling the entirety of the theater was avoided by delegating the tasks and capacity to several men. During the execution of the play, nevertheless, the Sultan still claimed his *dhalang* position in the spatial configuration on the stage itself. In a *wayang kulit* performance, the puppets were placed with respect to the *dhalang*'s position. The king in an audience or the victorious hero in a battle were placed on the right side of the *dhalang* facing lesser figures or a losing opponent on the other side. Meanwhile, the space in a *wayang wong* performance was arranged with reference to the position of the Sultan rather than to the group carrying out the *dhalang*'s tasks.[22] The superior party stood on the right side of the ruler, acting as the patron-cum-director of the theater, positioned as if he gripped the hero with his right hand. He claimed that he remained in the directive capacity throughout the presentation.[23] The extremely long duration of *wayang wong* production and its daytime presentation both expanded and reversed the time for a regular *wayang kulit* performance which

the *wayang wong* allegedly imitated. The breaking up the authoritative *dhalang* figure, the spatial assertion of the Sultan's directive capacity and the alteration of *wayang kulit* time and duration altogether indicated the ruler's wish to create a theater greater than the well-known *wayang kulit*, as if the Sultan would have stated to the mighty performer, "O *dhalang*, I surpass thee (and thy theater)."

CHANGING PATRONAGE AND SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT

Contemporary performances held in the Kraton reveal a great change in the patronage system from its golden age. No longer the sole owner of the *wayang wong* and the head of a political entity, the Sultan did not occupy a central position in an ongoing performance. Instead of being a patron-centered theater, the contemporary *wayang wong* was a performance-centered theater. The spatiality of the court performances was consequently redefined to suit this change of orientation. A comparison of the social relations between the patron, performers and audience, and the spatial arrangements of some Kraton performances in the 1980s and 1990s with those of the 1930s will show the different attitudes in conceiving the formation of a domestic theatrical space.

There was quite a large performance in the Kraton of Yogyakarta in June 1993, featuring the female dance Srimpi Renggawati followed by a *wayang wong* entitled Rama Jumeneng Nata, the Coronation of Rama. It celebrated the fourth coronation anniversary of Hamengkubuwana X. This occasion should be read as the commemoration of the "enthronement" of the head of a cultural institution since the Kraton of Yogyakarta now was only a cultural institution, rather than a political entity.

The performance took place in Tratag Pagelaran, the largest unwalled structure in the Kraton. Standing in the front part of the palace, this pillared hall directly faced the Alun-alun plaza where the uninvited commoners stood outside the fence in front of the hall to watch the performance. Before 1940, performances were held at the innermost courtyard where the people were pulled inside to witness the grandeur of their ruler's exclusive entertainment. Now, it was the performance which had to move to the edge of the palace to attract people. With its huge size, Tratag Pagelaran contained the whole theater including the stage, musicians and most of the audience. A temporary wooden platform about one meter high was erected in the middle part of this building. The stage in this hall was a drop-in element situated against the Corinthian-like main pillars. *Gamelan* instruments were arranged behind the front stage, an elongated rectangular portion of this platform with a proportion resembling that of Tratag Bangsal Kencana, which was reserved for the performance.

Even though the *wayang wong* was still presented in an elongated space, it was no longer enjoyed from two sides, the privileged patrons' side behind and that of the commoners in front. The whole

audience watched from the "front" side leaving the space behind the *gamelan* a dark and unwatched side. Merging with other audience members the Sultan and his immediate family were also seated right in front of the stage. In the Bangsal Kencana setting the patrons sat on the higher stage than the *wayang wong*; in Dalem Wiragunan they sat on the *pringgitan*, the other stage equal in height with the *pendhapa* where the performance was carried out. In this setting, however, it was the performance alone which was on stage, with the audience sitting or standing on the ground.

Observing contemporary *wayang wong*, Lindsay (1992) remarks that there is no longer double performances on stage featuring the *wayang* and the splendid dignitaries and the two audience groups sitting on each side of the performance. Moreover, she suggests that all audience members watched from the Sultan's side. She is correct if the "Sultan's side" means that on the opposing side of the *gamelan* to which the left and right parts of the stage referred. But her suggestion does not fit if the theatrical space is associated with the totality of the domestic space in which it is located. In this sense, the entire audience space was in the outer side of the house. In this case, it was Hamengkubuwana X who came out to observe from the front edge of his house, rather than the common spectators who joined him inside. He did not act as the master of the house, emerging from his inner sanctum to unfold a spectacle before him to impress his

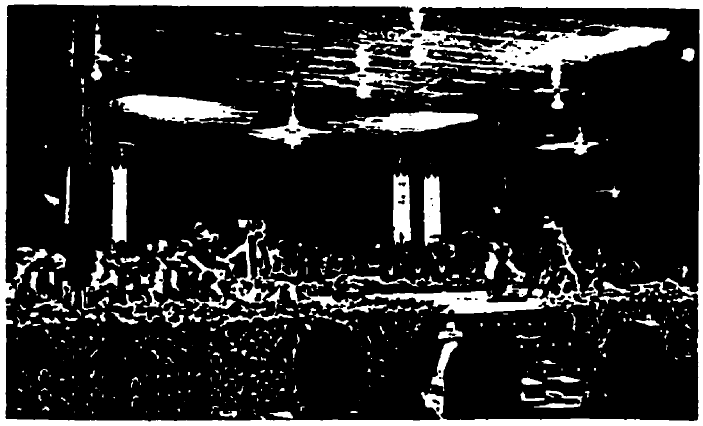


Figure 4.6.
Wayang wong performance in Pagelaran hall in the Kraton in 1993
(The Sultan, his consort and one of his daughters are seen in the foreground).

Figure 4.7.
Pagelaran hall where contemporary performances take place.

associates and those outside. This setting was only conceivable if he detached himself from the Sultan icon. The rear space signified the inner house serving as the repository of power which in a theatrical occasion was presented by its master as a performance.

In most halls in the Kraton where the Sultan might preside over a ceremonial gathering, the presence of the Sultanate authority in an assembly was physically marked with marble slabs, called *sela gilang*, meaning glittering stone, situated at the rear half of the hall as the seat of the ruler or the place for his throne.[24] During this performance, however, the *sela gilang* of Pagelaran was left empty in the dark rear-left corner of this hall losing its ability to orient the spatial arrangement.

THE THEATRICALITY OF THE DOMESTIC SPACE

The domestic site where a performance occurs is a place already embodying a particular order which spatiality is shaping and being shaped by the ongoing performance. On the one hand, by accommodating a performance, a house is transformed into a theatrical setting providing the spatial necessities for such a function. On the other hand, the performance also has to fit the spatiality of the house. In this mutual spatial conformity, the domestic theatrical setting is re-arranged.

In the third chapter we explore the appropriation of a dwelling space for ritual and celebratory purposes in a wedding. As a domestic ritual celebration, a marriage ceremony can be seen as a form of theater performed by its inhabitants with a rite of passage as its repertoire. A wedding is constructed as an initiation and "domestication" ritual for the groom to incorporate himself as an outsider into the bride's domestic party. Spatially, this scenario manifests itself in the axis tying the two main portions of the house which becomes a ritual site for the groom's inward procession to encounter the bride before they are unified in front of the inner sanctum.

The production of a performance lies in the conjunction of the sponsor's intention, performers' skills and audience's attention. Unlike the inwardly directed course of a wedding, a domestic performance is directed to the outside. As in a wedding, however, such a "spatial scenario" is fully conceivable and applicable when the sponsor or patron assumes a personal authority over the domestic space.

A domestic performance displays the sponsors' capability to comission a theater for public. Representing (or associated with) the house where the performance takes place, the sponsor is a person whose "theatrical wish" is delivered in the ongoing play and to whom the spiritual and social benefits of the play are directed.

Invitées and bystanders are the audience attending a performance in different capacities and interests. Respected people are invited as associates of the sponsor, to enhance the status and even to confer the validity of the occasion and its sponsor. Village notables in Pak Trima's *wayang*, and Dutch officials and dignitaries in Sultan Hamengkubuwana VIII's *wayang wong* are personages with whom these sponsors intend to affiliate themselves. Watching from the outer side of the stage, the uninvited audience is attached to the performers, lending excitement and enchantment to the play. Their presence in great number proves the popularity of the performance, and their staying verifies the attractiveness of the play.

Performers are people with their own standings and reputations in society. However, during the play at least, they are under the patronage of the master of the house. The performances discussed above show a wide range of patrons' control over the play. With his tremendous capabilities, a *dhalang* is a man with paternal authority who exercises great control over his troupe, theater, the corpus of myths, and even the environment. Nothing but a few sentences barely outlining the story are transmitted from the sponsor to give an order to the *dhalang*. In contrast, court performers are those whose slightest bodily movement or shortest utterance are under the order of their royal patron.

The tense relation between the sponsor and his associates on the one side, and the performers and their larger audience on the other side, produces the bi-directionality of the performance. The spectacle stands in the middle of the two groups of audience to be enjoyed from both sides. Acting as the master of the house to whom the inner domain belongs, and the patron of the play who commission public entertainment, the sponsor sits in front of the inner portion the house facing the stage in front of him or her.

This dual orientation of the stage generally conforms with the dual division of the house. The stage arrangement may conform to the spatial division by strengthening the articulation of the divider as in a *wayang* performance with the screen placed next to critical line between the rear and front parts of the house. Embodying a two-sided performance, the stage by itself may also autonomously stand as a living line dividing a continuous space into house-like dual spaces.

Through the erection of a screen, *wayang* has a special setting because the two domains are clearly demarcated: the domain of the performers where the *dhalang* autonomously manages his troupe and performs the play, and that of the sponsor where he or she exercises his or her controlling capacity over the house and its associated people. Separated as such, one does not interfere with the other's authority.

Kraton performances, by contrast, show otherwise. In this setting, the royal patron was greatly involved in the performance, so that he was at the same time an authoritative patron supposedly dissociated from the stage, but also one of the performers ostensibly engaged in the play. He might share

the stage with the performers as in court *bedhaya*, or even fully occupy the "stage" while the performers were less visible as in some grand *wayang wong* productions.

The observed performances show a tendency to transform their bi-directionality to uni-directionality when patrons depersonalize themselves, such that they are no longer the representative of the house, thereby lessening their association with the performance and the domestic setting. In this configuration, the patrons, invited guests and general spectators including interested bystanders, then, fall into a single category: the audience on the outside watching the performance inside.

A theater performance commissioned in the house is a statement of domestic authority in its ability to dispense resources in order to attract an audience. Lying between patrons and audience, the performance itself is in an ambiguous position. It belongs to the supporting domestic group sitting inside who invite people, but it also belongs to those outside attracted by the dispensed resources. In the last three chapters, the discussion of many forms of domesticity reveals the ambiguous but profound interplay of outside and inside which shapes domestic space and constructs the meanings embodied within it.

NOTES:

[1] In a ritualistic theater, such as a shadow-play, even ancestral spirits are often incorporated into the audience to whom the play is dedicated (Becker, 1995). On a sacred hilly site in East Java, a shadow play is performed at virtually everynight with almost no human audience. Sponsored by fortune seekers, the play is dedicated to the ancestral spirits believed to reside at this site.

[2] Nor did Ratu Anom have a *wayang* performance. During her residency in this Dalem, there had been two *wayang* performances, but they were sponsored by other people.

[3] For different reasons, there had never a *wayang* play in the Amads' house either. Apparently, the strict Muslim community in Karangkajen was less interested in a performance with Hindu and animistic attributes. They did not totally reject *wayang* since many of them were lovers of broadcasted *wayang*, but to sponsor a *wayang* performance demanded much more devotion to this art than just a casual hobby of listening. Some older inhabitants of this house recalled the performances of simplified *wayang* without the accompanying musical orchestration, sometimes reduced to an oral performance with no puppet at all.

[4] I follow Keeler (1987) in considering a *wayang kulit* sponsor as a dissembled authority concealed from public views, while dhalang is the real executor of the authority. However, I argue that for the invited guests the sponsoring family is more real than the dhalang sitting behind the screen.

[5] It is common for a rookie *dhalang* to perform only the first third of the play, then, a senior *dhalang*, usually his father, finishing it. This practice is called *mucuki*, literally meaning to perform only the tip (not the trunk).

[6] In the Kraton, an annual *wayang* performance called *bedhol songsong* marking the end of a Garebeg celebration may take place at Kemagangan hall just next to the Kedhaton courtyard, or at Pagelaran, the huge shelter at the frontmost part of the Kraton. A shorter version of *wayang* is performed monthly during the day for tourists at Bangsal Kasatriyan, in the formerly male quarter of the palace. At Sasana Hinggil, a public meeting hall built on the rear end of the Kraton, a local radio station and local newspaper arrange a semi-commercial *wayang* performance the second Saturday of every month. A handbook for a Yogyakarta-court-style puppeteer course prescribes that, in the Kraton, *wayang* is played either at Tratag Prabayeksa, a gallery before the innermost building, or Kemagangan, a hall before the innermost courtyard (Mudjanattistomo et al., 1977, p. 258). *Babad Kraton Ngayogyakarta* recounted on the occasion of Hamengkubuwana IV's wedding in 1816 that various types of *wayang* were played simultaneously at

Gedhong Jené, the Sultans private pavilion; the waiting hall of Srimanganti; and some places in Northern Alun-alun, the front square of the Kraton.

[7] For some varieties of local tradition in presenting *wayang* see Pemberton (1994) particularly Chapter 6.

[8] *Babad Bedhah Ngayogyakarta* recounts a *wayang* performance in 1812 preceded by several *bedhaya* and *srimpi* presentations (Carey, 1993, p. 74). It is unclear what kind of *wayang* was performed at that time, but the enacted story, Klana Giwangkara, was obviously neither from Mahabharata nor Ramayana.

[9] The prince to be Hamengkubuwana II was a dancer (Ricklefs, 1974, p.116). Likewise, the prince to be Hamengkubuwana X participated in the production of wayang wong in 1981.

[10] For further analysis on the origin and modern transformations of the gender associations of wayang wong and court performance in general, see Hughes-Freeland (1995).

[11] Personal communication with Kangjeng Yasadipura (January, 1989).

[12] Some court *bedhayas* were even specially choreographed with an intention to be presented only in Bangsal Kencana. This notion is reflected in the scoring of this dance in Javanese manuscripts. The directions for dancers used cardinal directions, such as "face west" or "turn south" (rather than the more neutral notation like "move to the left" or "turn right"), referring to their position in Bangsal Kencana, supposedly the only hall in the court facing east.

[13] Personal communication with Raden Ayu Candraradana (July, 1993).

[14] Before the introduction of the short sleeveless velvet jacket and feathered headdress by Hamengkubuwana VIII, the costumes of *bedhaya* and *srimpi* dancers were similar to bridal costumes (Kawendrasusanta, 1981) except that their lower garments were simplified. For a detailed description on bridal costume, see Poeroebojo (1939, pp. 309-10). Recently, there was a sign of revival of the old costumes in some newly created *bedhayas* as in Bedhaya Arjunawiwaha (choreographed by Siswa Among Beksa Foundation and presented in 1989) and Bedhaya Sang Amurwabumi (commissioned by Hamengkubuwana X and presented in 1991).

[15] See the scoring of Bedhaya Ketawang and Bedhaya Sumreg, and Groneman's picture of the allegedly Bedhaya Semang (Brakel-Papenhuijzen, 1992).

[16] For instance, the polonaise dance followed a *bedhaya* in the royal wedding in 1939, when the Sultan danced with the Governor's spouse (Poeroebojo, 1939).

[17] These baroque cortly performances, however, celebrated what were not there, things that Javanese aristocracy no longer possessed such as the martial demonstration where courtiers lay down their arms for a long time, while they relied on colonial patronage; praise for the victorious wandering hero, while the ruler could not even have an outing without Dutch authority's permit (Day, 1983); and the display of extravagance while the Sultan himself asked financial assistance from commercial moneylenders to support his performances (Soedarsono, 1984). Willem Remmelink (1994) suggests that court arts in Java serve to recover the lost world.

[18] There have been many short *wayang wong* performances in several *dalems* between the grand 1930s performances and the 1981 one Lindsay observed, developing the contemporary formula of how this lengthy play had to be presented in a limited time. However, she does not consider these performances as the chain leading to the recent conception of the classical *wayang wong*, leading her to incorrectly see the 1981 performance as a direct reinterpretation of a 1939 repertoire.

[19] In preparing a performance, the Sultan ordered the composition of the Book of Narration or *Serat Kandha*, and the Book of Dialogue or *Serat Pocapan*, governing every iota of utterance. By supervising the composition of these books the ruler was already in a great directive capacity of a *dhalang* before the performance. Moreover, he also supervised the weekly rehearsals which might be as long as a year before the presentation. On the tight supervising process, see Soedarsono (1984).

[20] Some performances were dedicated to Dutch royalty, such as the play of Mintaraga on January 1937 which was presented to honor the wedding of Princess Juliana of the Netherlands and Prince Bernhard (Soedarsono, 1984), even though Dutch royalty never visited their overseas territory.

[21] *Babad Ngayogyakarta* (cited in Lindsay, 1992) recounts when Hamengkubuwana III performed a *wayang wong* upon the request or order of the Resident.

[22] See Soedarsono's (1979) commentary on this arrangement as cited in Lindsay (1992).

[23] While the Sultan spatially asserted his directorship, the performance itself was delivered as if it were an autonomous production. The Sultan came to attend the performance about two hours after it started, letting the performers commence in his absence. During the play, the *pemaos kandha* recited some short passages giving *sasmitas*, riddle-like signs, hints or clues, to solve by the musicians on what musical piece they should play, as if there was great extemporaneousness during the play like in *wayang kulit*.

[24] The name *sela gilang* probably refers to the legendary *sela gilang* in Lipura where Panembahan Senapati, the founder of Mataram dynasty, was reputedly received a divine boon "appointing" him to rule over Java. These stones apparently were replicas of the seat of dynastic authority manifesting the supernaturally legitimized kingship.

CHAPTER V

MEANINGS IN THE FORMATION OF THE OMAH A CONCLUSION

Meanings are intersubjective as they are individually developed but they are shared and objectified in society. To interpret comprehensively meanings which are interrelated in elaborate and complex networks of social relations, Geertz (1980) suggests taking the two-way hermeneutic trajectory which involves "a description of particular symbolic forms . . . as defined expressions; and contextualization of such forms within the whole structure of meanings of which they are a part and in terms of which they get their definition" (p. 103). Thus, a system of meaning provides a comprehensive cultural setting for the described phenomena. The three previous chapters have explored the spatiality of the domestic setting as reflected in how it functions in daily activities, ritual celebrations, and performances. The aim of this concluding chapter is the construction of a system of meanings within which the described spatiality can be understood.

This chapter first discusses the construction of the system of meanings as reflected in the observed *omahs* by conceiving the formation of the *omah* entity. Some essential properties of the house are identified. However, by extending the significance of these constituent elements we may comprehend that their essentiality lies in the formation of these elements rather than in their forms. Generally, the product of this formation is a house which is divided into an inwardly-oriented rear part, which embodies the accumulation of inner potency, and an outwardly-oriented front part, which manifests the accumulated potency in sensible expressions. The complex interrelationships between these elements, especially their roles in shaping social relations, is discussed in the second section of the chapter. Formality and social distance mainly characterize outward relations which are carried out in the front house, while informality and intimacy prevail in the inward relations in the rear house. The last section further elucidates how potency is accumulated and displayed in spatial arrangements of, and habitual actions in, the house.

THE HOUSE ENTITY AND THE SYSTEM OF MEANINGS

If an entity is defined by identifying its essentials, then this excerpt from a Javanese novel below clearly illustrates the very basic spatial requirements of an *omah*.

> Because I'm a government employee in the "small-fry" class, I get a small wage, not nearly enough to rent a big house. So, like it or not, I've had to rent a "hut" in this narrow alley. It's a little place divided into two rooms: a sitting room . . . and a bedroom!
>
> Now, no doubt you're wondering, what's unusual about that? Where's the problem?
>
> Well, I tell you. In the bedroom there is only one bed, and the only people who've got the right to sleep on it are my wife, my three year old daughter, and ... my mother-in-law! I've got nowhere to sleep but on the sofa in the sitting room. D'you see what I'm getting at? that's the problem that's been bedevilling me.[1]

Having very limited resources at his disposal, the narrator of the novel provides nothing to construct the *omah* beyond a sitting room (*kamar duduk*, a term for a guest reception room; it is alo known as *kamar tamu*, guest room) and a bedroom (*kamar tidur* or *petiron* which literally means sleeping room). Assuming this pair of rooms as typical, he says that nothing is unusual about the division of the *omah* into sitting and sleeping, nor does this division depend upon the size of the house.

Sleeping and sitting are two positions of the body in using space which are deeply involved in defining a domestic setting, as deeeply involved as is walking in defining a pedestrian path. These activities are the primary designations of the two "essential" rooms of this humble dwelling. However, "sitting" and "sleeping" are more than mere utilitarian labels for the rooms. As these bodily positions are involved in many aspects of life, they receive multifarious cultural significances. Underlying the naming of the rooms are the networks of meanings which encompass diverse phenomena.

Many other expressions of domesticity are developed in a comparably dualistic way. Though more elaborate and on a grander scale than this hutlike house, the majestic Kraton residence is also divided into two clusters: Dhatulaya, the sleeping quarters of the sovereign, and Siti Hinggil, the high ground where he is publicly seated. The figural icons of domesticity in a noble *senthong*, after all, are two sitting dolls placed before a bed.

Sitting denotes a bodily position with the trunk upright and facing frontward; it is the position assumed in interacting with others. In the sitting area, as a domain of formal interaction, the conceived ideal order of the society is revealed and reproduced. Status inequality, male public supremacy, and cultural refinement are among the aspects enhanced in this place. To sit is to settle in a temporary fixedness, in a relative position within the constellational world. The question "Where do you sit? *Lenggahipun wonten pundi,*" means asking where one lives; but in a broader sense this question also connotes the state and office one is allotted. Seats may be arranged for a particular occasion to reveal the relative status of the sitters. Like the status attached to the official position itself, sitting is temporary, relative and conditional. Even the Sultan's throne is not permanently placed in a certain assembly hall. Instead, it is carried along with his procession, brought from his "sleeping quarters" to dramatize this action of emerging to sit.

Sleeping--or, its spatial form, bedroom--presupposes a recumbent position of the body, suggesting a more fixed and settled state. Decorated beds and piles of pillows are icons for permanently settling down. Bearing the meanings of domesticity, they are placed at the very center of the house. Lying down is a position connoting the central quest of domestic life, the process of generation and regeneration. It is the position assumed when a couple have sexual intercourse to reproduce life. This position also means death or the final state of life. *Pasaréyan*, an honorific term for sleeping chamber, also means burial ground. The question "Where is he laid down?" means where is someone buried or where does someone ultimately reside, in contrast to "Where does he sit?" which implies temporality. A sleeping chamber, therefore, is a place where life originates and also where it is perpetuated and concluded.[2]

The spatial division in the excerpted passage above also correlates with domestic gender construction. The man may rightfully sit in the sitting room as the representative of the family in dealing with others. However, he poorly sleeps there during the night. His wife and even his mother-in-law may be marginalized in formal social relations, but they enjoy the privilege of occupying the secluded portion of the house especially to rest during the night. We also find a corresponding logic in the Kraton, where the king appears in all pomp in the audience halls, but he does not even have a permanent bed in his dwelling. Meanwhile, the largest residential complex in "the royal sleeping quarters" is alloted to the queen mother, and many other complexes are alloted to the wives. In this respect, rather than women belonging to the inside, it is the inside which belongs to women.

Sleeping and sitting are significant for imbuing the house with meanings because they correspond with the two principle ideas of domesticity--respectively, settling down among ourselves in a secured domain and engaging in social relations with others (see chapter II). Around these habitual activities, as indicated above, the dwellers developed extensive networks of meanings which involve, among others, social relations, spatial arrangements, functional allocations, figural representations, and gender associations. In these networks, meanings, as produced and embodied in practice, are homologously and analogously interrelated with other constructions of experienceable phenomena. These complex interrelations, however, do not necessarily presuppose a deep rule or structure as the signified which extensively governs various cultural expressions. Instead, they are developed and manipulated in the fluidity of action which relates one phenomenon to another, and in the passage of time which incorporates objectified experiences and perceptions into the society's cultural scheme.[3]

THE INTERPLAY OF DUALITIES

The dual division of the house is profound and prevalent so that all the observed houses, as well as many of their elements, may be seen in terms of this division. However, the nature of this division, or conversely the relation between these two halves, is complex and elusive as it involves many variables and constructions. Some key principles of these relations have been discussed in the concluding section of chapter II, particularly those pertaining to the orientation and physical expressions of these spaces, and the routine domestic activities carried out within them. In chapter III and IV we explored how this dual division works in shaping the setting for special occasions, namely weddings and performances, when the house and its inhabitants confront a larger public. In a wedding, the duality of domestic space primarily manifests itself in terms of "male" and "female" domains, while in a performance it is expressed in the elongated stage which demarcates the domains of "self" and "other."

By comparing ways in which such spatial dualities are realized in action, we may infer some patterns of social relations which guide and are guided by the meanings embodied in the dual construction of the house. Taking social relations in their broader sense as constituting meanings which shape the formation of buildings, the architectural theoretician Thomas Markus (1994, pp. 21-22) classifies relations into three levels: reflexively between one and oneself, between self(ves) and other(s) in society, and between self(ves) and the Other which is found in numinous experiences. The second level is most obviously directed outward. The first and the second, in Java at least, are both inwardly oriented. In a monistic sense, this transcendental relation to the numinous is often identified with that between a person and the divine essence dwelling within. In this construct, therefore, the primary division in social relations is between inwardly- and outwardly-oriented relations.

In the Javanese context, these dual "social" relations are closely related to the appropriation of power. Keeler (1987) notes a parallel type of division in the way people polarize the experience of power into two distinguishable attitudes, encounter and asceticism, which "stand as two opposite but linked kinds of action. They are logical extremes in Javanese thinking about experience" (p. 25). Through encounter, Keeler further explains, one invests one's self in social relations in which one positions one's relative status by assessing and negotiating it with others; through asceticism, one accumulates power by withdrawing oneself from personal involvement in the world. Power itself is disposed along inward and outward lines. In proposing a systematic account of the notion of power in Javanese tradition, Benedict Anderson (1990), a specialist in Javanese political culture, suggests that power is more like inner potency

which can effortlessly affect the environment, rather than the ability to exert control over other people. In this tradition, a "powerful" person is considered to concentrate power within himself or herself by extracting it from its cosmic source, and exercises it by outwardly displaying the signs of its possession.

The front portion of an *omah* is an outwardly-oriented domain in which domestic prestige and orderliness are displayed in the form of status differences and formality. In social relations, status is most remarkably expressed in the everpresent use of the multi-register Javanese language.[4] By manipulating the speech level, switching from one to another, the speaker wittingly judges the interlocutor's status and assesses his or her own relative status in order to negotiate the pattern of relation. Like language, spatial settings are manipulated to suggest some particular relations. Standing for distance and deference, the formal and flowery *krama* or High-Javanese is well-expressed in the front house setting, where one emerges to meet others. Meeting others is often associated with males, since man is charged (or charges himself) with being the representative of the house who deals with the outer world. As the exemplary figure of the family, he is obliged to maintain his prestige. He has to refine his language and gestures since the society observes him.

Status in social interactions is judgemental and binary. We gauge another person's status based on the information we accumulate, and treat him or her accordingly. I asked Wiraguna's daughter where her father used to receive his guests. Her immediate response was to ask which guest I meant. The status of his guests was his main concern before determining the proper place to conduct the encounter so as not to jeopardize the status of either party. If the guest was a nobleperson or a Sultan's envoy, then the front door was opened and the master of the house appeared in formal attire; non-noble guests would be received informally in the side gallery. Formality in using the front house and high language also ensures social distance. When the elderly Mbok Sura saw her grandson coming to her house she let him in "unceremoniously" through the side door next to the kitchen, well and bathroom. However, when she realized that I (a stranger) was with her grandson, she immediately opened the front door and windows and switched her language to a more refined level, formalizing the welcoming gesture—even though I had already been in her house.

Power, something socially accorded to status, should not be ostentatiously displayed in front of the larger society. A certain outward humility has to be expressed and power has to dominate the surroundings in a subtle way. A front space bears the task of encoding the social status of the owner. It is usually the neatest and most socially prestigious part of the house, elevating the owner's position relative to the guest, but the frontmost part of this space usually appears humble. Until the first two decades of this century, the "façade" of the Kraton was nothing more than huge bamboo sheds standing behind the city's plaza. To see the magnificence of the Golden Hall, visitors would have had to penetrate several

layers of walls. Even when they had arrived in front of the Hall, they could observe its glory only after they were within this structure (due to its low eaves and high ceiling).[5]

An inner house is an inwardly-oriented precinct where we meet among ourselves in our immediacy. Analyzing the semiotics of space in Javanese novels, George Quinn (1992) remarks on the contrast in the patterns of relations carried out in the front house and those in the rear. He says that, "ceremony becomes intimacy, restraint becomes freedom, dissimulation becomes frankness, distance becomes proximity" (p. 213). As an inwardly-oriented space the inner house is also free from public observation. Without a chance to display status, an impressive appearance and tidy arrangement become less necessary in this domain. The dirt that is unseen in the darkness of Suras' *omah* is comparable to the deteriorating buildings and impoverished environment in the fully enclosed domestic domain of the Kraton, which itself contrasts with the magnificent Bangsal Kencana standing on the other side of the wall.

The inner portion of the house, associated with females, is the place where women routinely do domestic chores. In sacred terms, it is where they perform domestic rituals, especially storing rice and taking care of sacred heirlooms. In both terms the women of the house bear the capacity to conserve the well being of the family and the accumulation of power inside the house.

The innermost spot is also situated right in the middle of the spatial constellation. However, this place is secluded from the surroundings. Even when sacredness is no longer accorded to it, this point is still isolated from other daily activities. The *senthong* is regarded as the holiest spot in the house, but the inhabitants of the house seem undisturbed when it becomes a place to store obsolete objects. In fact, even when it is a sacred cella, it serves to store objects with little or no use in daily purposes. More radically, when the inhabitants become unfamiliar with the spirit temporarily residing in this spot, it does not matter if they let unrelated people—other unfamiliar beings—occupy the room, as happened in the Suras' house.

More inwardly still, inside is the place where one reflexively encounters one's inner self. The gate leading to the inner courtyard in the Kraton, the eastern side of Prabayeksa or the wall beside both jambs of a *senthong* opening, as the points for entering the innermost spot in the house, are the appropriate places to hang the largest and best mirrors of the house. A person is supposed to gaze in these mirrors in introspection before entering the inner domain and becoming a real insider.[6]

The inward concentration of power conforms with the Javanese ascetic attitude which is essentially performed by withdrawing oneself from outward worldly relations. "At the simplest, practitioners of *laku* [ascetic exercise] give up their comfort. More seriously, they give up their satisfaction of their basic needs. Ideally, they give up all intercourse with the world" (Keeler, 1987, p. 45, emphasis added). Contrasting the exposed quality of the place of encounter, the place of *laku* must be enclosed and secluded.[7] One of the

enclosed *senthongs* or a pit dug underneath it, is a proper place to perform such an exercise (Keeler, 1983; Tjahjono, 1989). Even in the Islamic-orthodox family of Mbah Amad, the west *senthong* is still remembered as the place for this traditional yogaistic practice.[8]

CONCENTRATION AND DISPLAY

The inward concentration and outward display of potency correspond with the dual division of the house. These appropriations of potency are embodied in the formation of the domestic spatial setting and practices performed within.

To concentrate and unify presupposes a division which is primarily binary.[9] From the already-divided cosmos, one concentrates opposing pairs in one's self so that one may claim to embody the totality of the divided entity.[10] Javanese tradition sees the ability to concentrate primordial elements composing the universe as a palpable sign of possessing inner potency (Anderson, 1990, p. 28). The central quest of objectifying division and unifying differences lies in the perpetuation of life as epitomized in the process of regeneration and reproduction. As humans are culturally disposed--partly based on shared biological traits--into two opposing genders, this system of differences gain its ultimacy in the unification for procreation.[11] Many other systems of differences, then, are attributed (or homologously related) to this paradigmatic opposition.

As one of the most conceivable entities, an *omah* is a primary site for dividing the universe, only to reclaim its concentrated unity. Functioning as the site for procreation, an *omah* is socially formed in the unification between man and woman. Around this gender pairing other symbolic oppositional pairs--sky-earth, shelter-ground and the like--are associated. A pair of dolls, male and female, which are placed in front of the house-shaped state bed in Dalem Kanoman figurally "summarize" the primary opposition underlying the formation of an *omah* (see Figure 5.1.). A series of paired symbols are placed around this pair of dolls, in the form of water jars and rice containers, fine fabrics and sacred weapons, which altogether extend the male-female opposition to other symbolic opposition systems.

A spatial model manifesting division and unification is the tripartite arrangement of the *senthongs* in an inner *omah*. The most enclosed portion of the house has two identical rooms at both ends, manifesting the tension of the duality. The duality itself might be constructed in different forms, and differently related to other dualities. In the Amads' house these rooms are remembered as the place for storing rice and performing asceticism, activities accumulating tangible and intangible forms of inner potency. A similar logic is applied to the arrangement of beds in the house, with Mbok Sura at the rear-west and her

son at the front-east of the house–the two bedrooms interchangeably assigned to the male and female heads of the families in Dalem Wiragunan–or the female quarters to the west and those of the sons to the east of the central courtyard in the Kraton.[12]

Embodied in spaces and figures, these systems of differences are sustained, enhanced, reproduced and manipulated in practices. A daily ritual in the Kraton demonstrates routine symbolic actions which enacts the differences and unification of both sides of the system as the essence of inner potency accumulated in the domestic inner sanctum. At about lunch-time every day, several court servants parade *eastward* from the domestic quarters to Patéhan, the tea-making house, where *male* servants prepare several kinds of *beverages* for the ruler. The parading servants pick up the beverages and solemnly carry them to the front of Dalem Prabayeksa, the center of the center where the unifying power supposedly resides. Afterward, they proceed *westward* to the main kitchen located behind the domestic quarters a couple hundred meters away from Patéhan, to pick up the *meal* consisting of steamed rice and some side dishes prepared by *female* servants and bring them to the same place (see Figure 5.2.).

In this daily ceremony, the Sultan, whose existence-in-space is represented in the gilded parasol shading the meals and drinks, demonstrates his assumed capacity to concentrate the divided essential elements of the cosmos in order to

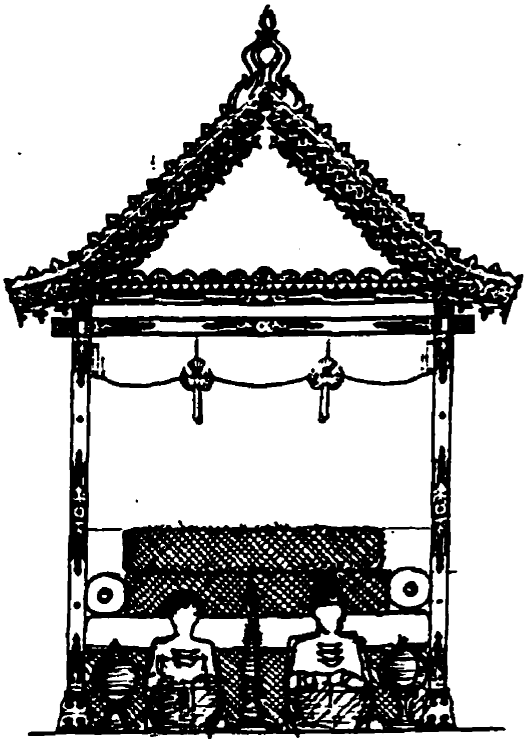


Figure 5.1.
The properties of the central *sen!hong* in Dalem Kanoman

perpetuate Life itself. Male and female servants are assigned different places to conduct their affairs which essentially attain the same end, to provide nourishment. Food is attributed to woman, recalling her life-sustaining capacity and associating food with the goddess of domestic life and rice. Drink, with its socializing capacity, is a man's affair. In a predominantly-male convivial gathering, tea is enjoyed together by the guests, while the meal as the property of the inside is brought home by these guests to give to their wives and families. East and west, male and female directions respectively, stand for both ends of the cycle of life and the solar path.

For Javanese people, gender categorization is apparently not a zero-sum game. Being a true man does not necessarily mean that a man should distance himself from femaleness. Possessing female capacities while maintaining one's male characteristic (or vice versa) is a sign of power. A Javanese image of "superhero" is often more effeminate than macho, as he is endowed with the capacity of *bisa mencala putra mencala putri*, being able to be male and female.[13] Elderly women acquire special positions in the society partly owing to their post-menopausal state, which gives them a male-like capacity (Carey, 1993).

The constant effort to divide an entity and to claim supremacy by concentrating the division makes the center ambiguous. Theoretically, there is no ultimate and unified center since, while showing its unified centrality, the center has to reveal its constituent divisions. This was empitomized by the highly ambiguous inner sanctum of Prabayeksa (see chapter II).

Figure 5.2.
The meal and drink preparation ritual in the Kraton

Spatially, the accumulation of power is attributed to the enclosed inner house, whereas the "audience" of its sensible expression is associated with the open front portion serving as gathering place. The front house is temporarily consecrated as a ritual setting when the man of the house ceremoniously appears there as its representative, bringing with him some principal properties of the inside to outwardly display his ability to concentrate differences. There are numerous variations on this theme. A boy is circumcised within a *krobongan*, a miniature house resembling that in the central *senthong*, which is temporarily constructed in the front yard. A man commissions a performance in the *pendhapa* by presenting the female dance of *bedhaya*, which emerges directly from *dalem ageng*. A father in a convivial gathering in the front house distributes the meals prepared inside by the mother. A nobleperson in his or her outing walks under a state parasol taken from the *senthong*. Likewise, the Sultan appears in the public seat in front of the palace carrying some of the most powerful heirlooms usually stored in the inner sanctum.

A transitional property connecting and dividing the source of power and the realm affected by the power functions as a significant intermediary site where the interplay between the inwardly- and outwardly-oriented domains is enacted. In a wedding ceremony, this spot expresses its significance by becoming the site for the parading bride and groom--respectively, the representative of the inside and outside--to perform a series of exchange and unification rituals. This site is often the best-articulated part of the house. Situated behind the front part, it is quite hidden, so that it does not have a pretentious appearance, but it faces the "public" part of the house so that it may impress a visiting person. In lengthy narration, a *dhalang* describes the gate separating the inner and outer courtyards of a Kraton in front of which the king stands in amazement, deciphering its symbols and appearance. Wealth, fame, prosperity, conjugal relations, security, and other supreme qualities claimed to be accumulated in the domestic domain are manifested in the dense figural symbols on this gate. The *senthong* threshold in the Amads' house, which is intricately carved with a radiating sun, grains of rice, and dripping water, conveys similar messages, as does the critical Danapratapa gate in the Kraton decorated with ornaments of garlands, leaves and surmounted by a globe bearing a royal insignia.

The concentration and emanation of power can be equated with a silent but potent intention demanding verbal expressions for affecting the world. To reveal simultaneously both the potent silence and the manifested speech, the sponsor of a celebratory occasion is usually a speechless figure who fully delegates his intentional words to agents, such as an announcer, a respected person representing the family, and a religious figure. In this relation, a threshold becomes the site to manifest verbally the intention of the inside. In a wedding for instance, the sponsor sits inside the inner house, near the immovably seated *mantèn*, the living icons of unification, while the speakers who deliver their speeches at

the main door connecting the inner and outer house are the agents who channel the intention of those residing inside to greet and subtly command the audience outside (cf. Keeler, 1987, pp. 141 ff.). In a domestically-produced performance, artistic creativity as such is the property of the inner realm, while the socially tangible and sensible expression of the arts belongs to the outside. The shadow play executed under the wish of the authority hidden behind the screen is a sheer enactment of the emanating line which transforms potency into sensible expression. As emanations of their master's aura, the performing arts might even serve as alter-egos. In a celebratory occasion outside the palace which the Sultan customarily did not attend, his presence was delegated to a group of male dancers who paraded under the royal parasol (Soedarsono, 1984).

Literary tradition in Java has a parallel relation between the less accessible inner reference and its sensuously apprehended outer expression.[14] Much Javanese literature is composed in the form of sung verses (*tembang*). This literature is orally circulated in nightly singing/reading gatherings, such as those in the night vigils accompanying birth ceremonial gatherings in the Surat' house.[15] The singing/reading of the literature socially enacts the text into audible expression *without necessarily comprehending its meaning*, which remains in noble inaccessibility "standing as an indecipherable monument to a remote and essentially irrecuperable past" (Florida, 1995: 31). This dual spatial disposition of text and its enactment is quite literally applied in the Kraton. The holiest manuscript from which tremendous power is believed to emanate is stored in the enclosed Prabayeksa to control its effect, with virtually no one being allowed to read it. Meanwhile, the arts section of the palace regularly conducts a singing/reading session in Bangsal Kencana as well as occasionally in Pagelaran hall. It is not the words which are protected and hidden but its arcane and potent source of meanings.

◆ ◆ ◆

As the demarcation of the domains of "self" and "other" is virtually universal, what is particular in the *omah* is the way it contains both of them and the way these domains are interrelated. Inside or the rear part of the house is the domain of "self" and concentration in which the inhabitants cultivate their individual and corporate inner potency, socially in the formation of family and household, ritually in the marriage unification, mystically in the ascetic exercise and the storing of talismanic objects, biologically in the nourishment provision and the storing of rice, and spatially in the containment of the paradigmatic model of the house. Outside or the front part of the house is the domain where the inhabiting self(ves) confront others. Social relations with others generally take place outside the domestic domain. However, some exemplary pieces of these relations–in which the inhabitant may have a chance to display the

potency they have accumulated—are brought home. In commissioning a performance the master of the house shows his or her ability to patronize the arts. In conducting a convivial gathering, the family show its ability to dispense food. In receiving guests, the family shows its ability to refine its behavior and language. To assert its utmost capacity as a complete world in itself, the *omah* contains both sides of these relations.

We have explored the idea of *omah* in, and through, the life of these "old-fashioned" houses, but how is the idea of dual domestic space transformed in contemporary context? In these houses life style and household structure have changed. No agricultural ritual, privately-sponsored performance, or extended family in contemporary houses which require *senthong, pendhapa*, or *gandhok*. Today, these types of houses are hardly built except for some conservation purposes. To fulfill the greater demand, contemporary housing is mass housing many of which are publicly-sponsored low-cost housing which only provide the basic necessities. Observing how these so-called core houses are altered by their owners to suit their demands, in some respects, reflects this earlier idea of domestic space.

The architect Yoyok Subroto (1993) has investigated this issue in about one hundred units of 36-sq.m. core houses in public housing complex in Yogyakarta. He found that the houses had been considerably expanded to an average of 60.65 sq.m.. In most cases, the alteration of the core was started with the expansion of the *ruang tamu* to the front. Many of these *ruang tamu* expansions doubled and some even tripled their original size of the rooms. The second alteration was mainly adding to the number of bedrooms, mostly for the children. Commonly built in the backyards, these additional bedrooms were smaller than the two initial bedrooms each sized 3 m. x 3 m.

Domestic life is more individualized, Subroto's research indicates, especially for children. As a living space, the rear part of the house is no longer a vast *gandhok* as in the Amads' house where four children slept in one large bed. Children are differentiated from their siblings due to their graded schooling system. A grade-four student should not live in the same room as his grade-eight brother since they have different programs to study.[16] The accumulation of potency in the rear house continues today. However, it is not represented in piles of rice or ascetic rigors, but in the meticulous attention to studying, the key to enter the contemporary job market.[17]

Communal gathering is still far from being removed from the house, especially among people of lower strata. Subroto's observations shows that the descendants of *pendhapa* is much needed in the form of a large *ruang tamu*. However, these gatherings show a tendency parallel to the weddings already discussed. They shift from binary relations in which a household directly invites other people to participate, to institutionalized relations in which an organization mediates people's participation in the occasion (see chapter III). Most of the domestic communal gatherings now are conducted based on the membership of

the dwellers in particular organizations–which might be religious, communal, social, or professional–which rotate gathering in the houses of the members.

The idea of a house consisting of two halves is still recognizable and reproducible in contemporary domestic settings. Though significantly transformed, this idea remains as long as people still conceive the house as a setting to concentrate potency and to display it in front of the larger society.

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[1] Tiwiek S.A., "*Maraturwaku* (My Mother-in-Law);" cited in Quinn (1992, p. 234), emphases added.

[2] The use of sleeping as a metaphor of life and death conforms with Islamic tradition which teaches to pray "In Thy name, O Lord, I live and in Thy name I die," before sleeping and when waking up, "Praise to the Lord, who gives me life after death."

[3] Such a scheme for action is comparable to what Bourdieu (1990b) has called a "practical taxonomy." It embodies a binary classificatory logic which allows one "to introduce just enough logic for the needs of practical behavior, neither too much–since a certain vagueness is often indispensable ... nor too little, since life would then be impossible" (p. 73).

[4] Among others, see Clifford Geertz (1960) for the patterns of relations implied in the interplays between levels; James Siegel (1986) for some contemporaray accounts on the roles of Javanese language in urban environment; and Ward Keeler (1987) for the power of speech in defining the self.

[5] Mbah Amad's house shows a remarkable exception in assigning guest-receiving place. Instead of using their quite impressive and formal *pendhapa*, the owners receive their guest in a very casual and familiar place. In the eastern *jogan* facing the messy *gandhok* a visitor is received while the hosts sit cross-legged on a mat. In terms of space and sitting manner, there is no significant difference between receiving a poor woman selling eggs door-to-door, and local notables. Perhaps the Islamic value of treating everyone as equal encourages them to conduct interaction in a less judgemental manner. It is probably more than a mere coincidence that the Amad family who avoid using the front *pendhapa* to receive guests in a formal and status-judgmental manner, are also show a fairly low degree of proficiency by urban standard in using the flowery *krama*.

[6] For the Javanese pleasure of mirror gazing more generally, see Carpenter (1986).

[7] One space-demanding laku is performed by entering an enclosed space, usually the innermost part of the house, and remaining there without eating and sleeping (Keeler, 1987: 47).

[8] Even though no family member mentions this practice, an elderly erstwhile female servant of this family, told me that Mbah Amad the husband used to meditate in the west *senthong*.

[9] As Bourdieu (1990, p. 210) postulates, "a vision of the world is a division of the world, based on a fundamental principle of division which distribute all the things in the world into two complementary classes."

[10] Tjahjono (1989) considers the central principle governing the Javanese architecture to be its resolution of duality. I consider it as concentrating duality, since the tension in this oppositional system is very much maintained or even enhanced.

[11] Gender differences are much downplayed in Javanese tradition, being only fully acknowledged only in terms of reproduction. The Javanese language has the words for father and mother referring to male and female progenitors, but it has no daily terms for brother, sister, son, daughter, even husband and wife. Instead of saying man and woman, they say male person and female person.

[12] Seen as the extensions of royal household, the Sultanate offices and territories are also disposed in terms of left and right (see Schrieke, 1954 and Remmelink, 1994).

[13] In popular *wayang wong*, the figure of Arjuna, the most victorious warrior and lover, is generally played by an actress dressed who shows her bare shoulders. By contrast, Westerners, with their notions of sex and power, could only consider it comical if Superman were played by a woman with big breasts behind the letter "S" costume.

[14] For a fuller discussion of the inaccessibility of the "high and noble" text in Javanese tradition, see Florida (1987) and (1995: 2-49).

[15] Even though this singing/reading activity is diminishing considerably, some reciting groups survive. Arps (1995) provides a contemporary account on this practice.

[16] The provision of individual bedrooms for children is a relatively recent phenomenon. To give an illustration, by the early 1960s, Bu Jarir's parents had two large, expensive and "contemporary" houses both having more than 1,500 sq.m. floor area, however they did not provide private bedrooms for their twelve children.

[17] Some neighborhoods in Yogyakarta even have a study-hour rule in the evening during which families are discouraged to turn on their televisions, in order to provide a proper environment for the children to study.

GLOSSARY

alun-alun : the plaza in front and at the back of the palace
ambèn : sleeping platform
bangsal : open/unwalled hall
batak : one of the two leading dancers in a *bedhaya* choreography
bedhaya : a female dance genre commonly performed by nine dancers
dalem : inner/inside; noble residence
dalem ageng : rear/inner portion of a noble residence
Déwi/Mbok Sri : the goddess of rice and domestic well-being
dhalang : puppeteer
èndhèl : one of the two leading dancers in a *bedhaya* choreography
gadri : back porch
gamelan : the Javanese percussion orchestra
gandhok : side/attached pavilion
garebeg : Javano-Islamic court ritual to commemorate the birth of the Prophet, the end of fasting month and the day of sacrifice
garebeg Dal : eight yearly *garebeg* to commemorate the birth of the Prophet
gedhèg : woven bamboo panel
gedhong : enclosed building
gendhing : musical composition for *gamelan*
ijab : marriage contract
jogan : floor area especially that between a main door and a *senthong*
kaji : returning pilgrimage from Mecca
kamar duduk : sitting room
kamar tamu : guest reception room
kamar tidur : bedroom
kangjeng : sir/lady
kapang-kapang : stately gait for female dancers
kasatriyan : the male quarters of the palace
kedhaton : the central courtyard of the palace
kembar mayang : a pair of decoration pieces in a wedding made of coconut fronds secured on banana stems
keparak : the servants in the royal domestic quarters
kepatihan : the *patih's* residence
keprak : slit wooden box hit to accentuate and direct a *wayang wong*
keputrèn : the female quarters of the palace
klangenan : royal adornment; Sultan's unofficial wife
krama : High-Javanese
kraton : the royal palace
latar : houseyard
longkang : open space in between (usually between *pendhapa* and *dalem ageng*)
loro blonyo : a pair of dolls in front of a *senthong* (literally: anointed pair)
magersari : commoners living in noble residence
majang : decorating the inner house for a wedding
mantèn : bride; groom; bridal couple
mesjid : mosque

ngoko : Low-Javanese
omah : house
panggih : ritual meeting between bride and groom
pasaréyan : bedroom; burial ground
patèhan : tea-making pavilion
patih : grand vizier/chief administrator
pelataran : houseyard; courtyard
pemaos kandha : narrator in a *wayang wong*
pemaos pocapan : reader of the dialogue book in a *wayang wong*
pendhapa : front hall
pengeprak : *keprak* player
peturon : bedroom
pondhokan : lodging for a *klangenan dalem*
pringgitan : place to perform shadow play (*ringgit*); a long gallery in between *pendhapa* and *dalem ageng*
pusaka : talismanic object
radèn ajeng : noble title for unmarried female
radèn ayu : noble title for married female
ratu : queen; female consort; highest title for female aristocracy
réncangan : mutual assistance in a domestic celebration especially among females
resèpsi : reception ceremony
resèpsi berdiri : standing party
réwangan : *réncangan*
ringgit : puppet; shadow play
saka guru : main wooden pillar
séla gilang : marble slab to place the Sultan's throne in an audience hall
sembah : worship; a respectful gesture made by joining both palms in front of the face
senthong : sacred cella at the core of a house
sindhèn : female vocalist
srimpi : female dance genre commonly performed by four dancers
tarub : decorating the front house for a wedding
temu : *panggih*
tlundhag : lower threshold
tumpangsari : beams arrangement which surmounts the four *saka gurus*
wayang : drama; puppet; shadow play
wayang kulit : leather puppet; shadow play using leather puppet
wayang wong : dance drama
wiraswara : male chorus
wiwit : harvest-beginning ritual

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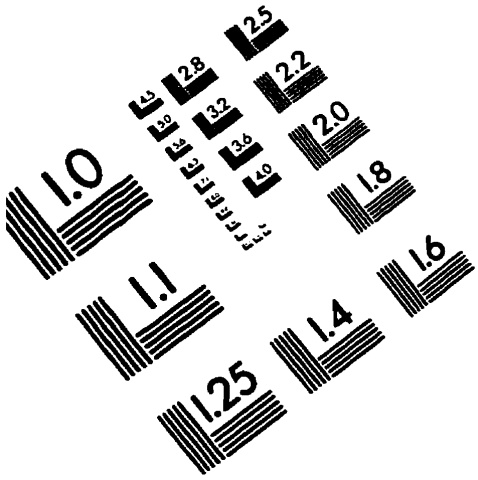
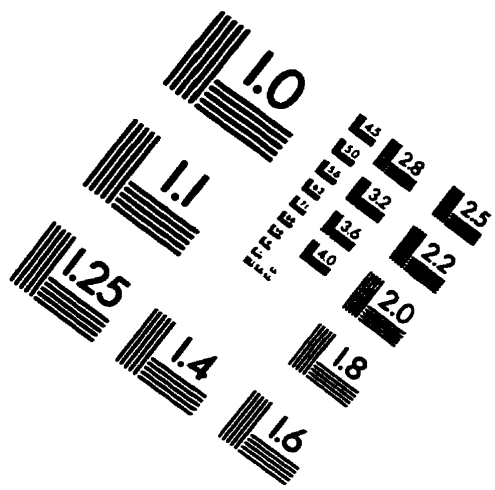
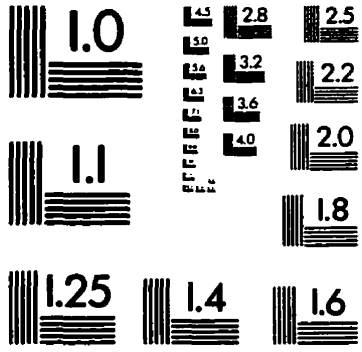
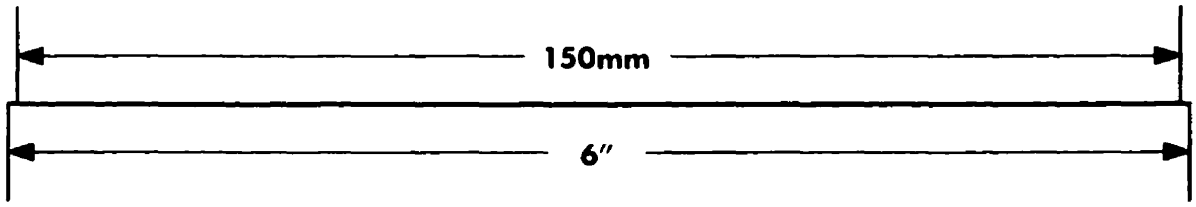
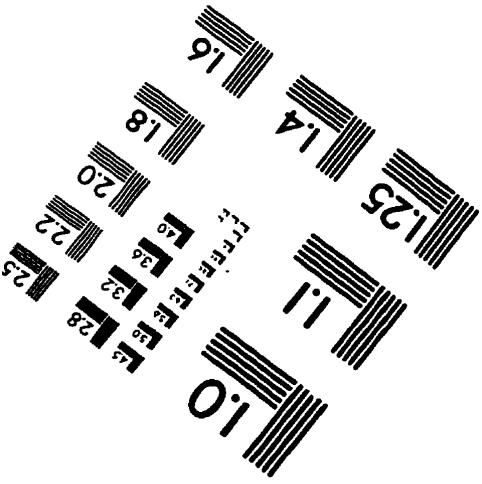
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

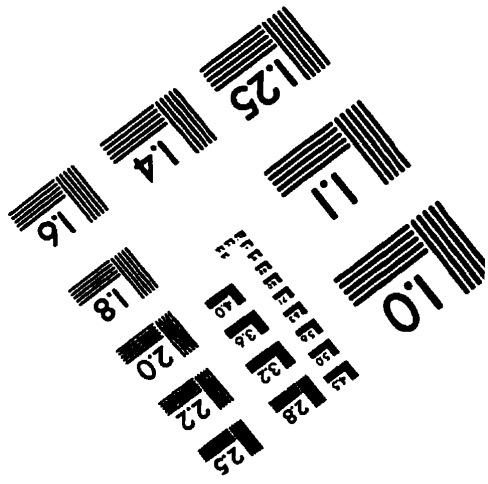












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