THE TRANSFORMATION OF HOUSES IN KAUMAN YOGYAKARTA SETTLEMENT AS A FORM OF CULTURAL STAGES

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Abstrak

Manusia menerima alam dengan segala kondisinya karena memang bukan manusia yang menciptakan alam, namun dengan akalnya manusia mencari pemecahan masalah dari berbagai persoalan hidup sehari-harinya dan berusaha mengendalikan alam agar sesuai dengan keinginannya. Bangunan dalam permukiman Kauman Yogyakarta mengalami pergeseran dan perubahan bentuk, yang menurut teori Peursen terjadi dalam tiga tahap kebudayaan, yaitu tahap mistis (alam pikiran), tahap ontologis dan tahap fungsionil. Selama peradaban manusia berlangsung selalu terjadi ketegangan antara transedensi dan imanensi, dimana setiap keinginan/nafsu manusia selalu tampil dalam sebuah kebudayaan, sebagai hasil budi daya akal manusia terhadap suatu perubahan peradaban atau perubahan jaman.

Kampung Kauman (1775) yang berada di dalam lingkungan Kraton Yogyakarta, merupakan sebuah bentuk permukiman muslim yang berpatokan pada konsep hunian Jawa dan saat ini telah berusia hampir tiga abad. Awalnya merupakan fasilitas hunian yang diberikan oleh Sultan HB I untuk para pengurus (abdi dalem) Mesjid Agung Kraton Yogyakarta. Selama hampir tiga abad, permukiman ini mengalami berbagai peristiwa budaya yang menyebabkan terjadinya perubahan mendasar pada nilai sebuah rumah yang menyangkut berbagai aspek, sebagai akibat dari perubahan nilai-nilai budaya, gaya hidup, sikap, perilaku manusia, nilai sosial, nilai kekeluargaan, lingkungan, dll. Walaupun jaman berubah, permukiman ini secara garis besar tetap dapat mempertahankan keasliannya yang terlihat dari objek-objek visualnya. Saat ini beberapa bangunan dalam permukiman telah mengalami pergeseran bentuk, yaitu berupa bangunan yang lebih modern yang berpadu dengan bangunan-bangunan asli/kuno yang tetap dipertahankan, sehingga Kauman Yogyakarta tampil sebagai

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sebuah lingkungan permukiman kampung kota yang tenang dan teduh di tengan pusat bisnis kota Yogyakarta yang unik dan memiliki ciri khas tersendiri sebagai bagian dari budaya Jawa.

Kata Kunci: Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta, Transformasi, Pergeseran Budaya, Bangunan Jawa

Abstract

Human received nature with all of it's condition because it was not human who created nature, but with their intelligence human seeked for resolution of their various everyday life's problems and tried to control the nature for their own desire. The building on Kauman Yogyakarta settlement had experienced shifts and alterations to it's form, which according to the Peursen's theory happened in three cultural stages, the mystical stage (the mind), the ontological stage and the functional stage. As far as human's civilization took place, tensions always happened between the transcendence and the immanence, where each of human's desire/passion always appeared on a culture, resulting from the cultivation of human's mind to a change of civilization or time.

Kampung Kauman (1775) which is located inside of Kraton Yogyakarta's environment, is a form of moslem settlement which was based on Javanese residential concept and is currently close to three centuries old. At first it was a residential facility that was given by Sultan HB I to the caretakers (abdi dalem) of the Kraton Yogyakarta's Great Mosque. For almost three centuries long, this settlement had experienced various cultural events which lead to the fundamental changes on a house's values involving multiple aspects, as a result of the changes to cultural values, lifestyle, manner, behavior, social values, family values, environment, etc. Even though time changed this settlement, in outline, is still preserving it's originality that can be seen from it's visual objects. Currently some of the buildings on the settlement had experienced shifts to it's form, which is in a form of more sophisticated buildings that harmonize with the original/old buildings that are still being preserved, so that Kauman Yogyakarta appears as a calm and quiet town village neighborhood that is unique and has it's own characteristics in the heart of Yogyakarta city's business centre.

Keywords: Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta, Transformation, Cultural Shift, Javanese Building

Preface

Various of events are experienced by human throughout the time, covering both themselves and their existence in the universe. How human tried to comprehend the universe in order to make their life convenient to live and meaningful, and also so they can 'mold' the universe as their own wish. Science is used as a tool to translate and achieve justification/legitimacy of natural phenomena. With their superiority as an intelligent beings, human do not stand idle, they tried to seek for solutions to the state of nature which causing an issue to their life and to evaluate so that all will go according to ther wishes, which is called transcendence, for instance, to use an umbrella so they don't get wet on a rainy day, to carved woodem rod, to made transportation devices (bicycle, motorcycle, car, etc) because they got tired from walking and many others. On the other side, human are imprisoned by nature's facts that need to be faced by doing evaluation and assesment critically for it can not be changed, which is called immanence, where human made a spiritual evaluation through religious beliefs, science, moral, etc. Or instinct based evaluation, for instance sleepy-sleep, thirsty-drink, tired of standing - sit, etc. In their journey of life, human are always doing activities to fill their life which means conscious or not, human always learning to make their life better. The process of life learning that human are doing as an individual in society will result in a culture that is agreed by their group on their time.

Historically, the existence of the Kauman can not be separated from the history of Kraton Yogyakarta's establishment, because it was thanks to the order from Sultan HB I that Kampung Kauman was established. Therefor, the building form and the environment had to be adapted according to the convention on the Kraton at the time, especially hierarchically needs to be appropriate with the occupation and position of Kauman's residents that is as a Kraton's abdi dalem. In line with the change of time associated with changes in politic, power, and globalization also the development towards modernization in all fields, which then leads to the shifting on it's people's mindset and lifestyle that eventually caused changes to the form of the settlement itself.

Essentially Javanese houses has religious/spiritual aspects that are conditioned as an effect of it's local environment and the historical events that were happened on that area, which then is visualized physically. The house's form, division of space, material, and the aesthetics elements inside of it is believed to bring good fortune and prosperity to the residents, which makes the building development process needs to be done according to the norms and the tradition that takes place. It is hoped that on the development progress towards modernization, generally in Indonesia, traces of local culture as nations identity remains existed, therefor it is reasonable to make it into transformation instead, which means to establish changes but also having adjustments on physical developments that remain sourced from traditional thinking processes, for it is human's destiny to step forward while keep looking behind as a study to determine the next steps in creative work so it will have a meaning and can be proud of.

Kauman Yogyakarta

Kauman is a name of a settlement in the form of town vilage that is located on Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY). Yogyakarta is one of the provinces in Javanese Island, with an area of ± 3100 km2, more than half of it's region is a vertile agriculture land thanks to it's region which has a tropical climate for almost the whole year. The population is belongs to Javanese tribe/ethnic circle which is the largest ethnic in Indonesia and has it's own language and subculture.

Kauman Yogyakarta is a settlement that is located to the west of Yogyakarta's north plaza, a small village in Kraton Yogyakarta's area that is a settlement of a group of people that has some unique characteristics. That is where the mosque official's residence which earned an ephitet from the palace as *Pakauman* land, meaning "the land where *Kaum* people lives" which then is called Kauman, derived from Arabic *Qoimuddin*, meaning religious upholder. Being a residential area that is a united portion and inseparatable from the Javanese traditional government structure. Kauman is an integral part of Javanese traditional authority (*Sjafri Sairin*, 2010), located in the heart of Yogyakarta's business centre with populous residential which still preserving traditional lives until now, with village like settlement

atmosphere, life of mutual cooperation, community, and still having it's tough kinship nature also deep religious life awareness, for all of it's inhabitant are Moslems that is homogen with the students, the inhabitans is very obedient in implementing their Moslem religion's shari'a where The Great Mosque of Yogyakarta becomes a centre of their activities, such as: congregational prayers, scripture reading, tadarus Al Qur'an, etc.



Image 1. The Location of Kauman Village on Kraton Yogyakarta's environment (Source: Bapeda Prop. DIY, 1994)

Kauman is a town village with dense population and arrangement of buildings (building coverage 60 - 80 % - data from Bappeda) causing limited open space facilities. The existing roads is forming narrow alleys or corridors flanked by tight buildings forming a straight line throughout the road, which is a typical road form in town village.







Image 2: Situation inside the settlement: the entrance gate, the roads forming narrow alleys or corridors flanked by tight buildings throughout the road and The Great Mosque as the axis. (Source: Personal Documentation, 2010)

Nowadays, social life and the position of Kauman Yogyakarta's people is like the ordinary people of Yogyakarta, where they are no longer just a group of kraton's *abdi dalem*, and are no longer based to the law of Kraton Yogyakarta mainly in their religious rituals.

Javanese cosmology

In the beginning most of Javanese people mindset about cosmos is a totality that is included in the universe itself (*Kadiran*, 1993). Looking at human's life is always closely related to the universe (cosmos), which the main purpose is to preserve and create a balance between the natural (real) realm and the supernatural (unreal) realm. In this kind view of the world, human is always affected by forces of nature from around the world, which is able to bring peace and prosperity or on the contrary, disaster.

Javanese believes in destiny, that human's life is already arranged in this universe, which makes human's life is imposibble to be separated from other lives in the universe, if a disaster occured then human's life will be miserable as well. Javanese believes that there is a power beyond those of the powers existed in this universe which has to be respected, this belief affected the pattern of behaviour and daily life of the Javanese. Whether or not this power bring good impact, relies on human's ability to create a balance life in this world.

Placing the Kraton as a small scale nature is to reach a balance between the kingdom and the universe. The base of *cosmic-religious-magic* world view can be seen throughout every angle of life on the kingdom's environment, such as literature, language, royalty, religious ceremonies and traditions, art of religious life, palace's architecture, and places of worship. In Java, like on many other places in South East Asian, the cosmic structure is become a model or a pattern that is replicated by the kingdom or palace.

Such as the concept of Yogyakarta city's layout for example, shaping as an imaginery line stretching from the South Sea (Segara Kidul) all the way north to the Merapi Mountain, crossing the Kraton Jogja. Kraton Jogja is lead by an individual that is entitled as the Sultan, which emphasized the powers of the world and the afterlife that is considered as a direct gift from the Almighty, making it invisible and immeasurable. Sultan as an ideal type and a base of Javanese life philosophy which basing their life on the understanding that human needs to realize the purpose of their life as a unity of human and God (Hablun minallah-sangkan paraning dumadi) and how to build a harmony of people to reach satisfaction together as a unity between the king and his people. (hablun minnanas-manunggaling kawula gusti). (Kemala Atmojo & team, 2004).

The term house has a variety of understanding in historical, etnographic, anthropological and sociological writings, revealing a fact that in the history of mankind, a house is not just a mere architectural concept, a house is also become a human's private identity, means to self development, a giver of tranquilty of life and as a centre of their cultural activities. (Siswono, 1989). Javanese houses generally is a form of architecture form which a totality of life statement that is in contradiction from the manners of self placement, norms and Javanese humans values with all of their environment condition and creating a harmonical balance between the small universe (microcosm) and 'jagad gedhe' (macrocosm). The beginning of the Javanese Traditional House concept is to maintain the balance of nature: have an open concept, building materials using those from nature which in majority is woods and wooden bricks, have a yard big enough to plant fruit tress, ornamental plants, vegetables, and usually still using a well, also grow

lifestocks. Javanese is including a society that have enough ecological ethic, for they have concepts of cultural value that is always departed from the nature, that they are a part of nature's where nature and human are affecting each other.

The Transformation of Kauman Yogyakarta's Building in the Cultural Stage

What is mean by doing a transformation is to make changes and adjustments to the physical layout of the building but still sourced from traditional thinking process, where the final result will still be able to show the tracks that are sourced from traditional values, because human steps forward while keeps looking behind as a study to determine their next steps in working creatively in order to make value. The transformation process which is corresponding to the current situation and condition, is usually happened with simplification of form and function in the changes but does not deviate from the purpose and usually does not wipe away old concepts.

Together with the changes of time and the globalization era, traditional buildings are experiencing several alteration throughout modernization in tune to the needs of the human and the market demands related to the changes in human's mindset about the meaning of a house. Basic changes takes place on the 'value' of a house that is involving several aspects, such as, cultural values, lifestyle, attitude, human's behavior, social values, family values, environment, etc. Kauman village is a part of Javanese people and also a part of Kraton Yogyakarta's area, so the tradition of Javanese culture is a part of their daily life and lifestyle, which can be seen from the behavior, human's characters, clothes, life's point of view, attitude, etc. The whole Kauman residents are Moslem Javenese people which are obedient to the Javanese culture that has became a tradition from generation to generation on their daily life besides their obedience in implementing Moslem's religious life.

The house's form has endured many changes since the function is changing too, aside from functioning as a home, it's also a place of business (shop/stalls, stitching store, cattering, barber, etc) and lodging, which is triggered by the change of power, environment, the development of mindset, and economic demands from family life, and the globalization too. Even though there are several new buildings with more sophisticated form existed, as an effect of partial and total renovation process, that appeared combined to the old/original buildings, but as a whole an image of settlement environment in a harmonical unity, with a friendly atmosphere, quite, calm and natural.

Human as a cultural beings are able to produce many cultural products that is used to fulfill their whole life needs in order to make their life 'more convenient', one of it is the need of a place to stay (residence/house). With their knowledge, human seek for a solution to their everyday life's problem and tried to control nature in order to make it suitable to their needs. Throughout the civilization of human, tensions between transcendence and immanence always occured, where human's every desire/passion always takes place on a culture, as a result of the cultivation of human's intelligence to a change of civilization or time. According to Peursen there are three cultural stages, namely the mystical stage, ontological stage, and functional stage.

In the beginning (mystical stage), a Javanese house is always in an 'open' form and became a part/united with the nature and in a simple form that reflects the humbleness of the Javanese. The culture at that moment is reflected on the agricultural system, celebration of the harvest, kinship system, arts and cultures that are still tight to their belief and myth, that there are supernatural forces that helps human in their life which cannot be 'sensed' which refers to the power above (transcendence) and raise a feel of respect and fear. On the mystical stage, there is no clear line between the human and the world, they are still impregnated by the influences of their tribes and from the nature, making them to not having their own identity, where they remains only as someone in socio myth space. (Peursen, 1988: 43) In this stage human begins to comply to the nature, so the human tried to communicate through various rituals so that nature is willing to give preserve and give them prosperity. Reflected from the form of their residence, as a part of nature with a shape, color, and material that are united with the nature, looks natural and can not be stand out more than the surrounding nature.

On the next stage of culture (ontology), human begin to question various truth (the truth of life, nature, etc) and to define, so emerge the limitations to everything, making the norms, laws and order that has to be obeyed by it's society existed. Human give value to everything, they want to 'see clearer' about their way of life. New religious values starts to emerge, laws and state administration created, etc. In this stage spring a concept of Javanese cultural value, which is: to believe and always take shelter to the Creator, the Almighty Substance and there is only one God, belief that human is a part of nature's. Human and nature is affecting each other, living in harmony meaning to live orderly in physical and peace in mind, also to awaken sublime nature and humanity. (HKK Partokusumo (1986). A figure of emperor (king) that dwells in a palace arose. In Java it is called the Kraton, which is a manifestation of Javanese house concept on a larger and more luxurious scale.

The King is described as an incarnation of a god, so 'his house' also have to be able to reflect his power/position and existence. Inside all of the chamber inside of kraton there are functions and very thick symbolic meanings that are related to power and 'higher nature' symbols. Then it develops, emerging new groups in the society which is identical with social status in society as well as in domestic: the nobilty and the merchants (rich) also the little people and the labor (poor).







Image 3: Original/old building that has not experienced any changes or renovations (Source: Personal documentation, 2010)

Differences in building's form can be seen which shows social and economic status of the owner. Corresponding to the position as mosque keeper that is divided to 5 levels, furthermore some of them is acting a batik entrepreneurs as well, making them having a better economic level.

In the stage of modern culture (functional stage), human did not look for meanings or values of something but was rather to emphasize the underlying meaning or function. In other word everything will be more valuable if it has a function. Human will be trapped by operational parts that organize their lives, individual losing identity in the middle of surging new opportunities. Javanese houses seems to be more practical, simple and more efficient. No longer existed a big and separated hall, it has fused with the house to become a terrace that the function remains to welcome guests and the inside is already well-insulated into rooms. The meaning of a house (Java) that on the beginning was very private and sacred realted to the status and character of the owner, now belongs to the public. Function above else because of the existence of new values that are adopted, which are sistematic, practical and effective. Every elements is formed to accomodate function, with the consideration of human's activities and needs







Image 4: Several new buildings that has experienced total changes and renovations (Source: Personal documentation, 2010)

The house's appearance is changed from the aspect of form and material used, as a result of the development of human needs and technology. Although the house is appeared to be more dominant than the environment,

but it remains to display plants in it's surrounding and the colors that are used is still natural colors which are white, black, and instances of brown in majority.

Finale

As expressed by Peursen, culture is an neverending process of learning by relying on creativity and intensity as two main interdependent factors, or in other word culture is human's strategy to face the future. The change in time and the development of technology will surely bring an impact to the cultural development, for human will always look for answers for the problems faced in order to survive.

The beauty of Indonesian traditional house indeed has high values of culture and aesthetic which never is dull. At first, traditional house does not only served as a residence but also having philosophical meaning and element behind it's visual appearance. One of Indonesian traditional house is Javenese Traditional House which has unique characteristics, wealthy aesthetic and religious values underlying the physical form. Kauman Yogyakarta Settlement is a form of Javanese settlement with majority of Javenese as it's inhabitants. In it's course of nearly three centuries, cultural shifts process took place mainly regarding the residential buildings, as a result of influence from various culture that has gotten into this area, but only on the order of the norms of it's people's way of life and religous rituals, while the order of Javanese cultural values receives insignificant changes.

Viewed in cultural stage, the beginning of the establishment of this settlement is placed on the ontological stage, where the existence is based from the kings order rather than naturally. The regulations that took place is the regulation from Kraton Yogyakarta concerning the life and the religion of it's people and the establishment of the building should has the Sultan's permission.

Nowadays, Kauman is already a part of RI teritorial and no longer bounded by Kraton Yogyakarta's bureaucracy with modern surrounding environment and is a Yogyakarta's business central area, Kampung Kauman remains in a physical form that nearly have no changes, such as:

- Remains to be a closed environment with four walls boundaries covering it, with three main entrance gates that can only be passed by walking man and two wheels vehicle, and the vehicle is off.
- The structure of the inside environment and building mainly remains the same.
- The inhabitans is homogenous moslem Javenese and mostly still bounded by kinship to each other.

Therefor, when we passed the Kauman gate, a different atmosphere will spring, it's like entering a quiet, calm and friendly natural village, with views of Javanese houses, Indis, which are modern and unique, standing alongide forming a line of unique buildings. In addition, the people is very friendly and talking with Indonesian language with an unique Javanese accent.

Viewed from Peursen's cultural steps theory, related to culture, the Kauman people is renewing themselves by following world developments around them and tries to answer the challenges in their lives wisely. This settlement, eventhough it is changed because it had to, remains to hold it's identity and personality as moslem Javanese people in the midst of frenetic development towards modernization in it's surrounding.

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