# Javanese-Dutch Coexistence in the Yogyakarta City Center (1755-1942)

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#### **Abstract**

Yogyakarta is the capital of the youngest Islamic Mataram kingdom in Java. According to the Jatisari meeting between Sultan Hamengkubuwono I from the Sultanate of Yogyakarta Hadiningrat and Sunan Pakubuwono III from the Sunanate of Surakarta Hadiningrat, it was agreed that Yogyakarta would continue the traditions and culture of the Old Mataram, while Surakarta created new traditions and culture including urban planning and architecture that remained based on the old Mataram. However, the two Islamic Mataram kingdoms were still bound by the agreement number 112 of 1677 carried out by their ancestor Sunan Amangkurat II with the Dutch where one of its contents was to allow the placement of VOC soldiers (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) in the capital of the Mataram Kingdom at that time, namely Kartasura to protect the kingdom after the Trunojoyo rebellion in exchange for the surrender of Madura and the Java coast to the VOC. These two things were the beginning of the emergence of Javanese-Dutch coexistence in Yogyakarta. This is a unique phenomena about which very little is known.

This study uses an interpretive historical research approach to several block plans processed from the map of the City of Yogyakarta issued by the Dutch Colonial Government to unearth this phenomena.

It concludes that the coexistence of Javanese and Dutch in the centre of Yogyakarta City has become the initial spirit and developed rapidly in line with the implementation of several policies in the political and economic fields implemented by the Dutch Colonial Government. In the process of its development, the centre of the Yogyakarta City was formed by prioritizing an acculturation approach. This can be seen from the continuity of the royal road as part of the main axis of the city of Yogyakarta and the completeness of the constituent elements of the city centre of Yogyakarta (Catur Gatra) which became an important consideration where public spaces and buildings built by the Dutch could not interfere with the road. This became an identity that has been maintained until now.

**Keywords:** Yogyakarta; city center; co-existence; acculturation; interpretive historical research.

# Introduction

Yogyakarta is the capital of the Islamic Mataram kingdom which was founded most recently. Apart from applying the Islamic Mataram tradition and culture, Yogyakarta City received Dutch influence from its inception. This stems from the Giyanti Agreement in 1755 which was known as the *Palihan Nagari* Agreement (State Separation) by the Javanese. This

agreement was initiated and facilitated by the VOC to end the resistance of Pangeran Mangkubumi (after becoming the king of Yogyakarta with the title Sultan Hamengkubuwono I) against injustice and interference by the VOC against the Surakarta Palace. The contents of the Giyanti Agreement are to divide the Islamic Mataram Kingdom into two, namely the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Surakarta Sunanate.

Furthermore, the Giyanti Agreement was followed by the Jatisari Agreement between Sunan Pakubuwono III and Sultan Hamengkubuwono I to share the Mataram traditions and customs. In the Jatisari Agreement, it was agreed that the Yogyakarta Sultanate would continue the traditions, culture and the customs of the Old Mataram, while the Surakarta Sunanate would implement *yuswa enggal* or develop new traditions and customs but still be based on the traditions and customs of the Old Mataram.

If seen further backward, the Dutch involvement in the succession of the Mataram Kingdom began during the reign of Sunan Amangkurat II (Rickleff, 2002), namely to overcome the Trunojoyo rebellion from Madura, and to restore the throne to Sunan Amangkurat II. It was also intended to build the Kartasura Palace as the new capital. According to Herusatoto (2008), there are 5 pieces of compensation which in essence are the handover of several coastal areas which were at that time the centers of economy and trade, the handover of several hinterlands as agrarian centers, control of trade rights, and the placement of soldiers in the capital city of the Mataram Kingdom. In the field of architecture and urban planning, compensation for the placement of soldiers in the capital city of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom certainly affects changes in urban spatial planning, especially in the downtown area (Adrisijanti, 2000). From the description above, Kartasura became the city center of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom which was first influenced by Europe. However, unfortunately at this time, the legacy of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Kartasura is not much to be seen anymore because it was destroyed by the Chinese rebellion (*Geger Pacinan*) in 1742 during the reign of Pakubuwono II.

After the *Geger Pacinan* incident, the Netherlands benefited from an agreement with Pakubuwono II in 1743 which intended to regain the throne and build the new capital city of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, namely in Surakarta (Rickleff, 2008). As compensation, Rickleff (2008) explains that the VOC received West Madura, all ports and duties controlled by Mataram on the coast of Java, had the right to determine the governor appointed by the king, receive rice every year, and had the right to place 1 army garrison in the capital city of Mataram as compensation. The agreement had an impact in the fields of architecture and urban planning. The existence of garnizuns in the capital city of the kingdom will have a bigger influence than just the placement of soldiers who were previously in Kartasura because garnizuns required a fort as its facilities. This also happened in Yogyakarta after the Giyanti agreement because it had an equal status with Surakarta, namely as the capital of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom.

From some of the descriptions above, it is known that the city of Yogyakarta is a city that grows and develops with the application of the principles of Islamic Mataram city planning as well as receiving the Dutch influence from its inception as a result of the previous agreement between the Mataram Kingdom and the Dutch. With an interpretive historical research approach, the researcher analyzed the development of the city center of Yogyakarta during the Dutch colonial period by observing the functions depicted on the block plan map of the city of Yogyakarta during the Dutch colonial period to reveal how the Javanese-Dutch coexistence grew and developed as an identity in the center of the Yogyakarta City.

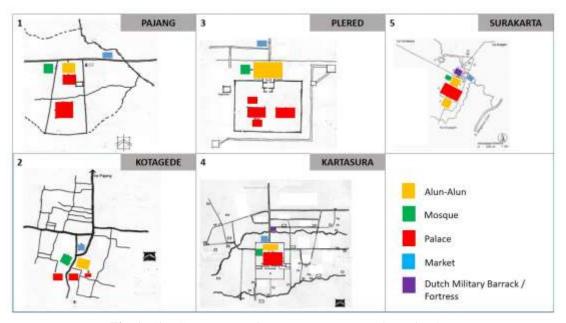
# Islamic Mataram City Center in Java and the Beginning of the Influence of Colonial Architecture

The Islamic Mataram city center pattern was first applied in the city of Demak, the North coast of the Java Island during the Demak Sultanate as the successor to the Majapahit Kingdom (Adrisijanti, 2000). Adrisijanti (2000) also explained that the constituent elements of the city center during the Islamic Mataram era were similar to the constituent elements of the city center of the Majapahit Kingdom, but there were modifications to their placement position. Adrisijanti (2000) and Santoso (1984) add that Islamic teachings that do not teach caste division in society are represented in the shape and position of the square (*Alun-alun*) as a traditional

city center and as a meeting place between the king and the people. The position of the *Alunalun* itself is generally located in the city center with the mosque on the West side, the palace on the South side and the market on the North side.

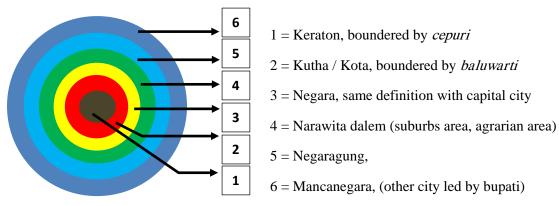
From Adrisijanti (2000), it is also known that the pattern of the city center of the Islamic Kingdom of Pajang as the successor to the Islamic Kingdom of Demak is thought to be similar to that of the city center of Demak. However, unfortunately, the remains of the Pajang Kingdom are nowhere to be observed at this time. Furthermore, after the Pajang Kingdom experienced a decline, the era of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom began with Kotagede, Plered, Kartasura, and Surakarta respectively as its capital. Juniarto (2019) and Adrisijanti (2000) explain that up to Kartasura, all elements of the city center are located within the city walls or what is called *baluwarti*. However, after moving to Surakarta and Yogyakarta, there were several changes, including the existence of the two *Alun-alun* (North and South) where the North *Alun-alun* was located outside the *baluwarti*, and the South *Alun-alun* remained inside the *baluwarti* and the market was placed outside the *baluwarti*.

The change is thought to be due to two things, the first is the need for special training facilities for the palace soldiers that cannot be seen by the enemy at the South *Alun-alun*, and the second is to separate the profane from the sacred functions. There, the area outside of *baluwarti* is a public zone with a profane function, accessible to anyone. If we observe further, in addition to separating the profane and sacred functions, it is suspected that the location of the market outside the *baluwarti* has something to do with the existence of a Dutch fort and the agreement between the Mataram and Dutch ancestors which gave the VOC trade control rights. By placing the market outside *baluwarti*, the sacredness of the palace as the center of government is still maintained.



**Fig. 1:** City Center Pattern in Javanese Mataram Islam Kingdom Source: Museum Radya Pustaka Surakarta (2019) modified by author (2020)

Furthermore, Santoso (1984) explains that cities in the hinterland of Java are formed along with the development of the government system symbolized by the palace as its center. Therefore, cities in the hinterland of Java tend to have a stronger feudal character than cities on the coast of Java which are more egalitarian because they emphasize trade as their spirit (Handinoto, 2010). Santoso (1984) also explains that urban development in Java follows a concentric pattern in accordance with the hierarchy of functions and traditional government systems. Following is a diagram of urban development patterns in the hinterland of Java.



**Fig. 2:** The Concept of Royal Territory in Inland Java. Source: Santoso (1984)

From the Fig. 1, we can see that the beginning of the Dutch influence in the city center of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom occurred in the Kartasura City with the presence of military barracks in the North of the market. Unfortunately, at this time, the form of this military barracks was no longer known because the remaining physical artifacts were not clear. The purpose of the military barracks is to protect and supervise the kingdom. In this way, the Dutch got an increasingly favorable position in the hinterland of Java.

In subsequent developments, the military barracks developed into a defensive fortress (known as Fort Vastenburg) in the center of Surakarta (the capital of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom after Kartasura). Apart from being bigger, the position of Fort Vastenburg was more strategic than that of the Dutch military barracks at Kartasura. This is because Vastenburg Fort is close to Pasar Gede Surakarta as a royal market. In this way, it would be easier for the Dutch to control trade.

# Comparison of Islamic Mataram City Center and Dutch Colonial City Center Elements in Java

The principle of urban planning in colonies in detail was first found in the "Law of the Indies" issued by the Kingdom of Spain in 1573 (Nuttal, 1921 &1922 in Broadbent, 1990). The code of law regulates the social structure of society in America and the Philippines, which were colonies of Spain. In the code of law, it is explained that the main elements of the city center are the city plaza and the church (Kostof, 1992). There is no defined specific position of the church sited in the city plaza. However, the Churches, the governmental, the military, and the socio-economic facilities were set up around the plaza.

Sunaryo (2013) explains that even though the Law of The Indies issued by the Kingdom of Spain appeared earlier before the VOC's presence in Indonesia, it is doubtful if the Dutch applied this legal code or set a precedent. Sunaryo (2013) further explains that the initial orientation of the Dutch arrival in Indonesia, which prioritized trade monopoly, made the Netherlands view a city as a trading post. This is in line with Wihardyanto (2019) who explains that a more trade-oriented planning practice at the beginning of his arrival (17-19 century) made the Netherlands not to have a city development plan.

Van Den Heufel (2005) in Sunaryo (2013) argues that the concept of an ideal city in a Dutch colony has been described in the notes of Simon Stevin (1548-1620), an advisor to Prince Maurice of Nassau. According to Stevin, the ideal concept in the colonization process is a city in the form of a fortress (Sterctenbouwing) which is square in order to be efficient in carrying out the division of functions in the fort. Van Den Heufel (2005) in Sunaryo (2013) also explains that after being able to control the situation, the Dutch began to leave the fort and build cities. There are several important elements that are located in the city center, namely the church, the ruler's house, the town hall, the prisons, the courts and the markets. The fort itself according to several studies of colonial architecture in Indonesia has an important position as a growing

point for colonial architecture and cities (Leushuis, 2014). In line with Leushuis (2014), Wihardyanto (2019) and Passchier (2007) explain that the fort was the center of Dutch activity at the beginning of its colonization, in Indonesia, and that the fort had complete settlements with supporting facilities such as cities.

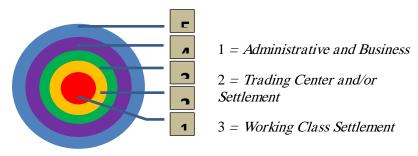
Based on the descriptions above, a comparison can be made between the completeness of elements of the Islamic Mataram city center in Java, the Dutch colonial city in Indonesia in the early colonial period, and the Dutch colonial city in Indonesia in the following period as follows.

**Table 1**: Comparison of Islamic Mataram City Center and Dutch Colonial City Center Elements Source: Author, 2020

Function	Elements of Islamic Mataram City Center in Java	Elements of the Dutch Colonial City Center in Indonesia (early period)	Elements of the Dutch Colonial City Center in Indonesia
Government	Palace	Fort	Residence Goverment
Judicial			Justice Court
			Prison House
Religious	Mosque		Church
Social	Alun-alun / Square		City Hall
Economic	Market		Market

Kostof (1991) explains that in classical times, cities in Europe had a concentric pattern that could be differentiated into city centers and their supporting parts. Furthermore, Kostof (1992) explains that the concentric city pattern emphasizes the limited function of bureaucracy, religion and housing for kings, royal families, aristocrats and clergy as the center. It is symbolized by the royal buildings and churches. The kings and aristocrats at this time did have a central role in the growth of the city, while the economic function as a driving force for the city at this time did not have a special area but merged between the urban spaces.

The stronger role of the king and the church supported by the merchants gave rise to the 3G (Gold, Gospel, Glory) movement which then encouraged the colonization of an area in order to find natural resources to sell in the European market (Stroomberg, 2008). According to Kostof (1991), as a result of the colonization activities, cities in Europe grew rapidly organically following the landscape but still maintained a concentric pattern. Furthermore, Kostof (1992) added that in the city center, various public facilities began to appear to support the government and its economic and social functions. Meanwhile, in the suburban areas, there are settlements for the various groups of people. Burgess (1923) describes the zoning of a concentric radial city that developed in Europe during this pre-industrialization period with the following diagram.



**Fig. 3:** Pre-Industrial City Structure in Europe Source: Burgess,1923

#### **Research Methods**

This study uses an interpretive historical research approach. This approach consists of 2 methods. The first is the collection and review of literature to form insights and research contexts that will be used as meanings. The second is the collection and re-drawing of block plans based on maps of the City of Yogyakarta issued by the Dutch Colonial Government to find out how developments are occurring in the center of Yogyakarta City based on the growth in building mass.

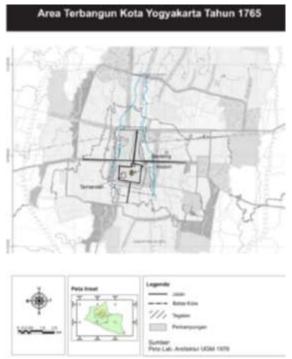
In the documentary survey, the researcher selects documents such as books that discuss the theory of urban development in Java in particular and the world in general. The information collected from the book is then complemented by research results discussing the development of the City of Yogyakarta which were published in the last 15 years and have a good reputation. Furthermore, the results from the documentary survey are used to analyze the development of the center of the city of Yogyakarta from time to time based on the growth of building mass, and finally it is also used to provide meaning to the characteristics of the center of the city of Yogyakarta.

#### Yogyakarta City Center: At the Beginning

The development of the Yogyakarta City cannot be separated from the development of the palace as the core. According to Noorduyn in Carey (2015), the embryo of the Yogyakarta Palace existed at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, namely during the establishment of the Kartasura Palace. The Yogyakarta Palace was formerly a banyan forest located in the Pacethokan Village (Darmosugito, 1956). Darmosugito (1956) added that there was a pavilion named Garjitowati which was used as a resting place for the king before he made a pilgrimage to Imogiri (royal cemetery). Rickleff (2002), Carey (2015) and Darmosugito (1956) explain that in the past, the way to reach Garjitowato was through a straight road from Tugu in the North to Garjitowati in the South. This road is a historical *margaraja* (royal road) because it is thought that it is the same age as the Garjitowati pavilion.

Adrisijanti (2000) and Fauziah (2018) state that *margaraja* is integrated with the imaginary axis of the Yogyakarta City which connects Mount Merapi - Tugu - Keraton - Panggung Krapyak - South Sea. Darmosugito (1956) and Fauziah (2018) say that *margaraja* consists of three roads, from the North to the South, respectively: Margo Utomo, Malioboro, and Margo Mulyo. The three roads have a philosophical meaning that describes how humans should behave in the course of their life (Revianto and Sri Suwito (2008). Margo Utomo means eminence road, Malioboro means carrying a torch (lighting) (Suryanto, 2015) or in other literacy means a flower-studded road (Carey, 2015). Margo Mulyo means a respectability road. By going through these three paths, especially at royal ceremonies, humans are invited to remember that to become a complete human being, one must first recognize his strengths (eminence), and then with these virtues, so that he can help others, and in the end being respected by the society.

Adrisijanti (2000) explains that choosing the location of the palace must meet certain requirements. Revianto and Sri Suwito (2008) explain in Suryanto (2015) that to determine the location of the capital city, primbon (Javanese calculation) is applied with the intention of getting blessings from the ancestors. Darmosugito (1956) explains that choosing the location of the Yogyakarta Palace in the former Garjitowati which was between 2 rivers, namely the Code River and the Winongo River, brought great benefits. In addition to the fertile land, the existence of two flanking rivers can be used as a natural defense to deter attacks from the right and left, and can function as a drainage route for rainwater. This way, the palace could be free from flooding. Darmosugito (1956) explains that at the beginning of its establishment, in front of the northern baluwarti, a road stretched from the East to the West connecting the two rivers which was marked by the bastions at the corner of the baluwarti and the bridges at each end of the road. The reconstruction of the map of Yogyakarta City in 1756 (Fig. 4) as shown in Suryanto (2015) is sufficient to illustrate what was stated by Darmosugito (1956).



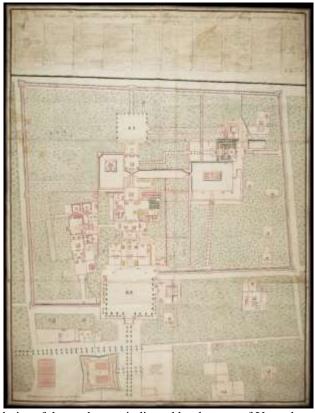
**Fig. 4:** The area built in the city of Yogyakarta Source: Suryanto (2015)

As soon as the Giyanti agreement was signed, Sultan Hamengkubuwono I built the palace, the North and South Alun-alun, and the baluwarti wall (Darmosugito, 1956). As a symbol of the meeting of the king and the people, the North Alun-alun is located on the outer edge of baluwarti so that it is easily accessible to the people. Fauziah (2018) explains that at almost the same time as the construction of the palace, and not far from the North Alun-alun, Fort Rustenburg (the initial name of Fort Vredenburg) was built based on an agreement between Sultan Hamengkubuwono I and the Netherlands and clearing land designated as the non-permanent market called Beringharjo market to revive the economy (1758). Fauziah (2018) also explains that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Gedhe Kauman Yogyakarta Mosque as a royal mosque was built in 1773. In addition, in the 1767-1787 period, the restoration of Fort Rustenburg was carried out into a permanent brick building with the addition of supporting facilities. Thus, prior to the bankruptcy of the VOC in 1799, all elements of the center of Yogyakarta including the alun-alun, the palace, the mosque and the market known as Catur Gatra were completely established.

Based on the oldest map of the Yogyakarta City produced by the Dutch, namely in 1790 (Fig. 5), it can be seen that Alun-alun was designed to be the center of the city where the king and the people met. In addition, it can also be seen that there is a distance between the palace's baluwarti and the European buildings (fort and Resident House) in the North, in the form of a defense trench and a green area that extends from the Northeast to the Northwest bastion and the road that also extends from the Northeast to the Northwest bastion.

Based on some of the descriptions above, the researcher limits the discussion area as follows (Fig. 5):

- North: A building on the edge of Margo Mulyo Street to the North end of the meeting with Malioboro Street.
- South: A building on the edge of the northern baluwarti wall that extends from the North-east corner of the baluwarti to the Northwest.
- East: Buildings on the edge of the Kampeemenstraats to the eastern end of the Kampeemenstraats.
- West: A building on the edge of Ngabean Street to the western end of the Ngabean Street.



**Fig. 5:** Boundaries of the study area indicated by the map of Yogyakarta City in 1790 Source: www.kitlv.nl

# Politics and its Influence on the Development of Downtown Java, Indonesia

There have been many studies on the socio-political influence on urban development in Indonesia in general. However, how it affects the physical development of Yogyakarta, especially in the downtown area, needs to be studied more. Wihardyanto (2019) explains that the different perspectives on the colonial territory between the VOC and the Dutch Colonial Government brought significant differences to the development of cities and settlements in Indonesia. The absence of development planning by the VOC occurred because the VOC orientation was trade. Unlike the Dutch colonial government, which had made Indonesia the expansion of the Dutch, so that in addition to controlling natural resources, the Dutch also tried to make Indonesia a comfortable place to live. This opinion is in line with Sunaryo (2013) and Nas (2007) who say that the development of cities in Indonesia started to be up to the standards of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only after the Dutch Colonial Government replaced the VOC.

Wihardyanto (2019) explains that the fort was the embryo of the growth of the colonial city in Java. Wihardyanto (2019) and Fauziah (2018) further explain that in the fort, there are also various supporting facilities like a city even though they were on a limited scale. These facilities include the resident office, the church, the society, the hospital, and the others. Passchier (2007) and Handinoto (2010) say that after the condition of a city was able to be controlled by the Dutch, the settlements and their supporting facilities began to be built outside the fort so that they could be used by more Europeans.

The cultural policy (1830-1870) which was enforced in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and was followed by the issuance of agrarischewet (1870) marked the era of agrarian industrialization in Indonesia which in turn had an impact on urban development. This is as described by Handinoto (2010) and Wihardyanto (2019). Handinoto (2010) adds that to accelerate the transportation of commercial commodities in the form of agricultural and plantation products, the rail transportation was built. Recently, these facilities were also developed for the

transportation of people due to the high demand. Of course this also affects the spatial structure in the downtown area because of the railroad lines and stations.

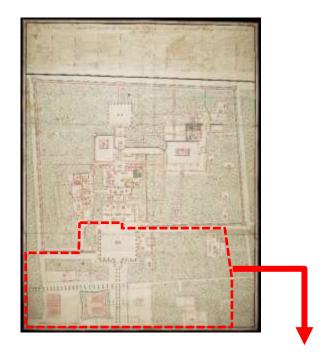
Passchier (2007) Hadinoto (2010) Raap (2015) and Wihardyanto (2019) agree that the 19<sup>th</sup> century is a momentum for the modernization of cities in Indonesia. The application of cultuurstelsel and agrarischewet politics made the agrarian industry grow rapidly which resulted in many Dutch people coming to Indonesia to work especially agrarischewet provided the opportunity for the private sector to also have an agrarian industry which was previously only controlled by the Dutch colonial government. Thus, there were many settlements built for the Europeans and their supporting facilities (Surjomiharjo, 2008). Based on the description above, the researcher proposes that the public facilities that were originally built were those that functioned to support the economic and industrial sectors. The land used is land in the downtown area because it is close to the center of the colonial government and the price is still affordable.

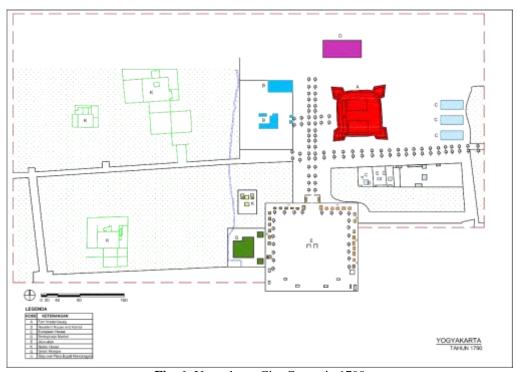
The 20<sup>th</sup> century is a new chapter of urban development in Indonesia. Surjomiharjo (2008) argues that the application of ethical politics (1902) which was then followed by decentraliewet (1903) by the Dutch Colonial Government brought about an improvement in the quality of life in colonies (Indonesia). Stroomberg (2018) explains that with decentralization, local governments are given funds and authority to develop cities according to their needs. Damayanti (2005) adds that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to the increasing number of European migration to Indonesia, a special residential area for the Europeans was developed in the suburbs complete with supporting facilities. Researchers suggest that at this time (20<sup>th</sup> century), public facilities that were built were not limited to economic and industrial support facilities. Social facilities also began to be built to create comfortable living in Indonesia.

# The Development of the Yogyakarta City Center

In this section, we will discuss how the development of the central area of Yogyakarta City has been based on the function of the block plan, which is processed from the colonial maps of the Yogyakarta City. The maps examined are of 1790, 1812, 1833, 1903, 1925, and 1935.

#### Yogyakarta City Center in 1790





**Fig. 6:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1790 Source: Processed from Yogyakarta 1790 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

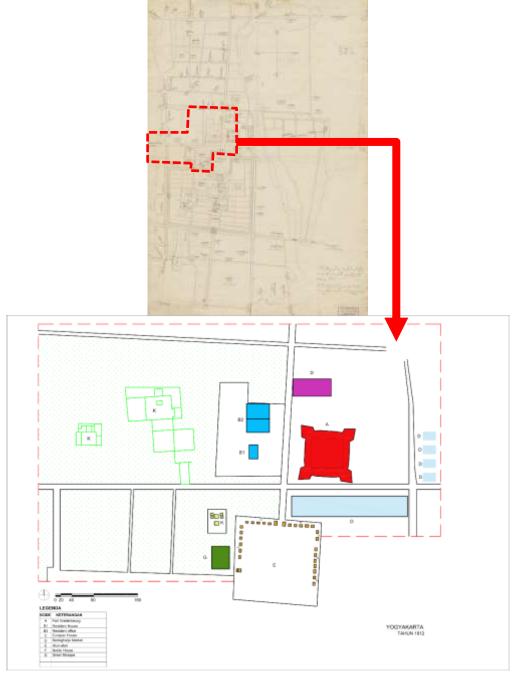
From the Fig. 6, we can see that there are 2 separate central government areas in the central area of the Yogyakarta City. The first area is the center of the colonial government on the axis of the Resident House - Fort Rustenburg, and the second is the center of traditional government, namely North Alun-alun and its surroundings. The first area portrays the activities of the colonial government and the economy with the Resident House, Fort Vredenburg, and the Beringharjo Market. Second area portrays the traditional government, and the socio-cultural and religious activities with the existence of the square, palace, mosque.

The existence of a fort in the center of Yogyakarta City, and Beringharjo Market which is closer to the fort in the early days of the city of Yogyakarta are interesting things. Wihardyanto (2020), Leushuis (2014) and Nas (2007) explain that the fort is the first form of architecture established by the Dutch in the area as a center of economic, trade and government activities. This phenomenon seems to represent Kostof's (1992) explanation regarding the beginning of the acquisition and acculturation process that occurs mostly in the urban centers in the colony.

From the Fig. 6, we can also see that there are elite residences for the indigenous people (noble house) on Jalan Ngabean and several Dutch colonial residences along the Kampeemenstraats. Darmosugito (1956), Fauziah (1998) and Rickleff (2002) point out that the Kampeemenstraats were inhabited by the Dutch military officials.

With the existence of two areas in the center of Yogyakarta in this period, the center of Yogyakarta was established with two synergistic identities, namely traditional identity with the center of North Alun-alun and colonial identity with the center being the axis of Resident House-Fort Vredenburg. Furthermore, the existence of a colonial identity in the city of Yogyakarta did not replace the existing traditional Javanese city structure. Instead, it adapted itself to occupy the mutually agreed spaces while creating a European identity. This phenomenon is in line with the statement from Kostof (1992), namely that new (European) identities present generally adapt or acculturate to the existing traditional city structures and do not eliminate existing traditional identities.

# Yogyakarta City Center in 1812



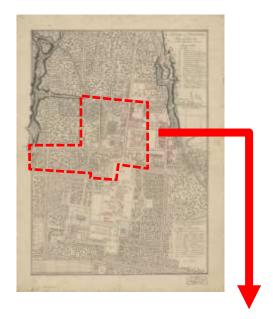
**Fig. 7:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1812 Source: processed from Yogyakarta 1812 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

From the Fig. 7, it can be seen that not many additional functions occurred between 1790 and 1812. There was only a separation of the functions between the Resident House and the Resident Office into two separate buildings (indicated by the letters B1 and B2 in Fig. 7). What stands out from Fig. 7 is the increase in the number of residential buildings for the European citizens who have filled the South side of Kampeemenstraats.

The closure of the South side of the Kampeemenstraats causes the East side of the North Alun-alun to be visually blocked from the direction of Margo Mulyo Street which functions as a royal road.

Not many developments in functions or buildings occurred during this period, presumably due to the bankruptcy situation that hit the VOC at the end of 1799. It was also because of the transfer of power from the VOC to the Dutch Colonial Government. The unstable political and economic atmosphere did not support the implementation of any developments.

# Yogyakarta City Center in 1833





**Fig. 8:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1833 Source: Processed from Yogyakarta 1833 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

The development of the Yogyakarta City Center in the period 1812-1833 is considered quite significant. Residential and shopping functions dominate the development of functions in the central area of Yogyakarta at this time. From the Fig. 8, it can be seen that building growth has occurred in several places. The first is on the Margo Mulyo Street on the North side of the Beringharjo Market. The second is on the eastern side of Vredenburg Fort (new name of Fort

Rustenburg after restoration after the 1867 earthquake), and the South side of the Ngabean Street. On the North side of the Beringharjo Market, there are many residential houses and shops for Chinese citizens, and on the East side of the Vredenburg Fortress and on the South side of the Ngabean Street, there are many residential houses for the European citizens. The rapid growth in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to Surjomiharjo (2008) was due to economic progress as a result of the implementation of the cuulturstelsel (forced cultivation) policy.

Darmosugito (1956) and Surjomiharjo (2008) poit out that the status of land belonging to the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Surakarta Sunanate in the eyes of the Dutch were vorstenlanden, namely royal land recognized for its sovereignty. The vorstenlanden lands were still controlled and managed by the kingdom because they had the status of zelfbesturende landschappen (autonomous and entitled to rule their own territory). This means that the Netherlands is obliged to ask permission and / or contribute to the sultanate and sunanate in utilizing the land. Thus, there is income to the kingdom. In detail, the rules for the use of land in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta would later be regulated in Rijksblad van Sultanaat Djogjakarta No. 12 of 1917. With the local economic conditions that had been controlled by the Dutch and the coastal area as a centre for export and import of goods had also been handed over to the Dutch, land rent in hinterland area was quite important for the royal treasury.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese settlements were detected to have started to grow faster in Yogyakarta (Handayani, 2011). Darmosugito (1956) adds that the presence of Chinese people in Yogyakarta had existed since the time of Sultan Hamengkubuwono I as the tax collectors (tanda), so that his settlement in the North of Beringharjo Market was called Kampung Ketandan. Darmosugito (1956) and Surjomiharjo (2008) also explain that the Dutch government also made use of the trading skills of the Chinese people as intermediaries between the Dutch and the Indigenous people.

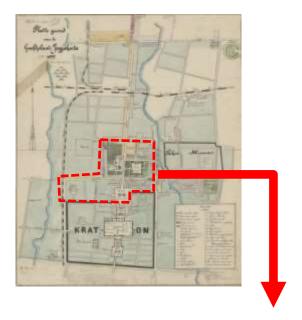
The economic advancement of the Yogyakarta City caused many Chinese citizens to migrate. This was responded by the Dutch by issuing Rijksblad no. 4 of 1867 which regulates the restrictions on areas that can be inhabited by the Chinese citizens, namely Kranggan, Malioboro, Ketandan, and Ngabean (Prasetyo, 2015). According to Prasetyo (2015), this is a form of application of wijkenstelsel (settlement based on race) which was initiated by the Dutch after the Geger Pacinan incident. If we observe further 3 of the 4 areas that can be inhabited by the Chinese citizens are close to the city centre, namely Malioboro, Ketandan, and Ngabean.

In addition to the growth of the settlements for the Chinese citizens, Fig. 8 also shows the growth of the settlements for the European residents East of the Vredenburg Fort known as the Loji Cilik Area. The term loji comes from the word loge in Portuguese which means residence or office or warehouse (Asnan, 2003), while the word cilik comes from the Javanese language which means small. This term seems to have long been understood by Indonesians to refer to European buildings used for both commercial and residential functions. From Darmosugito (1956), Leushuis (2014), and Fauziah (2018), it is known that there are 3 lodge areas in Yogyakarta, namely Loji Gedhe (gedhe means big in Javanese language), called Fort Vredenburg), Loji Cilik, and Loji Kebon / Loge Tuin (kebon means park in Javanese language) and is also called the Resident House.

Furthermore, in Fig. 8, it can be seen that the Dutch began to expand the colonial city center to approach the baluwarti wall and the North Alun-alun by building public and government facilities in the form of the Societeit de Vereneging (Society Hall), and Gevangenis (Prison House). Societeit de Vereniging was founded on the Margo Mulyo Street., It was South of the Resident House in 1818, and has been constructed at the same time as the construction of the Gevangenis which was built at the main entrance to the North Alun-alun (Fauziah, 2018). In Fig. 8, the construction of a semi-permanent building on the edge of the North Alun-alun as a stop for foreign regents when facing the king (Darmosugito, 1956) can be seen.

During this period, the colonial and traditional urban centers in Yogyakarta began to connect. Societeit de Vereniging and Gevangenis became the link between the colonial and traditional city centres because of the same user factors. Indigenous people and Europeans from the upper classes could use the Societeit de Vereniging and guilty natives and Europeans were imprisoned according to the colonial law in Gevangenis.

## Yogyakarta City Center in 1903





**Fig. 9:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1903 Source: Processed from Yogyakarta 1903 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the face of the city centre of Yogyakarta changed a lot. This was due to the implementation of the cultuurstelsel which was able to bring huge economic benefits to the Dutch. On the one hand, with the high profits for the Dutch, the land rental costs that went to the royal treasury were also getting bigger. This is allegedly giving the Dutch a high bargaining position for the kingdom to use the royal land as a public facility, especially since these facilities can also be used by the kingdom.

Surjomiharjo (2008) explains that the existence of agrarischewet which began to be implemented at 1870 which was issued to replace the cultuurstelsel, which allowed private capital to enter the Dutch East Indies, created agrarian companies with an impact on the increasing number of office facilities. Surjomiharjo (2008) also point out that the Ethical Policy

which began to be implemented at 1902 played a role in bringing about a change in the quality of life in the colony land with the many social, cultural and educational facilities belonging to the Dutch government and the private sector (Surjomiharjo, 2008).

Surjomiharjo's (2008) statement above can be seen in the Fig. 9. There we can see the increasing number of settlements for the European citizens followed by the construction of various public facilities, as well as the arrangement of public spaces. From Darmosugito (1956), and Fauziah (2018), it is known that in the period 1853-1857, there was the construction of the Protestanche Kerk (Christian Church) replacing the church that was previously located in the fort, as well as the renovation of several Dutch buildings, namely the Fort, Resident House, and the Beringharjo Market after earthquake at 1867.

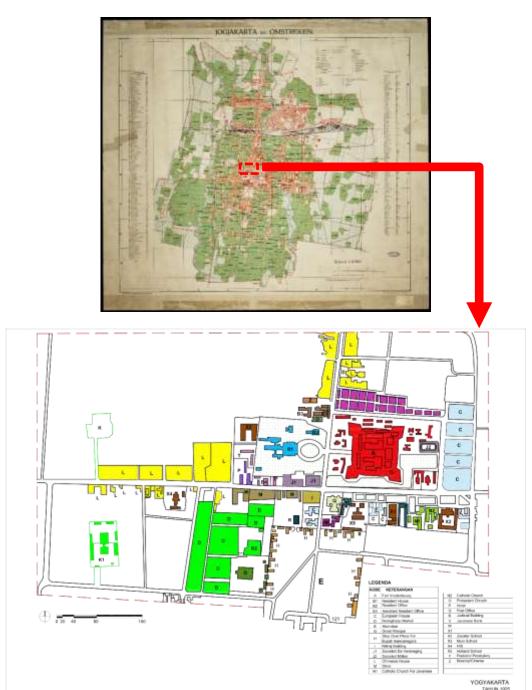
From the Fig. 9 also it can be seen that the visual access to the square from the direction of the Margo Mulyo Street is increasingly closed due to the construction of residential houses for the European citizens and the public facilities (hotels) that stand along Kampeemenstraats and the South side of the Ngabean Street. The buildings face towards the North as well as the North Alun-alun and the Yogyakarta Palace in order to get good circulation access. With these buildings, it is as if the colonial and traditional city center of Yogyakarta City is connected to one large downtown area.

With the closure of visual access to North Alun-alun as a traditional city centre, there is an opportunity to further strengthen the colonial character of the city centre of Yogyakarta. The Dutch responded to this by creating public spaces between the existing European buildings. In Fig. 9, we can see that the Dutch created 3 new public spaces, namely the open space between the Resident House and the Fort Vredenburg which is called the Park of Tuin, the Eastern open space of Fort Vredenburg called the Gras Plein, and at the Eastern end of the Kampeemenstraats called the Wilhelmina Park.

Of the three new public open spaces, Park of Tuin appears to be a public open space designed to approach the plaza like in the centre of Europe. Researchers think this is because around the Park of Tuin, there are government facilities (Resident House, Resident Office, and the Assistant Resident Office), religion (Protestant Church), economy (Beringharjo Market), and socio-culture (Societeit de Vereniging, Post Office, Hotel), like plazas in Europe before the industrial revolution (Kostof, 1992). However, the existence of the fort is a peculiarity because it does not function but is part of the city centre.

With the Park of Tuin, the existence of the royal road belonging to the Yogyakarta Palace is disturbed because it seems as if the royal road does not end in the North Alun-alun but ends at the Park of Tuin which is between the Resident House and Fort Vredenburg. From the Fig. 9, we can also observe that the Prison House building has been replaced by another building. This is reinforced by a statement from Fauziah (2018) which states that a Prison House was built in the Wirogunan village to accommodate the increasing number of prisoners.

# Yogyakarta City Center in 1925



**Fig. 10:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1925 Source: Processed from Yogyakarta 1925 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

Surjomiharjo (2008) states that the Ethical Policy has an effect on better city development. The Ethical Policy itself was caused by the statement of the social left in the Netherlands who considered the Dutch kingdom to be indebted to the colonial state, and therefore the kingdom had to pay back what was taken from the colonial state (Surjomiharjo, 2008). This has an impact on the increasing number of public facilities built for the city residents. The existence of decentraliewet which began to be implemented in 1903, which gives authority to the local governments to regulate their own regions provides opportunities for the increasingly rapid physical growth of urban spaces (Passchier, 2012).

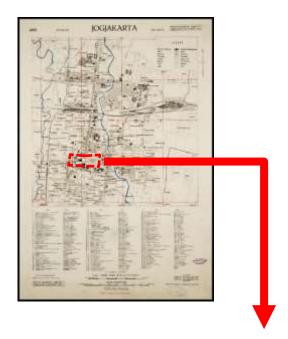
If we look at the Fig. 10, the Park of Tuin does not exist anymore. Instead, it is the expansion of the Wilhelmina Park towards the West along the Kampeemenstraats. This seems to be due to the Yogyakarta Palace wanting to reaffirm the function of the royal road which is also the imaginary axis of the city. In the Park of Tuin area, several houses were built which were allegedly intended for the Dutch military and the government officials. Fig. 10 also shows the North side of the Kampeemenstraats, which originally contained only Gras Plein (west of Fort Vredenburg) was built by a Military Societeit for the military officials. Thus, along the Kampeemenstraats, there is an open plaza with divisions for the civil society (South side) and the military (North side).

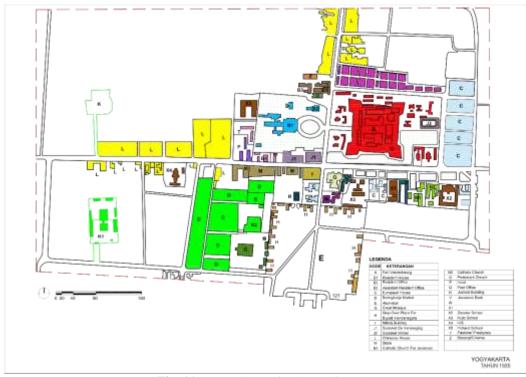
As with Fig. 9, in Fig. 10, we can still see that the square is visually blocked by the buildings next to its North (the intersection of Margo Mulyo Street, Ngabean Street, and Kampeemenstraats). However, what distinguishes the Fig. 10 from the Fig. 9 was that the royal path leading to the North Alun-alun was no longer cut off by the other public open spaces.

In Fig. 10, we also see that many residential buildings for the European citizens in Kampemeenstraats, and parts of the Ngabean Street have been turned into public facilities, government buildings, or offices. In Kampeemenstraats, public facilities have appeared consisting of the Javasche Bank building, Landraadgebouw (land council), Landgerecht (district court), R.K.Jongenschool (Catholic school for boys), Gouverment Lagere School (public elementary school for Europe), Zustersschool (Catholic school for women), Christian Hollandsch Javaansche School (Christian elementary school), the Dutch Roman Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic Church for Indigenous People, Pastoire (presbytery), and the expansion of the Post Office into the Post and Telegram Office. Meanwhile on the Ngabean Street, the residences of European citizens were turned into office and government buildings with the appearance of the NILLMIJ Building, which is a joint office building between Nederlandsch Hendel Maatschappij, notariskantoor, Nederlandsch Escompto, and NILLMIJ, politieposthuis (police station), Zelfbestuur Kantoor (Yogyakarta autonomous office). Based on the distribution of public buildings above, it isargued that the Dutch have carried out the zoning arrangement of buildings in the city centre area as follows:

- 1. Margo Mulyo Street for the government dan trade economy area.
- 2. Kampeemenstraats for the public facilities area.
- 3. Ngabean Street for the office and government area.

# Yogyakarta City Center in 1935





**Fig. 11:** Yogyakarta City Center in 1935 Source: Processed from Yogyakarta 1935 map accessed from <a href="www.kitlv.nl">www.kitlv.nl</a>

From the comparison of the Fig. 11 with Fig. 10, it is known that not many changes have occurred in the central spatial structure of the Yogyakarta City. There were no spaces or new public facility buildings that were established in the period 1925-1935. The building growth that occurred was limited to the addition of commercial functions (stores) along the Ngabean Street.

The absence of changes in the downtown area was partly due to the construction of settlements for the Europeans towards the outskirts of the city. Sidharta (2012) and Passchier (2012) explain that the discussions that developed at the 1922, Public Housing Congress recommended building healthy and affordable housing on a large scale to respond to several issues including the migration of large numbers of Europeans, and tropical disease outbreaks. which often affected the Europeans. Land outside the city is a good choice because apart from the good environmental conditions, the land is also affordable. Darmosugito (1956) and Leushuis (2014) point out that Nieuw Wijk or Kotabaru or New Town became an elite residential area for the Europeans built in the 1925s period. As an elite area, Kotabaru has public facilities to support comfortable living such as education and health facilities.

As can be observed in the Fig. 10, in Fig. 11, we can still see the Wilhelmina Park being a public space for the Europeans, and the North Alun-alun being a public space for the natives in the city centre. The area between the Wilhelmina Park and the North Alun-alun, precisely at the intersection of the Jalan Margomulyo, the Ngabean Street, and Kampeemenstraats is the most strategic point in the centre of the Yogyakarta City. This is because it is a junction of main roads, which historically has been deeply rooted and has established various kinds of facilities for the public to support urban life. Indeed, it becomes an area that is crowded with people. This point then becomes a reference point for the development of the Yogyakarta City which is known as the zero point.

#### **Conclusions**

The Javanese-Dutch coexistence in the center of Yogyakarta did not appear suddenly. This coexistence had existed from the very beginning of the founding of the City of Yogyakarta with the existence of the colonial government center and the adjacent traditional government

center. Along with the development of Yogyakarta, which was also influenced by the Dutch colonization policy, the two centers of the government gradually became one, creating a larger city center and filled with various public facilities. The meeting point of the two centers of the government is at the intersection point between the Margo Mulyo Street, Kampeemenstraats, and the Ngabean Street which has a high historical value because of its function as a royal road and the main road of Yogyakarta which connects the bastion to the Northeast and Northwest.

The existence of the royal road is a very important part of Yogyakarta. This is because the royal road becomes the backbone in the formation and development of the center of Yogyakarta from time to time. Even though many public facilities were built, their existence did not damage the existence of the royal road. Therefore, although visually the North Alunalun is obstructed by the orientation of the Dutch public buildings which also face the North, the axes and patterns of the traditional Javanese city in Yogyakarta are not lost and can still be felt.

The Javanese-Dutch coexistence in the center of Yogyakarta was created through a long-term acculturation process. The main principle in the creation of open spaces and the placement of public buildings in the downtown area is not to eliminate the 4 elements that make up the center of the traditional Javanese City which include the Alun-alun, Keraton, Mosques and the Markets, and not to disturb the existence of the royal roads as part of the imaginary axis of Yogyakarta. The construction and loss of the Park of Tuin as a public open space in the middle of Fort Vredenburg and the Resident House which cut off the continuity of the royal road to North Alun-alun is one example of how the pattern of European urban centers should not damage and must acculturate the traditional city patterns.

Furthermore, the construction of colonial buildings as public facilities in downtown Yogyakarta is to fill the space that exists between the constituent elements of Yogyakarta city center outside the baluwarti. So, logically, it is concentrated at the intersection of Jalan Margo Mulyo, Jalan Ngabean and Kampeemenstraats. The use of the central area of the city of Yogyakarta, which still belongs to the kingdom, cannot be separated from the symbiotic relationship between the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Netherlands. On the one hand, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta gains economic benefits from the use and leasing of land used for building public facilities. On the other hand, the Dutch did not feel disadvantaged because the rental fee did not significantly reduce the percentage of profits they earned from the utilization of the Yogyakarta Sultanate's land for agriculture and plantations.

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