

Gender Bias in "*Batik Larangan*" Clothing at the Yogyakarta Royal Palace: A Semiotic Perspective

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Abstract

Batik at the Yogyakarta Palace in the ancient times has been used as traditional clothing which in practice was based on the concept that the king is a God. That is, batik clothing is used to build the image of a king who is dashing, manly, authoritative, and majestic. In the royal system, a leader or king must be a Man, so the use of batik clothing is preferable for men over women.

In this study, to find out how gender bias is found in the use of batik clothing, a semiotic analysis was carried out by looking at the signs contained in the batik clothing itself by identifying which ones include icons, indices, and symbols. The method used is a descriptive qualitative method using constructive and interpretive paradigms. The data is collected through literature studies.

From the results of the study, it is known that the concept that the king is a God which is also the embodiment of patriarchal culture which is attached to batik clothing through the shapes, motifs, sizes, and rules of how to use it. In the ancient times, it was the women who made batik to be offered for masculinity, authority, greatness, and nobleness of men, although, women also wear batik clothes because of their status as a partner of men.

Keywords: Batik larangan, patriarch, gender bias, Yogyakarta Royal palace, Java, and ancient fashion.

Introduction

The idea of treating men and women equally has become a common ideal today. The term women's emancipation has become a "common slogan" that describes the *political will* of our nation to give women equal opportunities, as men in nation-building. However, in daily life (cultural practice) there are still practices that distinguish men and women and treat them differently. In the household, for example, a working wife is still burdened with household chores, so she must "play a double role", that is, her emancipation adds to the "burden". Likewise, it happens with girls. Domestic work is emphasized more on her than on her brother. This is the concept of gender, which is a trait inherent in men and women that is constructed socially and culturally (Fakih, 1997).

This problem occurs because of the rooting of a patriarchal culture that places women as a complement to men. This culture has lasted for centuries and will not just disappear. The notion that males have a "more" position than females is not only embraced by males but accepted by females.

This is referred to as false consciousness (Berger and Luckmann, 1990). Thus, the equality of the "ideal" of women and men still requires a long process. This paper examines how patriarchal culture with the concept of "King is God" manifests in the clothes of the Yogyakarta Palace, especially batik that reflects a gender bias (Kusumah et al., 2000). This study is focused more on symbols and meanings and types of batik clothing, not on batik cultural practices.

This paper aims to fill in the gaps between the two existing works. First, Mari S. Condronogoro's work entitled "Traditional Clothing of The Yogyakarta Palace: Meaning and Function in Various Ceremonies (1877-1937)". This work has in detail revealed the use of batik clothes in the Yogyakarta palace, from daily clothes to clothes in royal ceremonies, from motifs, and shapes to symbols and meanings. However, his work does not deal with the ideology behind the cultural practice of wearing batik clothing.

Second, in his work entitled "Semiotics of Batik Ban in Yogyakarta" Rina Patriana Chairiyani focus on batik motifs known as prohibition batik. By using the concept of semiotics, this study reveals that the philosophies, beliefs, and symbols contained in the prohibition batik larangan motif imply leadership legitimacy. However, the authors offer no clear explanations of the ideology that produced the means of the legitimacy of that leadership.

To fill the gaps between these two works, this study explores the ideology behind the cultural practice of wearing batik clothes in the Yogyakarta Palace in the past. For this purpose, this study uses several main references as follows

- (1) Mari S. Condronogoro (1995) Traditional clothing of the Yogyakarta Palace (1877-1933): Meaning and Function in Various Ceremonies.
- (2) Rina Patriana Chairiyani (2014) Semiotics of Prohibition Batik in Yogyakarta.
- (3) Murywati S. Darmokusumo (2015) Yogyakarta Batik and its Journey from Time to Time.
- (4) Adi Kusrianto (2013) Batik philosophy, motifs, and uses.

Literature Review

Peirce (1965) defines what he termed "semiotic" as the "quasi-necessary, or formal doctrine of signs, "which abstracts "what must be the characters of all signs used by an intelligence capable of learning by experience", and which is philosophical logic pursued in terms of signs and sign processes. In his book titled 'A Theory of Semiotics ' Umberto Eco (1979) indicates that semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. He argues that a sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. According to Eco, that 'something else' does not necessarily exist exactly at the same time when the sign represents or replaces its position. Therefore, Umberto Eco often refers to it as a theory of lie, or deception because it can be used for misleading or deceiving others. Echoing Eco, Yakin et al. (2014) claim that semiotic is the study of signs or an epistemology about the existence or the actuality of signs in social life. They argue that semiotic accounts for everything that can be seen or be interpreted as a sign. But the objective of these two authors was only to attain a brief comparative analysis of the semiotic theory between both Saussure and Pierce from two different approaches and continents, the one from Europe and the other one from America (Yakin et al, 2014).

Campbell et al. (2019) took the definition of semiotics a step further by claiming that the systematic is not just a sign but a study of sign processes (semiosis) and meaning making. They argue that semiosis is any activity, conduct, or process that involves signs, where a sign is defined as anything that communicates something. They continue to say that meaning can be intentional such as a word uttered with a specific meaning, or unintentional, such as a symptom being a sign of a particular medical condition. Signs can also communicate feelings (which are usually not considered meanings) and may communicate internally (through thought itself) or through any of the senses: visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, or gustatory (taste).

In this study, we agree with the authors discussed above but in contrast with their work, we argue that semiotic is not just limited to sign or the study of signs, but also the use of sign to understand culture, values, and history.

The Theoretical Basis

According to Nazaruddin (2015) and Yunita (2016), semiotics is the science that studies signs. Furthermore, according to Chairiyani (2014), there are two approaches to seeing signs, namely the approach of Ferdinand de Saussure (1974) and Charles Sanders Pierce (1965). According to Prawira (2018), the two took different approaches, Pierce (1965) developed his system in the framework of philosophy while Saussure in the framework of linguistics. According to Chairiyani (2014) in his triangle *meaning* theory, a sign is something of a physical form that can be captured by the sensory sense is something that refers to (presents) something other than the sign itself. Signs, according to Pierce (1965), consist of symbols (signs that arise from agreements), icons (signs that arise from physical representatives), and indices (signs that arise from cause-and-effect relationships).

The object or reference of a sign is a social context to which a sign or something to which the sign refers. An *Interpretant* or a user of signs is the concept of thinking of a person who uses a sign and derives it to a certain meaning or meaning that exists in a person's mind about the object to which a signature refers. The most important thing in the process of semiosis is how meaning arises from a sign when a sign is used by people when communicating. Meanwhile, Saussure (1974) divides semiotics into two parts (dichotomy), namely *signifiers* and *signified*. The marker is seen as a form/form, while the signifier is seen as a meaning expressed through the concepts, functions, or values contained in that form/form. Saussure's semiotic existence is a relation between a marker and a signifier based on convention, commonly called signification. The social agreement is needed to be able to interpret the sign. Semiotics is a study of the meaning contained in signs, symbols, or images. Both Pierce (1965) and Saussure (1974) suggest how a sign, symbol, or image can have meaning or "mean". Thus, a semiotic analysis can reveal the systems, rules, and conventions that allow these signs to have a meaning.

Research Methods

This research uses qualitative and descriptive methods, within the constructive and interpretive paradigms. It examines data obtained through documentary studies. To examine how the meaning contained in batik motifs is used, semiotic analysis is also employed. The unit of analysis is the meaning that appears in the batik motifs. As for seeing the problem of gender bias in batik clothing, the theoretical framework of the patriarchal system and clothing is used in line with the semiotic theory of communication traditions which was championed by Umberto Eco (1979) and Ibrahim (2011).

Findings and the Discussion

1. The King and Power

According to Hasan (2011), the word patriarchy is an ideology that stands on the foundation of gender differences, assuming that men are superior to women. Patriarchy itself has historically incarnated from the dynamics of social relations and organizations in which men dominate women. The real form of patriarchal culture found in our country in the past was the royal system, in which the sole and supreme rule was in the hands of men and could only be replaced by men as well. Kings in Hindu times had a source of legitimacy of power on the concept of gods-kings with the doctrine of the king as the incarnation of the deity (Condronogoro, 2010). With the arrival of Islam, the concept of *kalifatullah* strengthened the position of the king as the highest power holder in the kingdom (Moertono, 1985).

Both concepts place the king in the position of God's representative in the world, which privileges him to demand recognition that he is the sole ruler to be obeyed by demanding all his people's loyalty. According to Condronogoro (1995), getting the king's

order or ngemban *dawuh dalem* is a matter of pride, so that people can accept it happily. In this case, it is seen that the Javanese king ruled based on the concept of power, which is usually socialized through expressions such as:

- (1) *arbitrary misesa ing sanagari* 'holds the highest power in the whole country'.
- (2) *mbaudenda nyakrawati* 'authority to punish and rule the world'.
- (3) *senopati ingalaga ngabdurachman sayidin panatagama* 'ruled, governed, punished, controlled other areas, controlled the military, and governed religion' (Moertono, 1985).

However, in the Javanese concept of power, in addition to giving absolute power to the king, there are also concepts that remind the obligations of a king, including:

- (1) *being virtuous in bringing the martas' fair ambeg leksana*, namely 'the king must be just and wise'
- (2) *the tentreming praja tata titi* is 'the king must be able to create order and security of the people and the state' (Condronogoro, 1995).

The authority, majesty, glory, and position of the king must be manifested through a physical appearance that can image those values. One of the mediums used to achieve that goal is clothing. Clothing is one of the means of communication as revealed by Umberto Eco (1979), that humans can communicate through various mediums. Through clothing, humans can communicate their self-identity, social class, and culture (Fakhrunnisa, 2016). Clothing can show who the wearer is, as Eco said, "*I speak through my clothes*" (Ibrahim, 2011), and Paku Buwono IX "*Nyandhang panganggo hiku dadyo srono hamemangun wataking manungso jobo-jero* / wears his clothes and equipment to signify the birth and mental disposition of the wearer (Naomi, 2013). Clothing in such a position is full of symbols and meanings whose function is to regulate the behavior of the wearer.

According to Khasanah (2017), batik is known since the Majapahit Kingdom, but Soedarwanto (2018) and Condronogoro (1995) assume that the origin of the clothes of the royal palace in Java began with the wearing of batik cloth as their clothing. The oldest evidence of the use of batik is found in temple statues made in the 9th century. The temple statues depict kawung ornaments, slopes, ceplok, and cinden. Hindu influence makes the development of batik prioritize the meaning of respect for the gods. The belief in the creation of a magical religious atmosphere from the radiance of batik makes nobles prioritize batik patterns that contain symbolic meanings (Purnama, 2013; Mustika, 2018). At that time, various larangan motives were created that could only be used by the nobility (Yudhistira, 2016; Herlinawati, 2012). Furthermore, Condronogoro (1995) argues that at the end of the XIX century, batik cloths were mainly worn by men even though they were made by women. At that time, batik was an exclusive dress of the patrician class (Moersid, 2013).

2. Motifs, Symbols, and Meanings of Batik Clothes

As a means of communicating identity, status, and gender, batik is given content in the form of philosophical values attached to the types of motifs and shapes of clothing. This section discusses the motifs, symbols, and meanings of batik as well as the types of batik clothes and the rules for wearing them in the Yogyakarta palace. There are several batik motifs intended for the king and his descendants. The motif in question has certain symbols and meanings (Hasan, 2012). People are prohibited from using these motives (Hidayat, 2004; Musman et al., 2011). The following are the batik motifs in question:

- a. **Kawung Pattern:** The *kawung* pattern is a very old batik pattern. In Hindu and Buddhist temples, statues of kings and Gods are seen wearing this variety of decorations as their clothes. The *kawung* archetype forms a block in the form of squares, circles, stars, and also slashes. One of the *kawung* patterns consists of four circles arranged in such a way and the

four touch each other in the middle of which there is a variety of *mlinjon decorations*. Such a pattern contains the philosophy of "*Paju Pat Limo Pancer*" also interpreted as "flowers that are in fragrant bloom". Thus, the hope of the wearer when wearing the *kawung* motif becomes famous and fragrant in name. Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII really likes batik with this *kawung* motif. The types of this pattern are *kawung ganggong*, *banji*, *sen*, *ndil* (*bribil*), *benggol*, *picis*, *kemplang*, *gajah*, and *semar* (Darmokusumo, 2015).

- b. **Parang/Lereng Pattern:** a parang/lereng batik fabric consists of a variety of ornamental motifs that are geometrically arranged. This motif consists of a tongue of fire ornament and *blumbangan* (*mlinjon*). The symbol contained in this motif is a "machete" which implies a war against evil lust (Handajani and Ratmanto, 2016). It also implies that Man can control his passions to behave sublimely. The *parang rusak* (broken machete) group consist of various sizes. *The barang-parangan rusak*, which has a machete of more than 8 cm is the largest of them all. In ancient times, it was allowed to be used only by the king. The *parang rusak barong* implies that the king as a leader must always be careful and must be able to control himself to a responsible leader, a man of character behaving sublimely. The *parang rusak barong* is 5-7 cm in size and is obliquely composed on the machete by 45° which indicates strength and fast motion. This motif was usually used by knights or warriors, and in ancient times, it was usually used by nobles only. The parang *Klithik* is a *parang* that has the smallest size of 2 cm and is commonly used by both adult women and young virgin girls and boys who are deemed pure. This motif is also used by courtiers named *Parang parikesit*. This name is taken from the name of Abimanyu's son, Parikesit. *Stingray* is rice, which means white and clean. *Parang parikesit* is a machete whose *blumbangan* (*mlinjon*) is white. In its development, this motif underwent development so that the appearance of *kusumo machete*, *gondosuli*, *templek*, *bolodewo*, and others. The *udan riris* / *lyrical motif* (*lereng*) depicts light rainwater, which symbolizes fertility consisting of seven motifs arranged in the form of slopes with the hope that the wearer will prosper, initiated in carrying out tasks. Then *the rujak senthe* motif which is a variety of ornamental *udan liris* is set in black. *senthe* (*tales*), *rujak senthe* describes a blend of good and bad things to produce something better. Fusion here means to cultivate or study (Darmokusumo, 2015).
- c. **Nitik Pattern:** This motif arises because of the existence of a silk-woven cloth from India called *pantola* cloth. This fabric in Yogyakarta is referred to as *cinde cloth*. This pattern is a square and four-square shapes with red, blue, green, and yellow colors using traditional dyes, namely *soga*, *indigo*, and *white*. An example of this motif is for example *the cape of the mountain* (Darmokusumo, 2015).
- d. **Lung Group:** Most of them show the motifs that are bolted, for example, *kale lung* depicts *kale plants* (Darmokusumo, 2015).
- e. **Cement Group:** The word cement in Javanese means to grow. Thus by wearing this patterned batik, it is hoped that the wearer will be able to achieve whatever is desired, namely welfare, glory, nobleness and others. What is characteristic of this motif is the depiction of "*meru*" (mountain) which is taken from the term *Mahameru*, which is the highest mountain where the Gods of Hindus reside. On the mountain, there must be soil as the vegetation blooms. This is where the word cement comes from. The *cement* pattern includes irregular patterns (called geometric) in addition to the patterns of batik *lung-lungan bouquet and fringe*. In Kraton Yogyakarta, Batik Semen is always used in traditional ceremonies and is used as an oversized dress.
- f. **Fringe groups:** The fringe motif is taken from the periphery of the *kampuh*. For example, *the smukiran* motif and *the modang* motif are taken from the periphery of *the destar/headband*.

3. Shapes of Batik Clothes

In the past, batik was used in the daily life as a clothing in the form of: (Ulumuddin, et al., 2014):

- a. **Nyamping/Sinjang/Jarit (Crossroad) Batik:** This is generally referred to as long cloth in the Indonesian language. Its shape is rectangular with a size of 250 cm in length and 110 cm in width (see Picture 1 below). It is worn by both men and women by splitting it on the waist, one end of which is longitudinal up and down just between the thighs. The way of winding the finger in males is carried out from right to left, while in females from left to right. At official events, the ends of the fabric on the outside are *folded* so that the wearer's appearance looks neater, more harmonious and beautiful (Kusrianto, 2013; Darmokusumo, 2015).



Fig. 1: Nyamping

Source: Darmokusumo, 2015.

- b. **Semekan/Kemben Batik:** *Semekan* batik is a women's clothing as a breastplate or upper part. The shape is elongated with a length of 250 cm and a width of 50 cm (Fig. 3 below). It is used by cutting on the upper part of the body starting from the lower part of the armpit with the lower edge meets the upper end of the long cloth. There are two patterns of *kemben* batik, namely: first, the motif is thorough on the surface of the *kemben* cloth, commonly called "*kemben byur*"; secondly, a "*kemben* with a middle" in which the rhombus-shaped middle is left empty without ornate ornaments. In use, this *kemben* batik is accompanied by an addition in the form of silk or rayon fabric decorated with *ikat* dipping techniques and matching color combinations (Kusrianto, 2013).



Fig. 2. Semekan/ Kemben

Source: Darmokusumo, 2015

- c. **Sande'/Sarung Batik:** *Batik sarong* originally appeared in the northern coastal areas of the Java Island as an influence of Malay culture. At the time, the batik cloth was made a sarong, its size was shorter than the long fabric, which was about 110 cm wide and 220 cm long or 260.5 cm long and 105 cm wide. On the Scabbard, both ends are sewn so that they form a tube (Fig. 3). Following the tradition of the shape of *the sarong pelekat* from Malay, the batik sarong also has a part called "*tumpal*" or head and another part called the body. The *tumpal* occupies a quarter of the part of the length of the scabbard while the body is three-quarters of the other part. The head and the body of the decorative are different. In the past,

sarongs were worn only by men, now some women usually wear sarongs (Darmokusumo, 2015).



Fig. 3: Sarung Batik

Source: Darmokusumo, 2015

- d. **Selendang (shawl) Batik:** A *Selendang* is a garment for women, similar in size to a *kemben* but of different use. There are accessories, shawls and sling shawls. In *kebaya*, shawls have generally the same pattern and color deliberately made of a set of fingers. To wear it, the shawl is folded lengthwise and draped over the shoulders. Accessory shawls often use edge ornate patterns. As for the carrying shawl, it is the same size as the accessory shawl but its use is for carrying. In *Kraton*, sling shawls are worn by *embans*/helpers. *Mbok emban* is the courtier in charge of carrying toddlers (Darmokusumo, 2015).



Fig. 4: Selendang Batik

Source: Darmokusumo, 2015

- b. **Destar/Iket/Udeng Batik:** *Destar/iket/udeng Batik* serves as a male head covering when wearing a *side/sinjang/jarit* and combined with *surjan, beskap, pranakan, or takwo clothes*. The shape is a square with a size of 100 cm X 100 cm, to make the head covering, 1/2 of the *destar* material is needed as a whole (Darmokusumo, 2015: 19; Kusrianto, 2013: 91). This is illustrated by the following picture:



Fig. 5: Destar Batik

Source: Darmokusumo, 2015

- c. **Kampung/Dodot Batik:** *Kampung* is a large batik cloth consisting of two long fabrics, which on the long side are sewn together by 367.5 cm in length and 210 cm in width. There are two types of *kampung /dodot*, namely: *kampung benggen* which on the periphery uses tassels, and *straightforward kampung* which on the periphery without tassels (see Figs. 6, 7). There are two *blenggens*, namely *blenggen* with plain silk cloth in the middle, and *blenggen* without silk application, only white with the periphery of *the smukiran*. *Kampung* serves as

an oversized fashion for both men and women to participate in traditional ceremonies in the palace. Male *Dodot* is wider and longer compared to female *dodot* (Darmokusumo, 2015).

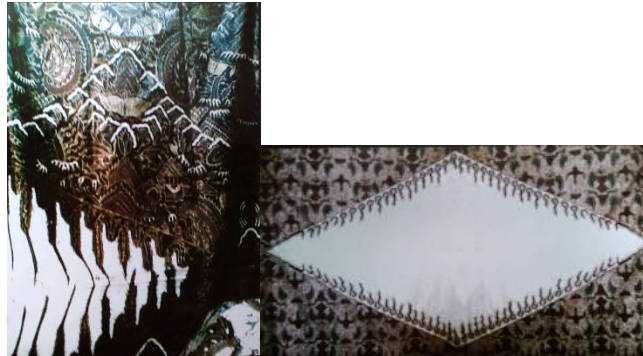


Fig. 6: Boys' Kampuh Batik Fig. 7: Girls' Kampuh Batik
Source: Darmokusumo, 2015

4. Rules for Wearing Batik

In the Yogyakarta royal palace, every powerful king has the right to make rules on the use of clothing. Kusrianto (2013) describes the regulation made by Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII under the title "Pranatan dalem bab Namenipun Penggange Keprabon ing Nagari Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat" that says that prohibition batik motifs include, *parang rusak barong* and *parang rusak gendreh*. In addition to the king, all the sons of the court were also allowed to wear these clothes. The Empress (*Permasuri*) was allowed to wear the same clothes as the king. *Garwa ampeyan dalem* (concubine) was allowed to wear a *parang rusak gendreh* downward. *Garwa Padmi* KG Prince Adipati was allowed to use the same batik as her husband. *Garwa ampeyan* KG The Duke was allowed to wear a *parang rusak gendreh* downward. Similarly, the son of KG Pangeran Adipati, the wife of the previous Prince Putra and Prince Son of the King (Pangeran Putra Sentananing Panjenengan Dalem Nata) is the same as her husband (Kusrianto, 2013). *Garwa ampeyan* the princes were allowed to wear the *parang rusak gendreh* downwards. *Wayah dalem* (the King's grandson), too, wore a *parang rusak* downwards. Even the great-grandchildren of *dalem* (great-grandchildren of the king) and *canggah dalem* (great-grandfather son), *warengipun* (grandson of his great-grandfather) Panjenengan Dalem Nata and below are allowed to wear *parang-parangan* batik cloth but must be with interludes (motifs combined with other motifs), not allowed "byur" or plain. *Pepatih Dalem* (patih raja) was allowed to wear a *parang rusak barong* downward. Courtiers consisting of the *Penghulu Hakim*, *Wedana Ageng Warrior*, and *Regent Nayaka Jawi Lan Lebet* were allowed to wear a *parang rusak gendreh* to the bottom. The *Regent of Patih Duchy* and the *Regent of Police* are the same as the courtiers. *Penghulu Landrad*, *Wedana Keparak para Gusti* (Nyai Riya), *Regent Anom*, *Riya Regent Anom* wore their *parang rusak gendreh* downward. *Abdi Dalem* whose rank is below *Abdi Dalem Riya Regent of Anom* and who is not the rank of *Regent of Anom*, namely the rank of *Old Penewu* also who is allowed to use a *parang rusak gendreh* downwards. Outside the standard rules as stated above, which includes the prohibition motif is *sembagen huk*, as respect for Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma who created the batik motif (Kusrianto, 2013).

The above rules very clearly confirm that the use of batik cloth, which is characterized by its motifs, is based on the position/position contained in the palace. A person's position determines what batik he can wear. Since the power structure contained in the palace is based on a patriarchal system that does not provide positions for women in the power structure, it is clear that batik is intended for men. Even if a woman wears batik, it is more because of the position of her husband, her partner, or her father. Women may wear the same clothes as their partners, but it is not indented. There is still a difference to assert that men are in a dominant position (Kusrianto, 2013).

For example, for the use of potent *kampung*, there is a potent for men who are longer and wider in size and do not tuft. There is a *kampung* for princesses who are shorter and smaller in size and wear tassels. Another example is *batik* motifs of hereditary revelation consisting of four elements: *songkok* (crown = symbol of power), *patra* (sweet potato leaves = lung = generous nature), *kusuma* (flower = noble person), and *kukila* (bird = able to keep oral). The meaning is that the motive for *hereditary revelation* contains a message to be a good leader, one must be able to maintain words, benefactors, guides, and noble character (Darmokusumo, 2015). Since the leader is a man, then good hope is directed at men. This means that if we use binary opposition, *batik* motifs contain symbols and meanings that do not expect noble values from a woman. Enough men to be wise leaders, and the world will be peaceful. Women are not the deciding factor in just joining men.

Based on the *triangle meaning* theory proposed by Pierce, there are three main elements in meaning, namely signs, objects, and *interpretants*. A sign is something of a physical form that can be captured by the five human senses, which refers to (presents) something other beyond the sign itself (Berger, 2010). Azizah (2016) argues that signs consist of icons (signs that arise from physical representatives), indices (signs that arise from cause-and-effect relationships), and symbols.

5. Batik Icons

a. *Semen Gede Sawat Gruda Parang Rusak*

The *machete* motif is in the form of a slash motif that is geometrically organized and orderly. *The Semen Gede Sawat Gruda Parang Rusak* is a variation of the *parang* group composed of *parang* ornaments commonly called the tongue of fire and *mlinjon*. Rows of machetes in this cloth are depicted in a row irregularly and according to the lines. On the oblique plane between the two rows of machetes, there is an *isen mlinjon* motif, which is a characteristic of this group (Chairiyani, 2014). The *parang rusak* comes from the word *parang* (machete) and is *rusak* (broken) This *parang rusak* motif is a creation of Sultan Agung (Susanto, 1973). According to Chairiyani (2014), the creation of a *parang rusak gendreh* (broken machete cloth) by Sultan Agung is closely related to his penchant for war (Handajani and Ratmanto, 2016). This information relates to Sultan Agung's attack on Pieter Zoon Coen, so he is considered a king who likes war. Related to *batik* motifs, the notion of war in the realm of the Javanese mind is not only limited to physical war but also the war against evil passions that exist in men. That is how the ornament of the *parang rusak* or tongue of fire contains the meaning of eradicating the enemy, like the god of fire, namely Bathara (Susanto, 1973). Fire is one of the elements of life, in addition to water, soil, and air. There is also an element of fire in every man, which is anger or ambition. If a man cannot control his anger, it will gradually slip.

Contrary to *the machete*, *mlinjon* is also referred to as *blumbangan* ornament, which means place of water. Thus, the ornament is intended as a symbol of a place of holy water, water that can carry out life, like a sea god. The sea god symbolizes the figure of a god who has the airy nature of the chest (airy heart). That is how humans actually have an airy nature like ocean water, but if ignored, it will slip. Moertono (1985) argues that those who have anger issues and have an airy nature of the heart will find inner perfection.

Such behavior in the traditional Javanese conception of power must be possessed by an ideal king because the king is obliged to set an example and his people will follow his actions, whether it is "good" or "evil". Thus, the king's behavior was the deciding factor in his kingdom. Since the motive contains a deep meaning to a king, this motif, especially the *parang rusak barong* should only be used by the king. The size of the largest *parang rusak* motif is often called *the parang rusak barong*, while *the motif of parang rusak gendreh* does not/should not exceed 8 cm and should not be less than 4 cm. *The size of the parang klithik* motif is smaller than *the parang rusak gendreh* (Pasetyo, 2010).

b) Semen Gede Sawat Gruda

Semen gede sawat gruda motif is composed of flowers, leaves and *gruda* (garuda). *Semen gede sawat gruda* comes from the terms *semen*, *gede*, *sawat*, and *lar*. *Semen* means growth, *gede* means big, *sawat* means wing, while *gruda* is garuda (eagle). This motif consists of elements of meru, animals, plants, strong trees, birds, and gruda (Chairiyani, 2014). The symbolic meaning of the *semen gede sawat gruda* motif can be expressed by the meru elements present in this motif. Meru symbolizes the high mountain peak. The mountain, in the context of Javanese belief, is the place of the gods. In addition to symbolizing mountains, meru also symbolizes the earth or land where everything that lives blossoms (Soerjanto, 1991). Animals are animals that live in forests, forests that grow above the earth so that animals that live in forests are interdependent which is characterized by the presence of a link that is always rotating. Animals have also symbolized the nature of power (Prasetyo, 2010).

As for plants interpreted as prosperity, identified with the tree of life, the tree that in puppetry is used as a mountain. The tree of life, depicted in the form of lush leafy tendrils to the left and right, is not intermittent and is based on a weevil. The tuberous tendril plant is the epitome of life. The flowing life force is denoted by a flexing stalk turning and in each segment branching or switching directions. Birds, symbolizing the ruler of the upper world, the ruler who regulates the air, have a sublime disposition. *Gruda* symbolizes the crown, the supreme ruler or ruler of the universe and its contents, and also symbolizes power as well as power. Thus, by using *the batik motif semen gede sawat gruda*, it is hoped that the wearer will have a high position, live a prosperous life, and be virtuous. He is also expected to be able to adjust to the surrounding situation and conditions, and have a high willingness to try so that his life is not only *nerima ing pandum*/accept the situation (Chairiyani, 2014).

c) Semen Gede Sawat Lar

According to Chairiyani (2014), *the semen gede sawat lar* motif is composed of flowers, leaves, and *lar*. *Semen gede sawat lar* comes from the terms *semen*, *gede*, *sawat* and *lar*. *Semen* has the meaning of semi or grow, *gede* means big, *sawat lar* means bird's wings. The ornamental arrangement of this motif is meru, the tongue of fire, buildings, sawat, plants, and birds. In essence, the *motif of semen gede sawat lar* is the same as the *motif of semen gede sawat gruda*, there is only one difference, which lies in the addition of building/throne ornaments to the *motif of semen gede sawat lar*. Furthermore, Chairiyani observes that the symbolic meaning in *the motif of semen gede sawat lar* can be expressed from the existing elements. The elements are (a) Meru, symbolizing the highest mountain, the place of dwelling on the deity, symbolizing the earth or the land where all that lives blossoms; (b) The tongue of fire represents the flame, which is one of the elements of life, in man fire is anger or ambition which means supernatural powers; (c) A building, often referred to as a throne or palace or holy place, symbolizes just power or a just lordship; (d) Plants, often identified with the tree of life and symbolizing prosperity. As for the bird, it is a symbol of the upper world. The ruler of the air is an essential element of human life and symbolizes a noble mind. The meaning of *the semen gede sawat lar* batik motif is almost the same as the *semen gede sawat gruda* batik motif. By using this motif, the wearer is expected to be able to control his passions so that he has a high position, lives a prosperous life, and lives in a place that can provide justice (Prasetyo, 2010).

d) Udan Riris

Chairiyani (2014) observes that the *udan riris* batik motif is included in the group of slope motifs characterized by lanes that form a 40° angle, containing small ornaments arranged in such a way as to form a motif that shows an oblique style. This motif is composed of several forms of ornaments such as *banji sawat*, *parang for walang*, *cinden*, flower arrangements, and *kawung* arrangements. The motif *udan riris* comes from the words *udan* and *riris*. *Udan* means the same as rain and *riris* means drizzle. Thus, *Udan Riris* means

drizzling rain. The drizzling rain in this motif is depicted with small ornaments arranged obliquely. The symbolic meaning of this cloth motif can be known by describing one by one the elements in it (Soerjanto, 1991). First, banji sawut symbolizes luck, happiness, and fertility. Secondly, the machete symbolizes strength. Third, walang symbolizes continuity, constantly unbroken. Fourth, cinden has similarities with the ornament *for walang* which symbolizes continuity. Fifth, flower arrangements symbolize chastity. Sixth, the *kawung* series symbolizes versatility. Overall, the meaning is that the *udan riris* motif depicts a grace that never breaks even in small size, like a small rain (drizzle) that is incessant (Prasetyo, 2010).

e) **Rujak Sente**

The *rujak sente* motif belongs to the slope group. This motif is composed of several small ornaments, the elements are banji, machete, flowers, and *walang*. The motif of *rujak sente* comes from the words *rujak* and *sente*. *Rujak* is a type of food whose ingredients come from fruits that are seasoned: Javanese sugar, kencur, chili, tamarind, trasi, and salt. This food is usually favored by hungry young people. *Sente* is a kind of green taro plant that is large-grassy and broadleaf. This *rujak sente* motif is basically the same as the *udan riris* motif, only the difference is that the *rujak sente* motif is dark in the background, while the *udan riris* is on a white background (Condronogoro, 2010).

f) **Parang-parangan**

The *parang-parangan* motif is a variation of the machete group. The motifs of the *parang-parangan* include the kusuma (flower) machete, *centung machete* (*centung* is the thin hair of the front of the head arranged or the bride's decoration on the front head), *suspicious machete* (*suspicious* = keris), *row machete* (rows), *parang win*, *parang sobrah* (tendril), *parang cantel* (Condronogoro, 2010).

6. Index

The element that includes the index in batik clothing is the function of the fabric. In Kraton Yogyakarta, batik contains a high philosophical value. In 1785, Sultan Hamengku Buwono I declared the *parang rusak* batik pattern a *prohibition pattern*, while Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII declared the *kawung* batik pattern as a *prohibition pattern*. During the time of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII, the machete pattern became the main guideline for determining the degree of a person's nobleness. In addition to the machete pattern, cement, sawat, and *udan riris* are also determinants of the degree of nobility. *Pranatan Dalem Bab Namanipun Panganggo Keprabon Ing Nagari Dalem Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* issued by Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII on May 3, 1927 is a regulation on the procedure for the use of batik cloth, among which there are eight prohibition batik motifs contained in the regulation (Susanto, 1973; Condronogoro, 1995). The procedures for using the batik cloth are as follows:

For the sultan's son who obtained the title *kanjeng panembahan* was allowed to wear *dodot blenggen parang rusak barong*. But he is also allowed to use *parang rusak gendreh*, *prang rusak Klitik*, *semen gede sawat gruda*, *semen gede sawat lar*, *udan riris*, *rujak sente*, and *parang-parangan*. For the sultan's eldest son, who had the title *kanjeng gusti pangeran adipati anom*, was allowed to wear *dodot blenggen*. As is the case with *kanjeng panembahan*, *kanjeng gusti pangeran adipati anom* is also allowed to use a *parang rusak gendreh*, a *parang rusak klitik*, *semen gede sawat gruda*, *semen gede sawat lar*, *udan riris*, *rujak sente* and *parang-parangan*. The empress's son used *dodot blenggen*, starting from the motif of a *parang rusak gendreh*, a *parang rusak klitik*, *semen gede sawat gruda*, *semen gede sawat lar*, *udan riris*, *rujak sente*. The sultan's concubine's son was allowed to wear *dodot* and *bebet*, *parang rusak gendreh*, *parang rusak klitik*, *semen gede sawat gruda*, *semen gede sawat lar*, *udan riris*, and *rujak sente*, while *bebet* motifs started from the *parang rusak barong* motif (Condronogoro, 2010).

The sultan's empress was allowed to wear the same patterned cloth as the sultan, namely *the parang rusak barong* with the largest ornamental size. The sultan's concubines were allowed to wear *dodot blenggen* or *bebet* with a *parang rusak gendreh* motif. For the first wife of Kanjeng Gusti, Prince Adipati Anom was allowed to wear the same patterned cloth as her husband. Concubine Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom was allowed to wear *dodot blenggen* motifs ranging from *parang rusak klitik*, *semen gede sawat gruda*, *semen gede sawatlar*, *udan riris*, *rujak sente*, and *parang-parangan*. For *the bebetnya*, it is allowed to wear patterned batik cloth starting from a *parang rusak gendreh*. The son of Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom was allowed to wear *dodot bebet* starting from the motif of the *parang rusak gendreh*. Prince *Sentana* is allowed to wear a *dodot*, a *warrior bebet*, and a *bebet* starting from the *parang rusak gendreh* motif. The same as the one worn by Kanjeng Gusti's son Prince Adipati Anom (Condrongoro, 2010). For the first wives of the Princes of *Sentana*, they were only allowed to wear the same patterned *dodot* as their husbands. The concubines of the Princes of *Sentana* were only allowed to wear patterned *dodots* starting from *semen gede sawat gruda* and so on. *Bebetnya* is patterned from a *parang rusak* and so on. However, it is important to note that both the first wife and concubine of the Princes of *Sentana* were official wives and with the permission of the sultan. The sultan's grandsons were allowed to use *dodot blenggen*, *bebet soldiers* patterned from *semen gede sawat gruda*, and so on. Meanwhile, *the bebet* is patterned starting from *the parang rusak gender* (Kusrianto, 2013).

The sultan's great-grandfathers were allowed to wear *dodot* and *bebet soldiers* with patterns starting from *semen gede sawat lar* and so on, while *the bebet* was patterned starting from the *parang rusak gendreh*. *Canggah* of the sultan is allowed to wear *dodot*, *warrior bebet*, and *bebet* with the same pattern as those used by the sultan's great-grandfather. *The wareng* of the sultan and his lower generations are allowed to wear *dodot dan bebet*, free-patterned soldier, as long as it is not a prohibited *motif* and does not have a white background and its *bebet parang-parangan* motif has no *parang rusak*. However, the *parang-parangan* motif must be an interlude (there must be additional ornaments) and must not be *byur* (patterned with only one kind and no additional ornaments). For patih, they are allowed to wear *dodot* and *bebet soldiers* starting from the motif of *the parang rusak gendreh*. Meanwhile, *the bebet* is patterned with a *parang rusak barong* and so on. For servants such as *penghulu hakim*, *wedana gede warrior*, *regent nayoko jaba jero*, are allowed to use *dodot blenggen* and *bebet warrior* starting from the motif *semen gede sawat gruda* and so on, while *the bebet* is patterned starting from the *parang rusak gendreh*.

For servants such as the regent of patih in the duchy, *the regent of the police*, *penghulu landrap*, *wedana keparak pada Gusti (nyai riyo)*, *regents of enom*, *riyo regent enom* are allowed to wear *dodot*, *bebet warrior* starting from the motif of *semen gede sawat gruda* and so on, while *the bebetnya* is patterned from a *parang rusak gendreh* and so on. For servants whose rank is below *riyo regent enom* and who are not in the rank of *regent enom* are allowed to wear free patterned *dodot* as long as it is not a prohibition batik and must be set in black. Likewise with *his soldier's bebet*. Meanwhile, *the bebet* is patterned with a *machete* that is not a *parang rusak*. However, the *parang-parangan* patterned cloth must be intermittent, it must not be *byur*. For Governor's wives and servant wives of those of rank below, although they are still descendants of the sultan and are allowed to wear a batik cloth that is higher in position than their husbands, they are also allowed to wear the same cloth as their husbands. However, if the person who became a servant was a woman, and her husband was still a descendant of the sultan, the husband should not wear the same batik cloth as his wife.

7. Symbols

Elements that include symbols in batik clothing at the Yogyakarta Palace are the name, type of color, fabric pattern, the structure of the pattern, meaning, and function of the fabric because these parts represent the overall intention conveyed in a system. The things symbolized in each type of *prohibition batik* contain a good meaning and have a very deep

philosophical meaning. For the wearer, it is expected to provide a radiance of power as contained in the meaning of his philosophy. For example, *the parang rusak* motif is allowed only for the king, empress, and crown prince. For the king, the parang motif was *parang rusak barong*, for the empress, *the parang was parang rusak gendreh* and for the crown prince, *it was the parang rusak*. Each of them is distinguished by its size. The topmost order indicates that the user has a high position. The lower the order of the fabrics, the lower the position (Kusrianto, 2013).

Thus, the arrangement of the fabric motifs shows the social hierarchy and social status. According to Condronogoro (1995) at Yogyakarta Royal Palace, fashion is considered one of the means of enforcing authority, especially for the sultan and the nobility. The nobility believed that the batik cloth they wore could give a magical religious radiance. In addition, batik is a symbol of social status in social life.

In the relation between clothing and power, it turns out that clothing is one of the tools for realizing the concept of power. The Sultan is God's representative on earth. He is the legitimate ruler of the world and is the sole intermediary between them and God (Moertono, 1985). As the guardian of God, the Sultan was placed amid the fabric of society, far above the reach of ordinary people. It is the principal, thorough and singular source of power in the state. As a leader, a Sultan must have two elements, namely power, and authority. The two elements must help each other because increasing strength requires great authority (Suhadi, M. et al., 1998). Power in the Javanese concept is closely related to *authenticity*, so to legitimize his power and authority as the supreme ruler in Yogyakarta, the Sultan must show a "cult of splendor". The cult of splendor is realized through something abstract and concrete. Abstract vehicles are in the form of spiritual aspects (inner perfection), such as the supernatural powers possessed by the king and the genealogy of the king. One of the concrete aspects is through batik clothing. Such is batik fashion, with certain motifs and meanings and symbols attached is considered to convey authority (Moertono, S. (1985).

Conclusion

This study has shown clothing is a means of showing identity, class, and gender. Batik clothes at Kraton Yogyakarta are used to show and strengthen identity, class, and gender. From a gender perspective, batik clothes, from the beginning of their manufacture, have been intended for the king (men), even though the people who make them are women. Therefore, the motifs in batik contain symbols and meanings aimed at men, not women. The back and forth of the world depends on the leader and the leader is male, in other words, the man is the decider, not the woman. As for the form of batik clothing, the gender perspective is more focused on the difference in physical form between men and women.

This study has showed that the Javanese culture views clothing as the expression to oneself in terms of nobility, power, class and masculinity. The use of *batik larangan* is one example. Its motifs and patterns represent more than mere status symbols. *Batik larangan* is also viewed as a political communication or leadership message to fellow rulers, the people, and political opponents. The rules governing the use of *batik larangan* are still valid today but are only applied in a limited way within the Yogyakarta Palace, not for the general public outside the palace.

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