The Spatial Patterns of Javanese Settlements as the Representation of Patron-Client Politics: Nobles, Ulemas, and Merchants' Settlements

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Abstract

The settlements in the old Javanese era consist of several clusters based on social strata, namely nobles', ulemas', and merchants' settlements that have a unique spatial pattern. This research aims at finding the spatial pattern of the settlements which are related to patron-client politics (clientelism). Within these settlements (nobles in Keraton Baluwarti, ulemas in Kauman, and merchants in Laweyan), some social strata and hierarchies become the locus pre-requisite to finding a spatial pattern created due to the patron-client politics. These loci are located at the strategic roads during the period of old Java.

This research employed multiple case studies. The data were collected by conducting field observations, documentation, and in-depth interviews. The findings show three spatial patterns, namely micro, mezzo, and macro. These patterns, are connected to the patron-client politics exercised by the rulers to maintain their power. This finding can be an important input for the policy makers involved in the management of the old city.

Keywords: Spatial Pattern, Javanese Settlement, Patron-Client Politics, Nobles, Ulemas, Merchants.

Introduction

The patron-client relationship values loyalty. This relationship is recreated and maintained through its leadership by creating political and administrative factions, giving support for some appointments, and defining the role of nobles, ulemas, and merchants (Newbury, 2003). The patron-client relationships can be built by the ordinary people, and they can also be used as a means to conduct social mobility for their children or their families. The groups related to the patron-client relationship comprise kings, ulemas, nobles, and commoners (Supariadi, 2001).

According to Javanese views, there are three concepts of patron-client relations:

(1) A close and personal relationship fulfilled with love and mutual respect as the standard model in social communication.

(2) The destiny of a person in society either as a master or as a servant.

(3) The willingness to protect on one hand and the willingness to devote on the other hand (Moertono, 1985).

In pre-industrial cities, there are usually clear classifications of community structures, such as the relationship between families, religions, education, and government systems where the elite always occupies the highest strata and acts as the controller (Sjoberg, 1965). Sjoberg's statement then becomes more obvious in the case of the the Javanese society classification that consists of farmers, traders, and nobles in which the nobles (*priyayi*) become the central figure. These hierarchical social strata then create territorial units that are based on one power, namely the king (Wiryomartono, 1995).

Researches on patron-client relations usually focus on the relationship pattern that occurs in various groups, such as the multi-layered patronage within the royal society in Saudi Arabia (Hertog, 2009). They include the studies such as the informal patron-client relations in political parties between central and local leaders that help the authority to exercise effective control over regions to maintain its power (Jiang & Zhang, 2020;Ciorciari, 2013;Robinson, 2013;Ladwig, 2019;Agustino, 2014;Azhar, 2019;Leksana, 2019;Abheseka, 2019;Cahyati & Lopo, 2019); the client-patron relationship characterizing the urban politics in Bangladesh (Walters, Ahsan & Khan, 2021) and the patron-client politics compromised within the traditional structures (Kusche, 2014).

The patron-client relationship occurs at almost all levels of the modern society. It protects the public interest, controls the government and protects professional journalism (Prokopović & Vulić, 2015). Examples of these phenomena are the patron-client relations in business among farmers in rural areas (Lukiyanto, Widita, & Kumalasari, 2018) and the client-patron relationship among fishermen in the coastal areas that can strengthen the resilience of socio-ecological systems (Miñarro, et al 2016;Ferrol-Schulte, Ferse, & Glaser, 2014;Nurdin & Grydehøj, 2015). The patron-client relationship, moreover, is also manifested in the obedience of the Moslem disciples (*santri*) to their spiritual teachers (*kyai*) (Ma'arif, 2010) like the case in Sampang Regency where the community obedience as clients to their *kyai* (patron) is based more on religious values and charisma Sahab (2012) and the business involvement of Madurese ulemas to maintain this kind of relationship (Saxebøl, 2002).

The efforts to maintain an unequal status quo in a hierarchy within the social groups can also be seen in the following cases: the pattern of maintaining the status quo and unequal relations across generations in Saudi Arabia (Morgan, Mohammed, & Abdullahi, 2013; Dabbour (2021); the clientelism in the main social organisations within traditional Afghan society which is based on the principles of ethnicity, kinship, religion, place, and other identities (Ibrahimi, 2019); the pattern of patron-client relationship among Chinese businessmen and locals in the Nusa Utara Islands (Talaud, Sangihe, and Sitaro) that has its special characteristic (Gunawan, 2016) and the royal palaces that become the centre for lifestyle, arts, and prosperity (Priyatmoko, 2013). All of the aforementioned studies, thus, have revealed patterns of patron-client relationships in various groups such as kingdoms, political parties, traditional community structures, urban community structures, rural communities, social groups, farmers, traders, fishermen, religious groups, and even among the business communities. The findings of previous studies indicate that most of the patron-client relationships occur in the communities of nobles, religious leaders (ulemas), and merchant communities. These findings, hence, serve as the basis for determining the case and the locus of this research to reveal spatial patterns associated with this relationship.

However, previous patron-client relation studies have not revealed the spatial patterns formed by this relationship. This study will reveal that a patron-client relationship creates a unique spatial pattern.

There are many old cities in Java. One of them is Sala which was established in 1745 as the capital city of the Surakarta. Surakarta has two cultural centers with different unique characteristics, namely feudalism and commerce both of which have close links with the religion (Nursanty, 2019).

This finding, thus, strengthens the determination of the research loci in Surakarta, namely the settlements of nobles (feudalism), ulemas (religious activities), and merchants (merchants). The settlements, furthermore, are located on Jalan (street) Rajiman, a strategic route for the Surakarta City which had the power of the past, and these settlements comprise

the old nobles' residences of Surakarta Sunanate Palace, Kauman as the kampong of ulemas, and Laweyan as the kampong of batik merchants (Nursanty et al, 2016).

Nursanty's research then became the reference in selecting the research case that can answer the spatial pattern of the old settlements as the symbol of patron-client relationships. Regarding the patron-client hierarchy, these phenomena can be seen in 3 places; namely the Sunanate Palace, the place of kings and aristocrats (nobles); Kauman, the place for ulemas; and Laweyan, the place for batik merchants (Marlina, 2020;Pratomo, Antariksa, & Hariyani, 2006;Musyawaroh et al, 2018;Cahyono, Setioko, & Murtini, 2017;Mirsa, 2019).

The purpose of this research is to find spatial patterns of nobles', ulemas', and merchants' settlements which are created by patron-client relationships.

The Theoretical Basis
Spatial Pattern

Physical arrangement of a settlement is the basis for observing a settlements physical development which consists of spatial systems, physical systems, and stylistic systems (Habraken, 1978). Spatial systems are identified through the spatial organizations, spatial relations, orientation, spatial relationship patterns, and hierarchies while the physical system is related to construction and building materials. The stylistic system, moreover, is connected to the shape, facade, and facade elements which include the shape of doors and windows, as well as other components (Habraken, 1978).

Spatial characters include function, spatial organization, spatial relations, circulation and orientation (Ching, 1994). This spatial theory is supported by Ronald's statement that spatial aspects in a dwelling and settlement include direction (orientation), layout, level (hierarchy), openness (transparency), and the magnitude (size) of the space (Ronald, 2006). Iskandar (2011), on the other hand, also states that spatial patterns are closely related to hierarchy and orientation, activity patterns, spiritual belief patterns, and room patterns (Agustina & Hindersah, 2019).

According to the spatial configuration view, furthermore, the structure can form linear, radial, and cluster structures. This structure is applied to the zoning which is based on activities, and it has primary, secondary, and public hierarchies as well as orientation to the compass and qibla (Altman, Rapoport, & Wohlwill, 1980). Pertaining to spatial patterns, aspects of place, time and ritual, attribute functions, size, number, position, and location can also be considered when exploring the character of the spatial pattern of a place (Altman, Rapoport, & Wohlwill, 1980). Spatial planning, moreover, can also be used to create a controlled space and a symbiotic space (Suprapti, et al 2017), and it is related to the social, economic, and religious activities of a society (Junara, Triyadi, & Budi, 2019).

Traditional societies have territory, space, and building arrangements that orient towards the hierarchical religious culture as the cosmological concept (Geldern, 1982; Behrend, 1982;Wiryomartono,1995;Frick,1997;Santoso,2008).

According to the general view, people organize themselves into clear categories, hierarchies and ordinates (Geertz, 1983;Geertz, 1986) while the traditional view places more emphasis on centralizing and maintaining power (Budiardjo, 1991). The concept of spatial value is influenced by the spiritual awareness of the rulers reflected in all residential spaces. The recent phenomenon of the reality hierarchy represents the spirituality of the rulers which is shown by his policy on providing housing for his people (Agustina & Hindersah, 2019).

Based on the theories and research on spatial patterns, the composition of the first research proposition (the spatial pattern of an area) can be seen from the spatial system, physical system, and stylistic system which includes: space function, spatial organization, spatial relations, circulation, orientation direction, space hierarchies, spatial sizes, activity patterns, room patterns, space control patterns, spatial symbiosis pattern, and space and building ornaments.

2. Patron Client Relationship

The patron-client relationship has several characteristics, namely unequal relationships, autonomous interactions, personal matters, interpersonal responsibility, loyalty and reciprocity, voluntary works, informality, lack of formal legality, and symbolism. All of these characteristics can usually be found in traditional societies or even modern societies where most of the people still have traditional views. This kind of society is characterised by unequal exchanges, differences in status, differences in power and wealth, face-to-face interactions between patrons and clients, working relations involving relatives both descendants and ancestors, the exchange of resources and. In them, the patron provides protection or benefits to the client, and the client gives support, and assistance and service to the patron. There is trust, flexibility, compliance, differential controls, hierarchies, strata, and the benefit principle (Scott, 1972;Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984; Roniger, 2015;Newbury, 2003).

The primacy of patron-client arrangements are voluntary works and asymmetric relations, and involve loyalty, assistance, obedience, and a sense of indebtedness (Scott,1972; Ricardo,2020) and centrality (Ciorciari, 2015). The basic pattern of patron-client relationships is that there is an informal cluster consisting of power figures with higher economic status (patrons) in positions where they can provide security, protection, and prosperity; they have broader autonomy and build affection and loyalty while clients, having a lower status, provides respect, obedience, loyalty, and power to the patron (Scott, 1972).The patron-client relationship has several characteristics, namely voluntary and asymmetric relationships, a sense of indebtedness, face-to-face interaction, hierarchy in a group or community, vertical particularism, loyalty, bargaining in resources or labourer, structural gratification, and centrality (Scott,1972;Ciorciari,2015). This exchange can be of various kinds, including work, protection, money (Hertog, 2009), politics (Jiang & Zhang, 2020); social needs, and resources (Lukiyanto, Widita, & Kumalasari, 2018); and religion (Dabbour, 2021). The patron-client relationship is conceptualized through the politics of gratitude or indebtedness (Ricardo, 2020), control (Jiang & Zhang, 2020), traditional community culture (Lukiyanto, Widita, & Kumalasari, 2018;Ho, 2011).

Client patronage does not only occur in traditional communities but can also occur in the modern world (Leksana, 2019;Frinaldi & Embi, 2014). Clientelism often relies on individual characters, and loyalty from clients is needed by patrons as a tool for legitimising power (Priyatmoko, 2013;Marlina, 2018).

Thus, the second research proposition is that the patron-client relationship is the type of relationship with the following characteristics: unequal; asymmetry; centrality; autonomous interaction; interpersonal; loyalty and reciprocity, voluntary works; informality; no formal legality; inequality in exchange; differences in status, power and wealth; face-to-face interactions between patrons and clients; blur boundaries in working relationships; involving relatives; exchange of resources and power; patrons providing protection to clients; clients offering support and assistance and service to patrons; trust, flexibility, and client compliance with patrons; hierarchy; and control.

3. The Social Structure of the Society in Java

The social structure is the static aspect while the social interaction is the dynamic aspect. The social structure, furthermore, emphasizes more on the reciprocal relationship between social position and roles (Soekanto, 1990). Social stratification can be based on castes, positions in society, and positions in the structure, as well as the social positions based on wealth (Nastiti, 2003). Furthermore, hierarchies and controls in all social orders can be divided into two, namely: (1) networks binding groups with different powers. These networks strengthen the image of an open, vertical, and columnar social order; (2) networks of various levels of power that oppose and maintain little relation to one another. Such networks will give the image of a closed, multi-layered social order (Leeds, 1994). Each stratification system raises its myth or rationale to explain why certain individuals must be considered superior to others. The myth or rationale is generally prescriptive and legitimizes someone to be the leader, and

the tradition, on the other hand, provides such legitimacy (Scott, 2019;Marlina, 2020;Marlina, 2018).

The Javanese power system, particularly, has a sacred way of legitimacy and is also subject to a sacred hierarchy (Santoso, 2008).The differences in the social structure of Javanese people who tend to be very market-centric are grouped into four major groups, namely: (1) the "superior" (*priyayi*) group which includes civil servants, high-ranking factory employees; (2) traders (*wong dagang*) consisting of traders of textiles, tobacco, grocery goods, and other traders who are quite wealthy; (3) lower class people (*wong cilik*/ 'small' people) which include landless labourers, marginal farmers, workmen (marginal carpenters and stonemasons); (4) the Chinese (*wong Cina*) (Geerts, 1977). Within this traditional social stratification system, individual mobility is allowed.

According to the review of Javanese religions, this system distinguishes the social structure into three groups, namely *priyayi*, *santri* and *abangan* (Geertz, 2014; Ricklefs, 2012). *Priyayi* are groups that emphasize Hindu aspects and are centred in city government. *Abangan* are groups who believe in Muslim and pre-Muslim syncretism and are not indifferent to the doctrines but prioritize ceremonial rituals and emphasize animism aspects (essentially centred in rural areas), while *santri* are those who strictly adhere to Islamic teachings (centred on trading or market places) (Ricklefs, 2012;Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984).

The king occupies the highest social and political position in Java because he is considered to represent and protect the interests of the people through the concept of *gusti-kawula* or master-servant (Larson, 1990)**.** This statement is reinforced by Soemardjan (2009) that the position of the king is at the highest level of the community structure and below the king, there are several groups of people based on their social classes such as the high-rank officials, namely nobles or *sentana dalem*, the *priyayi* or *abdi dalem* consisting of government employees appointed from the common people, and the group of lower class people (*wong cilik*) who are called *kawuladalem* or *kawulanegara*.

The patrimonial concept states that the pattern of the relationship between clients and patrons, known by the Javanese people as *gusti* and *kawula* is more like a family relationship in which the client is loyal to the patrons (Moedjanto, 1987). The *gusti* and *kawula* relationship prioritises personal and close bonds, mutual respect and responsibility (Moertono,2018). There are two main layers in the Javanese society: *wong cilik* (ordinary people) and *penggede* (the ruling class). This classification is not from the aspect of wealth or birth superiority, but rather from the aspect of "master and servant", and one's position in the social order (Moertono, 2018).

The social structure of the kingdom has a clear hierarchy, namely the king at the top and the structure below it, namely the *sentana dalem* (royal family), then the *priyayi*, and the the *kawula* who occupy the lowest structure (Moertono,1985;Moedjanto, 1987;Larson, 1990;Marlina, et. al. 2015). The royal family dwells in the Baluwarti residence which is part of the Surakarta Sunanate Palace. Hierarchically, the Baluwarti occupies the highest position among the other two settlements, namely Kauman and Laweyan.

Kampong Kauman has a close relationship with the Surakarta Sunanate Palace because its land belongs to the Palace. The land itself was named *Bumi Mutihan* or *Bumi Pamethakan* (the white land) because it is the dwelling of ulemeas' disciples or *santri*. Kampong Kauman, also known as kampong santri, has its hierarchy in which *penghulu* (the high priest who also serves as the village headman) occupies the highest position, and it is sequentially followed by several positions such as khatib (reader, imam, or prayer leader), *modin* (muezzin, prayer), *qoyyim (modin's* assistant), and *merbot* (mosque custodian) (Ma'mum Pusponegoro, Soim, & Muttaqin, 2007). In this kampong, the wives of the ulemas work as batik merchants, and they supply royal batik clothes.

Similarly, the community in kampong Laweyan also formed a merchant community. This group also developed its social hierarchy complete with titles similar to the one in Kauman (Kuntowijoyo, 2006). In Laweyan social structure, company owners are at the top of the social system. In this system, Laweyan merchants are the elite of their community, but they do not have a place in the official royal system (Widayati, 2002;Kuntowijoyo, 2006;Soedarmono, 2002;Mirsa, 2019;Shodiq & Mahbub, 2019). The existence of social status in Laweyan is based

not only on economic interests but is also based on the family bond between employees and employers (Soedarmono, 2006). Therefore, the third proposition of this research is that the patron-client relationship manifested in the spatial pattern is related to socio-cultural activities, economic activities, and religious activities.

4. Research Methods

This study used multiple case studies (Yin, 2013). The procedure of this research consists of :
> (1) Preparing a proposition based on the literature review.
> (2) Case selection.
> (3) Preparation of field observations.
> (4) Collecting, compiling, and categorizing data.
> (5) Case analysis.
> (6) Cross-case analysis.
> (7) Construction of themes and concepts.
> (8) Research findings.

In this study, a case study was used to find a spatial pattern in Java which is related to patron-client politics in nobles', ulemas', and merchants' settlements, and the three settlements, as the loci of the research, have already fulfilled the criteria of the patron-client relationship with the hierarchy of power, wealth, status, and informal relationship (Scott, 1972; Eisenstadt & Roninger, 1984).

Case selection was carried out conducting the grand tour to find unique cases that can answer the relationship between spatial patterns and client-patron politics. In this research, 3 settlement clusters were selected based on their characteristics: communities that adhere to hierarchy and centrality, inequality, face-to-face interaction, asymmetrical relationships, voluntary-based relationships, and exchange of resources. The case selection, furthermore, was accomplished by purposive sampling (Creswell,2012). The settlements chosen are the old settlements comprised of the settlements of the nobles (Baluwarti) in the Surakarta Sunanate Palace as the first case, the settlement of ulemas (Kauman) as the second case, and the settlement of merchants (Laweyan) as the third case. This research was conducted from 2021 to 2022.

The propositions were prepared at the beginning of the research and served as the guide for the field observations (Creswell, 2014), the propositions of this research consists of:
> (1) The spatial pattern of an area can be seen from the spatial system; the physical system; the stylistic system including: the space function, the spatial organisation, the spatial relation, circulation, orientation, the space hierarchy, the size, the activity pattern, the spatial control pattern, the spatial symbiotic pattern, and space and building ornaments;
> (2) The patron-client politics has some characteristics: asymmetrical relationship, centrality, autonomy, interpersonal relationship, loyalty and reciprocity, voluntary relationship, informality, no formal legality, inequality, status difference, power and wealth difference, face-to-face interaction between patron and client, boundaries flexibility between work relationships and personal relationships, involvement of descendants, exchange of resources and power, protection of clients, loyalty to patrons, trust, obedience of clients to patrons, and hierarchy and control;
> (3) The pattern of patron-client relationships is manifested in the form of spatial patterns related to socio-cultural activities, economic activities, religious activities.

The next stage of this research involved collecting all data from *Kelurahan* (the village office), the community and previous research findings. The reading of the document maps of noble settlements, cleric settlements, and merchant settlements was used to find out the position of each hierarchy. Primary data were collected from field observations, interviews with sources,

and maps as the secondary data. The data were then processed by triangulation techniques for validation (Creswell, 2014).

This triangulation was carried out by: (1) comparing data from the observations with data from interviews; (2) checking the accuracy of the answers from people sources or informants; (3) comparing the answers from informants with documents. Data collection is based on the aforementioned 3 research propositions.

Empirical data collection was carried out by observing the three settlement areas by taking images of the original buildings that depict the spatial hierarchy and site plans of each level of social strata. Determination of the settlement samplings was carried out using purposive sampling involving the settlements of nobles, ulemas, and merchants with the following criteria: (1) original and old settlements; (2) settlements where employers and employees live; (3) the existence of the space hierarchy; (4) the existence of the employer and employee relationship. In this study, there were 3 samples of nobles' settlements, 3 samples of ulemas' settlements, 3 merchants' settlements, and 3 labourers' settlements.

The activities of field survey and photographing were assisted by key informants and sources from those three loci so that observations and interviews were easy to be carried out and accurate results could be obtained. Field surveys, mapping, photographing, and in-depth interviews were carried out at the same time. Interviews were conducted with 9 key informants consisting of elders who are directly involved in all activities in each region. Each case was carefully analyzed using propositional guidelines. The findings from the first case were used to improve the guidelines for the second case, and the findings from the second case were also used to improve the guidelines for the third case.

The analysis in this study used maps of the settlements of the three cases to determine the position and location of the three cases in the context of the City of Surakarta. Map analysis of each region were also carried out to find out the social position of the three cases comprising: nobles and courtiers; ulemas-labourers; employer-labourer. The results of the map reading were used for field observations as the process of triangulation. The next stage was conducting a cross-case analysis by comparing the previous three cases to find the spatial patterns related to patron-client politics. After that, the similarities and differences in spatial patterns were compared with the pattern matching technique where the results become the findings that describe characteristics of the spatial pattern related to patron-client politics (Scott,1972;Ciorciari, 2015).

5. Findings and the Discussion
## 5.1. The Hierarchy of Urban Spatial Layout (Macro)

The loci of this research are on the old route of Jalan (street) Rajiman, Surakarta, namely nobles' settlements in Baluwarti, ulemas' settlements in Kauman, and merchants' settlements in Laweyan (Fig. 1). The Surakarta Sunanate Palace is located in Baluwarti, and its territory includes all yards, courtyards, and buildings starting from the front *kori* (door) in the North square to the last *kori* in the south square including Baluwarti's *cepuri* (the fort walls). Baluwarti is the residence of the king with his family and most of the courtiers and their descendants (Soeratman, 2000). The noble settlements are inhabited based on the strata of nobility, namely the king at the top which is then followed by the princes, *patih* (the vice king), *abdi dalem* (nobles), *mantri* (ministers), *lurah* (the village head) respectively (Setiadi, Hadi, & Trihandayani, 2001). Surakarta Sunanate Palace was founded in 1745 right in the city Centre, and it occupies the highest hierarchy as the ruler of the Surakarta area (Fig. 1 zone (a) and Fig. 2 zone (a)).

Kauman, on the other hand, is a kampong in the palace land granted to the ulemas' (*kyai*) who are in charge of carrying out activities at the Great Mosque. Kauman is identical to the Moslem community (Nurjayanti, 2019). This kampong is also known as the santri village where *penghulu* occupies the highest position in the hierarchy followed by khatib, *modin*, *qoyyim*, *merbot* respectively (Ma'mum Pusponegoro, Soim, & Muttaqin, 2007). In this kampong, the ulema wives work as batik producers, and they got their skills in making batik from the palace (Ma'mum Pusponegoro, Soim, & Muttaqin, 2007). Kauman is also located

along Jalan Rajiman, particularly in the northwest of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace. The Kauman area occupies the second hierarchy in the spatial order of the City of Surakarta because it has a closer relationship with the palace (Fig. 1 zone (b) and Fig. 2 zone (b)).

Kampong Laweyan, furthermore, is the symbol of the revival of the Javanese bourgeoisie or Javanese middle class who are trying to compete with the aristocratic culture (Widayati, 2002). The Laweyan women merchants succeeded in breaking the old feudal customs, by raising their position at the highest level in the social hierarchy (Shodiq & Mahbub, 2019). The social structure of the Laweyan community is divided into two, namely the employer's family and the workers (labourers), the employer includes *mbok mase sepuh* (the grandma) and *mas nganten sepuh* (the grandpa), *mbok mase* (the housewife) and *mas nganten* (the father), *mas rara* (the daughter) and *mas bagus* (the son). While people in the worker status are labourers working as the stamper who occupies the highest level in the worker hierarchy followed by indentured workers (coolies) (Soedarmono, 2006).

Laweyan is located along the Jalan Rajiman 3.9 km in the West from Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta (Fig. 2 zone c). For merchants, no matter how great their wealth, it still does not change their social status, they still hold the lowest position (*kawula*) in the official hierarchy. This situation makes *kawula* create a counterculture to oppose the domination of the nobility (Kuntowijoyo, 2006). Thus the stratification shown in the hierarchy of urban spatial planning is actually the tool to strengthen patron-client politics (Fig. 2). This phenomenon is consistent with the statement of Scott (1972), Eisenstadt & Roniger (1984), Roniger (2015) and Newbury (2003) who explain that control, hierarchy, and strata are maintained for the sustainability of patron-client politics.
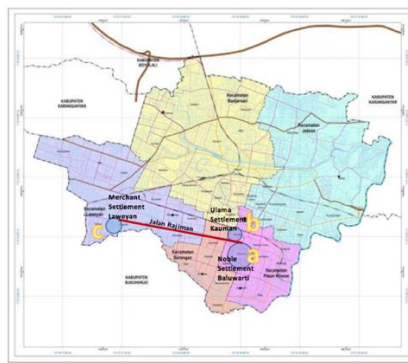
Fig. 1 : The Loci in Surakarta; Noble Settlements (a), Ulama Settlements (b), Merchant Settlements(c)
Source : Surakarta City Regulation No. 4 of 2021 Spatial Plan for the City of Surakarta 2021-2041,
Source: Marlina, 2022
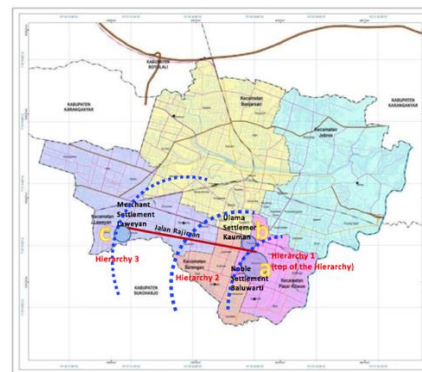
Fig. 2 : The Layout Hierarchy of the Noble Settlement (a), the Ulema Settlement (b), and the Merchant Settlement (c) di Surakarta
Source : Surakarta City Regulation No. 4 of 2021 Spatial Plan for the City of Surakarta 2021-2041,
Source: Marlina, 2022

5.2. The Spatial Hierarchy of the Settlement Area (Mezzo)

From the configuration of the Baluwarti settlement, it can be seen that the king's residence, as the top ruler, is placed in the centre and surrounded by a fort (Behrend, 1982; Wiryomartono, 1995;Soeratman, 2000). Meanwhile, the nobles who are in the second hierarchy live in the area surrounding the king's residence, and the courtiers, occupying the third hierarchy, live in the outermost areas as the royal guard (Figure 3). In the second hierarchy zone, the high-ranking nobles dwell in the north area while nobles with lower ranks live in the west and south areas (Soeratman, 2000). The king's and nobles' residences are certainly larger and more dominant than the courtiers' residences. The space configurations where the three residences are placed at a close distance aim to facilitate face-to-face relations between the king, nobles and the courtiers (Fig. 3), the configuration of this space is in line with the concept

of patron-client presented by (Scott,1972;Ciorciari,2015) stating that patron-client relationships are characterised by face-to-face interaction. The spatial layout of the *abdi dalem* kampong surrounding the first hierarchy area is adjusted to the type of work and duties, such as kampong *Tamtaman* and kampong *Carangan* are the soldiers' residences in the east, and kampong *Wirengan* is the soldiers' residence in the southwest. Meanwhile, the head of the kitchen, who is in charge of preparing the needs of the palace related to offerings and rice, lives in kampong *Gondorasan* and kampong *Sekulanggen*. Three more kampongs, furthermore, have different roles, namely Kampong Lumbung Silayur as the place to store rice, Kampung Gambuhan as the place for the Javanese musical art (karawitan), and Kampung Hordenasan as the place for courtiers responsible for serving the king's drink (Soeratman, 2000) (Fig. 3).

The spatial layout pattern of the settlements is the form of hierarchical manifestation showing the patrimonial relationship between kings, nobles and courtiers. The spatial design of these settlements describes an asymmetrical relationship, centrality, loyalty, hierarchy, and face-to-face meetings which are in line with some findings from researchers of patron-client relationships (Moglia, et al., 2018;Ciorciari, 2015;Scott, 1972;Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984; Kuntowijoyo, 2006;Newbury, 2003;Roniger, 2015).

In the ulemas' settlement, penghulu as the highest hierarchical peak is located in the first hierarchical zone close to the Great Mosque as the centre of Islamic power (Figure 4). Penghulu served as an Islamic spiritual advisor to the king and coordinated the activities of the Great Mosque. These spiritual leaders live in the kampong Gedhang Selirang located in the Grand Mosque complex and kampong Pengulon in the north of the Great Mosque (Fig. 4). The khatibs, the second in the hierarchy, dwell in the second hierarchical zone (Fig. 4). Khatibs are clerics whose job is to help penghulus when delivering Friday sermons and become the imam of the rawatib prayer (Ma'mumPusponegoro, Soim, & Muttaqin, 2007). In this area, there are several khatib territories, namely Khatib Arum region, Khatib Iman region, Khatib Anom 1 region, and Khatib Anom 2 region (Figure 4). Modins, moreover, are responsible for conducting prayer calls and dealing with matters related to marriage and death (Ma'mumPusponegoro, Soim, & Muttaqin, 2007). Modins, occupying the lowest position, dwell in the area located in the third hierarchical zone (Fig. 4). The power of the ulemas in the social relations exists in the mosque, and the ulemas' settlement is the tool to legitimise power (Saxebøl, 2002). The relationship between the penghulus, khatibs and modins is voluntary and asymmetric which is shown in the configuration of the spatial arrangement according to the social strata in the ulama settlement, so this phenomenon emphasises the patron-client relationship in the religious community as conveyed by (Scott,1972;Ho,2011;Dabbour, 2021;Ibrahimi, 2019).

Fig.3 : The Hierarchy Map of Baluwarti, the Nobles' Settlement Source : Marlina,2022

Fig. 4 : the Hierarchy Map of Ulemas' Settlement Source:Musyawaroh,2018, Marlina,2022
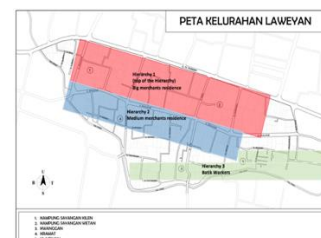
Fig. 5: The Hierarchy Map of Merchants' Settlement Source:Cahyono,2019; Mirsa,2019,Widayati,2002, Marlina,2022

The merchant settlement in Laweyan has a spatial configuration where the residence of big merchants is the first hierarchical zone close to the main street of Surakarta, namely Jalan Rajiman (Fig. 5) while the residence of the smaller merchants is located between the big merchant residence and the labourer dwellings (Fig. 5). The labourer houses are situated in the

area around the river (Fig. 2) because this area is the place to wash and dry batik. The division of the three hierarchical zones of merchants is in line with the statement of Widayati (2002), and Mirsa (2019). Laweyan shows social characteristics that form the social stratification between big merchants, smaller merchants, and labourers (Soedarmono, 2006), and it can be seen in its spatial configuration that displays patron-client politics. Scott (Scott, 1972) states that figures with higher economic status (big merchants) will provide welfare and build loyalty for clients (workers/labourers), and clients will obediently give their energy to patrons (merchants). In this condition, patrons place clients close to them to make face-to-face interaction easier.

5.3. The Architectural Hierarchy (Micro)
5.3.1. The Spatial System

According to Habraken (1978) the spatial system consists of space configuration, space completeness, building location, orientation, and the space hierarchy. The building spatial configuration in the settlement of nobles (Figs 6,7,8), ulemas (Figs 9,10,11), and merchants (Figs 12,13,14,) has an asymmetrical composition, which consists of the main building located at the center (the first hierarchy) and supporting buildings located around the main building (the third hierarchy). The second hierarchy buildings are occupied by the children of the masters, and the main building is inhabited by the masters (king, ulemas, merchants), while the supporting buildings (hierarchy 3) are inhabited by people in the lower strata, namely courtiers, labourers, servants (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12, 13.14). The main buildings of the upper classes like nobles, ulemas, and merchants have symmetrical compositions. The symmetrical layout of the main buildings forms elongated spaces arranged in a row according to the shape of the land. The complete division of the noble rooms in the main building starts from the front area including *pendhapa* (hall) to welcome guests, *pringgitan* to hold wayang kulit (shadow puppets) shows, *dalem* for the nuclear family events, and *senthong* as the parents' bedroom, the praying room, and the place to save heirlooms. This spatial pattern shows a hierarchy starting from the public spaces, namely *pendhapa* and *pringgitan*, to the most private or sacred, namely in *dalem* and *senthong*, It means the spatial arrangement in the main building is the deeper and the more private. This arrangement also shows public to private orientation which eventually confirms the existence the patron-client relationship in the settlements of nobles, kyai, and merchants (Scott,1972;Ciorciari,2015;Eisenstadt&Roniger,1984;Kuntowijoyo,2006;Newbury, 2003;Roniger, 2015).

The completeness of the noble space is similar to ulema and merchant spaces, namely the existence of pendhapa, *dalem*, and *senthong*, except for *pringgitan* because ulemas and merchants do not follow the tradition of holding shadow puppet shows. Reviewing the completeness of the space, it is clear that the main building has more complete spatial organisation and is larger than the supporting building (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14). This difference shows that there is domination, differences in status, differences in power and wealth, and a social hierarchy as described by (Scott,1972;Eisenstadt & Roniger,1984; Roniger, 2015;Newbury, 2003;Ricardo, 2020).

In the configuration of the building space and the location, there is a separation between the upper-class residences that are located in front of and in the middle of the land and the lower-class residences which are located behind or surrounding the upper-class residences. This separation clearly shows the existence of hierarchy in spaces. This space configuration describes the living habits of the members of the upper class group like nobles or employers as the people who are served by the members of the lower class group like courtiers, labourers, and servants (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14). This spatial separation is marked by the yard (yellow space) which at the same time functions as the control space, space for face-to-face interaction and the symbiotic space. This phenomenon, hence, confirms the statement from (Scott,1972;Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984;Roniger, 2015;Newbury, 2003;Suprapti, Kistanto, Pandelaki, & Indrosaptono, 2017) that in the patron-client relationship there is a face-to-face interaction functioning as the control for the continuity of the relationship. In the spatial configuration, the upper-class group settlements (nobles, ulemas, and merchants), there is

always a symbiotic space (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14; yellow spaces) which enables the ones from the upper class to interact face-to-face with the ones from the lower class and in the same time control their works. This space can be in the form of an open yard or a corridor connecting the upper-class space and the lower-class space.

In general, the orientation of the main buildings faces the north-south direction. However, the orientation of all supporting buildings faces the main building (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14), as a sign of respect and obedience of courtiers, labourers, and servants to nobles, ulemas, and merchants. The orientation of the building shows centrality and verticality as it has been emphasized by Ciorciari(2015) explaining that patron-client relationships are shown by the presence of centrality. The configuration of building mass of employers and workers on the land of nobles, ulama, and merchants is surrounded by walls (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14), and it shows that there is patrons' protection to clients to maintain continuity of their relationship (Scott,1972;Eisenstadt&Roniger,1984;Roniger, 2015;Newbury, 2003;Hertog,2009). The different entrance and circulation paths between employers and labourers are shown in the organization of nobles, ulama, and merchants' spaces. The employers' entrance will be through the main door at the front of the building while the entrance and labourer circulation path will be through the back door of the building or the side door of the building as can be seen in figures 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14. Differences in the path of employers and workers indicate that hierarchies and status differences are maintained in this spatial organization and the patron-client relationship is maintained in the spatial context (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14).

The spatial configuration in the client building (courtiers, labourers, servants) has an arrangement consisting of *pendhapa, dalem,* and *senthong* with much smaller and simpler room sizes than the houses of the patrons (nobles, ulemas, and merchants) (Figures 15, 16, 17). In the *abdi dalem* houses, there is a room for workers who help the *courtier* prepare the royal equipment (Fig. 15), and the same thing also happens in the modin houses that have a room for batik labourers (Fig. 16). However, this layout does not exist in Laweyan since the servants do not have other servants below them (Fig. 17). The difference in the entry and circulation routes between the residences of nobles, ulama, merchants (the upper class) and the houses of courtiers, labourers, and servants (the lower class) is that the circulation in the ones in the upper class is clearly distinguished and cannot be trespassed. Meanwhile, the entrance to the houses of courtiers can be not distinguished and it has no clear territory, so all labourers can freely enter all parts of the courtiers' rooms (Fig. 15). The route in modin and the batik worker houses, furthermore, is clearly distinguished where the modin houses route is through the front door, while batik worker house route is through the side door directly to the batik factory (Fig 16). The houses of courtiers and modins have both symbiotic and control spaces to meet face-to-face with workers (Fig. 15,16). Thus, it is clear that it is not only the residences of nobles, ulemas, and merchants who have a hierarchy and patron-client relationship, but even at the lower strata like the residences of courtiers and modins, hierarchy and patron-client relationship can be seen in the spatial organisation and patterns of spatial relations. This fact, therefore confirms Leeds' statement that social hierarchy and control occur in all social orders (Leeds, 1994).
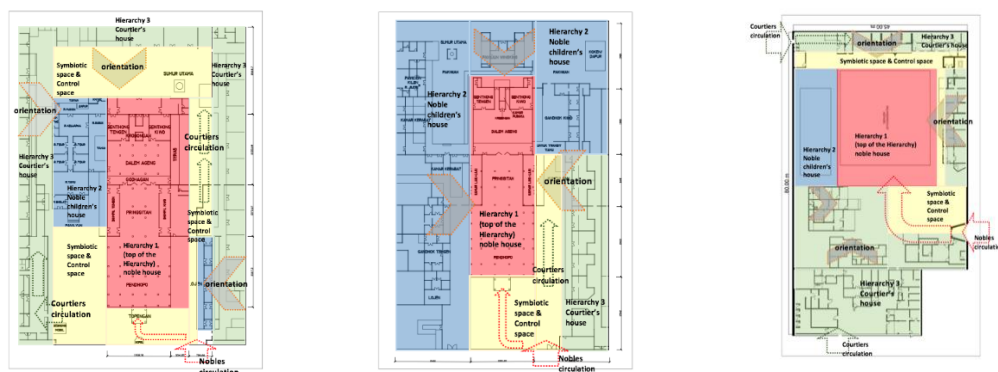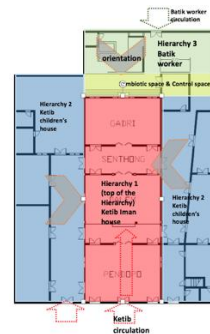
Fig. 6 : The Noble Residence *Dalem* Sasana Mulya Source : Marlina, 2022
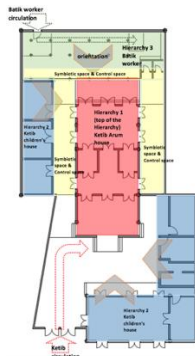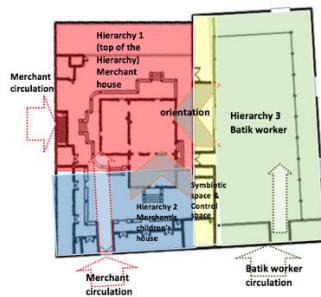
Fig. 7 : The Noble Residence *Dalem* Purwadiningratan Source : Marlina, 2022
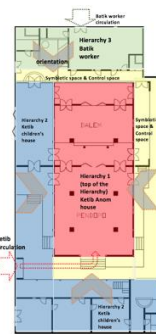
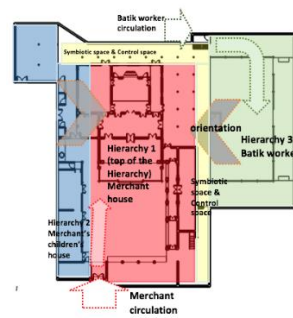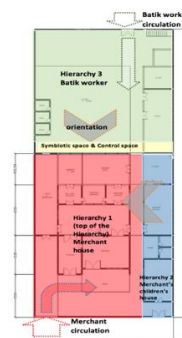**Fig.8** : The Noble Residence *Dalem* Joyodiningratan Source: Marlina, 2022

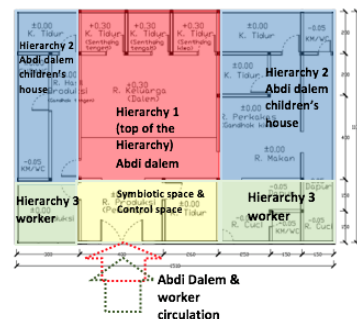**Fig. 9**: The Arum Khatib House Source: Musyawaroh,2019, processed by Marlina, 2022

Fig. 10: The Khatib Anom's House 2 Source: Musyawaroh,2019, processed by Marlina, 2022
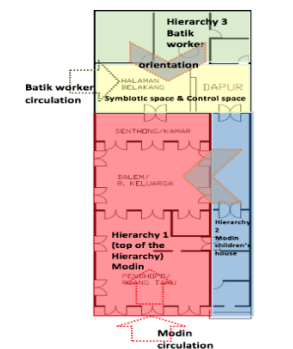

Fig. 11: The Khatib Iman's House Source: Musyawaroh,2019, processed by Marlina, 2022
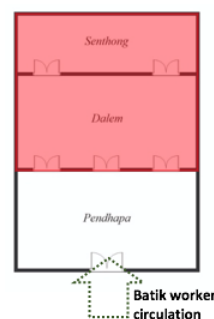

Fig. 12 : The Plan of Cokrosumarto House, a Batik Merchant House in Laweyan Source: Cahyono,2019; Marlina, 2022

Fig. 13: The Plan of Harjodikoro House, a Batik Merchant in Laweyan Source:Cahyono,2019; Marlina, 2022

Fig. 14: The Plan of Putra Laweyan House, a Batik Merchant in Laweyan Source: Izzah 2021; Marlina 2022

Fig.15: The Plan of an *Abdi Dalem* House in the Surakarta Palace Source: Marlina, 2022

Fig.16: The Plan of a Modin House in Kauman Source: Musyawaroh, 2001, Marlina, 2022

Fig. 17: The Plans of a Labourer House in Laweyan Source: Marlina, 2022

5.3.2. The Building Physical System

The construction system for houses of masters (nobles, ulemas, and merchants) uses wooden poles, and the pole size of the masters' buildings is much larger than those of servants' houses (courtiers and labourers). The pillar shape of the masters' houses is more varied than the pillar of labourers' houses (Figs 18,19,20 compared to figures 27,28,29). These differences exist because the masters' houses are wider and higher, so they require larger poles. The floors in the masters' buildings are generally patterned and coloured (Figs 24, 26), while the floors in servants' houses are unpatterned and plain, most of them are only covered with plaster (Figs 27,28,29). The walls of the masters' buildings use bricks and wood filled with carved ornaments (Figs 20,23,24) while the walls of the servants' houses are merely plain and more simple wood without carvings (Figs 30,31,32). The roof structure and construction system of both masters' and servants' houses use a wooden frame but are different in size and complexity according to strata (Fig. 18 compared to figure 29).

Related to the roof shape, the houses of nobles use the *joglo* style while the houses of ulemas and merchants use the pyramid style. The shape of courtiers' and labourers' roofs, on the other hand, is in the form of kampong style (Fig. 33, 34, 35 compared to figures 36, 37, 38). For the building materials, the houses of nobles, clerics and merchants are certainly much better and more varied (combining local and modern materials) than the houses of courtiers and labourers (only using simple local building materials) (Figs 21, 22, 23 compared to figures 36, 37, 38). The structure and construction systems and the types of materials in this study really reflect the social strata of the house's owner. There are similarities in the types of building construction of employers and workers, but there are differences in the level of the complexity of construction, the quality of materials, and the sizes, as well as the ornaments. All of these differences indicate that the patron-client relationship cannot be separated, and it still maintains the social hierarchy (Eisenstadt & Roniger,1984;Roniger,2015;Newbury,2003). The patron-client relationships are indicated by the existence of inequalities in wealth and power seen in the physical building system. Thus, the social structure of society can be recognized from the characteristics of the building's physical structure (Lynch, 1960).

Fig. 18: The Wooden Construction in the *Pendhapa* (Hall) of a Noble's House
Source: Marlina,2022
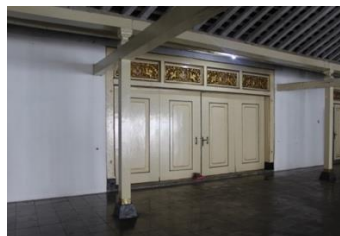
Fig.19 : The Wooden Construction in the *Pringgitan* Room of a Noble's House
Source: Marlina,2018

Fig.20: The Wooden Construction in the *Dalem* Room of a Noble's House
Sumber : Marlina, 2012

Fig. 21: The Column and Wall Panelling of the Ulema House in Kauman.
Source : Marlina,2022

Fig. 22 : The Victorian Wall Panelling of the Ulema House in Kauman.
Source : Marlina,2022

Fig. 23: The Ulema House in Kauman.
Source : Marlina,2022

Fig. 24:
The *Dalem* of a Merchant's
House in Laweyan.
Source: Marlina,2022

Fig. 25:
The *Pendhapa* Plafond
(Ceiling) of a Merchant's
House in Laweyan.
Source: Marlina,2022

Fig. 26: The *Pendhapa* of
a Merchant's House in
Laweyan.
Source: Marlina,2022

Fig. 27:
The *Dalem* of a Palace
Courtier's.
Source: Marlina, 2018

Fig. 28:
The *Pendhapa* of a Modin's
House in Kauman
Source: Musyawaroh,2001

Fig. 29: The *Pendhapa* of
a labourer's house in
Laweyan
Source: Marlina,2022

Fig. 30: The Interior of a
Courtier's House.
Source: Marlina,2018

Fig. 31: The Interior of a
Labourer's House in
Laweyan
Source: Marlina, 2022

Fig. 32: The Interior of a
Labourer's House in
Laweyan
Source:Marlina,2022

5.3.3. The System of Building Form

The facades of the main buildings in the settlements of nobles, ulama, and merchants (Figs 33,34,35) and the buildings of the courtiers, labourers (Figs 36,37,38) are symmetrical. The roofs of the nobles' buildings use the joglo type (Fig. 33), the roofs of the ulama and merchant buildings use the pyramids (Figs 34, 35), and the roofs of the courtiers and labourers use the kampong roofs (Figs 36,37,38). The principle of hierarchy applies to the composition of the building's facade to show the degree of power, wealth, and centrality. The use of large, tall, and strong wooden pillars on the building facade is not only for the structure completion but also for achieving the composition balance between the head, body, and feet of the building as well as indicating the social status of the owner (Figs 26, 29). The main door layout on the facade is influenced by the circulation and organisation patterns of the building space. The master's building uses carved ornaments on the top of the door and some ulemas' buildings use wall panelling ornaments (Figs 19,21,22,23,26). The labourer buildings, however, are different because the main door on the facade does not use carvings (Figs 36,37,38).

The layout of the window facades in nobles' and labourers' houses is only for airing and lighting although the windows of the nobles' houses still use carved ornaments. The ceiling

on the facade of the nobles' buildings uses wooden boards (Figs 23,25,26) and has motifs (Figs 21,22). The labourer's building, on the contrary, uses a plasterboard ceiling (Fig. 27) or without ceilings, so the wooden roof construction is immediately visible (Figs 29,31). The floors in nobles' buildings are generally patterned (Figs 21,24,26), while the floors in labourers' buildings are not patterned and usually use plaster (Figs 29,32). The composition of the building facades consists of elements that make up the facade, and these elements are varied in complexity. The complexity, moreover, describes the owner's hierarchy, and it obviously shows the patron-client relationships characterised by asymmetric relation, inequality, and differences in power and wealth as emphasised by (Moglia,etal.,2018;Ciorciari, 2015;Scott,1972; Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984;Roniger, 2015;Newbury, 2003).

Fig. 33:
A Noble's House in the Palace
Source: Marlina,2018

Fig. 34:
The House of an Ulema Descendant of Ulama and a Batik Merchant in Kauman
Source: Marlina, 2022.

Fig. 35:
The Merhant's House in Laweyan
Source: Marlina, 2022

Fig. 36: Abdi Dalem's House in the Palace
Source: Marlina, 2018

Fig.37: Modin's house in Kauman
Source: Musyawaroh, 2001

Fig. 38: Labourer House in Laweyan
Source: Marlina, 2022

5.4. Patron Client Relations among Nobles, Ulemas, and Merchants

The patron-client relationship between nobles and courtiers in Baluwarti manifested in the settlement spatial pattern and the obedience and loyalty of the courtiers to the king or nobles can be seen during the events called *pisowanan* and *Jumengan Dalem*. In these Javanese traditional processions, courtiers face the king and they sit on the floor around the king to receive titles and orders from the king at the hall called *Pendhapa Sasana Sewaka* (Figure 39). In the ulema houses in Kauman there is also a patron-client relationship. This relationship can be seen between Ulemas, who are also merchants, and batik labourers. In this context, ulemas as the employers provide the knowledge of making batik in the form of instructions to their labourers and control their work. The labourers, on the other hand, show obedience to their employer to continue their relationship (Fig. 40). The patron-client relationship also occurs in the Laweyan. In this merchants' settlement, the batik merchants give orders to their labourers and control the batik-making process (Fig. 41). The close relationship between patrons and clients often occurs in the symbiotic room and the control room (Figs 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14).

The relationship between nobles and courtiers, ulemas and labourers, and merchants and labourers is not merely professional, but it is rather an interpersonal relationship. This relationship, furthermore, is marked by some characteristics, namely loyalty, reciprocity, voluntary work, informality, lack of formal legality, regulations based on the symbolism tradition that occurs in traditional societies, and face-to-face interactions between patrons and clients. Within this kind of relationship, however, there is symbiosis. The clients receive work, money, protection and welfare from the patron while the patrons receive support, energy, loyalty, and service from the clients (Scott,1972;Eisenstadt & Roniger, 1984;Roniger, 2015; Newbury, 2003;Ciorciari, 2015). Because such a relationship requires mutual trust and is conceptualised through the politics of gratitude or indebtedness (Ricardo, 2020), it will be difficult for the two parties to break away. Affirmation of the importance of client loyalty, moreover, is crucial for patrons as a tool to legitimise power (Priyatmoko, 2013;Marlina, 2018).

This study comprises several topics, namely the hierarchy of urban spatial planning (macro), the spatial hierarchy of settlements (mezzo), the architectural hierarchy (micro), and the study of patron-client relationships between nobles, ulemas, and merchants. From this study, several results can be obtained: that the patron-client relationships can be expanded and reproduced to create the structure of domination in the form of spatial organisation as described by (Giddens, 2010); that the spatial legitimacy system is integrated with social stratification which always includes status differences in traditional societies (Weber, 1978); that these patron-client politics has been regenerated from generation to generation in the form of a spatial pattern system and a spatial organisation inherent in culture and tradition. In addition, the continuation of such a legitimacy system can be obtained from the members of a community who believe in the existing system (Weber, 1978).

Fig. 39: The King's Relationship with the courtiers in the Palace
Source: Marlina, 2018

Fig.40: The relationship between the Ulema and the batik labours in Kauman
Source: Musyawaroh, 2001

Fig. 41: The Relationship between the batik Merchants and the labourers in Laweyan
Source: Putra Laweyan,2015

Conclusions

Social status creates the system of value that regulates the patron-client relationship between employers and employees. This system then creates spaces to facilitate activities at the macro, mezzo, and micro levels. The spatial configuration of the highest level of the hierarchy will always dominate the spatial configuration of the lower levels. The layout in the highest hierarchy has the largest spatial size and does not change over time. This attachment is called dominance, and each space size represents a class in the hierarchy. The spatial hierarchy is an easy way to distribute tasks and responsibilities. This hierarchy can also be understood in terms of design control where the highest hierarchy can control spaces, for example, who can enter or who cannot or which spaces can be accessed or which spaces cannot. The spatial pattern created as a result of the patron-client relationship must have a space for face-to-face meetings to distribute tasks and, at the same time, to be the hierarchical control. This kind of control asserts the relationship between the space configuration and its users.

Related to the spatial positions, people in the higher hierarchy limit the mobility of the people in the lower hierarchy with the control over physical elements. The physical configuration has different interpretations regarding the relationship between patrons and

clients. The nature of the hierarchical structure is to isolate entities at the same level and establish vertical relationships. The spatial pattern of macro, mezzo, and micro spaces containing spatial hierarchy and spatial dominance is actually an act to expand and maintain patron-client politics.

Theoretical constructions related to maintaining the patron-client relationships are manifested in the configuration of spatial patterns, namely: (1) At the macro level: the maintenance of the city's spatial layout hierarchy, at the mezzo: the maintenance of the spatial configuration hierarchy in settlements, at the micro level: the maintenance of the hierarchy system of architectural forms; (2) The clients' loyalty to patrons in occupying the spatial hierarchy is the tool for legitimising power; (3) The effective spatial control to maintain the power and patron-client relationships.

This research is limited to the loci showing inequality in wealth and power in which the exchange of resources, hierarchies, and social strata exist. Further studies can be carried out by using loci in other old Javanese settlements where the patron-client relationship exists. With the increasing number of further studies related to the spatial pattern caused by patron-client relationships in Java, the theoretical construction of this research then becomes stronger.

Acknowledgements

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