

# Physical Changes and Spirit of Place of the Puri Karangasem Area in Bali, Indonesia

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## Abstract

Karangasem is one of the regencies on the island of Bali with a complex historical value, namely as a royal city that has a background of close interactions with surrounding communities and acculturation in it. The Karangasem City has certainly undergone changes from the royal period to the present, and has also influenced its sacred values, especially in the Puri Karangasem area. This has to be studied to preserve the spirit of place of the area.

This research examines the spirit of place of the Puri Karangasem area and its surroundings by tracing the history related to the physical changes of the city. The historical tracing includes three timelines of discussion: the royal reign, the Dutch East Indies colonial reign, the post-independence reign to the present. This research also identifies the causal factors of the physical changes.

This research uses a qualitative research method with a grounded research approach. It employs in-depth interviews, observations, and a document survey. The analysis was carried out by comparing the data with reference theories.

The findings show that there are significant changes in the physical area of Puri Karangasem, which includes the spatial structure of the city and the Puri Karangasem architecturally. However, Puri Karangasem along with the *catus patha* pattern and the distribution of Muslim villages become the spirit of this area. It is still maintained and sacred for the surrounding community.

**Keywords:** physical changes, spirit of place, Puri Karangasem, historical tracing

## Introduction

Every city has its own identity which is formed by the people's culture who become the soul and character of the city and the physical of the city itself that become the body (Amar, 2009). By having an identity, a city can be distinguished from one to another cities. This is where the role of spirit of place takes in. The spirit of place reflects the uniqueness of a place. The spirit of place is actually a concept originated from the Romans with the belief that a place has a soul/spirit (Gultom & Sinaga, 2018). Spirit of place is not formed instantly, but is created through a long journey of time in a particular place of a city (Worskett, 1969). Bali also believes in this, especially the belief that the puri has a high spirit and sacred value for the development of the area/environment and civilization of the surrounding community. This is because the puri

itself was the centre of the government during the royal reign around the 7th century, where its existence, mostly, still survives until now and has gone through many stages of reign and ages. One of the cities/districts in Bali that has a complex historical value related to the puri as the soul/spirit of the city, is Karangasem City. This city has a background as a royal city that has a close relationship with the surrounding ethnic community: Balinese, Chinese, and especially the Sasak/Lombok with its Islam religion (Putra, 2001). Furthermore, Karangasem City has also experienced acculturation due to colonization in the 18th century. One of the physical evidences of acculturation that still survives today is Puri Maskerdam (part of Puri Kangingan which is now commonly referred to as Puri Agung Karangasem), which contains elements of Balinese, Chinese, and European cultures (Bappeda, 2015). With those historical background of Karangasem City, the locus of this research is specifically located in the Puri Karangasem area and the surrounding settlements of ethnic community.

In the royal reign, around the 17th century, 'puri' has several meanings, namely as the residence of the king and his family, as the centre of government, the capital of the kingdom, a place of refuge, and also as a centre of culture and literature (Girindrawardani & Aliffiati, 2022). Puri was not only the centre in terms of government, but also in terms of its location, which was in the centre of the royal city surrounded by settlements and villages (Candra, 2023). Furthermore, the relationship between Puri Karangasem and the surrounding community has also been very close since the royal reign in the form of a patron-client relationship (Girindrawardani & Trisila, 2015).

However, along with the times, several phenomena have occurred in the Puri Karangasem area: first, the function of puri as the centre of the royal reign has shifted and formed the "New City" location, explained in the "Seminar Report of Karangasem City" in 2017 by the Department of Culture of Karangasem Regency. The power of puri has also changed to a symbolic one (Girindrawardani & Aliffiati, 2022). Today, puri serves as a residence for the king's descendants and also as a place for arts and cultural activities and events. Secondly, related to the behaviour of the community towards the Puri Karangasem and vice versa. In the royal reign, the relationship between puri and its people was patron-client as the king and the king's servant (Putra, 2001). The motive of this relationship is based on a sense of devotion in the form of service to the Puri Karangasem, and the people are then rewarded with land owned by puri as a place to live and also land to be cultivated as a source of income. But then, according to *Penglingsir*/the elder of Puri Gede Karangasem, Mr. Agung Ngurah, in an interview at his residence in Denpasar on April 17, 2023 at 11:00, around the 1950s on post-independence reign, those lands owned by the kingdom began to decrease, due to the government's policy on land ownership status.

Coupled with the influx of foreign cultures due to colonialism and the openness to modernization and tourism in the present, turn out to be the author's concern that there will be changes or even degradation of the identity and sacred values of the Puri Karangasem area and also activities and interaction between Puri and its people.

This research, examines the physical changes that occurred in The Puri Karangasem area of three timelines: during the royal reign, the Dutch East Indies colonial reign, and the period of post-independence until now. Its aim is to discover and interpret the spirit of place in the Puri Karangasem area so that the value can be preserved and maintained in the midst of the times. The results of this study are expected to be a consideration for designing a guideline for the preservation strategy of Karangasem City, so that can be right on target and sustainable.

Its objectives are:

1. To discover spirit of place in the Puri Karangasem area and its surrounding by historical tracing related to the physical changes of the city from time to time.
2. To identify the factors causing physical changes of the Puri Karangasem area that also related to relationship between puri and its surrounding ethnic community.

## The Theoretical Basis

Based on the problems and research objectives, the theory about spirit of place are suitable for studying this research, because it includes the relationship between humans and

environment. According to Tuan (1977), place is not just a location/space, there is an element of human experience, an impression of a place that has a memory, historical value, and meaning that attached to it. A place has its own spirit, impression, character, sense of place that makes it unique (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976). There is a similar definition about spirit of place that is considered as a symbol of strength that forms its own character and uniqueness so that it becomes different from other places and its quality is not just as a place (Schulz, 1980). Place is the way in which dimensions of landscape come together in a location to produce a distinct environment and particular sense of locality (Seamon, 1982). It is not formed instantly, but is created through a long journey of time by the human relationship to a particular place or building of a city (Worskett, 1969; Alexander, 1979). There are experts say that the forming elements of spirit of place are physical setting (space), character, activity, and meaning (Schulz, 1980; Relph, 1976; Graumann, 1986). On the other hands, a sociologist, Richard Stedman (2003) summarized 3 forming elements of place, they are the physical environment, human behaviours, and social/psychological processes. Meanwhile, Canter (1977) stated that a place is a relationship between 3 elements, such as action, conception, and physical attributes. He offered the balance of the three of them, between the tangible and intangible attributes of a place.

So, that the forming elements of spirit of place are divided into two elements: (1) Physical elements (tangible) are elements that can be seen by the eyes and feelings of a person, including the discussion of the city's spatial structure and buildings. (2) Non-physical elements (intangible) as memories, narratives, written documents, commemorative events, ritual activities, traditional knowledge, meanings, etc. (Graumann, 1986).

The spirit of place and the sense of place are somehow connected. The spirit of place is a place that experienced through sense and memory, on the other hands the sense of place is the people's feeling and memory that evoked by the specific place they encounter (Casey, 1993). Sense of place is regarding to human life experiences in everyday life towards a place/environment (Rifaioğlu, 2008). In addition, sense of place is also a reciprocal relationship between human involvement with a place (Shamai, 1991). Sense of place is a concept that focuses on subjectivity (human) as it relates to a person's experience and emotional bond to a place, more likely to be psychological (Najafi & Shariff, 2011). The factors that form the Sense of Place are the condition/setting of the physical environment of the place, human activity, and meaning (Carmona, 2003). These three factors are the main factors, but cannot also be separated from other factors, such as socio-cultural, economic, and political factors (Astrid, et.al., 2018).

So, it can all be concluded that the main focus of spirit of place, is on "the place", more likely to its tangible aspects and then the place is interpreted by its users that actually acts as the "spirit" of a place, which is not palpable. The sense that can only be seen and felt from the activities and events carried out by humans/communities.

## **A Review of Literature**

The spirit of place is important to discuss, because the existence of a place in the past that has value/spirit for the environment and also its people, will be useful and beneficial for those of us who are in the present and could very well be an asset for the future. The spirit of place can be found in buildings and cultural heritage areas that have historical significance and that leave a legacy and impression on the development of the city and the civilization of its people.

Irina Bokova, Director General of UNESCO at the World Urban Forum, states that in essence, the existence of a tangible and intangible cultural heritage in a city is a driver of creativity and innovation, strengthening social ties between its people, and assisting in the development and progress of the city (UNESCO, 2013). This statement can be related to the idea that the existence of Puri Karangasem actually has the potential as a magnet for the surrounding area. Not only in the past as the center of government, but its existence can also encourage the economic development of the community, improve the livability of the city area, and strengthen the social interaction, customs and culture of the community in an era that continues to develop as it is today.

As stated earlier, the spirit of place and sense of place are interrelated and seemingly inseparable. Thus, this literature review will present some previous research on these two issues as well as on the change or transformation of an area/city that using a qualitative method. Djamal (2014) and Debby and Dewi (2019) examine the spatial changes/transformation but in different locus. Djamal (2014) identifies the factors that influence the spatial changes of the Royal City of Tidore, the process of spatial changes, as well as the elements of the city that remain and change in the spatial layout of the Royal City of Tidore. They found that the factors of spatial changes in the Kingdom of Tidore are; (1) The state of the population; (2) The economic situation of the community; (3) The political situation; and (4) The status of the city/region. The addition of new city elements has caused the loss of some old city elements in the spatial structure of the city. Likewise, Debby and Dewi (2019) analyses the transformation that occurred in the Chinatown area of Semarang City in terms of spatial area and also social conditions. They find out that the changes that occurred in the spatial aspects of the area influenced by the development of economic activities, were not too significant, but the decrease in community participation was feared to reduce cultural values and become a challenge in the future development of the Chinatown of Semarang City.

Hardy (2017) focuses on finding factors of spatial realization. The locus is the same as this paper which is in Karangasem City. Hardy says that the factors influencing the realization of the spatial layout of Karangasem City are as follows: (1) Political and governmental activity, (2) Community residential group division factors, and (3) Philosophical and functional factors.

Gultom and Sinaga (2018), identifies the genius loci "spirit of place" at Jl. Sultan Muhammad towards the existing conditions in the area to maintain, elevate, preserve the character and explore the potential of the area. They say that there are several buildings as the physical characters attached to Jalan Sultan Muhammad area of Pontianak which have their own meaning/history. Meanwhile, from a non-physical point of view, there is the loading and unloading activities in the riverbank area each lasted from the past until now.

Kusumowidagdo, et. al. (2022), on their journal paper with the title "Defining the Sense of Place Components in The Food and Craft Market at The World Heritage Site". It focuses on the components of sense of place, namely the physical, social, personal, and meaning aspects of the whole. They reveal that some physical and non-physical elements need to be repaired and improved. The physical elements of the site, buildings and landmarks need some improvement. In addition, the social interaction, pedestrian flow, overall meaning consisting of history, narrative, and activities/events should be improved.

Discussing about sense of place, Dameria, et. al., 2017; 2020, also examine the potential of sense of place in urban heritage preservation. They say that the ultimate goal of understanding people who have a sense of place towards their environment is to be able to maintain the existence of the environment or city area and be able to accommodate changes that occur due to the development of a city and its lifestyle. This statement is in accordance with the focus of the author's research problem, namely regarding the physical changes of the Puri Karangasem area to the surrounding ethnic community, so that despite changes caused by various factors, the community will still have a sense of emotional attachment to the place/area.

On the other hands, Zaida and Arifin (2010) and Subanpulo (2012), examine the development of cities that are influenced by socio-cultural circumstances. Zaida and Arifin (2010) describe the landscape development of Surakarta City based on changes in social conditions from period to period, the factors that influence these changes, and propose the concept of integration in urban planning. There are three factors for changing social conditions, namely; (1) the community itself with its culture and beliefs; (2) the ruler (state) with its policies; and (3) entrepreneurs (economy) with the power of money and capital. Meanwhile, Subanpulo (2012) analysis the characteristics of Lamalohot Culture that influence the space of Larantuka City and relate to land use patterns, as well as traditional area typologies. There were physical changes in the spatial pattern and non-physical (socio-cultural) changes after the change of government from kingdom to republic. Factors affecting these changes are: (1) the reduction of cultural ties with the kingdom; (2) changes in building functions; (3) changes in lifestyle.

This scientific discussion shows that there have been many researches related to the topic of spirit of place and physical changes in the area/city. However, the results are certainly different, and create research gaps with the discussion, characteristics of the area, and methods used. In this case, there has been research on the spatial layout of the Karangasem city as described by Hardy (2017), but the research stopped at the royal period where the beginning of the formation of the royal city of Karangasem. Meanwhile, this research discusses the spatial structure of the city from period to period that undergone changes and developments so that the spirit of place of the Puri Karangasem area can be identified. This research also associated with the relationship between puri and the surrounding ethnic communities.

### Research Methodology

The research employs a qualitative research method based on grounded research approach, where the research focuses on understanding phenomena about physical changes based on facts that occur in the field (Babbie, 1992). This research goes through two stages, including; (1) Data collection which includes in-depth interviews, observations, and document survey; (2) Data analysis where the results of the data findings will be analysed/discussed with reference theories. Data collection was conducted in March – June 2023 in The Puri Karangasem area and its surrounding.

Primary data sources are obtained from in-depth interviews by researchers directly to 7 informants: the elder of the Puri Karangasem, representatives of each ethnicity (Balinese, Sasak/Lombok, Chinese). The selection of informants was based on their knowledge of the history of Karangasem city and their experiences related to social life and urban development in the Puri Karangasem area. The following table contains a description of the interview data from each informant needed by the author (Table 1).

**Table 1:** The Interview Data from Each Informants  
Source: Author, 2023

Informants	Time & place	Required Data
Mr. Haji Mastur and Mr. Haji Kadir (as a representative of Muslims)	At Ibnu Sina Mosque in Kampung Dandin Sema on April 14, 2023 at 1 p.m.	Information and opinions about the development of Puri Karangasem area and the orientation of their relationship towards puri from the royal era until now. In addition, it is also about activities/interaction with Puri Karangasem.
Mr. M. Taufik (as a representative of Muslims)	At his house in Kampung Ampel on April 14, 2023 at 3 p.m.	
Mr. Paturahman (as a representative of Muslims)	At Putih Mosque in Kampung Karang Langko on April 14, 2023 at 5 p.m.	
Mr. Koh Pa Cin (as a representative of Chinese)	At Puri Gede Karangasem on April 15, 2023 at 1 p.m.	
Mr. Taman (as a representative of Balinese)	At Puri Gede Karangasem on April 15, 2023 at 5 p.m.	
Mr. Anak Agung Ngurah Agung (as the elder of Puri Gede Karangasem)	At his residence in Denpasar on April 17, 2023 at 11 a.m.; on May 2, 2023 at 3 p.m.; on May 26, 2023 at 6 p.m.	Historical data as well as the development of the spatial structure of the city of Karangasem, archival photographs of the past, and an overview of how much the relationship between Puri Karangasem and the surrounding ethnic communities are.
Mrs. Girindrawardani and Mr. Agung Arya (as the elder of Puri Agung Karangasem)	At Puri Agung Karangasem on May 21, 2023 at 1 p.m.	

Primary data is also obtained by making direct observations to the research object. Observation is done by taking documentation in the form of photos or videos as digital evidences of existing conditions and various activities in the area. Categories of physical aspects required:

- Spatial structure of Karangasem City and city centre and government's location
- Location of *Catus Patha* (location of puri towards city spatial patterns)
- Distribution of Muslim villages and mosques

- Puri Agung Karangasem as the physical evidence of acculturation in colonial reign  
Meanwhile, the non-physical aspects that required to support the research objectives are the function of *Catus Patha* and the activities/events that shows the relationship between puri and its surrounding ethnic communities.

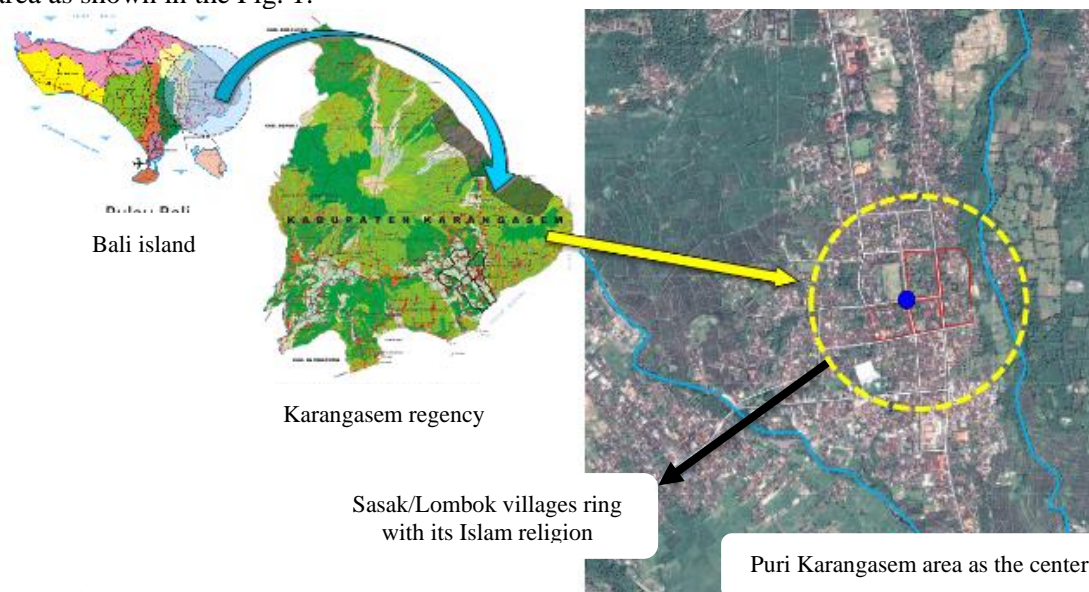
Secondary data sources serve as direction and consideration in the comparison process, such as literature studies sourced from books, journals, and planning documents obtained from relevant instances, such as Department of Public Works and Housing of Karangasem Regency, Instance for Regional Development of Karangasem Regency and the Department of Culture of Karangasem Regency, both conventionally and electronically via the internet. Documents required: Urban Planning, Detailed Spatial Planning Team of Karangasem City, and Action Plan for Karangasem Heritage City. The data is necessary to identify and analyse changes in the spatial structure of the city/area of Puri Karangasem. In addition, to understand the direction of government policy for the Puri Karangasem as a heritage area.

## Findings and Analysis

The discussion includes an overview of Karangasem towards the Bali island as well as the research locus, and the physical condition of the Puri Karangasem Area from the royal reign, the Dutch East Indies colonial reign, and the period of post-independence until now, so that the spirit of place can be ensured.

### The Overview of Karangasem and The Research Locus

Karangasem is a regency located at the easternmost part of Bali Island. In the royal reign, the centre of government was in the Puri Karangasem area which consisted of a cluster of puri sites and was surrounded by Hindu-Balinese settlements side by side with Sasak/Lombok villages with their Islam religion (Putra, 2001). The influence of Puri Karangasem in shaping the identity of the city and the civilization of the surrounding community cannot be denied. From the workshop document carried out by Instance for Regional Development of Karangasem, it is said that the royal city was built with the concept of *Jaga Satru*, which means defence and security based on togetherness in diversity. This is manifested in the architectural style of Puri which experienced acculturation (Balinese, Chinese, and European), the existence of Muslim villages, Chinese settlements (shops), and Hindu-Balinese that still exist today, as well as the tolerance of Hindu-Muslims in carrying out their respective religious ceremonies. The research locus is located in The Puri Karangasem area and its surrounding with a radius of 1 km taken from the midpoint from the centre of the area as shown in the Fig. 1.



**Fig. 1:** Overview of Karangasem towards the Bali Island and the research locus  
Source: Instance for Regional Development of Karangasem, 2015; Author, 2023

## The Royal Reign

Initially, the spatial structure of the Karangasem Kingdom was concentric (centralized) with the concept of *Kuta Negara*. *Kuta* means the city as the centre of government, palace walls, fortresses, puri, and *negara* means the kingdom (Kamus Bali-Indonesia, 1990). Puri Karangasem is located in the centre as the capital of the Karangasem Kingdom, surrounded by Hindu-Balinese settlements and ethnic Sasak/Lombok villages with their Islam religion (Putra, 2001). The close interaction between the king and the Muslim community began when the Karangasem Kingdom succeeded in controlling the Lombok region, which caused many ethnic Sasak/Lombok people to enter the Karangasem area. From here on, the spatial structure of Karangasem city was formed with the concept of *Kuta Negara*, as shown in the Fig. 2.

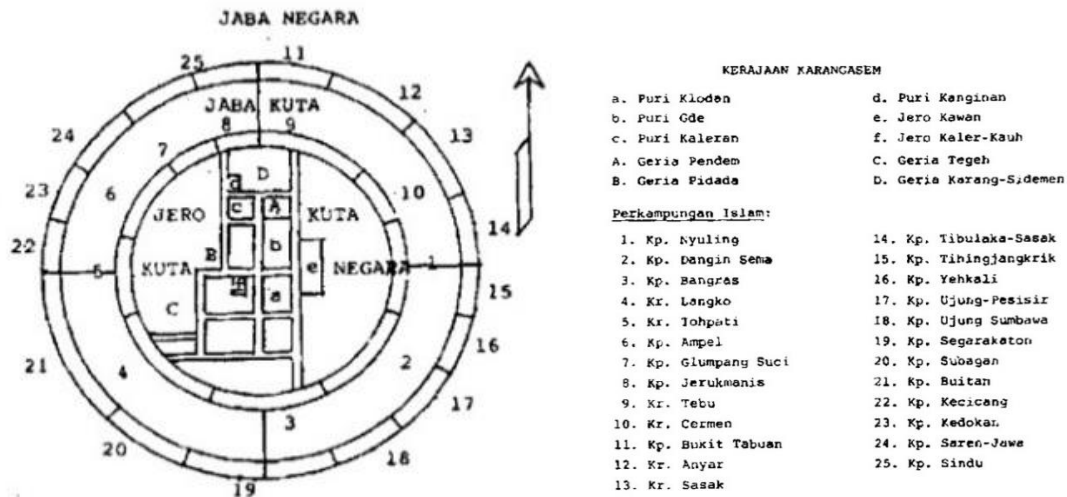


Fig. 2: Spatial Structure of *Kuta Negara* during the royal reign and its description  
Source: Putra, 2001

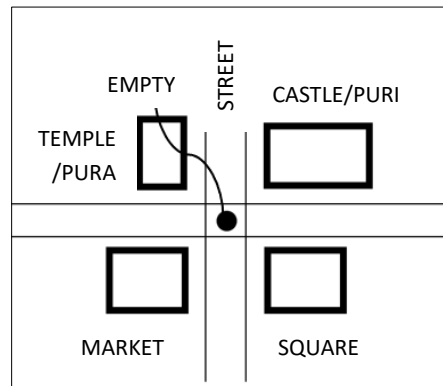
In the book titled "The Transition of Bureaucratic System from Traditional to Colonial" by Prof. Putra Agung (2001), it is explained the spatial structure of the royal area. As can be seen in the Fig. 2, the Puri Karangasem area consists of a cluster of Puri Karangasem sites including Puri Gede Karangasem, Puri Kanganan, and Puri Kelodan. The three of them are the main puri in Karangasem located in the *Jero Kuta* layer, which means the area within the royal city. Puri adjoins the neighbourhood of Balinese, such as *jero* (as a manor house) and *geria* (as a house for Hindu priests). The Muslim villages are placed alternately with the Hindu-Balinese settlements as a strategy in maintaining harmony between ethnicities and religions in the Karangasem Kingdom area and also to maintain the security of the royal territory. The next layer is *Jaba Kuta*, the area outside the royal city which consists of the manor who were given the task of ruling over district area. The outermost layer is *jaba negara*, which means the area outside the royal territory. This area consists foreigners, like Bugis, Javanese, Malay, Chinese, Arab, and also European.

### Distribution of Muslim Villages

During the royal reign, the ethnic Sasak/Lombok villages with Islam religion were placed by the king at each border area (as shown in the Fig. 2) which was generally uninhabited. Local people called the place as "*tenget*" (Girindrawardani & Aliffiati, 2022). The aim was to make the *tenget* area become inhabited so that the opponent does not easily break into the territory of the Karangasem Kingdom. The location of these Muslim villages follow the four cardinal directions around the Puri Karangasem, with the aim of being the forefront of defense to maintain the security of the kingdom/puri. From the history about Muslim entering the Karangasem Kingdom area, it can be concluded that the orientation of relationship between the Puri Karangasem and the Muslim community is in the form of a patron-client relationship, which was the relationship as the king and the king's servants.

### Puri Layout towards City Spatial Patterns

The layout of the Puri towards the city spatial pattern in Bali generally, used the concept of *catus patha* in *pempatan agung* (large road intersection), which is also called *nyatur desa* or *nyatur muka*. This means it is following the four cardinal directions (Sitindjak, Wardani, & Nilasari, 2020). In the *catus patha* concept, there are 4 main elements, namely the castle (puri), square, market, and temple/pura (Sitindjak, Wardani & Nilasari, 2020). Following figure shows the concept of the *catus patha* pattern in *pempatan agung* generally (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3:** The concept of the *catus patha* pattern in general  
Source: Sitindjak, et. al., 2020

The city space pattern towards the placement of the puri in Karangasem also uses the concept of *catus patha* pattern. It was explained at the Workshop on Strengthening the Implementation of the Heritage City Arrangement and Preservation Program by the Head of Instance for Regional Development of Karangasem in 2015, that the *catus patha* in the Puri Karangasem area has indeed been located at the intersection of Puri Gede Karangasem from the royal reign. That is the intersection between Puri Gede Karangasem, Puri Kelodan, Puri Kawan, and Alun-alun (square) adjacent to the Pura Jagatnatha (Fig. 4).

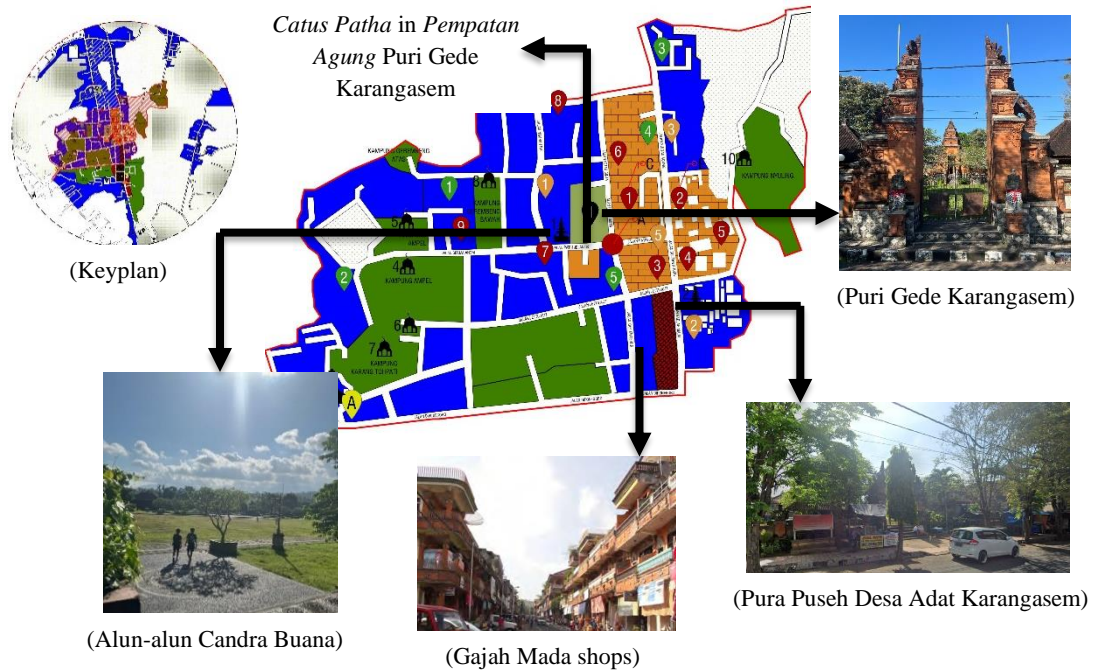


**Fig. 4:** (a) *Catus patha* of Puri Karangasem Area; (b) Existing condition of the *catus patha*  
Source: (a) googlemaps.com, 2023; (b) Author, 2023

Compared with the general concept of *catus patha* in Bali, the *catus patha* in the Puri Karangasem area looks a little bit different. In this *catus patha* in *pempatan agung* of Puri Gede Karangasem, the position or location of the puri does not directly indicate its existence at the intersection of the four main elements. However, the Puri Karangasem area which consists of a cluster of the Puri Karangasem sites is located side by side with the Candra Buana Cultural Square/Park, Pura Puseh Desa Adat Karangasem, and the Market/Centre of trade and economy,



as shown in the Fig. 5. *Catus patha* functioned as a place for Hindu-Balinese religious ceremonies, namely *Tawur Agung*.



**Fig. 5:** The layout of the Puri Gede Karangasem's *catus patha* concept  
Source: Author, 2023

### The Dutch East Indies Colonial Reign

Karangasem was successfully controlled by the Dutch around 1894. Thus, the spatial structure of the city and also the government system began to change. At that time, the position of the puri was still in the middle of the area and was still the centre of government, even though it was already under the Dutch rule with an indirect government system. That system formed two locations of the government centre. First, there is an office building called the *Landschap* Office (Wisma Agoeng) which uses the Indische style, as shown in the Fig. 6. The office functioned as the centre of government activities that took care of all the administrative needs of the city including the dismissal and election of the king, which was led by a Dutch controller (Putra, 2001). In the book titled "The Transition of Bureaucratic System from Traditional to Colonial" by Putra (2001), it is explained that the Dutch government at that time only dealt with the king of Karangasem, and did not touch the value of traditions and culture of the people.



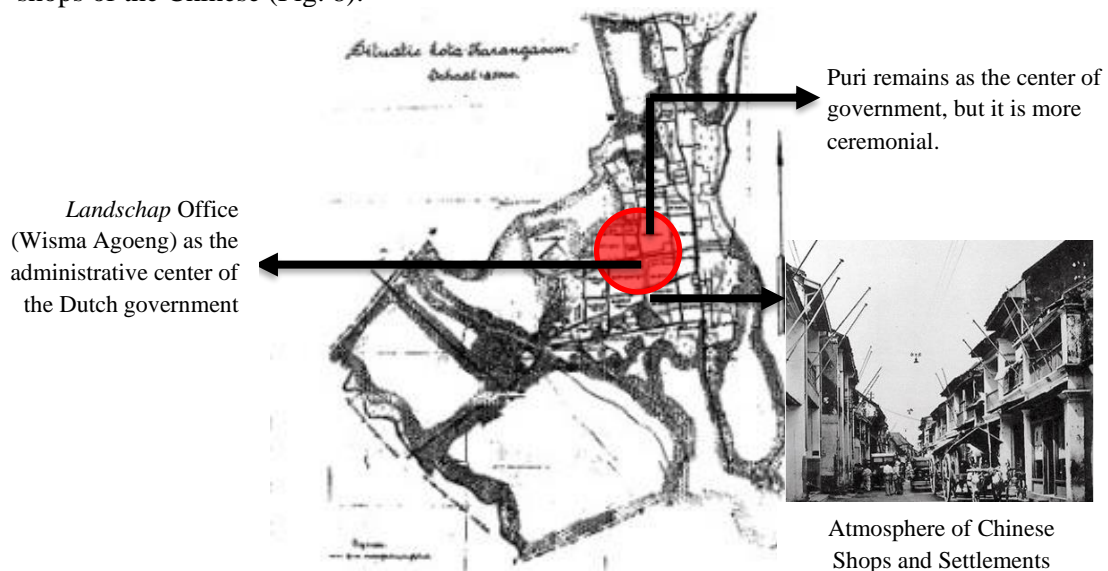
**Fig. 6:** *Landschap* Office Building (Wisma Agoeng)  
Source: Author, 2023

Meanwhile, the royal government was still led by the king, but the location moved from Puri Gede Karangasem to Puri Maskerdam (part of Puri Kanginan during the old kingdom which was partially changed by the Dutch). Puri Maskerdam functioned as the center of government activities that were more ceremonial, with the construction of a *bale* or building for important meetings with the royal and state guests called *Bale Kambang* surrounded by a water pond (Fig. 7).



**Fig. 7:** Bale Kambang at Puri Maskerdam  
Source: Author, 2023

The positions of the two government centres are close. The *Landschap* office was located opposite to the Puri Maskerdam, so that both administrative and ceremonial government activities were centralized in the Puri Karangasem area (Candra, 2023). In addition, during this period it was also seen that the Puri Karangasem area was open to the wider community, such as the Chinese community whose main role was in the field of trade and economy, so that a row of shop houses was formed to the south of Puri Karangasem, precisely on Jalan Gajah Mada (Putra, 2001). Following figure is a map of the situation of Karangasem City during the Dutch East Indies colonial reign that shows the location of the two government centres and the shops of the Chinese (Fig. 8).



**Fig. 8:** Situation Map of Karangasem City during the Dutch colonial reign  
Source: Agung, 2001; Author, 2023

The entry of the Dutch government was the first starting point for significant changes in the spatial structure of Karangasem City. The spatial structure of Karangasem City slowly

moved towards a sectoral pattern, with the development of road and bridge infrastructure, city facilities, and city supporting buildings such as office buildings, schools, shops and others. However, the location of the *catus patha* and its function has remained as in the royal reign. This is because the Dutch government did not change the traditional spirit of the area, as previously explained (Putra, 2001). Then, for the distribution of the Muslim villages, it still surrounds Puri Karangasem and it continues to develop. The statement is proven by the fact that during the reign of I Gusti Gede Jelantik (1894-1908), he married a Muslim woman and built a mosque in each Muslim villages as a form of tolerance and harmony of religious moderation in the Puri Karangasem area (Putra, 2001). Since then, mosques began to be built in Karangasem.

From the discussion, it can be identified that the changes during the colonial reign occurred due to political activities that led to the formation of two new government centres. The Dutch intervention also has caused the spatial structure of the royal city to change from concentric to sectoral patterns, as well as economic and trade activities by Chinese who began entering the territory of the Karangasem Kingdom and formed a shop area. However, based on an interview with Mr. Agung Ngurah as the elder of Puri Gede Karangasem at his house in Denpasar on April 17, 2023 at 11:00, these changes have had a positive impact, where the life of Karangasem City and its people have become more open, both in terms of territory and culture, education, and economy. In addition, it can be seen that the character of the area has also experienced the acculturation, where European and Chinese culture can be seen in the facades of the Puri Maskerdam buildings and in the Chinese shops which used an indische style.

#### Puri Maskerdam as the Physical Evidence of Acculturation during the Dutch East Indies Colonial Reign

Puri Maskerdam is one of the places with Dutch intervention with different spatial patterns and architectural styles from other palaces/puri. This puri was built after the king of Karangasem I Gusti Gde Jelantik was under the influence of the Dutch East Indies colonial reign (1894-1908) with the purpose of receiving state guests (Putra, 2001). The construction of Puri Maskerdam is a partial change of the space and function of Puri Kangingan. With this change, the Puri Kangingan area is divided into 3 puri with different *palebahan/zones* and functions, namely Puri Maskerdam, Puri Kangingan, and Puri Madhura. Although there are some changes in space and function from Puri Kangingan to Puri Maskerdam, basically the function of Puri is still the same. It is used as a residence for the king and his family, as a cultural and literary centre, and as a centre of the government. The name of Puri Maskerdam itself was adapted from the name of Amsterdam City in the Netherlands because the construction of Puri Agung Karangasem was carried out when the King of Karangasem established friendship with the Dutch Government. Then, with the adjustment of the pronunciation of the Karangasem people, the word Amsterdam changed into Maskerdam ([karangasemkab.go.id](http://karangasemkab.go.id), accessed on Tuesday, May 16, 2023 at 18.00). Here is the main building of Puri Maskerdam in the present (Fig. 9a and 9b).



(a) (b)  
**Fig. 9:** (a) *Gedong Maskerdam*; (b) *Bale Kambang*

Source: Author, 2023

*Gedong* Maskerdam functioned as the king's room, as well as a place to welcome royal and state guests (Putra, 2001). Meanwhile, based on an interview with the current manager of Puri Agung Karangasem, A. A. Made Arya in Puri Agung Karangasem on May 21, 2023 at around 2 p.m., *Bale Kambang* functioned as a place for *paruman* (meeting/conference) of royal officials to discuss matters of customs, socio-economics, politics, and royal security. The construction of Puri Maskerdam at that time was assisted by the Chinese who were good at architecture. Thus, in terms of architecture, there was a mix-culture of Chinese, as well as Balinese and European.

This also became the spirit of identity for the Puri Karangasem Area and for the Puri Maskerdam itself. It can be said to be the spirit/soul for the area and the puri, because it was formed during the Colonial reign with acculturation so it contains of historical and cultural value related to the physical attributes. From here, it can be identified that the factors for the formation of Puri Maskerdam are political activities during the Colonial reign.

### The Post-Independence Reign

Karangasem City found its lowest point in 1963, when Mount Agung erupted. The natural disaster ravaged some of the development during the Dutch colonial reign. Fortunately, the Puri Karangasem area was not destroyed by the lava, although it still suffered damage to several buildings due to the devastating earthquake. Until then, based on the document from Department of Culture of Karangasem Regency, titled "Seminar Report of The Karangasem City" (2017), stated that around the 1970s, precisely during the time when Anak Agung Gde Karang served as the regent of Karangasem City, the construction of the new face of Karangasem City took place. This period became the second starting point for changes in the city spatial structure where Karangasem City became much more complex. Following figure is a map of the spatial structure of the City of Puri Karangasem Area at the present time, with the division of sectors and areas more clearly visible (Fig. 10). The map shows the current condition of the research locus with a radius of 1 km from the centre point of Puri Karangasem.



**Fig. 10:** City Spatial Structure Map of Puri Karangasem Area at the present time  
Source: Author, 2023

As can be seen in the Fig. 10, that a new city and government centre is formed. Based on the result of "Seminar Report of Karangasem City" by The Department of Culture of Karangasem regency, the development of the new face of Karangasem City, as previously mentioned, referred to: (1) The name of the capital city of Karangasem was changed to Amlapura with the consideration of forming a new city as the city and government centre. The name Amlapura was inspired by the name of the king of Puri Kelodan, the oldest castle/puri in Karangasem, Ida I Dewa Karang Amla (Ketut, 1991) & (Putra, 2001). In addition, the name Amlapura was considered based on Karangasem Regency's plan to become a fruit-producing centre, because the words *amla* itself means fruit. The change in the name of Karangasem City was stipulated in the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 284 of 1970 (Sutanegara, 2015); (2) Decision on the location of the "New City" as the government centre, which is in the North of the Puri Karangasem Area. The location of the "New City" was decided to be in Subak Sudi. In that place, the Regent's office, the Regional Legislative Council office, Court Office, Prosecutor's Office, and others will be built.

The spatial structure of the city become more complex due to the development of functional sectors, including educations, offices, trades, settlements, and others, as well as the development of infrastructure. The factors that led to these changes is the need for rebuilding post-natural disasters and also the government activities during the republican system of post-independence reign. Although the spatial structure of the city has changed, the meaning of Puri Karangasem as the "centre" is still sacred to the surrounding community. The puri remains the spirit and symbol of royal reign power in the past, which is still respected by the people today (Girindrawardani & Aliffiati, 2022). In addition, the changes also provide development for the social and economic life of the Karangasem people.

From the results of the overall data analysis on the spatial structure of the city, it can be concluded that the Puri Karangasem area as the spirit of Amlapura-Karangasem. The spirit is formed from the historical process that survived from the royal reign as the centre of the government with all its interactions with the surrounding community which influences the development of the area and the civilization of its people until now.

#### The *Catus Patha* Concept Overtime

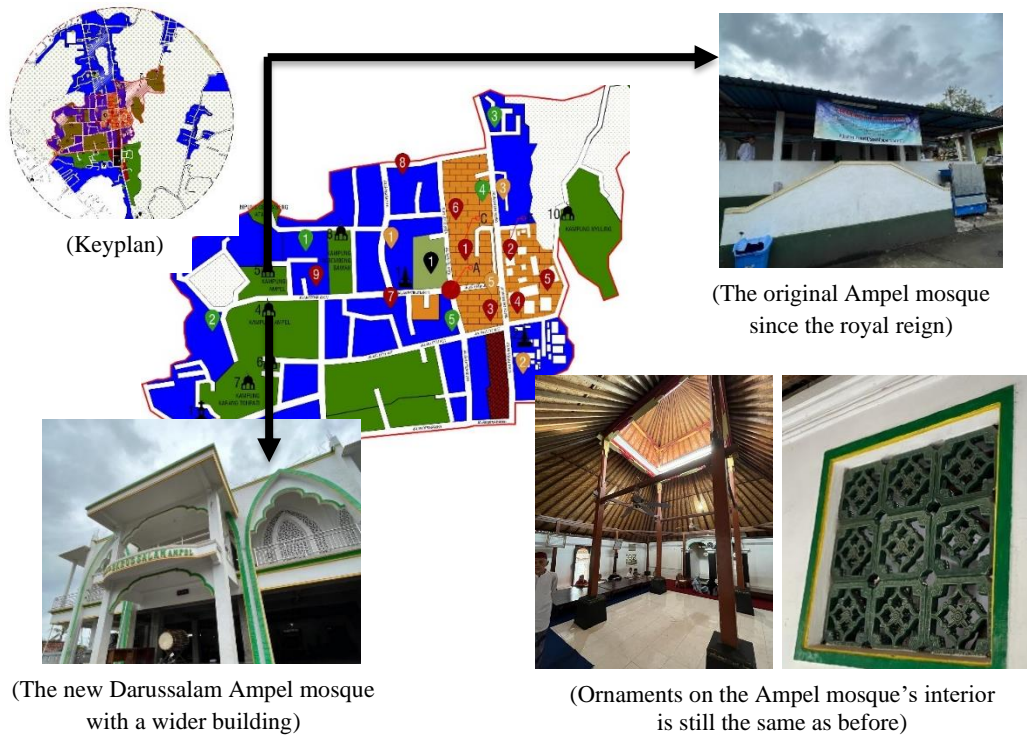
Mr. Agung Ngurah as the elder in the Puri Gede Karangasem, in an interview at his residence in Denpasar on April 17, 2023 at 1 p.m., stated that the *catus patha* in the Puri Karangasem area is still the same as before. It is just that there are changes in the physical part or appearance, which is using paving blocks. The Hindu-Balinese tradition has also not changed, that is *Tawur Agung* ceremony. Coupled with the decision in the seminar report of Karangasem City by the Department of Culture of Karangasem Regency in 2017, that the determination of the zero point is fixed at the intersection that crosses between Puri Kelodan, Puri Kawan, Candra Buana Field, and Puri Gede Karangasem. So, this location also can be included as the spirit of place of the Puri Karangasem area, where the place has a sacred value that is still believed and even still carries out hereditary traditions in it.

#### The Distribution of Muslim Villages and Mosques

As the time goes by, the number of Muslim residents per village is increasing. Based on an interview with Mr. M. Taufik as one of the elders in Kampung Ampel Karangasem and a member of the forum of Islamic observers in Bali, at his residence, on April 14, 2023 at 2 p.m., said that from the post-independence reign, there was many Muslim immigrants that came from various regions, such as from Central Java, West Java, Lombok, Madura and also Sulawesi. This is what makes the Muslim village in this area increasingly dense.

Related to the existence of the mosque, from the royal reign until the Dutch East Indies Colonial reign, each Muslim village had one mosque. But now, some have undergone renovations, rebuilding and even adding other mosques due to the increasing population capacity, but there are also villages that still maintain the old mosque built by the king in the past. Basically, although the mosque is not the same as before, the location remains unchanged. This is because the people believe that the original place has a spirit.

Following figure is a map of the Ampel village in which one of the Muslim villages that still maintains the old mosque (Fig. 11).



**Fig. 11:** Ampel Village around Puri Karangasem and its mosque

Source: Author, 2023

This village still maintains the mosque that was built by the king, but over time, with the increase of population in the village, a new, larger mosque has been built to accommodate all the people in the Ampel Village. Mr. M. Taufik also explained that this mosque has only ever undergone rejuvenation and some renovations without changing the original elements/ornaments and overall shape of the building. The old Ampel Mosque is now used only as a place to recite the Quran with the smaller amount of people.

Another representative of Muslim named Mr. Haji Mastur and Mr. Haji Kadir as elders in Dangin Sema Muslim Village on April 14, 2023 at around 1 p.m., stated that there are problems that occur related to the increase in the number of migrants entering the Muslim village. It caused a shortage of land, especially for cemeteries. However, they also said that inter-religious harmony and tolerance are increasingly visible and maintained in the Puri Karangasem area and its surroundings, which can be potential identity for the area itself. It is shown in the Fig. 12, that the interaction activities between Muslims and the puri are still running until now.





(d)

**Fig. 12:** (a) Community service at Pura Bukit; (b) Muslim community hitting *gong bende*; (c) Muslim community praying for the late of the elder of Puri Agung Karangasem; (d) Muslim community performing *rudat* art just before the *pelebon*/cremation ceremony

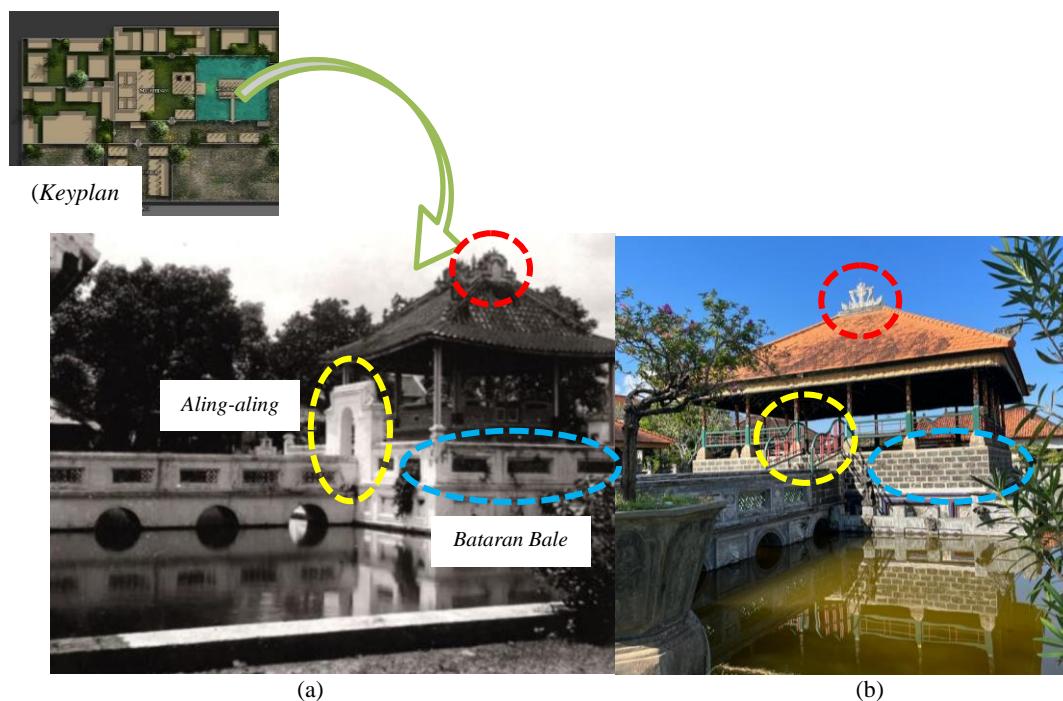
Source: (a) and (b) Girindrawardani & Aliffiati, 2022; (c) and (d) Author, 2023

### The Physical Changes of Puri Maskerdam Karangasem

Over time and when Karangasem City experienced its lowest point after the eruption of Mount Agung, it caused damage to several buildings in Puri Maskerdam. In the present time, some of the buildings in Puri Maskerdam have been restored, but they are not 100% the same as the originals. Some of the buildings that have undergone changes, based on an interview and analysis of archival photos from Mr. Agung Ngurah as the elder of Puri Gede Karangasem, are:

#### (1) Bale Kambang

On top of the Bale Kambang's roof, there used to be a dragon motif that characterized Chinese architecture, but due to age and damage after the earthquake caused by Mount Agung erupted in 1963, repairs were made. The roof changed to the traditional Balinese roof shape in general, which named *ikut celedu*. In addition, there are also changes to the *bale*'s floor and there is a missing element, namely the *angkul-angkul* or the entrance that is right at the end of the bridge to go up to the *bale*. The changes elements of *Bale Kambang* can be seen in the following Fig. 13.



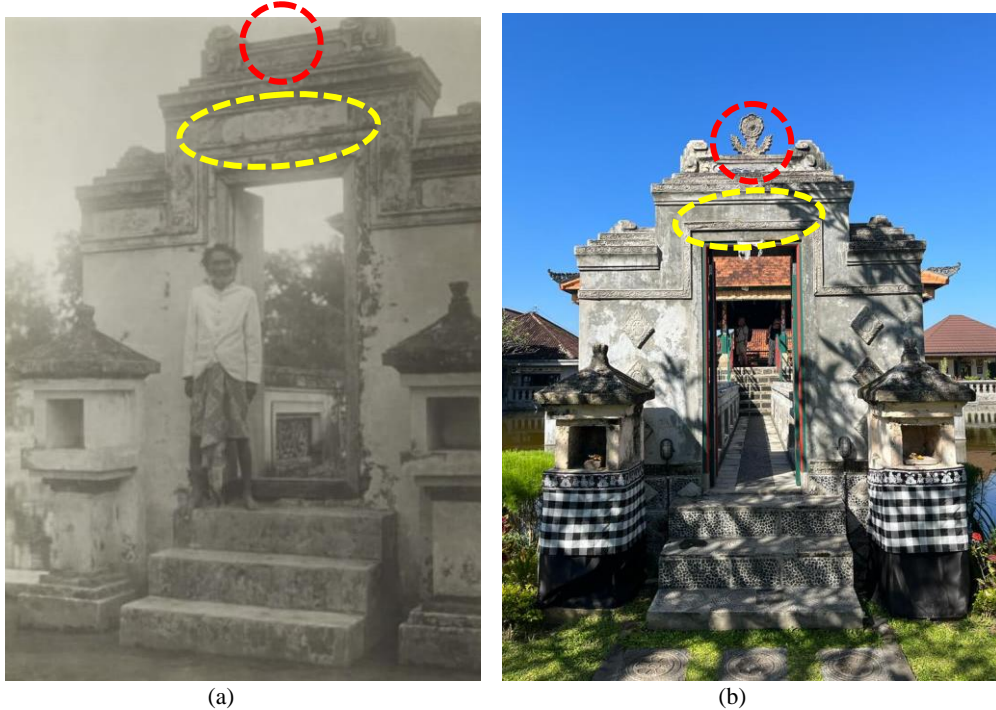
(a)

(b)

**Fig. 13:** The Changes of *Bale Kambang*'s Elements (a) In the Past; (b) In the Present

Source: (a) Archive Photo of Mr. Agung Ngurah, yy; (b) Author, 2023

Then, to get to Bale Kambang, you need to pass through the initial *angkul-angkul* and the bridge. This entrance also underwent changes to the facade, as shown in the Fig. 14.



**Fig. 14:** The Changes of *Angkul-angkul*'s Fasade (a) In the Past; (b) In the Present  
Source: (a) Archive Photo of Mr. Agung Ngurah, yy; (b) Author, 2023

There used to be carvings of Chinese writing on the facade, but now it is no longer visible. Besides that, there are also additional ornaments on top of the *angkul-angkul*. However, the function of *Bale Kambang* from then and now still the same. Which is a place for meeting and conference with the Puri family, the priests/*pedanda*, and also important guests.

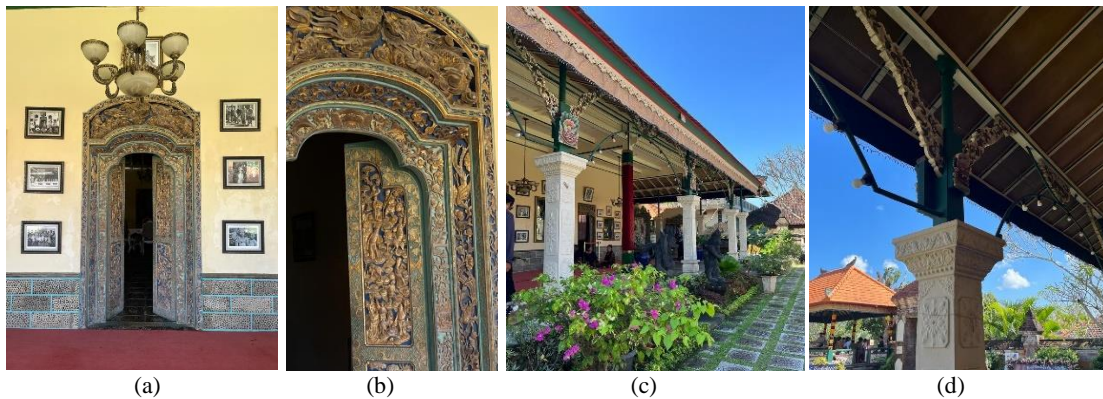
## (2) *Gedong Maskerdam*

The Dutch influence in architectural terms can be seen in the scale, dimensions, proportions, and functions of the space, the construction of the hood, the appearance of the structure, the materials, and the model of the pole in front of the building (Salain, 2015), as shown in Fig. 15. In addition, Fig. 16, shows that there is the Chinese style specifically on carving and colors. And it all blends together into a unique whole.



**Fig. 15:** *Gedong Maskerdam* in the present  
Source: Author, 2023





**Fig. 16:** Architectural Details of *Gedong* Maskerdam in the present (a) and (b) The main entrance to the building; (c) and (d) The pillars on the building  
Source: Author, 2023

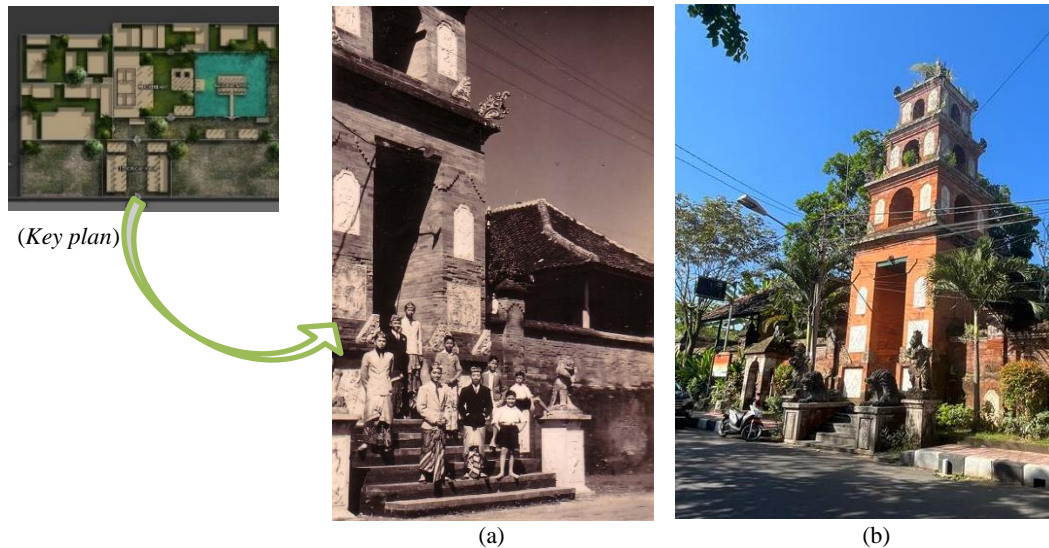
In terms of the building, it has not undergone significant changes from the past until now, it is just that some parts have been renovated and repainted. The function itself has changed, which used to be the king's room, now it becomes sacred so that only the family of Puri can enter, as shown in the Fig. 17(a). Tourists visiting the Puri can enter this building to see the interior and some furniture given by the Queen of the Netherlands to the king, as shown in the Fig. 17(b).



**Fig. 17:** Interior of the *Gedong* Maskerdam in the present (a) The restriction room; (b) The Furnitures  
Source: Author, 2023

### (3) *Candi Kurung* (The Main Gate of Puri Maskerdam)

The structure has the concept of a traditional Balinese Kori Agung, but with the absorption of Chinese cultural forms. The shape resembles a pagoda with a three-story roof, which is believed to have arisen due to the king's close relationship with Chinese merchants (Mahastuti, 2018). This is the uniqueness of Puri Maskerdam right from the start. *Candi Kurung* serves as a connecting gate between the outer space to the *bencingah* (transition space and the place for gathering people), and then from the *bencingah* goes to the Maskerdam building. The following is a picture of Puri Maskerdam's *Candi Kurung* during the colonial reign and today (Fig. 18).



**Fig. 18:** *Candi Kurung* of Puri Maskerdam (a) In the Past; (b) In the Present  
Source: (a) Archive Photo of Mr. Agung Ngurah, yy; (b) Author, 2023

From the results of the analysis of Puri Maskerdam architecturally, the changes factors can be identified: the time and age of the building, the impact of natural disasters in the past, and the adjustment factor to the current situation, conditions, and abilities. So that, there is an improvement that causes changes in elements, however, the location and the sacred value contained therein have not changed. Its function remains and is adapted to current conditions and needs. It also becomes a physical identity, characteristics of the Puri Maskerdam itself and the Puri Karangasem area. This has a positive impact on the potential of the area, where Puri Maskerdam, better known as Puri Agung Karangasem, today, has been included in cultural and historical tourism objects at the national and even international levels.

## Conclusions

Based on the findings of this research, there are significant physical changes of the Puri Karangasem area and its surroundings, that can be identified in terms of 3 timelines: The Royal reign, The Dutch East Indies Colonial reign, and the post-independence reign until now. They are:

- Spatial structure of the city including the *Catus Patha* concept,
- The density of Muslims and the addition of mosques, and
- The Puri Maskerdam architecture.

The main factor of the changes is the development of the times, where the Puri Karangasem area has passed through life from time to time which certainly provides many influences and changes. The specific factors include:

(1) The political/governmental activities, where the starting point of changes in the spatial structure of the city occurred during the Dutch East Indies Colonial reign.

(2) The activities and interactions, where the beginning of Muslim villages distribution surrounding Puri Karangasem was due to the close interaction between the king and Muslim. The formation of Puri Maskerdam was the result of the interaction between the King of Karangasem and the Dutch government. In addition, the activities of the puri's interaction with the Chinese has resulted in acculturation in physical form.

(3) Population growth, causing Muslim villages to become denser and changes in physical conditions and the addition of the quantity of mosques in each Muslim village.

(4) The need for development, where its influence is clearly seen in the second major change, namely after the natural disaster of Mount Agung erupted (the period of post-independence until now).

(5) And also, the adjustment factor to the current situation, conditions, and abilities of the Puri's descendants.

In the end, this paper concludes that the changes occurred here can discover the spirit of place of The Puri Karangasem area. The spirit includes:

- (1) Puri Karangasem itself, which are Puri Gede Karangasem as the government centre of the royal reign and Puri Maskerdam as the government centre of the colonial reign that also experienced acculturation by the Balinese, Dutch, and Chinese.
- (2) The Muslim villages surround the Puri Karangasem, including the relationship between them that becomes a tradition that has to be preserved, especially to the young generation

This research also concludes that all the changes that occur in The Puri Karangasem area, based on the interview of informants, have a positive impact for the area and its people. The development of urban structures and infrastructure as well as public facilities/services in it, can facilitate the accessibility of activities and help the economy of the community. In addition, although physical and the government system change in the Puri Karangasem area, the community surround the puri still maintains the spiritual value and sacredness of the Puri Karangasem area as a potential identity of the city.

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