

Primbon: Representation of Kraton Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Primbon as Javanese local knowledge has been a guide for Javanese everyday and ritual life, included buildings, for decades. This paper intends to investigate the use of primbon in the Kraton Yogyakarta (Palace of Yogyakarta) as the representation of the sultan (king). The investigation was conducted through interpretive criticism to reveal the degree of conformity under the rules and principles in primbon as an attempt to form a new perspective in understanding the primbon. The analysis focuses on verses 172 and 194–196 of Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna, which deals with the arrangement of buildings. By transliterating the verses into English and interpreting the application of the verses in Kraton Yogyakarta, the study demonstrated the manifestation of the primbon verses in the kraton's building arrangement. The study of primbon reveals the role of kraton as the representation of the earth in the universe, while the representation here displays the hierarchical arrangement of building facilities, from sacred to nonsacred or from private to public.

Keywords: primbon, representation, Kraton Yogyakarta

Introduction

Primbon acts as the direction to organise life for Javanese people and as a source of reference to find the solution to most everyday problems. This paper will investigate the representation of culture through spatial formation. *Primbon* contains the principles related to building practice, which can be either followed or disregarded. It is believed that when the principles are followed, *becik* (rewards) will emerge, and when they are ignored, *ala* (consequences) will arise (Priyotomo, 2001).

The term *primbon* was derived from the word *rimbu* (Hidayat, 2001), which means to keep. This meaning suggests that *primbon* is a container to keep various forms of knowledge regarding events, both daily and ritual, in Javanese people's lives. These events include events associated with positive meanings (e.g., birth, life, and marriage) or events associated with negative meanings (e.g., death, accident, illness, and divorce) that can trigger conflicts because of the diversity among the Javanese people. Such diversity results in various forms of behaviours in responding to the event, so there will be various kinds of knowledge regarding each event.

Such various kinds of knowledge are kept in *primbon* for future references if a conflict needs to be solved. The knowledge becomes the guidance to behave or act accordingly to the situation to avoid the conflict. *Primbon* does not force people always to follow the guidance or rules accordingly. However, there are consequences when the principles in *primbon* are not obeyed. *Primbon* becomes a synopsis of knowledge about Javanese people's behaviours and acts in life, which was passed down as an ancestor legacy through the process of trial and error.

There are several types of *primbon* that had been written by several royal members of the *kraton* (palace), for examples, the *primbon* written by like Kanjeng Pangeran Harya Tjakraningrat from Kraton Yogyakarta or Raden Tanojo from Solo or Kraton Surakarta. Some of the *primbon* are listed in Table 1.

This paper focuses on investigating *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna*, which is the legacy of Kanjeng Pangeran Harya Tjakraningrat (1983c), a noble of Kraton Yogyakarta. There is another *primbon*, *Primbon Pandhita Sabda Nata* (Tanojo, 1976), which also discussed the principles of buildings; however, it discussed buildings within the territory domain of Kraton Surakarta and therefore will not be investigated in this paper as we focus only on Kraton Yogyakarta. In understanding the formation of Kraton Yogyakarta, we only consider

Title	Content	Author and Year
<i>Primbon Pandita Sabda Nata</i> (The Master Words of Arrangement)	Knowledge about reside and farming	Raden Tanojo, Kraton Surakarta (1976)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Ajimantrawara</i>	Assemblage of spells, including potion, war, love, leadership, about wife, and about avoiding disaster	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983a)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Atassadhur Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about spells of wisdom and guidance to achieve wisdom	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983b)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about reside, the right time to reside, building, when to plant and to chop the materials for building, and the arrangement of house	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983c)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Bektijammal Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about human physics and characters	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983d)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Kammalludhin Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about religious leader and incantations	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983e)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Kunci</i> (Key) <i>Betaljemur</i>	Information (keywords) about things with unknown cause or unclear purpose	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983f)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Lukmanakim Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about beksan (ritual dancing), spells (including <i>sedulur papat limo pancer</i>), potions, and talismans to achieve a long and good marriage	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983g)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Makdumsarpin Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about <i>keris</i> (traditional Javanese weapon)	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983h)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Naklassanir Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about precious stones	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983i)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Qommarrulsyamsi Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about calendar (Javanese and Century) to predict the right time to do things or events	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983j)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Qoradhatun Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about <i>golong gilig</i> , Javanese philosophy about relations between human and God, human and human, and human with nature	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983k)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Quraisyn Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about rules, behaviour, and actions in certain events	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983l)
<i>Kitab</i> (The Book of) <i>Primbon Shahdathsahthir Adammakna</i>	Knowledge about the meaning of dreams, about talismans, and how to avoid misfortunes or disasters	K. P. H. Tjakraningrat, Kraton Yogyakarta (1983m)

Table 1
Examples of *primbon* written by royal members of Kraton Yogyakarta and Kraton Surakarta

the *primbon* verses specifically related to buildings, and not all verses related to buildings will be considered. We only focus on the verses that are relevant to understand the representation formation in Kraton Yogyakarta. The study of *primbon*, which addresses the formation of mass buildings in Javanese house, indicates that *primbon* is intended for the upper class of society or aristocratic, not for common people (Arfianti, 2005). In particular, in this study, we will discuss the verses from *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna* (Tjakraningrat, 1983c) that specifically related to buildings. In this *primbon*, there are the verses regarding the choice of land (verse 151), time to reside (verse 155), time to plant (verse 162), time to harvest (verse 165), orientation (verse 172), and placement of gates (verses 194 to 196). Only the *primbon* related to orientation and placement of gates will be discussed here.

Investigating *Primbon* as A Form of Representation

This paper intends to explore the architecture representation of *primbon* in *kraton* architecture. Representation is a way to communicate visually in architecture. The communication process involves two aspects: the one representing and the one being represented. Building becomes one of the media of representation in the architecture domain. In studying the *primbon* as architectural representation, the one representing is Kraton Yogyakarta, and the one being represented is the rules in *primbon*. This study takes on the idea of representation as an image, based on the understanding that architecture is a form of culture (Mangunwijaya, 2013). This paper attempts to view the extent to which the rules in *primbon* are enforced in the representation of Kraton Yogyakarta, as manifested in the spatial formation of its buildings. The degree of conformity of the rules will be measured qualitatively, to derive a conclusion to determine the extent to which the *primbon* is followed or disregarded in the *kraton* architecture.

The investigation of *primbon* in this study was conducted through interpretive criticism. Criticism is a comprehension concerning a work of architecture by giving a description, giving directions, and giving a valuation (Attoe, 1978). The author chose interpretive criticism as an approach in this study to form an alternative perspective, based on the authors' understanding, in viewing an object. This approach was conducted to display the authors' interpretation and comprehension regarding the findings discovered from the dialogue between the subject and the object. The analysis in this study attempts to

describe the facts about the principles in *primbon* (which is related to representation display) as precise as possible and to describe the facts concerning spatial formation in Kraton Yogyakarta. Due to personal influence and experience, this criticism is not entirely neutral; however, with an orderly methodological framework, it is expected that investigation process would derive objective and logical findings.

Mangunwijaya, in his book *Wastu Citra* (2013), suggests that the architectural process comprises two aspects, namely function domain and imagery domain. Imagery indicates the representation of a building or an impression the building offers to the viewing person. According to Mangunwijaya (2013), imagery and function reflect culture and aptitude respectively. Therefore, as the manifestation of the culture, buildings manifest the essence of humans. Buildings reflect the soul's splendour, the heart's beauty, or the simplicity of human thinking.

The aspect of imagery formation of architecture is not mythical or merely based on belief or religious aspects. The study will focus on three main aspects of imagery formation. The first one is the culture, which can vary depending on the society where that culture is practised and spread. Hence the buildings in different places can have similarities due to the similarities of culture. Similarities can also occur due to the culture not originally from that place but a result of a culture deployment brought from the original country. Additionally, the buildings in different locations may have similar functions but different appearances due to cultural differences.

The second aspect of imagery formation would be the orientation or central point. The central point in this regard does not refer to the contemporary understanding of the centre of gravity from geometrical forms; it refers to the axis of cultural belief embraced by the society. Axis here could be considered as two points served as the beginning and the end, rather than as a single point in geometry. The third aspect of imagery formation would be a hierarchy. Like the life process that has to go through step-by-step with its value, accordingly buildings as the reflection of life should hold values and steps following a system of hierarchy. These three aspects of imagery formation will be discussed in our investigation of the *primbon*, especially the *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna* (Tjakraningrat, 1983c), concerning the spatial formation of Kraton Yogyakarta.

Understanding the Architectural Representation in *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna*

Architecture as a form of culture within the Javanese context is very much related to *primbon*. Every aspect of living for Javanese people is already determined in *primbon*. Likewise, in buildings, there are some principles or rules that have been written in *primbon*. The following analysis will discuss several verses in *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna* (Tjakraningrat, 1983c) that demonstrate the representation of Kraton Yogyakarta as part of the culture.

Orientation

Verse 172 of the *primbon* set the principles to define the house orientation. The following is the original content of the verse:

No. 172. Adheping Omah

Miturut ngunggungane neptune dina lan kalahirane kang manggon, yaiku gunggung ketemu:

7 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngetan

8 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngetan

9 kang becik kudu madhep ngidul utawa ngetan

10 kang becik kudu madhep ngidul utawa ngulon

11 kang becik kudu madhep ngulon

12 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngulon

13 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngetan

14 kang becik kudu madhep ngidul utawa ngetan

15 kang becik kudu madhep ngulon

16 kang becik kudu madhep ngulon

17 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngulon

18 kang becik kudu madhep ngalor utawa ngetan

Katrangan: Saupama lahire ing dina Saptu Paing, neptune Saptu 9 Paing 9 gunggung 18; kang becik kudu ngenggoni omah kang madhep ngalor utawa ngetan. (Tjakraningrat, 1983c, p. 161)

No. 172. The direction of the house

According to the measurement of the numbers of days and the birth days of the owner, if the result is:

7 the good direction must face north or east

8 the good direction must face north or east

9 the good direction must face south or east

10 the good direction must face south or west

11 the good direction must face west

12 the good direction must face north or west

13 the good direction must face north or east

14 the good direction must face south or east

15 the good direction must face west

16 the good direction must face west

17 the good direction must face north or west

18 the good direction must face north or east

Notes: If the owner was born in Saturday *Pahing*, the number of Saturday is 9, the number of *Pahing* is 9, the sum is 18; the best direction must be staying in a house facing north or east.

The rules on orientation in these verses are applied in relation to the numbers associated with time. In Javanese culture, there exist a belief that a particular day carries a particular weight, which is different for each day. The Javanese people has their understanding of *wektu* (time), as shown in Table 2. Although there are many terms occasionally heard and discussed in society, only *wektu pitu* (time of seven) and *wektu limo* (time of five) are used daily. *Wektu pitu* indicates the common days of the week, while *wektu limo*—Javanese people commonly refer to it as *pasaran*—indicates birth days. Each of the day in *wektu seven* and *wektu limo* is associated with particular *neptu* (number) as shown in Table 3.

<i>Wektu pitu</i> (7)	The day that we know as common days (Sunday, Monday, Thursday, Wednesday, Tuesday, Friday, Saturday)
<i>Wektu limo</i> (5)	Commonly termed as <i>pasaran</i> (the names of birth days)
<i>Wektu rolas</i> (12)	Commonly termed as <i>sasi</i> (months in a year, from January to December)
<i>Wektu wolu</i> (8)	Every eight years (<i>sewindu</i>)
<i>Wektu papat</i> (4)	Every four years
<i>Wektu telung puluh limo</i> (35)	Commonly termed as <i>wuku</i> (weeks, thirty-five weeks in a year)

Table 2
Wektu (time) in Javanese culture

Wektu pitu (time of seven; common days)		Wektu limo (time of five; pasaran days)	
Names of days	Neptu (the number)	Names of birth days	Neptu (the number)
<i>Ahad</i> (Sunday)	5	<i>Legi</i>	5
<i>Senen</i> (Monday)	4	<i>Paing/Pahing</i>	9
<i>Seloso</i> (Tuesday)	3	<i>Pon</i>	7
<i>Rebo</i> (Wednesday)	7	<i>Wage</i>	4
<i>Kemis</i> (Thursday)	8	<i>Kliwon</i>	8
<i>Jemuah</i> (Friday)	6		
<i>Sebtu</i> (Saturday)	9		

Table 3
Wektu pitu and *wektu limo*

Similar to days, *sasi/wulan* (months) are also associated with Javanese *neptu* (number), as shown in Table 4. Javanese calendar was adopted from the Islamic calendar after Islam arrived on the island of Java. The *sasi* in the Islamic calendar has the same number of months and the number of days in a month like in the common calendar adopted from the Gregorian calendar.

Another important concept in Javanese societal belief is the concept of *sedulur papat limo pancer* which carries a deep meaning. The idea of *sedulur papat limo pancer* is regarding the presence of the siblings accompanying the unborn baby when still in the womb. The term *kakang kawah* (the older brother of crater) and *adhi ari-ari* (the younger sibling of placenta) are the two terms most commonly known by the Javanese people, referring to two out of the five siblings. The *sedulur papat* names are *Watman*, *Wahman*, *Rahman*, and *Ariman*, and the term of *limo pancer* refers to the name of the recently born baby. *Watman* means *wat*, the condition of a mother while undergoing the first feeling of giving birth during the delivery. *Wahman* means crater, birth course, or the opening of the delivery path. *Rahman* means the blood that comes out during the delivery. *Ariman* means the placenta that comes out after the process of delivery. These names are usually called out if the unborn baby needs help from their *sedulur* (siblings). After Islam arrived in Java, this concept still exists; however, the names are changed into the names of the angels: Jibril, Mikail, Isroil, and Israfil.

Table 4
Months in
Javanese calendar

Months	Neptu (the number)	Months	Neptu (the number)
<i>Suro</i>	1	<i>Rejeb</i>	3
<i>Sapar</i>	3	<i>Saban</i>	5
<i>Mulud</i>	4	<i>Pasa</i>	6
<i>Bakda Mulud</i>	6	<i>Sawal</i>	1
<i>Jumadil Awal</i>	7	<i>Dulkaidah</i>	2
<i>Jumadil Akir</i>	2	<i>Besar</i>	4

The concept of *sedulur papat limo pancer* in the Javanese society is applied in relation to the days of *pasaran*, which are *Legi*, *Pahing*, *Pon*, *Wage*, and *Kliwon*—the days in *waktu limo* or time of five, which are associated with the orientation. According to the ancient beliefs, the east side is considered the oldest side; this is why *Legi* stands in the east position. Meanwhile, *Kliwon* indicates the middle position, which is the highest position that represents the unborn baby's position in the centre or the core. The idea of centre point in *sedulur papat limo* reflects the Javanese belief that individuals can meet relatives and

communicate with them. While the relatives' appearance is like the unborn baby, they would guard it until its *titi-wanci* (the due date).

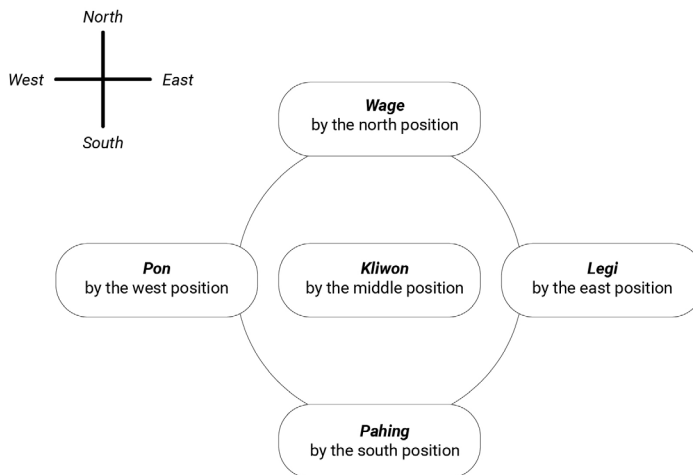


Figure 1
Concept of *sedulur papat limo pancar* (four siblings, five selves) (Image by authors)

The verses of the *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna* (Tjakraningrat, 1983c), particularly verses number 172, 176, 177, 178, 179 180, and 181, demonstrate how *primbon* especially follows the counting of *neptu*, either from *neptu* of syllable in the name—name of either the house owner or the land location—*neptu* of day time, and *neptu* of *pasar* time. However, the discussion regarding the search for *neptu* in the *kraton* setting and how the *kraton's neptu* is encompassed in the category of either *becik* (good) or *ala* (bad) is beyond the scope of this study. We only attempted to comprehend how *neptu* affected the formation of the *kraton*.

Further analysis was conducted to see if the setting of a *kraton* follows the philosophy of *sedulur papat limo pancar*. Assuming that the philosophy is pursued, then the most protected facility should be placed in the middle, surrounded by other facilities which protect it. As shown in Figure 1, the *dulur papat*, namely *Legi*, *Pahing*, *Pon*, and *Wage*, surrounds *Kliwon* as the *limo pancar*—the one that should be protected. In the setting of a *kraton*, *prabayeksa* is the main living quarter of the *sultan* (king) as the most sacred place in the palace and the most protected. This explains the location of *prabayeksa* in the centre of the *kraton's* arrangement, surrounded by other facilities.

This placement also becomes the foundation of understanding the representation formation from the *sultan's* ruling of *kraton*, resulting in the formation that exists until now. *Prabayeksa* functions as

the *sultan's* home and his family's residence. The layout setting of *prabayeksa* is comparable to the layout setting of Javanese houses, which reflects the manner of *Primbon Pandhita Sabda Nata*. The layout consists of *sentong tengen* (right-side space), *sentong tengah* (middle space), and *sentong kiwa* (left-side space), which are arranged in line from the west to the east (Purwani, 2001). The appearance of *prabayeksa* is simpler compared to other facilities. While the main essence of *kraton* is as the power representation of *sultan*, the appearance of *prabayeksa* offers a more modest display. Purwani (2001) describes that such a display includes less ornamentation in the hall, unembellished main columns, and plain brown outer walls, whilst the doors and windows are adorned with carvings of the *sulur* motifs and gold shrubs over red background.

The analysis of *prabayeksa* in relation to the other facilities within the *kraton* building complex, such as the exhibition ward dan the *sithinggil* ward, reveals several key characteristics of *prabayeksa* ward. The setting of *kraton* suggests that the facility with the highest value is always placed in the middle of the area. In this regard, *prabayeksa* is placed in the centre of the area and protected by other facilities, thus becoming the core of *kraton*. However, the imagery of *prabayeksa* is more modest compared with other facilities, apart from some minor ornamentation added to *prabayeksa*. The layout of the buildings within the *kraton* complex also indicates that the closer the buildings to the core of *kraton*, the more modest they are. The setting and appearance of buildings in *kraton* suggest the representation of the *sultan's* ruling, starting from the inside (the core) with the path moving out. The representation of spatial formation under the philosophy of *sedulur papat limo pancer* indicates that the private function must be located in the middle of the area—not by the side, the back, nor the front—thus protected by other areas. The public functions are located in the most outer circle, followed by the second circle consisting of the semi-public or semi-private functions, and finally, the most inner circle consisting of the most private function.

In general, the building imagery represents the verses of *primbon* on a macro scale. The verses should not be considered based on the visual impression of human scale or building appearance; however, they should be understood in the imaginative scale, where the *kraton* represents the whole universe.

The gate(s)

The verses of *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna* also contain the principles regarding the establishment of the gate, in particular as written in verses 194 to 196.

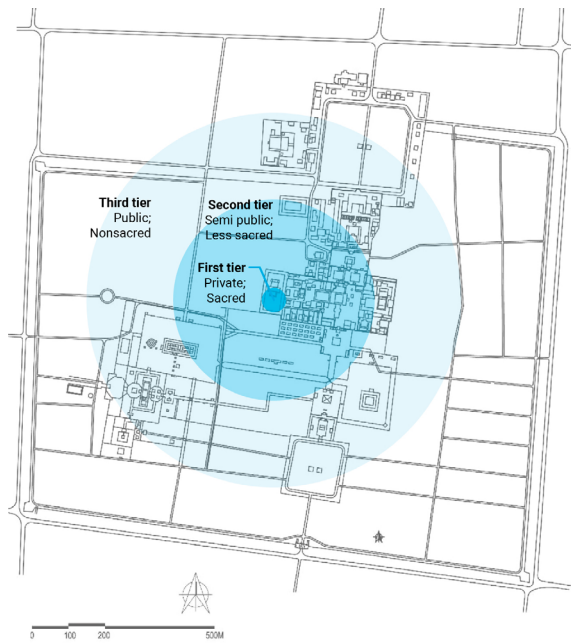


Figure 2
Hierarchy of space and sacredness levels of Kraton Yogyakarta (Image taken from Wardani (2013), annotations by authors)

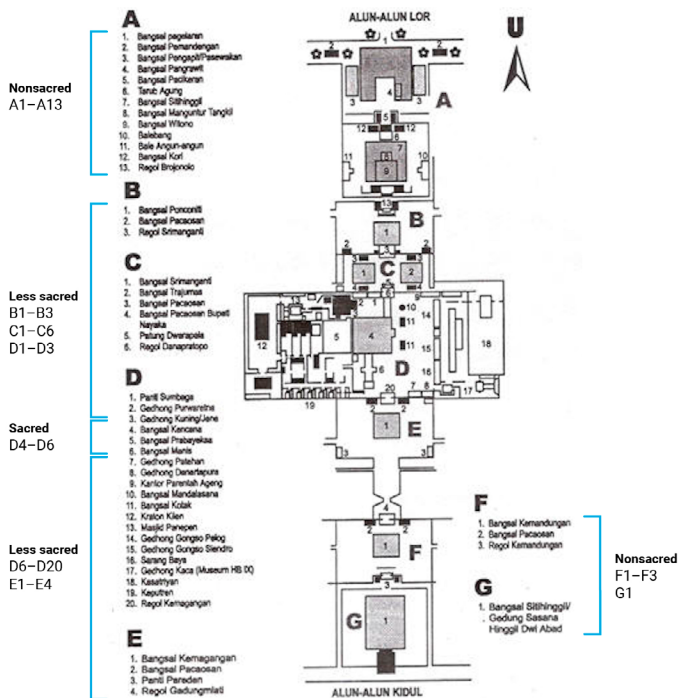


Figure 3
Sacredness levels of buildings in Kraton Yogyakarta (Image taken from Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (n. d.), annotations by authors)

No. 194. Gawe lawang pakarangan

Gawe lawang pakarangan, papan kang arep diedegi lawang, dawane kaukur, banjur kapara 5. Yen lawang mandhep mangidul pangetunge wiwit saka wetan. Mandhep mangulon wiwit saka kidul. Madhep mangalor wiwit saka kulon. Madhep mengetan wiwit saka lor, kaya ing ngisor iki: (Tjakraningrat, 1983c, p. 171)

No. 194. Making the gate of the yard

Making the gate, the site where the gate would be erected, the length is measured, then divided into 5. If the gate is facing south, the counting begins from east. Facing west, it begins from the south. Facing north, it begins from the west. Facing north, it begins from the east, as shown below:

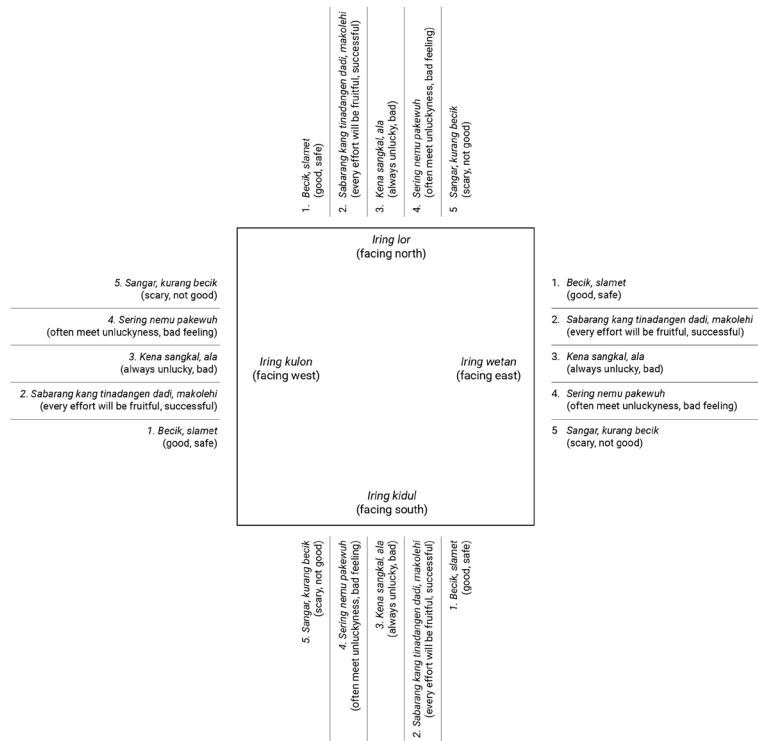


Figure 4
Illustration of
verse 194 on *gawe
lawang pakarangan*
(Image adapted
from Tjakraningrat
(1983c); translation by
authors)

No. 195. Gawe lawang pakarangan

Gawe lawang pakarangan, petungan lan lakune padha karo kasebut ing dhuwur iku, mung bae dawane papan kang diedegi lawang kapara 9, kaya ing ngisor iki: (Tjakraningrat, 1983c, p. 171)

No. 195. Making the gate of the yard

Making the gates, the calculation and the preparation are the same as in the previous verse, but the length of the site where the gate would be erected is divided into 9, as shown below:

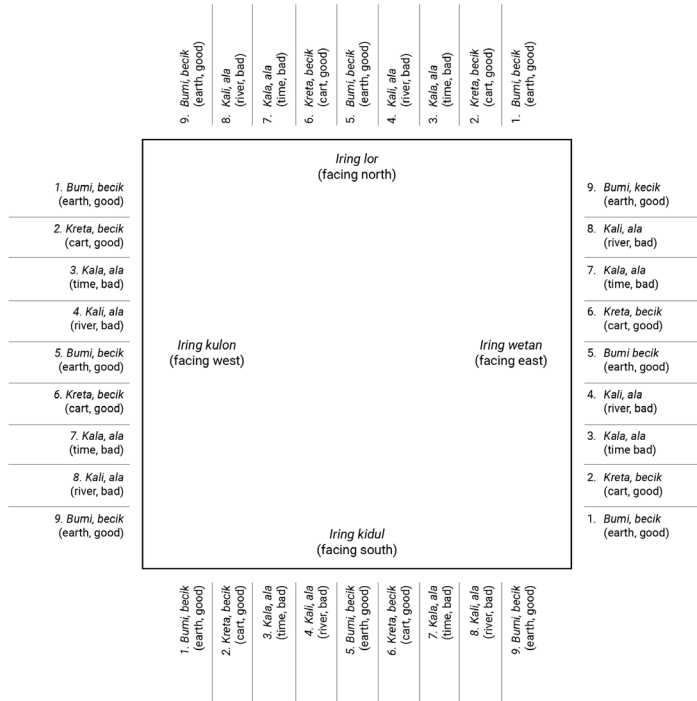


Figure 5
Illustration of
verse 195 on *gawe
lawang pakarangan*
(Image adapted
from Tjakraningrat
(1983c); translation by
authors)

No. 196. Gawe lawang pakarangan

Gawe lawang pakarangan iki, lakune ana bedane karo kang kasebut ing No. 194, lan No. 195 ing dhuwur, yaiku mangkene: papan kang arep didegi lawang, dawane kaukur, banjur kapara 9. Yen lawang madhep mangidul, pangetunge wiwit saka wetan. Madhep mangulon, wiwit saka lor. Madhep mangalor, wiwit saka kulon. Madhep mangetan, wiwit saka kidul. Terange mriksani uruting angka ing gambar kaya ing ngisor iki: (Tjakraningrat, 1983c, p. 172)

No. 196. Making the gate of the yard

Making this gate, is rather different from the description in No. 194 and No. 195 above, which is: the site where the gate would be erected, the length is measured, then divided into 9. If the gate is facing south, the counting begins from the east. Facing west, it begins from the north. Facing north, it

begins from west. Facing east, it begins from the south. To be clear, the order of the number can be seen in the image below:

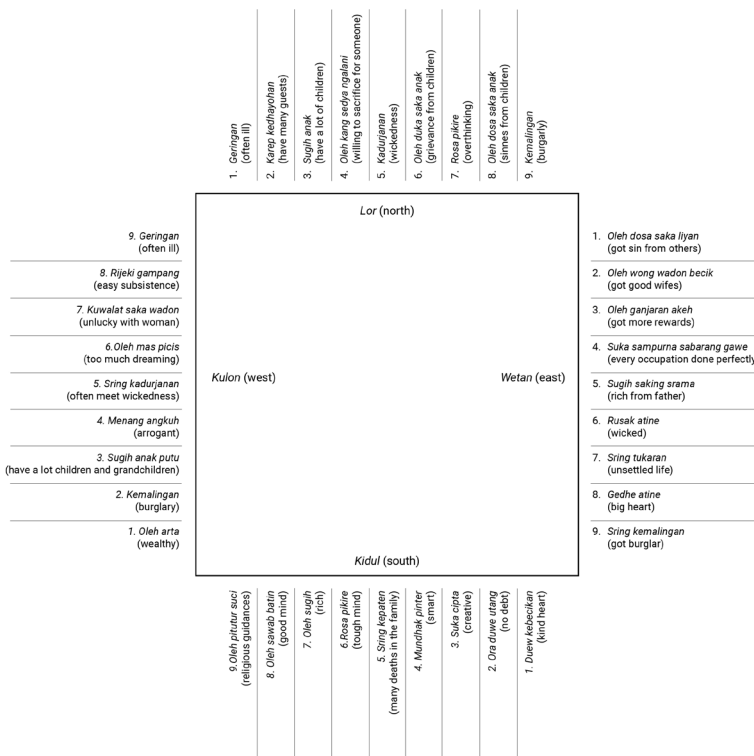


Figure 6
Illustration of
verse 195 on gawe
lawang pakarangan
(Image adapted
from Tjakraningrat
(1983c); translation by
authors)

The primbon verses 194 to 196 regarding the placement of gates in the Javanese house yard include several rules. According to verse 194, the width of the yard is divided into five sections, while according to verses 195 and 196, the yard's width is divided into nine. The *kraton's* gate is placed in the middle of the yard width on the north side. The rules in verses 194 and 195 suggest that the gate placement in the middle is not desirable, meanwhile according to verse 196, the gate placement in the middle is considered good. In the *kraton's* setting, the rules are manifested in the placement of various types of *regol* (gate). The placement of the *regol* is based on the middle (axes) arrangement of *kraton*, from the north to south, from Regol Brojonala, Regol Srimanganti, Regol Danapratopo, Regol Kemangangan, Regol Kemandungan, up to Regol Gadungmlati.

The rule in verse 196 points out the middle placement on the *bumi* (earth) which is considered *becik* (good). The understanding of earth here suggests the meaning of the world and its content. The deployment of the *regol* (gates) here certainly points out the earth to symbolise the Kraton Yogyakarta as the representation of harmony and prosperity of nature and its content as the divine creation. Therefore, the placement of *regol* becomes the symbol of earth or nature and its content, as well as the duty of the *sultan* (king) to oversee its harmony and prosperity.

In the reading of the primbon verses, there are conflicting rules such as between the rules in verses 194 and 195; however, such conflicts are not discussed in this paper. The analysis of the rules of *primbon* and its implementation in the *kraton* setting suggests the presence of knowledge that demonstrates Kraton Yogyakarta as the imagery of the universe, as represented through its spatial formation.

Conclusion

This study investigates the verses in *primbon* as an attempt to describe the representation of Kraton Yogyakarta as the residence of Yogyakarta's *sultan*. The analysis reveals that the layout of the *kraton* conform with the rules in *Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna*, especially the rules regarding the orientation and the making of the gates. The *kraton* displays the representation through the hierarchical arrangement of the building facilities. The innermost circle of the *kraton* consists of the private area (difficult to access), while the outermost circle consists of the public area (easy to access). There are circles in between, as either the semi-public or semi-private area to support the existence of buildings in the innermost or outermost circle. The placement of the *regol* (gates) also indicates the existence of the tiered or hierarchical space formation. Every circle always includes a gate as the access to enter the buildings in particular circle's area. Additionally, the gate placement in Kraton Yogyakarta indicates the compliance to the rules inside the *primbon*. The representation is displayed in Kraton Yogyakarta not in the scale of the building (or as human scale when viewing buildings), but more as a representation of imagery, in the form of images of Kraton Yogyakarta as the universe.

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